

An investigation into place attachment in Newtown

by

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ABSTRACT

Town centres are increasingly being marketed and managed in a strategic manner. This is an attempt to increase footfall, awareness and participation in order to create long-term economic value for all stakeholders.

The research contained in this study investigates the phenomenon of place attachment, where individuals experience varying levels of attachment to specific places. This attachment is typified by emotional bonds between individuals or groups of individuals and specific places, where place is seen as unique. This uniqueness is manifested in two main dimensions, and those are attachment due to the physical characteristics of a place and attachment due to the emotions a person or group experiences by virtue of the place.

Various drivers of place attachment have been identified. The prevalence of these drivers amongst the business community of Newtown was investigated in order to give marketing professionals a better understanding of how individuals become attached to places.

These findings could provide marketing professionals with a better understanding of place attachment drivers in order to improve their efforts in marketing a variety of places. It is hoped that this study will also highlight areas for future research regarding the phenomenon of place attachment and the implications for marketing professionals.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Nicolene van Loggerenberg

14 November 2007

DEDICATION

To my friends and family who sacrificed many weekends and holidays to allow me to fulfil this goal. And to my mom, without whom I would never have been able to embark on this learning adventure.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to create a strategic advantage for town centres, stakeholders from the public, private and volunteer sectors have increasingly embarked on town-centre management. The development of public and private spaces within these areas is driven by marketing activities. These marketing activities are centred on efforts to increase footfall, awareness of the area and participation in the area (Hogg, Megway and Warnaby, 2004). As marketing professionals seek to market a variety of places, an understanding of how and why individuals become attached to places is of the utmost importance.

This chapter will discuss the need for investigating place attachment by looking at the rationale to the research problem and defining the research problem and objectives. The scope of the research will also be defined in this chapter.

Attachment theory, the psychological phenomenon, was investigated in order to gain a better understanding of place attachment. Attachment theory looks at the bonds between adults and children as well as the bonds individuals form in general. Place attachment theory investigates the formation of bonds between people and places.

It is with this theoretical background in mind that people's level of place attachment will be investigated. It is projected that the findings from this study will provide marketers with a better understanding of place attachment and enable them to design more targeted strategies for place marketing.

1.1.1 Introduction to Newtown

Newtown was identified as an example of a place where the phenomenon of place attachment could be examined. Newtown is a well-defined geographical area in the CBD of Johannesburg. The area known as Newtown came into being in 1904, when the bubonic plague was cited as a reason to burn down the area, which was then the centre of Johannesburg. The area was then surveyed, re-planned and renamed as Newtown (www.newtown.co.za).

According to www.joburg.org.za: "Newtown has now become synonymous with the heritage and culture of South Africa and especially Johannesburg. Hence it is universally known as the Cultural Precinct." Not only is Newtown regarded as synonymous with the cultural heritage of Johannesburg, but it is currently being developed as a mixed-use space with residential, retail and cultural components. This allows the investigation of place attachment as it relates to various different stakeholders.

www.jda.org.za states that Newtown is being developed as a mixed-used space capitalising on the cultural history of the area. It is this combination of the mixed-used space and historical background that makes Newtown an

appropriate physical space within which to investigate the phenomenon of place attachment. Newtown does not only have physical aspects through which the investigation of place attachment will be possible, but the cultural richness of the area lends itself to the more emotionally driven aspects of place attachment.

Whyatt (2004) states that the establishment of management districts (geographic areas where property managers provide supplementary services to those provided by the local council) has become increasingly prevalent in recent years. As such, these management districts implement long-term marketing strategies in an effort to sustain their attractiveness to both capital and labour. Newtown is currently being managed as a city-improvement district, and a long-term strategy to market the area was implemented in 2005.

1.2 RATIONALE TO THE PROBLEM

The existence of healthy town centres is increasingly being threatened by the escalating propensity of consumers to travel to out-of-town destinations such as shopping centres (Whyatt, 2004). South African cities and towns are certainly not immune to this phenomenon in this day and age, and even though Whyatt (2004) argues that this is a global phenomenon, it also stands to reason that this is extremely topical in the South African context too.

Parkerson and Saunders (2004, p.242) state that: "City and place marketing are driven by the need to diversify local economies faced with industrial decline,

attract tourism and inward investment, attract hallmark events and win economic prizes.” City and town centres need to be managed in such a way as to make places attractive to various sectors of the economy as well as to consumers in order to remain economically viable.

This being said, it is also clear from authors such as Markussen (1996) that certain places manage to retain both capital and labour. Markussen (1996) calls this phenomenon “stickiness”.

In order to gain a better understanding of place marketing, the reasons behind the attractiveness that certain places hold in the mind of consumers need to be investigated. Understanding of the drivers of place attachment will improve the marketing professional’s ability to create long-term, sustainable economic activity.

In an investigation of place attachment it is important to distinguish between “place” and “space”. The literature (as discussed in more detail in chapter 2) describes place as opposed to space as the difference between the physical characteristics of a landscape and the emotional aspects of the same landscape and the space therefore becoming a place.

A sense of place, as described by Stedman (2003), comprises more than the physical features of a landscape. It comes about through the interaction of individuals with a space to such an extent that a specific landscape becomes a place with symbolic meaning. This interaction or experience can be influenced

by the marketer to a large degree, through the hosting of events, the provision of information and other marketing activities by leveraging the historical background of an area.

It is evident that individuals have stronger bonds with certain places. Low and Altman (1992) argue that emotion and feeling are central to place attachment. It is for this reason that place attachment theory will be used to investigate consumers' attitudes specifically regarding Newtown.

Place attachment theory manifests in various dimensions such as the functional attachment to a place (Williams and Backlund, 2003). This study will, however, attempt to investigate not only the physical attractiveness of a place due to the functional amenities available to those interacting with the place but also the emotional attractiveness of a place.

It becomes evident that, although the attractiveness of malls and retail centres on the periphery of cities poses favourable functional qualities in the mind of the consumer, place attachment relies on more than only physical characteristics.

Graefe, Manning and Bacon (2004) also argue that place attachment is not only due to physical characteristics but has a more emotional and symbolic dimension. This is an area that this study will attempt to investigate, as it is this emotional dimension that is of interest to the researcher, and it is important to understand the drivers that lead to certain places being seen as more desirable in the mind of the consumer.

1.3 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

People's interaction with place or the landscape is not only based on functional convenience but is also influenced by emotional or symbolic attachment formed over the years with a physical space. Place attachment is also an iterative process where the formation of the perception of place changes the way the individual interacts with the specific place.

It is important for the marketing professional to understand the extent to which an individual feels attracted or attached to a certain place, as this should inform the marketing strategy pursued with regards to place. It can also be argued that it is necessary to understand the drivers of this attachment and how they can be utilised by the marketing professional in an effort to improve the stickiness/attractiveness of an area for both capital and labour.

Newtown possesses various qualities, such as mixed-use areas where both residential and retail operations are present. Newtown also has a rich cultural history and hosts a variety of contemporary cultural activities and events. This cultural richness lends itself to the investigation of the extent of place attachment in Newtown.

The purpose of this study is to enhance our understanding of the motivation of people to live and work in specific places such as Newtown. It is clear from various authors (e.g. Presley, 2004) that place attachment is a multi-

dimensional construct comprising aspects such as place dependence where the functionality of place is one of the causes of place attachment. Place identity manifests as the emotional or symbolic meaning of place (Williams and Buckland, 2003).

1.4 SCOPE OF RESEARCH

The scope of the research is defined by describing the following relevant terms:

- Newtown Precinct (Newtown) will be used to describe the following physical area: The marshalling yards and railway lines being the northern border; M2 highway bordering the south; West Street being the eastern border and; Quinn Street indicating the west border.
- Population from which to sample:
Individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown.

The scope of this study will be limited to the population described above in the Newtown precinct as described above.

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study will attempt to investigate the prevalence of place attachment among the business community in Newtown. The researcher will attempt to

gain an understanding of why Newtown business people specifically chose Newtown as a base.

The objectives of this study are to identify the drivers that lead to the formation of place attachment. The role that the individual drivers play in influencing place attachment will be investigated, as will the level of place attachment experienced by the respondents.

It is also an objective of the study to examine why members of the business community decided to locate in Newtown and still remain in the area.

1.6 CONCLUSION

This study will investigate the phenomenon of place attachment in the context of Newtown. The purpose of this study is to reach an understanding of the major drivers of place attachment and to increase the marketing professional's understanding of place.

The report will look at the literature surrounding attachment theory and more specifically place attachment. The research methodology is discussed in detail in chapter 4, where after the results and conclusions are discussed in further detail. The report concludes with recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Parkerson and Saunders (2004) argue that place marketing is driven by the need for urban centres to retain their ability to attract investment and to increase their ability to attract tourism and events. In order to understand this, it is necessary to investigate place attachment theory. Vaske and Corbin (2001) identify place dependence and place identity as dimensions of place attachment, and this literature will attempt to identify the characteristics of the phenomenon called place attachment. This chapter will look at attachment theory, the definition of place as opposed to space and at place attachment as it manifests in its different dimensions.

2.2 ATTACHMENT

A substantial amount of literature on attachment exists in the psychology tradition. Attachment theory describes the relationship between children and adults in terms of attachments formed. Place attachment theory encompasses the specific attachment to place. The investigation of attachment theory will deepen the understanding of people and place.

Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) state that attachment theory can be described as the inclination of humans to make strong affective bonds with particular others. Kobak and Sceery (1988) define attachment in terms of three sub-types, namely secure, dismissing or avoidant and preoccupied or ambivalent. Secure attachment will allow individuals to express distress and seek support from others; avoidant or dismissing attachment restricts the acknowledgement of distress, and ambivalent or preoccupied attachment is typified by behaviour that inhibits autonomy and self-confidence (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991).

Roisman, Padrón, Scroufe and Egeland (2002) describe two of these classifications. Individuals who can be described as dismissing give inconsistent accounts of their early childhood experiences, whilst individuals described as secure tend to give coherent accounts of their early childhood experiences.

Childhood attachment theory describes the way an infant organises his or her behaviour with regards to a specific caregiver, according to Bartholomew (1994). Children use the attachment figure to explore their environment in the absence of danger (Kobak, 2002). Kobak (2002) also describes attachment as a coping model; stress is reduced when the child knows that the attachment figure is available.

Erickson, Sroufe and Egeland (1985) argue that one developmental phase sets the stage for the following one, and this could reinforce both well adaptive and maladaptive patterns of behaviour.

Van Ijzendoorn (1995) notes that during the examination of adult attachment the current representation of childhood experiences are investigated and not the experiences themselves. This entails the autobiographical reconstruction of the past in light of new experiences; very often, for instance, negative childhood experiences are recalled in which the attachment figure is idealised.

Bowlby (1980) states that individuals create “internal working models” that are embedded in the psyche and that allow the individual to deal with the possibility of insecurity. Bowlby (1980) goes further by saying that more secure individuals deal with distress by acknowledging it and seek social support to a higher degree than insecure individuals.

Bäckström and Holmes (2007) state that at the heart of attachment theory is an individual’s ability to openly process information about the self and others in any given situation.

Bartholomew (1994) argues that adult attachment is defined by the individual’s internal model that serves as a guide in interpersonal behaviour as well as in information processing. Adult attachment is also defined by the characteristics of the strategies used to maintain perceived security.

Bäckström and Holmes (2007) state that the combinations of internal models make up individual differences in attachment styles and patterns. Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) go further by saying that one style is never exhibited exclusively but that different characteristics are exhibited by different parties.

Kobak (1994) argues that attachment theory is not as simplistic as a model describing three types of children, but that it is, in fact, a normative theory that should go beyond personality traits and should also take environmental change into consideration.

Place attachment theory stems from the broader field of attachment theory. Attachment theory investigates the way bonds are formed by individuals, whereas place attachment theory comprises bonds that have been formed with a specific place. In order to understand place attachment, an understanding of place is necessary. It is for this reason that place and a sense of place will now be discussed.

2.3 PLACE AND A SENSE OF PLACE

Low and Altman (1992, p. 7) define place as the following: “Places are... repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community and cultural relationships occur, and it is those social relationships, not just place qua place, to which people are attached.”

On one level place is described as a geographic space that has value and/or meaning (Presley, 2003). This incorporates many different dimensions such as physical size, tangible vs symbolic qualities and known vs unknown qualities, according to Petty, Chipeur and Bramston (2002).

Place is, however, not limited in terms of size, and place could refer to a home, neighbourhood or even a nation (Nanzer, 2004). Easthope (2004, p.130) describes “places” as: “Nodal points within networks of social relations that have a particular significance for a person or group of people”.

Derrett (2003) notes that place can provide a medium for community values and beliefs to be celebrated through community events. Place is established through a variety of collaborative systems rather than from the three-dimensional structure (Harrison and Dourish, 1996). Physical space is structured according to uses and need for interaction according to Harrison and Dourish (1996).

Harrison and Dourish (1996, p. 67) describe place in relation to space as follows: “Space is the opportunity, place is the understood reality.” This understood reality is created where space is given social meaning and is thereby turned into place (Bell, 1997). Space is therefore a defined but undifferentiated territory whilst place has significance by virtue of individuals spending time there and giving it a specific meaning (Rubinstein and Parmelee 1992).

The symbolic meaning of place is translated into beliefs and become the building blocks of attitude toward a specific place, according to Stedman (2002). Nanzer (2004) argues that place has communal values and beliefs and that these are shared by all the users of that specific place.

Place is space invested with the understanding of behavioural appropriateness and cultural expectations, according to Harrison and Dourish (1996). It can therefore be said that a sense of place becomes an important concept in the investigation of place attachment.

Stedman (2003) describes a sense of place in terms of three variables: the physical environment, human behaviour and social and/or psychological processes. A sense of place has a dual nature, according to Hummon (1992) in that there is an interpretive perspective on the environment as well as an emotional reaction to the environment.

The physical features of a place per se do not contribute to a sense of place but influence the symbolic meaning of the landscape and in so doing contribute to a sense of place for the users of the place (Stedman, 2003).

Place provides a platform where individuals develop personal as well as group identities and thereby a so-called sense of place (2003). Harrison and Dourish (1996) state that a sense of place is a set of mutually held and available cultural understandings about behaviour and action.

A sense of place is also described as a collection of symbolic meanings with a spatial setting held either by an individual or a group, according to Stedman (2002). Derrett (2003) does, however, state that a sense of place can vary from person to person and from time to time.

Bonner (2002, p.4) describes a sense of place as follows: “The definitions, understandings and symbols that people use to locate themselves in physical and local space. Such understandings include affirmations of values, expectations and frames of reference that serve to regulate and differentiate a collective from others.”

Space is the three-dimensional environment in which objects and events occur, and “place making” is a far more complex endeavour. This entails the arrangement of elements so as to incorporate the values of the occupants and the wider community (Harrison and Dourish, 1996).

Finally, Markussen (1996) states that certain places have the ability to attract and retain capital and labour and describes this phenomenon as “stickiness”.

2.4 PLACE ATTACHMENT

Nanzer (2004, p. 364) defines place attachment as follows: “The bond that develops between an individual or group and a particular spatial setting such as a neighbourhood or a geographic region”.

Hummon (1992) notes that a community forms attachments to a certain environment not due to the characteristics of the physical environment but through the community members’ perception of the physical environment.

Stedman (2003) states that place attachment refers to the strength of the link between the person or group and the place. Low and Altman (1992) identify four important elements of place attachment: the construct is largely emotion based; place implies a geographic area, but this can vary in size; place has a strong social aspect in that social relations occur within this context; and lastly, place has strong temporal aspects.

Presley (2003) states that place attachment decommodifies place in that people are not attracted to certain aspects of a place but rather to the specific place as a whole whilst Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) state that place attachment is a unique set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to a place as a function of its role as a setting for an experience.

Chawla (1992) argues that healthy place attachment in children is a balance between the inward hold of a familiar place and the outward attraction to an expanding world. Bonner (2002) investigates place attachment in terms of residential background and states that place attachment can be seen in two ways, the first being tied to home ownership and the second to the material benefits that a city or town offers.

2.4.1 Definition of place attachment

Low and Altman (1992) state that affect, emotion and feeling are central to the concept of place attachment. Ahrentzen (1992), p114 puts this into the context of the home as workplace for women and state that: "Place attachment is

experienced as a central and centering bond between an individual and a particular setting, but the emotional interpretation of meaning of that bond can be positive (e.g., contentment, security) or negative (e.g., anxiety, ambivalence, avoidance).”

Cooper-Marcus (1992) expands on the theme of affect by stating that emotion and feeling during childhood experiences do not occur out of time and place, hence the formation of place attachment with certain places. Chawla (1992) observes that the most common form of place attachment is affection for a place due to family bonds. Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) argue that attachment to place also requires a personal interactional history with the specific place.

It is important to note, when one talks about place attachment, that the places referred to in literature on place attachment varies widely in terms of several factors such as the kind of place, size of attachment and the age group of those involved (Low and Altman, 1992). The level of attachment to place also varies in degree of strength (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000).

Milligan (1998) states that place attachment can be defined as the following: “The emotional bond formed by an individual to a physical site due to the meaning given to the site through interactional processes”. Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) observe that place attachment can be said to be emotionally complex. Place attachment is also due to self-extensions (Belk, 1988).

Cooper-Marcus (1992) observes that place must be psychologically appropriated for a person or group of people to be attached to place. This attachment results from decommodification, and place therefore has low substitutability (Milligan, 1998).

In conclusion, the formation of place attachment is a bond between groups of people or an individual and a specific place (Kleine and Barker, 2004), and the way these bonds are formed will now be further investigated.

2.4.2 The formation of place attachment

Milligan (1998) notes that person-place bonding takes place through repeated interactions with a specific place over time. Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992), however, state that simply by defining a place or having memories of a place does not imply attachment to the place.

Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992, p.142) argue that: "Place attachment is a more energised, compelling or vivid affectual state born of one's linking significant life events, key developmental themes or identity processes with a particular environment."

According to Presley (2003), a physical space gains value as people spend more time in it and get to know it, whilst Riley (1992) states that the time spent in a landscape will cause an individual to form an attachment with that specific place.

Place attachment is formed by frequently revisiting the memories of a place we inhabited during a certain time period, according to Cooper-Marcus (1992). Nanzer (2004) observes that “place” gains special meaning through the cultural processes of groups or individuals.

Kleine and Baker (2004) also state that emotional bonds play an important role in place attachment. Cooper-Marcus (1992) states that it is during these personalisation processes of emotional bonding that the place or space becomes “mine”.

2.5 DIMENSIONS OF PLACE ATTACHMENT

It is apparent from the literature that there are specific dimensions by which place attachment can be described. Place attachment has two dimensions, according to Vaske and Corbin (2001). These are place dependence and place identity.

Hammitt, Backlund and Bixler (2006) identify an additional three dimensions namely place familiarity, belongingness and rootedness.

2.5.1 Place dependence

Kyle, Graefe, Manning and Bacon (2004) and Vaske and Korbin (2001) describe place dependence as instrumental or functional values ascribed to settings for their ability to facilitate desired leisure experiences.

Williams and Backlund (2003) expand on this concept and argue that this does not only apply to leisure experiences but that place dependence is a functional attachment to a certain place and that this is rooted in transactional theory.

Williams and Roggenbuck (2003) argue that place dependence reflects a place's ability to provide the amenities necessary for a desired activity. Vaske and Korbin (2001) also state that place dependence suggests an ongoing affiliation with a particular setting.

Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) state that place dependence can be described as the extent to which an external environment can accommodate a person's identity and patterns of interdependence between the individual and the environment.

Presley (2004) states that place dependence develops because an individual finds a specific place useful for a specific purpose. Hammit, Backlund and Bixler (2006) go further by stating that place dependence develops due to the seeming strength of affiliation between the resident and the specific place.

Hammit, Backlund and Bixler (2006) and Nanzer (2004) also note that the strength of place dependence can be measured by comparing the quality of the current place with the relative quality of a comparable place.

The level of place dependence is, to a large degree, reliant on the length of time that an individual or group of individuals has spent in a certain place, according to Nanzer (2004).

2.6.2 Place identity

The second dimension of place attachment identified in the literature is place identity. This dimension, according to Williams and Buckland (2003), is the symbolic or affective attachment to a particular place.

Vaske and Korbin (2001) and Presley (2003) state that place identity is an emotional attachment with a specific place while Kyle, Graefe, Manning and Bacon (2004) look at place identity in terms of recreational activities and state that place identity refers to the symbolic and emotional attachments that recreationists form with special places.

Individuals develop place identity through a complex interaction with the environment and socio-cultural processes according to Nanzer (2004). Williams and Buckland (2003) note that place identity is formed primarily on the basis of repeated exposure to a place, and these exposures can be through actual direct experience or indirect experience such as hearing or reading about a place.

Nanzer (2004) also argues that the strength of place identity relies on two factors: the emotional investment made by an individual or a group and the

length of the association with the specific location. He states that it is more likely for strong place identity to occur over a longer period of time.

Nanzer (2004, p.364) describes place identity as follows: “The dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment”.

2.7 MAJOR THEMES IN PLACE ATTACHMENT

The following themes became evident in the literature and contribute either to place dependence, place identity or both.

2.7.1 Time

Hummon (1992) states that long-term residents exhibit stronger attachment to place than residents who have only been living in a specific place for a shorter period of time. Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) state that place attachment is more prevalent amongst older residents of a specific area due to the fact that themes of self-identity and place coincided for a period of time. They go further by saying that place attachment is not a stage but a process that continues throughout one’s life course.

2.7.2 Symbolic relationship

Low (1992) argues that place attachment is a symbolic relationship that is formed by people who give culturally shared emotional or affective meanings to a particular space. Chawla (1992) note that children are attached to certain places due to the self-affirming, comfortable space they embody and the fact that they allow self-exploration in a dependable environment.

Riley (1992) states that place attachment is formed when people have certain experiences within a certain landscape and the landscape becomes a symbol of that experience.

2.7.3 Self-identity and place

Place attachment is more than an emotional or cognitive experience. It also includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place, according to Low (1992). Chawla (1992) argues that the autobiographical memory of place serves three purposes, namely personal insight into the meaning of one's past, insights into whom one is and, finally, a means to achieve a careful description of place and feelings that are central to self-identity.

Pellow (1992) states that place identity is a substructure of self-identity in that place contains memories, ideas, feelings and attitudes. Lawrence (1992) states that when an individual takes control of a physical environment, he or she

becomes transformed in the process; in other words, the physical space forms a central part of self-identity.

Cooper-Marcus (1992) notes that a person's ability to control a portion of the physical environment is a critical component of a positive self-identity. Manipulating space to reflect who we believe we are is a very important theme in place attachment.

2.7.4 Place and social interaction

Hufford (1992, p. 232) argues that places exist for the purpose of human activity and states that: "Places do not exist apart from human experience and understandings; they are always places-for." Hummon (1992) also states that there is a stronger sense of place attachment in communities living in close proximity to a local landmark. Place attachment is formed through social action within a socio-spatial system, according to Pellow (1992).

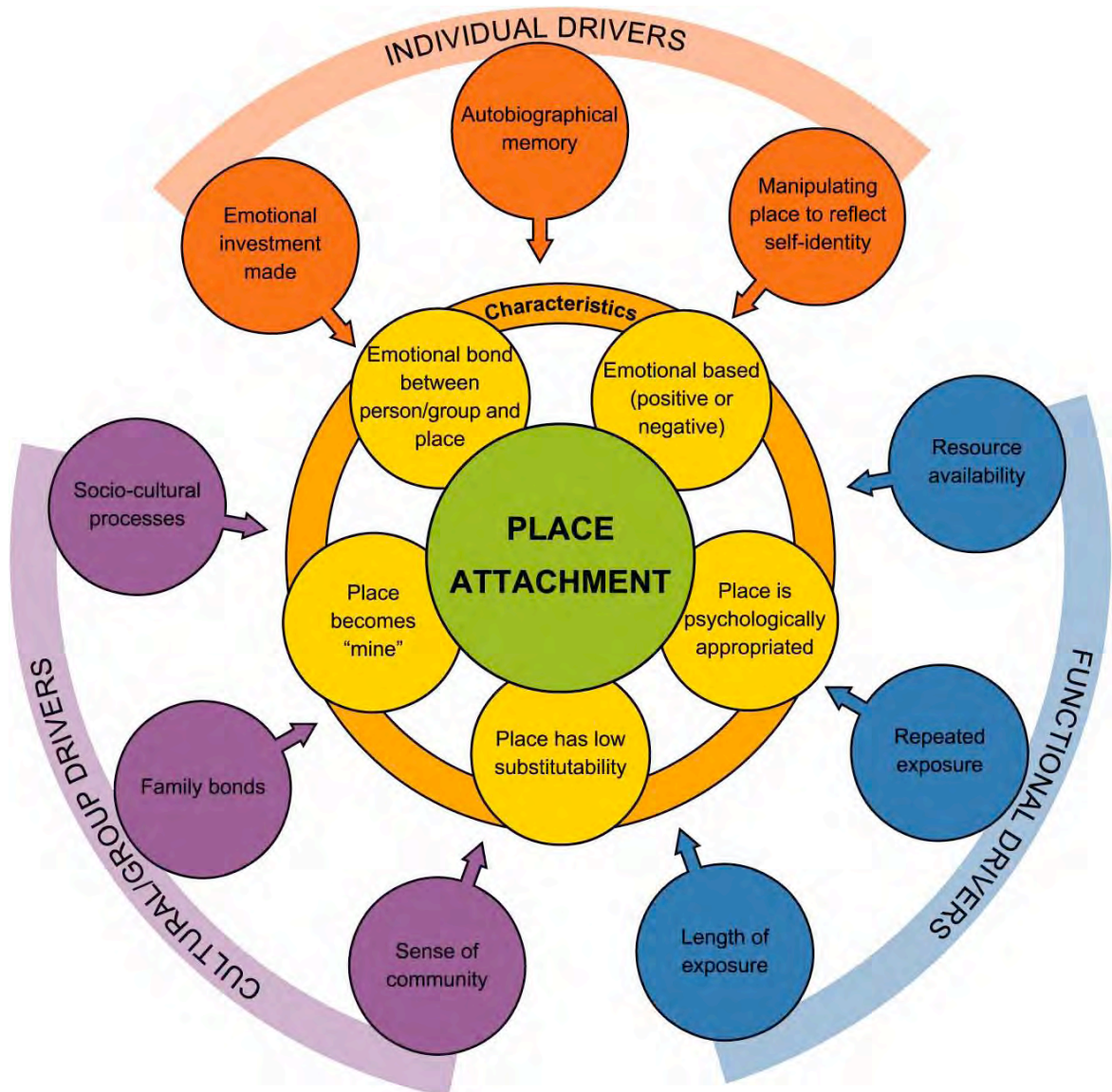
Low and Altman (1992) also state that ongoing activities in residential compounds, annual rituals and daily events in public spaces all contribute to feelings of attachment.

Hummon (1992) states that neighbourhoods are imbued with public meaning and that places then become symbols that communicate social identities.

2.7 A MODEL OF PLACE ATTACHMENT

The literature reviewed in this chapter suggested several characteristics of place attachment as well as drivers that would lead to varying levels of place attachment. Figure 2.1 is an adapted model of place attachment as suggested by the literature in this chapter.

Figure 2.1 Model of place attachment and the drivers



CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will look at the research propositions that were derived from the literature review in chapter 2, referring to the model as represented in figure 2.1 in particular.

3.2 RESEARCH PROPOSITION 1

Place dependence reflects a place's ability to provide necessary amenities for desired activities (Vaske and Korbin, 2001). This illustrates resource availability as a driver of place attachment. Accordingly it is proposed that individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown perceive Newtown to satisfy a high level of physical requirements.

3.3 RESEARCH PROPOSITION 2

It is more likely for strong place dependence to occur over a longer period of time (Nanzer, 2004). This illustrates length of exposure as a driver of place attachment. Repeated exposure is also identified as a driver of place attachment. Milligan (1998) argues that person-place bonding takes place

through repeated interactions with a specific place. Accordingly it is proposed that individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown have a long history of interaction with the Newtown precinct prior to moving there.

3.4 RESEARCH PROPOSITION 3

Place attachment is a unique set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to place (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). This illustrates the emotional investment made as a driver of place attachment. Autobiographical memory as driver of place attachment is evident in that place attachment is due to self-extensions, according to Belk (1988). A person's ability to control a portion of the physical environment is a critical component of a positive self-identity according to Cooper-Marcus (1992). This illustrates the manipulation of place to reflect self as a driver of place attachment.

Accordingly it is proposed that individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown have made a big emotional investment in Newtown over a prolonged period of time.

3.5 RESEARCH PROPOSITION 4

Place provides a platform where individuals develop personal as well as group identities and thereby provides a sense of place (Harrison and Dourish, 1996). This illustrates the sense of community and family bonds as drivers of place

attachment. Accordingly it is proposed that Newtown serves as a device for individuals to understand their history and the sense of self within the space for individuals who choose to locate their business in Newtown.

3.6 RESEARCH PROPOSITION 5

Place attachment is formed through social action within a socio-spatial system (Pellow, 1992). This illustrates socio-cultural processes as a driver of place attachment. Accordingly it is proposed that individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown have a strong sense of attachment due to the cultural richness of the area.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 identified a number of research propositions in the study of place attachment as evident amongst the business community in Newtown. The aim of the research project is to identify the drivers of place attachment constructed in the five research propositions, evident amongst the business community in Newtown. An exploratory qualitative research approach was adopted to examine the five propositions. This approach will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will look at the chosen research method for the study. The methodology will describe the nature of the research, population and sampling techniques used. The data collection, method of analysis and limitations will also be described in detail.

4.2 NATURE OF THE RESEARCH

An exploratory qualitative research approach was adopted for this study as a tool to investigate the five research propositions set out in chapter 3 of this report. According to Zikmund (2003) the purpose of exploratory research is not to answer questions of fact or determine a course of action; rather, exploratory research provides qualitative data. He furthermore states that qualitative research allows one to understand a problem rather than provide precise measurements.

Strauss and Corbin (1990, p17) observe that qualitative research can be defined as: “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification”.

Qualitative researchers do not seek causal determinations or generalisation of findings, but instead seek illumination, understanding and the extrapolation to similar situations (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). It is for this reason that the researcher has adopted a qualitative approach. According to Zikmund (2003) exploratory research could be used in various different situations such as for diagnosing a situation, screening alternatives and discovering new ideas.

Zikmund (2003) further states that descriptive research should be used when the researcher's aim is to describe the characteristics of a phenomenon or population. Zikmund (2003) also argues that accuracy is of the utmost importance when doing descriptive research and that the researcher should strive for descriptive precision.

This study will attempt to provide an understanding of the dimensions of place attachment in the context of the Newtown precinct business community. This study will, however, not seek to highlight any causal relationships between the place attachment drivers and the concept of place attachment. Zikmund (2003, p.56) reinforces this by stating that: "... the findings of descriptive studies... do not provide evidence of a causal nature."

4.2.1 In-depth interviews

For the purposes of this study in-depth interviews will be used to gather data. According to Zikmund (2003) a researcher should use unstructured extensive interviews if they are interested in consumer behaviour. He goes further by

saying that during the in-depth interview process certain questions should be probed further for elaboration.

According to Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander (1991) in-depth interviewing can be described as a conversation with a very specific purpose. Minichiello et al (1991) go further by saying that there are different types of interviews along a continuum, such as structured interviews, focused or semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews. Although these are different types of interviews, there are some similarities between all these interviews. All these interviews take place on face-to-face basis in an effort to gather information.

For the purposes of this study the author will use semi-structured interviews. Minichiello et al (1991, p. 92) state that: “An interview guide or schedule is developed around a list of topics without fixed wording or fixed ordering of questions. The content of the interview is focussed on the issues that are central to the research question, but the type of questioning and discussion allow for greater flexibility than does the survey-style interview.”

Minichiello et al (1991) highlights several significant assumptions that need to be taken into consideration when doing in-depth interviewing:

- An in-depth interview is an encounter between a researcher and an informant, thus it implies an uncensored concept of roles;
- The focus is on the informant’s point of view and not the researcher’s perspective;

- Using language that is natural to the informant should retrieve the information.

4.2.2 Advantages and disadvantages of in-depth interviews

One advantage of in-depth interviews is that the researcher can gain insight into the social reality that exists amongst individuals through listening to others' interpretations, points of view and meanings, according to Minichiello et al (1991).

Minichiello et al (1991) state that there are disadvantages that the researcher needs to be cognisant of when using this method for collecting information:

- The researcher's definition of the situation might be interpreted differently by the informant, and the subsequent information will be representative of the informant's reality;
- The researcher is not in the position to observe the informant in his or her everyday life, thus depriving the researcher of ethnographic context, which will give the researcher a richer understanding of the informant's perspective;
- The researcher could try to interpret what the informant means as opposed to what the informant is saying, thereby influencing the data.

4.3 POPULATION

Minichiello et al (1991) state that the population refers to the entire set of people the researcher intends to study.

The population relevant to the proposed research project can be described as follows:

- Individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown where the physical space is described by the marshalling yards and railway lines being the northern border; M2 highway bordering the south; West Street being the eastern border and; Quinn Street indicating the western border.
- The unit of analysis is the individual.

4.4 SAMPLING

There are two basic sampling techniques, according to Zikmund (2003), probability sampling and non-probability sampling. A probability sample is defined as a sample where every member of the population has a known, nonzero probability of being selected. Each member therefore has an equal chance of being selected out of the population. Leedy (1985) states that there is no way to guarantee that each element in the population will be represented in the sample when using non-probability sampling.

Non-probability, snowball sampling was used for the purpose of this study to gain access to individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown. Snowball sampling is the procedure where respondents are identified through a process of referral or by information obtained from other respondents (Zikmund, 2003). For the purpose of this research the Newtown Management District was contacted and a list of stakeholders was obtained. This list was used as the starting point for the snowball sample. Leedy (1984) states that snowball sampling makes no pretence about being representative of a population.

Qualitative research relies mostly on non-probability sampling, particularly snowball sampling, according to Minichiello et al (1991). Minichiello et al (1991) also state that snowball sampling relies on the researcher's knowledge of a social situation and on a group of informants for the initial contact point.

4.4.1 Sample size

Sample size is an important issue (see for instance Minichiello et al, 1991). According to Leedy (1985) one needs to look at the degree to which the sample population approximates the qualities and characteristics of the general population, but this seems to be applicable to probability sampling and not non-probability sampling, which was used for the purposes of this study.

Minichiello et al (1991) state that most qualitative studies tend to have small sample sizes. One of the main reasons for this is that in-depth interviews

are time-consuming and thus limits the researcher in terms of the number of respondents.

This report used a relatively small sample size due to time and resource constraints. The smaller sample was none-the-less sufficient to gain an insight into the phenomenon of place attachment.

4.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

For the purpose of this study an interview guide (see appendix 1) was developed to guide the researcher through various topics. Minichiello et al (1991) state that an interview guide not necessarily determines the order of the conversation, and the researcher kept this in mind when the interviews were conducted.

The interview guide consisted of two sections. The first section of the interview attempted to explore the model developed in chapter 2. In this way, the identified drivers of place attachment were sure to be explored during the interview. The second portion of the discussion guide consisted of a series of questions that served as guidelines for the interviews and were used to direct the respondents' attention to an area that the researcher wished to explore in more detail.

The interview guide was constructed around the five propositions stated in chapter 3 of this report. The drivers of place attachment are represented in the research propositions as set out in chapter 3 of this report. The interview guide was set up to probe the respondents' attachment to Newtown as well as the drivers for this attachment.

4.5.1 Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted with five respondents to test and refine the questions in appendix 1. It was found that the question portion of the interview guide provided the researcher with a useful entry point into the conversation but that the model proved to be a very useful tool in guiding the respondents through the relevant areas of interest.

4.6 DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected by interviewing the appropriate individuals as stipulated in the discussion on sampling earlier in this paper. A more detailed description of the respondents is set out in appendix 2. The individuals were contacted telephonically and given a brief explanation of the purpose of the research. This was followed by an e-mail outlining the purpose of the research and broadly outlining the questions that would be explored during the course of the interview. The individuals were interviewed face-to-face at their businesses or restaurants in Newtown depending on the personal preference of the respondent. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS

It is important to understand how to transform strings of sentences into meaningful data that contribute to knowledge before discussing content analysis, according to Minichiello et al (1991).

According to Boyatzis (1998) developing themes can be approached in three different ways. These are: theory driven, prior data or prior research driven, and inductive. Boyatzis (1998) goes further by saying that these should be considered on a continuum and that each has benefits and challenges for the researcher.

Boyatzis (1998) believes that all three approaches move the researcher towards theory development. The researcher will use the prior-research approach as the basis for developing the code.

4.7.1 Developing code from prior research

Boyatzis (1998) states that developing code on the basis of prior research places the research in the middle of the continuum described earlier. Boyatzis (1998) also believes that a good thematic code should have five elements, but for the purpose of this study only three that are deemed most relevant will be used. These are described in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Three elements for thematic code development

Element	Description
1. A label	<p>A name</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>This should be developed last in the process of writing the code</i> • <i>The label should be conceptually meaningful to the concept being studied</i> • <i>Clear and concise: communicate the essence of the theme in the fewest words possible</i> • <i>Close to the data</i>
2. A definition of what the theme concerns	The characteristic or issue constituting the theme
3. A description of how to know when the theme occurs	Indicators on how to “flag” the theme

Source: Adapted from Boyatzis (1998)

Boyatzis (1998) states that a review of literature provides insight into the possible development of code. Codes used by other researchers provide the most direct help in developing a code from prior research, according to Boyatzis (1998). For the purpose of this study not only code but also theory as discussed extensively in the literature review was used as the basis for code development.

4.8 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

- The sample consisted of twelve respondents. A small sample size limits the amount of data but the data were still useful in terms of exploring the phenomenon of place attachment in Newtown.

- Time and resources were limited and as such the sample was limited to the business community in Newtown.

4.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has provided a detailed description of the research methodology adopted in this report and identified the nature of the research as exploratory and qualitative. This chapter then discussed in-depth interviews as the chosen method of data collection and also outlined the advantages and disadvantages of this research method. The population and sampling were discussed.

This chapter then discussed the method of analysis, namely content analysis, and the development of the code. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the research limitations of this study.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present the results from the semi-structured interviews that set out to investigate the phenomenon of place attachment amongst the business community in Newtown. Codes were developed using the guidelines as set out in chapter 4, table 4.1. Themes were sought in the data that emanated from these interviews; a modified version of thematic content analysis was used as a method of analysis.

5.2 THE RESPONDENTS

Table 5.1 provides a breakdown of the types of organisations and industry sectors from which the sample was drawn. Each interview was structured around broad headings according to the five research propositions. The respondents are finally described, in graph format, in terms of the number of times the previously mentioned themes were mentioned.

The frequency counts derived from the analysis are presented in table 5.2 and figure 5.3 respectively. Given the exploratory nature of the research even a low frequency count was considered and was included.

Table 5.1 Breakdown of respondents

Sector	Type of organisation	No. of respondents
Entertainment	Restaurant	1
	Brewery	1
	Music	1
Cultural	Training	4
	Art	1
	Theatre	1
Development	Property development	1
	Infrastructure development	1
Corporate	Manufacturing	1
Total number of respondents		12

5.2.1 Summary of respondents

The literature suggests that place attachment is exhibited on many different levels. These range from very high levels of attachment to no attachment whatsoever. For the purpose of the summary place attachment will be described in terms of three levels: high, low and ambivalent. Ambivalent refers to a respondent who exhibited very high levels of attachment but was still intent on leaving Newtown. It has to be pointed out that, although this is the approach used, the literature would suggest that these would be points on a much more intricate sliding scale.

Respondent 1

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: emotional bond between person and place, place is psychologically appropriated and low substitutability)

“I’ve sort of fallen in love with the place, and I don’t see any other place, you know.”

Respondent 2

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: low substitutability)

“It is more exciting to be here than any other place in the country.”

Respondent 3

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: psychologically appropriated)

“I have worked in Newtown pretty much since 1978. So I have a very long *personal* involvement with Newtown... but I think that the Market Theatre was always a little hub. It was an island of sanity in this very, very insane world.”

Respondent 4

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: low substitutability and place seen as “mine”)

“I hope we don’t have to leave. I really, really like it here. We’d rather be here, and we’d rather see it all come back to life in this building [The Bus Factory], which I think can happen if we sort of make it happen.”

Respondent 5

Level of attachment: Low (drivers identified: no emotional bond, high substitutability)

“Look, this is where this organisation was established, and this is where it’s remained. When we took over, Sasol recovered it from the previous owners to regain a huge debt. And it wasn’t advisable to do anything else like relocate. But what we needed to do was revive the business and make it successful as it is now. So really we didn’t mind Newtown.”

Respondent 6

Level of attachment: Ambivalent (drivers identified: emotional bond between person and place and high substitutability)

“But the value of having a cultural precinct is that creative people are feeding off each other, as opposed to being in constant competition with each other. We actually add value to each other. And we strengthen each other’s role in the whole business value chain. So, I’m moving out very reluctantly but also with the thought that finally I can just do what I feel I can do.”

Respondent 7

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: low substitutability)

“You can’t find premises like these. I know there’s certain people looking for venues for restaurants, pubs, that sort of thing, entertainment, and they can’t.”

Respondent 8

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: emotion based and low substitutability)

“Newtown is unique. It’s an old place. It’s *lekker*. This building is like a hundred years old. It’s not like... I use Cresta because it’s more Randburg, and they are my worst areas. I can’t stand it. I don’t go there. I don’t want to know it because they’re just cultural strains of America, Middle America, *kak*... the buildings are old; it’s unique and it’s nice and it’s in town.”

Respondent 9

Level of attachment: Low (drivers identified: high substitutability and place not seen as “mine”)

“I would definitely move somewhere else in town [CBD of Johannesburg]. In fact, we’ve just sold that one if we sell the silos and this one too. I’ll sell this one. Then we’re done. It’s come out very nice.”

Respondent 10

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: emotional bond between person and place: place is psychologically appropriated and place is seen as “mine”)

“There was a proper fraternity, and people were discovering the world, literally in a little community. I spent quite a long time without knowing about Sandton City, and I just had no idea. Actually I still struggle to place Fourways exactly. I cannot place it; for me it is a bit abstract.”

Respondent 11

Level of attachment: Low (drivers identified: place not seen as “mine” and high substitutability)

“For me, Newtown is inherited. I’m a development manager responsible for the management of the district.”

Respondent 12

Level of attachment: High (drivers identified: emotion based and place seen as “mine”)

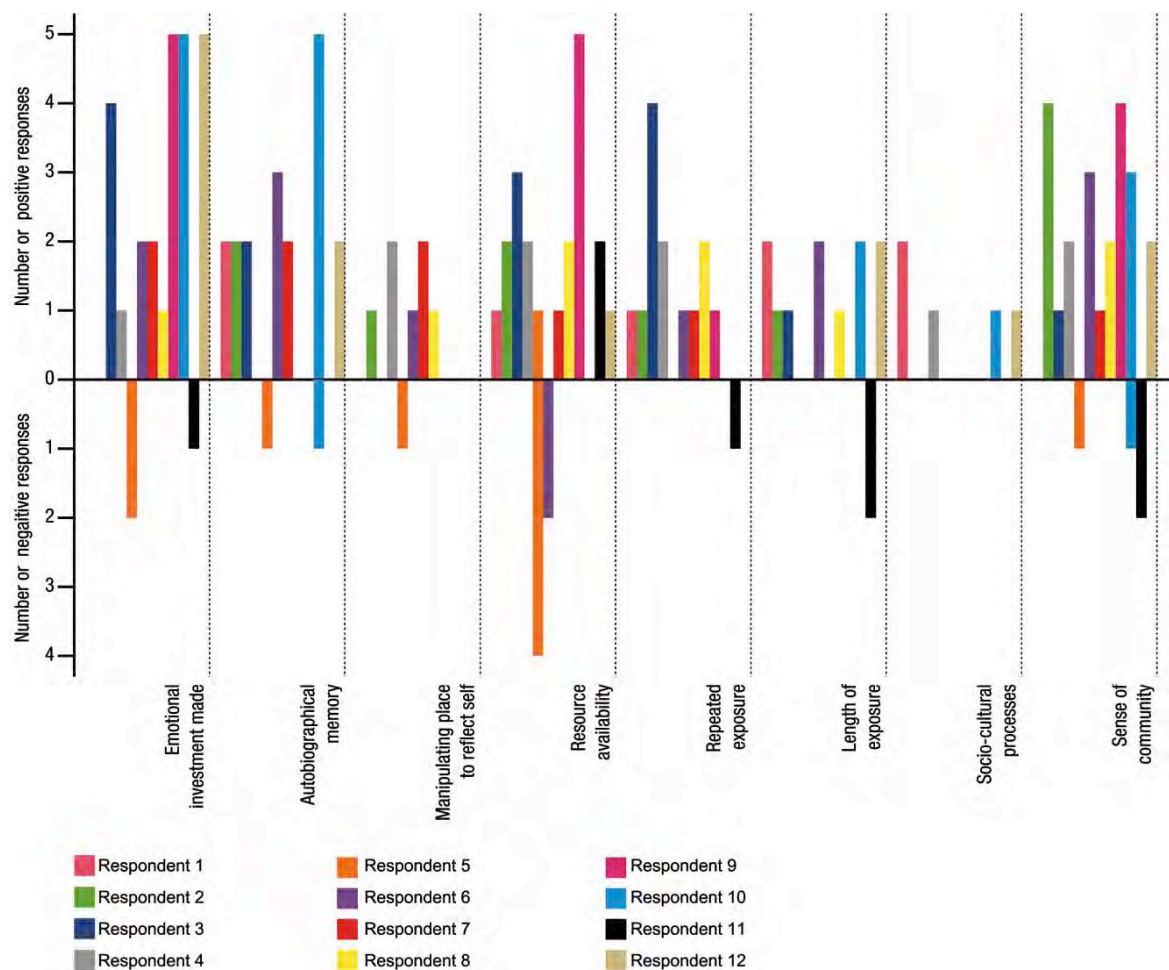
“So the whole thing was based on these organisations and training centres and venues, and in a way that is very fragile – and that was the cultural precinct.”

“City council thinks developers will pay millions for the land, but that’s it! That’s all the millions they will get forever, if they sell the land. To me, I don’t know, it’s so short-sighted. Which seems odd for the new dispensation. The council should keep the land and develop it themselves and make sure it works, but they don’t know how to do that.”

Table 5.2 Frequency count of place attachment drivers

Place attachment driver	Frequency of mention
Emotional investment made	28
Resource availability	24
Sense of community	24
Autobiographical memory	20
Length of exposure	13
Repeated exposure	13
Manipulating place to reflect self	8
Socio-cultural processes	5
Family bonds	0

Figure 5.1 Summary of respondents



5.3 CODES DEVELOPED FOR RESPONSES

The elements for a thematic code were set out in table 4.1 of the previous chapter. This was used in the development of the code for analysis. These codes are set out in table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Thematic code for analysis of results

Label	Definition	Description/Flags
Resource availability	Describing positive and negative aspects of the physical environment such as quality of amenities and infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical ability of place to facilitate individuals' desired activity Usefulness of place Comparing Newtown with other places in terms of the physical characteristics
Repeated exposure	Repeated interactions with a specific place leads to attachment to that specific place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Repeated exposure through experience Repeated exposure through secondary experience
Length of exposure	The length of exposure seen as significant by the respondent, either positive or negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time period involved in Newtown Significance attributed to the length of time in Newtown
Emotional investment	Investing personal time and energy in Newtown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Descriptions of personal sacrifices made Descriptions of personal difficulties Descriptions of personal inputs
Autobiographical memory	Place attachment that developed due to the memories of the place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time-bound memories of specific events Landscape as symbol of a



	inhabited by the individual during a specific time	<p>specific experience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaining personal insight into the meaning of one's past • Place central to self identity
Manipulating place to reflect self	The manipulation of the environment to reflect the individual's preferences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effort made to change the physical appearance of the environment • Personal preference, values mirrored in physical environment
Sense of community	Shared experiences and or values contained in Newtown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared experiences • Sense of belonging to a community with shared values • Feeling comfortable with a space and what it represents
Family bonds	Childhood experiences leads to affective bonds with place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Childhood memories of events/activities in Newtown
Socio-cultural processes	Socio-cultural processes and interactions take place in a space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural activities • Rituals • Public events • Communicating social identities

5.4 RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRES

5.4.1 *Research proposition 1*

Proposition 1 explores the notion that individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown do so on the basis of the area satisfying a high level of physical requirements (such as infrastructure and amenities) that they need to have present in their neighbourhood. The following responses will illustrate that this proposition was partially accepted.

- Code identified for clustering in Proposition 1: Resource availability.

Resource availability

The availability of resources was an extremely prevalent theme throughout all the interviews. In some cases this was positive and in some cases this was negative as illustrated by the responses set out below:

- “It’s central. It’s not far from people who live down in the South and, you know, the North. So everybody meets here. You should see when there is a festival here...”
- “As money becomes more available, so prices go up, and you start feeling left out if you don’t adapt to your environment.”
- “The reason for basing The Dance Factory in the centre of the city is that it was equally easy to get to from the townships and the suburbs. We still

work with a lot of people who are reliant on taxis to get here and to get home.”

- “The bridge [the Nelson Mandela bridge] has made quite a lot of difference because it is direct. Because when you get on the bridge it goes to Newtown, so then they just have to find out how to get here.”
- “I think that the fact that out there it is quite a beautiful environment, and the landscape is getting better and better.”
- “I think there are a few more amenities that should happen. I mean why are we going to Woolworths in Parkwood? Why can’t we just pop out for ten minutes around the corner? Because I would. I would rather see businesses developing that we can support rather than taking business outside.”
- “It’s very accessible; everybody can get here.”
- “It is also a good place to have an office because it’s known now, and there’s lots and lots of other students around.”
- “But things can go very wrong. I heard rumours that they want to put more offices inside this space in front. I kind of think that they promised that they will make the space [the Bus Factory] more exciting and more vibrant, and it’s actually the opposite.”
- “A lot of our time and effort went into making it a workable environment.”
- “Have you driven up Carr Street just now, recently? Now you tell me. Where is the “clean” aspect of this management?”
- “If you walked in here and you didn’t have a coffee shop facility like we do, what would you do for lunch? Venture out in Newtown to go buy lunch? Where would you go?”

- “Since I’ve been here, since 2001, they’ve definitely made some sort of improvement to the streets and the walkways and the pavements, but what I can’t understand about this area is that they’ve taken the trouble to build it up only to start breaking things up soon afterwards. They have to cut the road to put in a new pipeline. So from that point of view I haven’t seen much improvement.”
- “The venue I was training from, I didn’t pay rent for. I paid for my business facilities, fax etc. That was because the lease holder had signed a lease agreement, and one of the clauses there is that there is space for a development organisation. So I helped them fulfil that mandate, but I had no say in how the venue was maintained. When the lights weren’t working, it was too bad.”
- “They started the patrolling by these fellows with the green uniforms, and of course we’ve got cameras all over the place, and that is very effective.”
- “You are not allowed to add anything that will distract from the building. When you set those kinds of standards, people are going to feel very comfortable.”
- “I think it is the cultural precinct because it speaks for itself. There’s the Dance Factory, there’s the Market Theatre, there’s museums, there’s music venues, which cover a large spectrum of culture. So every sort of component of culture is being covered in Newtown.”
- “Not in Newtown specifically, but there’s a lot of concrete lying around in town. They started on the infrastructure, the Mandela Bridge. Putting in

street lighting and tiling all the pavements (that has already been bugged up, but anyway), but that's what got us interested."

- "...some guy was playing his music here, and he said come and have a look at Newtown, and we thought, no, this is madness, but we came and had a look and then we realised they were building this offramp over here, and we saw this building..."
- "The access made all the difference. If it wasn't for that I don't think we would have bought here."
- "And all those people that work in the banks or 80% of them live in Soweto but the commute from Soweto is bad news, and it is only going to get worse, and what's going to happen is accommodation is going to be at a premium."
- "Why we did this here is because you have all these old buildings here; it was basically Premier Milling, and we said OK we can take a block, and we have the freeway and we have the square."
- "When we first came here it was the early nineties, and there were taxi ranks all over and squatters, so yes it has changed. I mean I came back, and it was like wow! Obviously the perception goes with the physical change."
- "There are CCTV cameras and security guards in Newtown, so the visibility of the security guards makes a big difference. I mean people feel safe in Newtown."
- "It is near the taxi rank. You always meet at the Market when you come to The Lab."

5.4.2 Research proposition 2

Proposition 2 explores how much historical interaction between the respondents and Newtown influenced their place attachment. It also explores the length and frequency of exposure as a driver for the level of place attachment that an individual experiences. The following responses will illustrate that this proposition was partially supported.

Codes identified for clustering in proposition 2:

- Repeated exposure
- Length of exposure

Repeated exposure

Although it did not prove to be one of the bigger drivers of place attachment among the business community in Newtown, significant mention was made of repeated exposure as a contributing factor. Evidence of repeated exposure is as follows:

- “I did [know Newtown well] because I used to frequent the pub across the street, and then it closed, and it is actually then that I had ideas about this corner building.”
- “I was a student, and I worked at *Vrye Weekblad* over weekends. So that meant that I got to know Newtown. That meant I got to know the Photo Workshop. And there was the Yard and Ale, a place to grab a beer and of course the occasional visit to the theatre.”

- “I knew about the cultural precinct a few years prior to me actually moving up here, and then a work opportunity arose for me, and it was only supposed to be for three months, and then while I was up here other opportunities arose for me, and I realised that moving back to Durban would be short-sighted.”
- “I started working here running the Newtown Music Hall in 2003. We closed Bassline in Melville, then came here, and I worked here for a year as a sort of a music consultant, and then I convinced them to turn it into Bassline because it is a good brand.”
- “You know, because my world doesn’t, is not, limited to Mondays to Fridays, I work on the weekends, I do get involved on the weekends, and normally when I get involved it’s mostly work, so the further I can get away from Newtown if I have to the better.”

Length of exposure

The length of exposure is related to the previous driver, but in this instance length of exposure proved to have both positive and negative impacts on the respondents in terms of their place attachment. This is evident from the following responses:

- “ We moved into Newtown in 1995 when this area was still quiet, when a lot of businesses were leaving Newtown.”
- “I’ve been here since 1997, as a trainer. But I have been head from 2002, so that means, how long? Five years.”

- “I have worked in Newtown pretty much since 1978. So I have a very long personal involvement with Newtown.”
- “We’ve been here... I always forget. I think it’s about five years. This is the fifth year in this space... in the Bus Factory.”
- “I’ve been here now for two-and-a-half years.”
- “I’ve done like 20 gigs here.”
- “I mean my office was here for 12 years.”
- “We’ve been now in Newtown since 2001, which makes it, six years for our project to run, which is extraordinarily long.”
- “I’ve been in Newtown since we got the Market; we were a company of actors and two directors. So I’ve been around here since then.”

5.4.3 Research proposition 3

Research proposition 3 explores how much emotional investment serves as a driver for place attachment. The level of place attachment in terms of how the individual sees him/herself reflected in his/her surroundings as well as manipulating place to reflect him/herself is also explored in this proposition. The following responses will illustrate that this proposition was supported.

Codes identified for clustering in proposition 3:

- Emotional investment
- Autobiographical memory
- Manipulating place to reflect self

Emotional investment made

The emotional investment made into Newtown was the most prevalent driver in the interviews as is evident from the following responses:

- “I’ve sort of fallen in love with the place, and I don’t see any other place, you know. I guess if you open another branch of Niki’s... but then this would still be the flagship of Niki’s.”
- “...So for a good ten years nothing happened in Newtown. There was very poor lighting. There was no landscaping; there was minimal security. It was very difficult.”
- “I spent a lot of time on the telephone explaining to people how to get here.”
- “I spent nights saying to people: ‘Where are you now?’ ‘I’m on the corner of this and this...’ ‘Which way are you facing?’ So there has been a lot of that.”
- “I think that people who aren’t in it don’t necessarily realise that there are pressures attached to it and responsibilities attached to it. You don’t just sit in Newtown and have a nice time. You have to work to be here.”
- “We are very lucky that we got to be here and that we got in at the right time. The space is somewhere where lots of people would love to work in.”
- “I do think Newtown has something special: it does have something unique. It’s sad that a more productive balance has not been found between commercial and cultural enterprise.”

- “I hope to come back here. I am definitely going to have a lot of dealings with people in Newtown. I am still going to be very supportive of things happening here.”
- “You know I love the sound of jackhammers, and I don’t mind the dust. We just have to wipe down all day.”
- “I think it’s not just a government issue: there has to be support systems, advice. There could be people within SAB with the skills who could pass on those skills. It may not necessarily be money; it could just be people skills.”
- “I did gigs here when it was Mega. So, I love this venue, and I’ve always wanted it. I wanted it for ten years.”
- “I think there is a crappy old building down the road here, on Carr Street. It has no value, it really is ugly, and the developers want to do something: they will do something really nice with it. I mean it really has no value, but they’ve come in here and put so many rules in that has made it just about unviable.”
- “If you are going to start with the building you need so much space to make it viable, and it’s all a game of square meters and Rands per square meter.”
- “That just burned itself to the ground [the Mills burned down shortly after renovations were completed]. That was quite sad, so we’ve rebuilt it. We’ve tried to keep it more or less like it was. The façade is still the same.”
- “When I moved here it was quite tough. The minister of foreign affairs did not want us to come here.”

- “I was getting people to visit the offices, and very often we would have to get down on the floor [respondent indicating shooting]. So it has changed a lot. There were no restaurants; the Market Theatre was in a dire state.”
- “It really has been a battle to get people to come and simply make a name in the art market because everybody goes to Rosebank or sometimes Sandton...”
- “I [respondent referring to his gallery] was completely empty like everybody else... like Carfax, like the Market Theatre. We were all really struggling.”
- “Actually we are shooting in all directions now, so it’s not really focused, but if that’s what becomes of Newtown I am going away with no regrets.”
- “It’s [Newtown] now a toddler. It used to be a baby – it’s now a toddler.”
- “They are pulling down the Moving Into Dance building and building them a new building. Doesn’t that seem mad to you?”
- “I’ve been here for such a long time, I think I am almost, kind of ready to slowly go away.”
- “We have Saturday classes, and then we have showcases. And they come and they come and they come... It’s free for instance, but I think it is something else.”
- “I don’t know whether they know that the cultural precinct is slowly dying.”
- “When we started here we never imagined how it would end up. We were just a group of like-minded people who would meet.”

- “If you go to London you go to the same London. Maybe a few new buildings but basically the same place. But here, you can see within four or five years half the things are gone! Moved! It’s mad!”

Autobiographical memory

Autobiographical memory was highly prevalent in the interviews as is evident from the following responses:

- “I think when you work in an environment, and you’ve been there for a couple of years, then you sort of take ownership of the culture and your environment.”
- “I think it’s related to the whole country and specifically with the city through history and the process of re-socialisation... To acknowledge the post-Apartheid city we return to Newtown.”
- “This is still the only venue in South Africa, specifically for dance. It is the only venue dedicated to dance and dance alone.”
- “I never come down here on weekends. I’m not into jazz, and there’s a lot of jazz venues and jazz festivals and that sort of thing. So from that point of view I’ve really not gotten involved in it.”
- “Unique little jewels, the cultural jewels are leaving Newtown, like for example Horror Café is moving out, and News Café is moving in. Like what the *fuck* is that about?”
- “Yes, I would never go and rent offices in Sandton. It doesn’t fit with who I am, what I stand for, the people that I want to mix with, you know. The cultural precinct has meaning for me, very holistic meaning: from a

commercial meaning also to stakeholders, the type of people that hang out here, my market, the people I can work with, you know.”

- “When you sit on the pavement there [no. 1 Central Place] it feels like you are in some really glam place in Europe.”
- “Because at the time Christopher Till was in charge of culture for the greater Johannesburg, and he came up with this vision, truly cultural, for the area, not Mickey Mouse, you know, like theme-park culture. He started Jo’burg Biennale.”
- “It’s spontaneous. It’s not a mall, it’s not like a V&A Waterfront, not like a Rosebank scene with your Nino’s... it’s not a franchise, but it’s original places like the Market Theatre and the flower store. It’s not like a retail place.”
- “I went to the public meeting; at first we were treated to two hours of a history of Newtown with photographs. I knew it by heart. I could have done the presentation.”
- “...you know the old rush, Jo’burg was built on the gold rush... now the new rush is a property rush. And I think that is nothing to celebrate at all. Because the city is now in the hands of what, ten private people? It’s not very healthy. Maybe I’ve got a European perception of a city, but I like a place that you can walk on the street and you eat outside on the pavement.”
- “Because the Market Theatre is here it was a natural thing for other things to grow around it. Cultural things.”
- “I think the building itself, when you go inside, you could feel the character.”

Manipulating place to reflect self

The third driver in proposition 3 is the individual's manipulation of place to reflect self. This driver was one of the less prevalent drivers but still important and worthwhile mentioning as is evident from the following responses:

- “You have to make them feel very, very special for the effort they’ve made to get here. Once they are in they have to go: ‘Wow! What a nice place. What a nice atmosphere. The people are so good to us.’ So we’ve made a lot of effort during that time to be very, very, very careful with patrons. To make sure that they had an amazing, efficient, courteous, warm evening.”
- “The Craft Council should not have been allowed to close the [craft] shop. It’s shocking that they could just close the shop. It’s not like it’s a private owner. They should be accountable. They represent crafts people across the whole country.”
- “And there are very good committees, like the heritage council; they stopped some big shopping centre from going up, thank goodness.”
- “We did a lot here to keep the people happy in this environment. I mean this is not the safest part of Jo’burg. If you look at what goes on here, and if you are going to attract people to want to work for you, especially people worthy of what you want to do, you need to make things available for them.”
- “The cultural precinct should be creating a safe haven for us creatives to operate and blossom in – not now make us compete against these

commercial entities that add very little value. At the end of the day they are all about the bottom line.”

- “And I think there’s going to have to be some strong-arm tactics. There has to be. There’s got to be some taking the city back. Here’s a building, we’re going to sort it out.”
- “So it’s basically trying to get people to come to Newtown and to make sure that when they have their first experience that it’s a good experience.”
- “The new developments are making me completely nauseous. I’ve been here for many years, fighting for this place to happen as a cultural precinct.”
- “I made that garden for a festival, and JDA [Johannesburg Development Agency] paid. I created a festival called Play Time in Newtown, everything outdoor. So it’s dance performances, concerts, exhibitions etc...”

5.4.4 Research proposition 4

Proposition 4 investigates the individuals’ understanding of themselves within the historical context, and two important drivers of this is the respondent’s sense of community and family bonds as experienced in the Newtown context. The following responses will illustrate that this proposition was supported.

Codes identified for clustering in proposition 4:

- Sense of community
- Family bonds

Sense of community

This was the second most prevalent driver mentioned by all respondents and was experienced as both positive and negative by several respondents as is evident in the following respondent quotes:

- “You feel like you belong; were are like a family. When a person needs help... most of the new businesses that are coming in are finding it easier to come and ask for help or if there is anything they need to know.”
- “One of the reasons for being here is, well, first of all the Market Theatre, but much rather the fact that there is a group of training organisations.”
- “The reason that I participate in Newtown is because I believe that here you find a group of people that share the same values and views that come with the historical [aspect of Newtown].”
- “They [AngloGold Ashanti] understand the make-up of this society. They have their own ideas, but they are realistic ideas, and it does involve money, but if this relationship is managed well, I think it can be symbiotic.”
- “I am thinking more and more that people should be encouraging to people who live and work in Newtown. Particularly people who work in Newtown. I mean last night we went to Capellos for pizza afterwards,

instead of going to Rosebank, and I think that kind of thinking needs to be encouraged a bit more.”

- “So during the Arts Alive and Joy of Jazz I asked her if she wanted to run the bar, and I basically gave her the concession.”
- “Certainly the Market Theatre is the cornerstone... It has a very proud history, and some of us come from there!”
- “Museum Africa, we make a bit of use of it... we ran a one-and-a-half year programme there for street kids twice a week, and also like very, very recently we sent all our students there to be exposed to the exhibitions.”
- “They interact with each other and there are student groups and they get to know each other over time and go to each other’s exhibitions and they join each other’s courses. And from that point of view it’s a good meeting point for people.”
- “We were not very well informed in terms of what was happening in the area. The only time we got involved with certain authorities was when they were building the Carr Street off-ramp.”
- “The value of having a cultural precinct is that creative people feed off each other, as opposed to us being in constant competition with each other. We actually add value to each other.”
- “For me, the cultural precinct is so meaningful, because it really commits to a space where all creative people can actually support, work together, compete if necessary, and it creates a really dynamic diversity.”
- “A cultural precinct would naturally attract like-minded people.”
- “We have to keep our area safe. And it is safe.”

- “We feed off each other. Everybody feeds off each other. Everybody needs everybody’s business.”
- “There is the Chinese lady down there who still has her peanuts, and all she wants is huge big trucks to come through, and all we kind of do is create things and try to be nice to each other.”
- “It was early days, and anything was possible, so we wanted to have fun and to use the energy that was really raw with everyone around.”
- “Here was a proper fraternity, and people were discovering the world, literally, in a little community.”
- “We were all struggling, but we were struggling together, and we made it happen, and that’s why I am talking about the community certainly, the neighbourhood. We know each other by heart, always. We help each other, we live together, and that’s the whole idea.”
- “I can’t remove myself from here!”

Family bonds

No evidence of family bonds per se was found in the interviews, but this is due to the fact that respondents are business owners and not residents of Newtown.

5.3.5 Research proposition 5

Proposition 5 explores cultural richness as a driver for place attachment in Newtown. In particular, it was explored how socio-cultural processes could drive place attachment. The following responses will illustrate that this proposition was partially supported.

Code identified for clustering in proposition 5: Socio-cultural processes

Socio-cultural processes

Socio-cultural processes were the least prevalent driver amongst all the drivers.

The following insights were gained from respondents:

- “We would like to see it remain like that [the cultural hub], but, you know with the development it is changing. When you move into the culture part, it is something that everybody uses as a selling point.”
- “I am very keen that more collaborations are explored. But they don’t have to be huge things. They can be on a small level.”
- “But I think the Market Theatre was always a little hub. It was an island of sanity in this very, very insane world. It was very strange being there because you just got so used to working with all kinds of people [implying people from all races]. I remember going with Alan Joseph to the airport and suddenly at the airport realising we weren’t allowed into the same facility.”
- “When I came here I started working in many different fields, not only visual arts, so I was discovering lots of things, but it was total euphoria. It was totally a playground much more than it is today.”
- “Market Theatre, ’76. I mean it’s been a long, long time in the making to actually have proper identity. Because it’s not about bricks and windows – it’s about the spirit of the place. And that you can’t break it into parts and tell people: ‘Ahh, come back!’ You must feel good here.”

- “I think it [meeting at the Market Theatre] has become a culture. If you are transporting people to a film set, this is the place that they will meet. People from Soweto, transport will come and fetch them here.”

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the report will analyse and discuss the results from chapter 5 in terms of the research objectives that the report set out to achieve as defined in chapter 1, section 1.5. This section will make reference to research propositions as developed in chapter 3.

6.2 EVALUATION OF FINDINGS

The results will be evaluated by addressing the study's research objectives. The objectives looked at different dimensions of place attachment and also the level of attachment experienced by the different respondents. This chapter will first look at the different levels of attachment experienced by the individual respondents. The evaluation will then look at the different drivers of attachment as identified in chapter 2.

6.2.1 Evaluation of individual respondents

Before discussing place attachment, individual respondents will be discussed.

In chapter 2, figure 2.1 it was shown that attachment could be identified by several characteristics such as the existence of an emotional bond between

person and place and the fact that place becomes “mine”. It is shown in the results that certain respondents exhibited higher levels of place attachment than others and that the driver or combination of drivers behind the attachment also differed from respondent to respondent.

The following responses highlight the fact that certain respondents had high levels of attachment: “I’ve sort of fallen in love with the place.” and “it really has been a battle to get people to come.” These statements indicate attachment due to an emotional bond between person and place. Evidence of high levels of attachment was also found based on the fact that Newtown had very low substitutability value as becomes evident in the following statements: “Newtown is unique. Its an old place...the buildings are old, its unique and its in town.” and “I do think Newtown has something special: it does have something unique.” Low substitutability implies that Newtown is perceived to be unique and it is a perception that it cannot be substituted with another place.

Evidence of the other end of the attachment spectrum is also present (in the form of no or low attachment) in that some respondents exhibited low attachment as is evident in this statement by a respondent: “I would definitely move somewhere else in town...there’s a lot of concrete lying around in town.” With this particular respondent the benefits of being located in Newtown was purely based on benefits derived from the physical environment, and this respondent believes that these benefits were not unique to Newtown. He/she perceives Newtown as a beneficial place to be but feels that it’s not unique and

can be found elsewhere in Johannesburg. For this reason he/she finds Newtown highly substitutable.

Another respondent found no evident reason for being in Newtown other than the fact that the company was always located in Newtown. This particular respondent discussed Newtown in terms of the company and not in terms of any personal experience even after being prompted to do so. The respondent's distanced stance towards Newtown is evident in the following statement: "...this is where this particular organisation was established, and this is where it's remained...and it wasn't advisable to do anything else like relocate. So really we didn't mind Newtown."

Out of twelve respondents only eight exhibited high levels of place attachment, two respondents showed low attachment and one respondent gave ambivalent answers. It is with this background that the author wishes to discuss the drivers of place attachment.

6.2.2 Research proposition 1

Individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown perceive Newtown to satisfy a high level of physical requirements. Resource availability was identified as a code in respect to this proposition.

Resource availability was cited by eleven of the twelve respondents as being an important driver for locating their businesses in Newtown. The importance of

available resources was mentioned 24 times during the interviews. The fact that this driver was mentioned so frequently indicates that this is a very strong driver of place attachment.

As mentioned earlier, out of the twelve respondents only eight exhibited high levels of place attachment. This is indicative of the fact that resource availability alone does not lead to place attachment but does play an important role in the phenomenon. A discussion of various aspect of resource availability will follow.

The author identified several themes within resource availability that pertains to Newtown and will be discussed in more detail below.

Accessibility

One of the major themes that became evident during the research is Newtown's high accessibility to various markets. Newtown seems to serve a wide variety of organisations with significantly different target markets well, due to the fact that Newtown was seen to be extremely central in Johannesburg. This is evident in the following statement by one of the respondents: "It's very accessible: everybody can get here." This sentiment was echoed by several of the respondents as being highly beneficial but not their only reason for being located in Newtown.

Infrastructure

Another important theme, related to accessibility, is the theme of infrastructure. The respondents almost unanimously agreed that the improvement of the

infrastructure raised their opinion of Newtown. This theme also had positive and negative responses. One respondent felt that if the infrastructure had not been upgraded to an acceptable level, Newtown would not even have been considered as a location of choice: “the access made all the difference. If it wasn’t for that I don’t think we would have bought here.”

Another respondent saw no improvement in the infrastructure and was negative about the environment. This is clear in the following statement: “What I can’t understand about the area is that they’ve taken the trouble to build it up only to start breaking things up soon afterwards. So from that point of view I haven’t seen much improvement.”

Clean and safe

Another major theme expressed by respondents was the concept of a safe and clean environment. This was one of the themes that elicited positive and negative feedback about Newtown. Individuals who exhibited high levels of place attachment expressed positive responses around the development of public parks and the upgrading of pavements. “...It is, out there, quite a beautiful environment, and the landscape is getting better and better.”

Individuals with low levels of place attachment were negative about the safety and cleanliness in Newtown. They also described the same environment as follows: “Have you driven up Carr Street now, recently? Now you tell me, where is the clean aspect of this management?”

In conclusion, it has to be stated that the physical environment plays an important role in the formation of a positive or negative opinion of Newtown.

It is, however, only one of several drivers that contribute to the phenomenon of place attachment.

6.2.3 Research proposition 2

Individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown have a long history of interaction with Newtown prior to moving here. The codes identified in respect of this proposition were repeated exposure and the length of exposure.

Repeated exposure

Place attachment due to repeated exposure revealed several nuanced applications. It was found that exposure to Newtown took place in one of two ways. The first of these being through first-hand experience of a place such as visiting it regularly and the second being through second-hand exposure, such as, word-of-mouth.

The study revealed that the respondents who were repeatedly exposed to Newtown were gradually drawn to Newtown as is expressed in the following statement: "I was a student, and I worked at *Vrye Weekblad* over weekends. So that meant I got to know Newtown." Seven out of the fourteen respondents referred to the repeated exposure to Newtown as significant. Six respondents

stated that the repeated exposure to Newtown was the start of their ongoing affiliation to Newtown.

One respondent moved to Newtown due to an attachment formed through exposure in the form of word-of-mouth. It has to be said that this particular respondent's experience of Newtown did not deliver what was expected and has lead to the respondent leaving Newtown.

The one respondent expressed the repeated exposure to Newtown as a negative. This particular respondent was responsible for certain infrastructural developments and this lead to the negative impact of exposure on this particular person, due to the fact that most of the exposure was when things were not functioning properly.

Length of exposure

The length of exposure is the second theme identified in relation to the second proposition. Seven respondents reported their extended involvement with Newtown. Six respondents spoke about the length of time in Newtown on a very personal level whilst one respondent only reported the length of time in Newtown in terms of that particular respondent's company involvement. It is interesting that even though the last respondent had been involved in Newtown for a substantial amount of time by virtue of the company's involvement no place attachment was formed due to the length of time spent in Newtown.

The length of exposure would seem to be a relatively important contributing factor to place attachment but is by no means an effective driver of place attachment as a driver by itself.

6.2.4 Research proposition 3

Individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown have made a big emotional investment in Newtown over a prolonged period of time. Emotional investment made, autobiographical memory and manipulating place to reflect self were identified as the relevant codes with regards to this proposition.

Emotional investment made

This code was reported as important to nine respondents but these respondents made twenty eight references to this during the interviews, making this the most frequently mentioned driver. This is, therefore a very important driver of place attachment. The following statement is typical of the type of emotional investments made by eight of the respondents: “it really has been a battle to get people to come and simply make a name in the art market.”

It is also important to mention the fact one respondent reported very low emotional investment in Newtown as is evident in the following statement: “...It’s all a game of square meters and Rands per square meter.”

The responses indicate some interesting findings. Several respondents made an emotional investment, in the past, in the form of sacrificing comfort and safety due to the lack of infrastructure or amenities as is evident in the following response: "...so for a good ten years nothing happened in Newtown. There was very poor lighting. There was no landscaping: there was minimal security. It was very difficult."

This seemed to go hand in hand with individuals investing personal energy and time into the area. This is evident in the following statement: "...there are pressures attached to it. You don't just sit in Newtown and have a nice time. You have to work to be here." The responses indicated that despite the lack of resources eight of the respondents still seemed enthusiastic about Newtown and this did lead to high levels of place attachment.

The fact that the environment historically lacked certain infrastructural requirements gave rise to another interesting occurrence and that is certain respondents exhibited emotional investment in the form of taking ownership of Newtown. This is evident in the following statement: "It's not just a government issue: there has to be support systems, advice, there could be people within SAB." Respondents were willing to make personal investments in Newtown to ensure the improvement of the Newtown precinct.

Autobiographical memory

Eight respondents gave recollections that can be classified as autobiographical memories, some positive and some negative. Interestingly, the different respondents had such diverse autobiographical memories of Newtown.

Newtown is seen as symbolic of post-apartheid South Africa. It is also seen as a cultural space as is evident in this response: "...the Market Theatre is here, it was a natural thing for other things to grow around it, cultural things."

Another autobiographical memory is seen where one respondent describes the environment as European as is shown in this statement: "When you sit on the pavement there [no. 1 Central Place] it feels like you are in some really glam place in Europe." This is a good example of autobiographical memory as this view of Newtown is subjective and expressed based on the individual's own history and background.

One respondent reported negative autobiographical memory as this respondent viewed Newtown as a jazz venue for younger people. Something this respondent did not identify with and did not exhibit a high level of place attachment.

Manipulating place to reflect self

This code yielded responses from five participants. This is significant as these responses were predominantly focused around cultural issues with the

exception of one respondent. The respondents felt very strongly about keeping the cultural character of Newtown with specific reference to their particular field.

This is evident in the following statement: “The new developments are making me completely nauseous. I’ve been here for many years, fighting for this place to happen as a cultural precinct.” This particular respondent went further by physically creating public spaces in order to host cultural events. The manipulation of place was extremely visible with this particular respondent.

Another insight by one of the five respondents is that their immediate environment was the area of focus and were maintained to reflect their needs and beliefs. This respondent did not, however, exhibit high place attachment and the manipulation of place to reflect self was contained within the company, not extending to the greater Newtown environment.

6.2.5 Research proposition 4

Newtown serves as a device for individuals to understand their history and the sense of self within the space for individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown. The codes identified in respect of this proposition were sense of community and family bonds.

Sense of community

In regard with this code ten respondents indicated a sense of community as an important reason for being in Newtown, making the author believe that this is an

important driver for place attachment. Several interesting aspects of a sense of community were revealed whilst doing the content analysis.

The first of these being the prevalence of a sense of belonging as revealed by several respondents as is illustrated by the following statement: “You feel like you belong, we are like a family.” Respondents who echoed this sentiment seemed to take responsibility for Newtown and those people they felt connected to, and thus increasing their attachment to Newtown.

The sense of belonging was not only experienced by respondents after moving to Newtown but some respondents moved to Newtown as a result of feeling a sense of belonging as is evident in the following statement: “The reason that I participate in Newtown is because I believe that here you find a group of people that share the same values and views.”

Another significant aspect of the sense of community was that respondents experienced this also in terms of business. Several respondents reported that they felt a bond with other businesses or organisations due to the synergies that existed between their operations. This was a strong motivation for these respondents to locate in and stay in Newtown. This is reflected in the following statement: “We feed off each other. Everybody needs everybody’s business.”

As with the other codes discussed earlier in this chapter a negative aspect regarding sense of belonging was also identified. The author feels that it is important to include the negative response as this reflects very low place

attachment. The respondent believed that he was not well informed about developments in the area except for major infrastructural changes such as the building of the off-ramp. The physical environment was the extent of this particular respondent's perception of community in Newtown. This perception did not lead to high levels of place attachment.

Family bonds

No mention of family bonds was made by any of the respondents. This is due to the sample consisting of business owners and managers and cultural organisations and did not include any residents of Newtown.

6.2.6 Research proposition 5

Individuals who choose to locate their businesses in Newtown have a strong sense of attachment due to the cultural richness of the history of the area. The code identified as appropriate for this proposition was socio-cultural processes.

Socio-cultural processes

Out of twelve respondents only four respondents reported socio-cultural processes as important as to why they choose Newtown as their business location of choice. These four respondents only mentioned socio-cultural process five times. Even though this is not one of the most frequently mentioned drivers it is still worth discussing.

The interviews would suggest that the Market Theatre is the centre of the socio-cultural processes in Newtown as is evident in the following statement: “Market Theatre ’76. I mean it’s been a long, long time in the making to actually have a proper identity. Because it is not about the bricks and windows, it’s about the spirit of the place.”

This statement highlights the fact that socio-cultural processes, as is involved around the creation of the Market Theatre is highly emotive.

6.3 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the five propositions each looked at different aspects of place attachment such as attachment due to the physical environment, historical interaction between person and place, emotional investment made, understanding the individual’s history and lastly socio-cultural processes.

Several drivers were also identified in regards to the different propositions and analysed in this chapter.

What became evident through the analysis is that no one single driver stood out as the only driver of place attachment. Certain themes were more prevalent amongst all the respondents such as resource availability while certain drivers were only visible in more specific cases.

CHAPTER 7

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The research conducted in the previous chapters of this study has addressed all the research objectives in the first chapter. It is clear from the research that place attachment presents itself on many different levels, from very strong emotion based attachment, to very low functionality-of-space driven attachment. There was also evidence of individuals who exhibited no place attachment whatsoever. Another important aspect of place attachment is the complexity of the influence of individual drivers in and of themselves as well as the complexity of the interaction of the place attachment drivers amongst each other. These will be discussed in more detail in this chapter as well as the lessons that the marketing professional can draw from this study.

7.2 PLACE ATTACHMENT AND ITS DRIVERS

It has become evident through the research, as was also suggested by the literature, that different stakeholders within a defined place will exhibit very different levels of place attachment. This became very clear throughout this study. The fact that certain drivers presented more pervasively throughout all the interviews whereas other drivers were exhibited amongst a certain group is of particular interest to the researcher. The drivers addressed in the interviews

were grouped into three broad categories and these will be discussed in further detail in this chapter.

7.2.1 Functional drivers

The functional drivers were defined as resource availability, length of exposure and repeated exposure. What has become evident throughout the research is that the functional drivers and in particular resource availability played a very important role in all the respondents' attachment in Newtown. This ranged from individuals feeling that the environment did not have the required infrastructure for them to form a bond with Newtown to individuals feeling that Newtown was the perfect location for them to operate from.

Resource availability was the most pervasive of all the drivers. It did not however lead to high levels of attachment but was an entry-level requirement for individuals to be satisfied with place. It is therefore stated that resource availability is a very important driver in place attachment but should be considered in conjunction with other drivers in order to achieve high levels of attachment amongst stakeholders.

7.2.2 Individual drivers

The individual drivers were identified as the emotional investment made by an individual, their autobiographical memory of place and their penchant to manipulate place to reflect self. It became evident in the research that the

higher levels of attachment were present in individuals who made an emotional investment in Newtown.

Emotional investment only happened when individuals did not see the physical environment or resource availability as negative. The interesting aspect of this is that the belief that the physical environment will be conducive to their business or themselves in the future in combination with the emotional attachment was sufficient to form a bond with Newtown.

Another aspect of the individual drivers was the fact that autobiographical memory and the manipulation of place to reflect self induced high levels of place attachment. The latter two drivers in the absence of other drivers did not seem to lead to place attachment but enhanced the phenomenon when other drivers were already present.

7.2.3 Cultural or group drivers

The drivers identified in this group were socio-cultural processes, family bonds and lastly a sense of community. The driver that was mentioned most during the interviews was the sense of community. The sense of community was mentioned both as a platform for very strong attachment as well as the source of much alienation in that individuals feels ill-informed about what happens in the community. The community, as suggested by the literature, is not size specific. What has become evident in the interviews is that the development activities of the place, within which the community operates, could damage the

sense of community and therefore decrease the level of place attachment experienced by members of the community.

7.3 LESSONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

Place attachment theory looks at the aspects of a specific place that would lead to individuals or groups of people forming an emotional bond with that specific place. For a place as a destination of choice it is extremely important to understand those drivers and attempt to find a way to harness this in the marketing activities. As the literature suggest, high place attachment leads to low substitutability of place which is a very desirable position to be in.

The first aspect of place that the marketer needs to understand is the physical drivers that will make a place desirable, or at the very least not undesirable. This will not, however, make a place unique for potential stakeholders in an area. It is crucial; first of all, to understand which resources are necessary to foster attachment. This is that safety and cleanliness needs to be addressed as the entry-level requirement. This will not lead to high levels of attachment, which implies low substitutability but will lay the foundation for future programs.

The second important aspect identified is the need to understand the community, which forms the basis of place. What has become evident in the Newtown study is that the cultural component that seems to be the basis of the unique offering of Newtown are not being maintained and this will change the

character of Newtown. It is important to understand which stakeholders contribute to the unique character that will lead to long-term competitiveness.

In conclusion, the marketer needs to design marketing activities in such a way as to incorporate as many drivers as possible, as this will enhance their effectiveness in fostering place attachment within the different stakeholder groups.

7.4 FUTURE RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

It is the author's opinion that it is important to understand the drivers behind place attachment and how this understanding should inform the marketing activities around place. It is also evident that Newtown has many different stakeholders who influence Newtown and in turn is influenced by place.

The drives of place attachment, such as repeated exposure to a place extend beyond the physical place. Marketing efforts should, therefore, in part be focussed on target audiences not involved in the place yet. Another important driver that seemed to attract, or for that matter failed to attract people were the physical characteristics of place. It is the researcher's opinion that resource availability is an entry-level requirement for any place to become a place of preference in the mind of consumers. It will, however, be the other drivers such as, emotional investment made into place, sense of community and socio-cultural processes that will lead to high place attachment. This will create a

platform through which capital and labour could be attracted into a specific area and also stay there.

It is with this in mind that the author would suggest the following areas for future research:

- Newtown is a mixed-use space within which many different stakeholders operate. These stakeholders include residents, corporate companies, retail operations, visitors and cultural organisations. This study excluded retail organisations and visitors. It is important to understand how all stakeholders are impacted upon and impact on Newtown.
- The area around stakeholders needs to be investigated, as this is an important source of revenue in Newtown. The visitor component consist of occasional visitors such as those using the area for specific events as well as regular visitors such as those attending shows at the Market Theatre, going to restaurants or museums.
- Another area that has been identified for future research is the effect that communication regarding development has on an environment.
- The historical background of South Africa in terms of place attachment should be investigated in order to understand the role cultural differences plays in the South African context.

7.5. CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to investigate the drivers of place attachment in Newtown as well as the broader sense of place, in order to create a better understanding of the different levels of involvement that needs to be cultivated in place marketing in order to create a place with very low substitutability.

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APPENDIX 1

Discussion Guide

INDIVIDUAL DRIVERS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How long have you been involved in Newtown? 2. Can you remember when you first became aware of Newtown? If so what was your impression about the area then as opposed to now? 3. Who/What was the driving force behind the decision to become involved? 4. Does Newtown have any specific meaning for you? 5. How do you feel about Newtown, personally? 6. How do you feel about Newtown in terms of the business? 7. What do you think about the facilities that are available in Newtown? 8. How has your relationship with Newtown changed, if at all? 9. Do you feel that there are other areas in Johannesburg that you would easily move to? 10. Do you feel a sense of community in Newtown? 11. Have you ever experience any cultural events in Newtown? 12. Newtown is often described as the cultural centre of Johannesburg. How do you feel about this statement? 13. Closing remarks that weren't touched on...
Emotional investment made	
Autobiographical memory	
Manipulating place to reflect self identity	
FUNCTIONAL DRIVERS	
Resource availability	
Repeated exposure	
Length of exposure	
CULTURAL/GROUP DRIVERS	
Socio-cultural processes	
Family bonds	
Sense of community	

APPENDIX 2

Respondent 1

This respondent is the owner of a restaurant and has been involved in Newtown for twelve years in total and for eight years as a business owner.

Respondent 2

The second respondent is the manager of a photography training facility and had been involved in Newtown since the late 1980's. The respondent had a very strong political connection with Newtown as a photographer for the *Vrye Weekblad* and this is the basis for his current relationship with the area.

Respondent 3

This respondent is the manager of the Dance Factory but prior to that had been involved with the Market Theatre since 1978.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent had been in Newtown for six years and had recently gone through a disruptive construction process in the building that their offices are located in. This has affected her perception of Newtown's desirability as a location.

Respondent 5

This respondent did not show any signs of feeling attached to Newtown whatsoever. The respondent's perception of Newtown was that the infrastructure was not maintained to the level it should be. The cultural entertainment and cultural activities were not perceived to be something he would enjoy or participate in.

Respondent 6

The sixth respondent was the only respondent responding in an ambivalent manner in that she exhibited very high levels of attachment but was still moving out of Newtown.

Respondent 7

This respondent experienced a high level of attachment but this was interestingly due to the physical environment being very conducive to the goals of the company.

Respondent 8

This respondent had been involved in Newtown on various music projects before establishing a business in Newtown. The physical environment and the area was one of the main attractions for this respondents and he felt that the area attracted the right market for what he was attempting to do.

Respondent 9

This respondent is a property developer and did not experience any place attachment to Newtown. This respondent described Newtown as a good opportunity at best but not as a unique place.

Respondent 10

The tenth respondent had been involved in Newtown since the mid 1990's as a representative of the French government but decided to stay in Newtown after the contract expired. Very high levels of place attachment were exhibited and this respondent made it a personal issue to establish cultural festivals and organisations in Newtown.

Respondent 11

This respondent is an employee of the Johannesburg Development Agency and did not experience high levels of place attachment. Even though she felt responsible for the area as part of her job description she did not choose to interact with Newtown outside of this role.

Respondent 12

This respondent had been involved in Newtown since the establishment of the Market Theatre in 1976 and has witnessed all its changes and feels very much part of that.