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The Danceable City: Aging Women Improvising Health Practices
in Beijing's Interstitial Spaces, 2004-2010

By

Caroline Chen

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Michael Southworth

Professor Galen Cranz

Professor Louise A. Mozingo

Fall 2012

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Abstract

The Danceable City: Aging Women Improvising Health Practices
in Beijing's Interstitial Spaces, 2004-2010

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Caroline Chen

Doctor of Philosophy in Landscape Architecture and Environmental Design

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Michael Southworth, Chair

The objective of this dissertation is to examine how older, urban Chinese residents appropriate interstitial spaces in Beijing to improvise ways to pursue healthy aging through dance. Observations, interviews and surveys were conducted with retired residents who danced for exercise inside their communities over the course of three fieldwork visits: 2004-06, summer of 2007, and spring and summer of 2010. Interview data collected from exploratory fieldwork in 2004-06 informed the design of a survey that was later deployed in 2007. A total of 395 dancing residents were surveyed in 2007. Further semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2007, as well as community sketch mapping, to discover whether dancers encountered new constraints or opportunities in the urban landscape since the previous visit. In 2010, follow-up surveys and interviews were again collected to see whether the hosting of the Olympic Games affected dancing in communities. Qualitative analysis for the dissertation focused mainly on the interviews and survey responses collected in 2007, as well as interviews and sketch maps collected in 2010.

In this study, I examine the experience of older urban residents who live in a rapidly modernizing city. I describe how changes in the social norms of elder care have placed aging residents in a precarious position because expectations that younger family members will care for older family members are changing. I show that dance becomes tactic that many older residents utilize in order to maintain their health, to not “burden” their families, and to avoid institutionalization. Dance has other useful social roles: it provides residents a way to keep social networks intact and creates a platform for dancers to share news with one another, including new-found information on how to stay healthy.

Through observations, surveys, mapping, site visits, and interviews with dancers, I show that aging Beijing residents who dance outdoors for exercise are experiencing increasingly greater difficulty finding appropriate dance sites in the modernized version of their city. Through mapping dancing groups' migrations in search of new spaces, I examined dancers' tactics of adaptation, improvisation, and appropriation of left-over spaces. However, I discovered that even the most dedicated dance groups are limited by how much they can adapt before they are forced to give up dancing altogether. This leads me to conclude that a reevaluation of Beijing's rapid urbanization program as experienced by urban seniors who are pursuing healthy aging through dance is sorely needed, if in fact, Beijing is to remain a senior-friendly, danceable city.

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For Audrey Lai and Edward Chen

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Introduction

In the last two decades, globalization has become a widely discussed subject in planning and design as economic exchange between disparate parts of the world has resulted in new urban landscapes of mixed forms and urbanity. Cities in China, growing at rates never before seen in world history, have shown how globalization can transform physical space. Beijing is a prime example. Holding onto a yearly growth rate of over 8% for the past decade, the city transformed from one of horizontal courtyards and Soviet-style dormitories to a vertical city in only a few decades.¹ But here is not the place to recount the historical transformations of the Chinese capital. The overall purpose of this dissertation is to document the efforts by Beijing residents to continue engaging in vigorous, health-promoting activity on the ground, in the wake of and despite the city's globalizing turn. Here, I examine how non-socially powerful groups engage in social and cultural practices to mitigate the loss of open space by utilizing tactics of adaptation, appropriation, cultural reproduction and migration in order to still find a way to remain active.

Specifically, this dissertation develops the preliminary research that I wrote about in "Dancing in the Streets of Beijing: Improvised Uses within the Urban System" (C. Chen 2010). In that book chapter, I described the preliminary findings of my research from 2004-06, following residents of Beijing in their search for dancing space in the city. The spaces they appropriated ranged from parking lots to freeway underpasses to neighborhood parks. Here, I attempt to bring my work up to date and situate it within relevant literatures on place and space, globalization or mobilities. Ultimately, I hope to bring attention to little-known activities by older adults in Beijing and offer it as a subject for further theoretical reflection that concerns the production of health by vulnerable communities, social justice and the ethics of design.

Abstract Spaces

Already in 1964, Melvin M. Webber presaged how communication and international business could eventually detract from the relevance of the physical realm, creating the "nonplace urban realm." Webber urged planners to deemphasize the focus on place and to consider instead "communities without propinquity" that are linked across vast distances by common interest and a desire for communication. For Webber, he preferred to see the city as "the field" instead of a compilation of "places" and pointed to dynamic notion of urbanism, one that is in the process of becoming and that is not static (Webber 1964, 143).



Figure 0.1. Bikes and Cars

Focusing also on the increased connections between different persons, places and ideas, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) offered new ways of describing the changing *Zeitgeist*. They proposed "arborescent" and "nomad thought": the former rooted in place, closed, bounded, and associated with "striated space" and the latter as "smooth", open-ended, and associated with "nomad space." In the era of globalization, they wrote, increased connections and contact between disparate actors across horizontal space becomes the dominant way of relating, since no one is staying in one place any longer. They offered the metaphor of the rhizome for this phenomenon, writing that "a rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 25). A horizontal stem that grows quickly and close to the surface is a better metaphor for the times than that of a deep-rooted tree that is fated to stay in place, limited by the fruit drop radius of the canopy of the parent tree.

Manuel Castells (1997) offers another description of the age of increased connectivity that leads to – if taken to extremes – a Network Society that has compressed both time and space so that the two are no longer separate but have become conflated. Like individual electrons that cannot be located but can only be represented in the aggregated cloud, space and time are compressed to "the space of flows." Thinking also about speedy transmission of information, media theorist Marshall McLuhan (1998) noted the role that technology plays in extending the human body and thus diminishing the barriers of time and space. He writes: "During the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned" (McLuhan 1998, 123–124).

Though more pessimistic than both Castells and McLuhan, Paul Virilio warned against the impoverishment of experience by technology and speed in our present-day circumstances (Virilio 2006). Some critics argue that building beyond the human scale can impoverish bodily experience. Nevertheless, large, iconic buildings and mega-projects are quickly spreading throughout the urban landscapes throughout the world in their competitive bids to gain visibility as an emerging global city.



Figure 0.2. Rem's half-built CCTV tower in Beijing in 2004

Some designers of such iconic buildings argue that after such projects exceed a certain size, context no longer matters. As Koolhaas put it, “Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue.’ It exists; at most, it coexists. Its subtext is *fuck* context” (R. Koolhaas 1997, 502). The CCTV building could be replicated all over the world and has little relationship to its local surroundings. It has liberated itself from such trifling and limiting concerns.

The notion of open-ended fields, rhizomes, technology, speed, flows, and non-contextual forms continue to drive and shape a new environment that in conception is disembodied and abstract. Certain built constructions exemplify these driving ideas especially well, such as airports and hospital emergency room bays. These spaces are best communicated by a diagram because movement is best symbolized by lines and vectors. Marc Augé (2008) names these spaces devoid of local symbolization “non-places.” They are formed through disciplined adherence to overarching concepts of through-put and efficiency, free from the baggage of history or identity and can be exhilarating in their seemingly zero-gravity, futuristic expression. Devoid of extraneous markings, the logistics diagram is the *parti* equivalent for the Modernist impulse in the era of globalization (Waldheim and Berger 2008; Allen 1998).

One Size Fits None

For others, however, these spaces are far from spaces of exhilaration and freedom, but are alienating spaces, black holes in the everyday landscape that have turned their back on the surrounding local context. These designers and writers are not convinced that the world can become a machine, seeing the forms resulting from this approach to designing urban form as creating “cracks” and “lost space” (Loukaitou-Sideris 1996; Trancik 1986). Edward C. Relph calls these spaces “placeless”, characterized by “grand scale and virtual absence of adaptation to local conditions of the present”(Relph 1976, 79). Others have pointed out that placelessness can occur in many different guises, including those intended for tourists. These are “sites of staged authenticity for the consumption of outside visitors,” but all the same, these sites are deployed for the globe-trotting consumer, devoid of local meaning (MacCannell 1999).

Other writers reject the view that an overarching master plan, even if planners attempt to relate to local conditions, can foresee all the present and future needs of a heterogeneous public and have argued against restrictive design describing the results of such attempts “tight spaces” and “Junkspace” (Sommer 1974; Rem Koolhaas 2002). Others have argued for the logical conclusion to this observation: more flexibility within the plan by legitimizing the “openness of open space”, “waste spaces”, “urban open space”, “found space”, “loose space” and “Freiräume” (Lynch 1996; Lynch 1990; Francis 2003; Rivlin 2007; Franck and Stevens 2007; Gstach 2007).



Figure 0.3. Donkey cart

In order to examine the interface between the new ideas and the existing local situation requires research at a more fine-grained scale than employed by most globalization theorists. Scholars of informality, social justice, appropriated space and everyday life often choose to examine the effects of globalization through fieldwork on the ground, because that is where the interactions, negotiations, conflicts and adaptations occur. Many of these writers, whose area of research are outside of North America and Europe observed that life in other areas of the world often takes place in places in the city that do not command a proper name. Parking lots and underpasses, the very spaces that Trancik calls “lost” are in certain contexts, actually quite useful. To certain members of the population, these very spaces are considered “found”, in Rivlin’s sense, because they are valuable and useful for accomplishing tasks in everyday life.

In the case of Koolhaas’s idiosyncratic design of the China Central Television headquarters in Beijing mentioned above, it must ultimately make contact with the locale in which it is built. The building defies existing conventions: both vertical, upright forms of nearby skyscrapers and the surrounding lower-lying, horizontal Beijing urban fabric. Its unique form incited bemused responses by locals who have bestowed upon the tower their own names, including “Big Underpants”, *dà kùchǎ* (大裤衩), “Knowledge Window”, *zhìchuāng* (智窗) and its associated homophone, *zhìchuāng* (痔疮) or “hemorrhoids”²² (Goldkorn 2008; Ramzy 2008).



Figure 0.4. Image from Xinmin Evening News with illustrations, on November 15, reprinted on Jeremy Goldkorn’s blogpost on Danwei.org

Despite the startling abstractness of the building, in the end, the building is situated in an existing context, and locals project the project with their own embodied meanings. The mirrored, austere façades of the tower become anthropomorphized – in the eyes of imaginative locals – into legs of a person preoccupied with certain motions of daily life. But this vision of daily life is not only magnified, but also modernized in this re-imagination, as many residents of the city still use squat toilets for their elimination needs.

It is in this context where my research fits: community efforts to come to terms with, re-interpret and adapt to change in everyday life, social and cultural practices that are utilized for these ends and the changing urban geography of a rapidly globalizing Chinese city. Below, I will describe how my research questions evolved.

Misaligned Categories

At the spring 2003 Large Parks Conference at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, the Department of Landscape Architecture organized a conference and an exhibition of twelve large parks in major international cities in Europe, the Americas, and Australia.³ Each of these parks was profiled as case studies, but no case studies from Africa or Asia were included. While a promising body of research on Chinese gardens, houses and built structures is surfacing in the fields of the humanities and art and architectural history, Chinese parks still fall outside the bounds of the contemporary western landscape architecture canon.

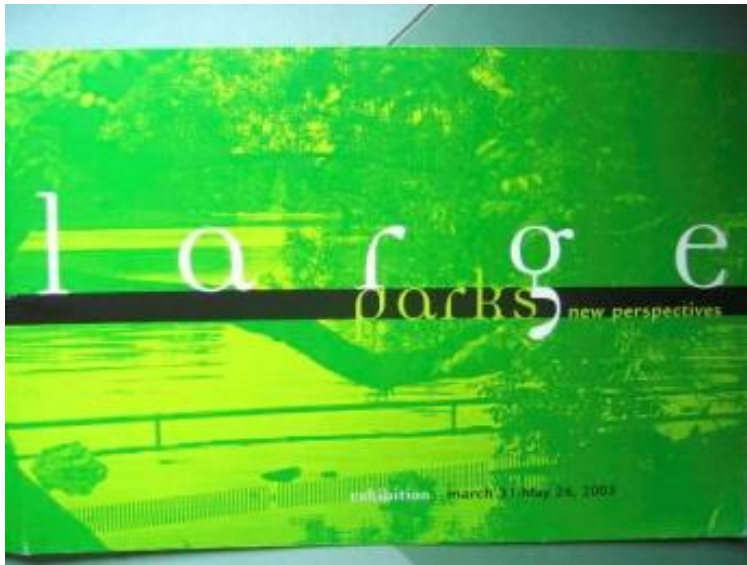


Figure 0.5. Large Parks

I received a Fulbright fellowship in 2004 to study the history and current conditions of three Beijing urban parks, all dating back to the last imperial dynasty in China, in order to remedy this oversight. My purpose for choosing these historic parks was concern that these parks may become developed because of strong pressure to developed unused spaces in the city. In 2004, four years before the Olympics, the city was filling with migrants from the countryside, building the venues and infrastructure that would later host the influx of tens of thousands of international athletes and fans.



Figure 0.6. The Horizontal City. Source: Thomson, J. (1868). The Central Street, Chinese City, Peking from Wellcome Images, London.

My goal was to use the same methodology as that used at the conference and to present the Chinese case studies in the same research question matrix, but I was aware that the

impending Games and China's burgeoning economy would probably present me with different challenges than the other parks that were in the exhibition. It was clear to me that the pressing spatial demands of Beijing's booming economy requires retrofitting of the ancient capital city, and I questioned whether the parks I had chosen to study were imperiled.

In reading secondary sources while preparing my proposal, I noticed that attempts at understanding Chinese culture have often vacillated between regarding China as “exotic” and “splendid” land, a place that is at once timeless and outside of history, and a people so different that they are beyond all comprehension, while the opposite approach has been to blur all differences so it is just a laboratory for experiments where experts can apply western constructions of urban design, architecture, garden city or even the idea of “nation.”⁴



Figure 0.7. Mixing of the new and the old

The research plan I had assembled sought to examine the parks the same way as I did the Tiergarten Park in Berlin and then place the Chinese parks in comparison with the urban parks in the world. The research questions I planned to answer were:

1. **Use:** What are the social uses of the large parks in Beijing?
2. **City Context:** In what urban context were the parks located?
3. **“Place:”** How do the residents in Beijing consider the parks in their imagination and daily lives?
4. **Ecology:** How do the parks “work” ecologically and how are they maintained?
5. **History:** How did the parks change over time as the city changed?

But after arriving in Beijing, I noted that the parks were not truly “public” in the same sense that they were in the other parks in the exhibition. First, admissions fees were charged to enter the parks I had intended to study, and second, I realized that an equivalent of “the Commons” in China did not exist (until very recently) in the sense that an openly accessible space was set aside for the public, like those the US or Europe (Olmsted and Nolen 1906; Cranz 1982). The problem was that parks are a relatively new phenomenon in Beijing and the present-

day Beijing. The existing parklands in the city are actually former imperial gardens not unlike hunting parks in Europe that used to belong to the *Fürst* or Prince in feudal times that are today open to the public for strolling and picnicking. Though the last emperor in China abdicated in 1911, the Communist leadership only opened the imperial gardens that are now the city's large parks in the 1950s, after establishing the People's Republic of China.

But in order to pay for the maintenance of these large green and gated territories in the city, nearly all the large parks in Beijing required an entrance fee and the gates to the parks were shut and locked in the evening.⁵ It is possible to purchase annual parks passes where one can gain entry into a network of parks, but this expenditure was still a deterrent for some of the residents in the city who are living on a limited income, as I came to learn. More like outdoor museums or destinations for weekend excursions, the large park in Beijing was not as accessible as the alternative that many Beijing residents chose to use instead: the city. It became increasingly clear to me that although the large park is an important landscape form in the Euro-American context (Chadwick 1966; Schuyler 1986), it may not occupy the same meaningful position in the context of Chinese cities.

While traveling to the parks on my bicycle, what intrigued me were the large gatherings of residents in niches within the urban infrastructure each morning and evening. They gathered under bridges to sing, engage in folkdance and participate in dance aerobics.



Figure 0.8. Dancing at Mingguang Qiao (明光桥) in December, 2004.

I wondered why these activities were not taking place at the nearby park but were located instead at a street corner under the freeway bridge. One morning, I steered my bicycle away from the park and towards the large gathering under the bridge and began learning about this improvised “park,” chosen by the people themselves. I sought answers to why they choose such spaces of concrete and pollution and not the large, green park.

Reframing Research: Follow the people (*cóngzhòng*, 从众)

Reflecting on the literature on Chinese urban space and its propensity to present Chinese topics in bipolar extremes: as either exemplars of the “fabulous Orient”, mysterious, unchanging and impossible to understand, or “just like us” in the West, I sought to reframe the study. I became aware that the category of “large park” was problematic. Beijing did indeed have large parks and the design of these former imperial gardens did differ from the design of the parks from Europe and the Americas. However, I noticed that the large parks in Beijing were filled with tourists much of the day. I also noticed the Beijing residents frolicking in city’s urban infrastructural spaces. I felt compelled to address this mismatch because I had not come to Beijing to study how tourists used the city, but to gain a better understanding of how local Chinese residents used their parks. I had assumed that residents would be the users of the city parks. However, the daily gatherings in the leftover spaces in the city seemed to hold much more importance to residents than the large parks that were full of tourists during much of the day.

The Beijing residents who eventually became the focus of this study are really middle-aged to older adults, by American standards. Their ages ranged from mid-forties to early eighties, with most participants falling in their mid-to late fifties. While few in the industrialized world would consider the being in one’s fifties as “old,” in Beijing, many would. As women are expected to retire at age 50 and men at age 60 (with some exceptions that will be discussed later), Beijing residents retire much earlier than those who live in other places in the world. While many Americans enjoy years of satisfying productivity into their seventies, this is almost unheard of in the Chinese context where there is significant social pressure to stop working decades before. In consciously choosing the *emic* perspective – or “insiders” or local perspective – as much as possible to guide this study, I have adopted the terms “older adults,” “the elderly,” “seniors” and “retirees” to refer to the participants of the study because this is how they perceive themselves. I use these terms as I worked and wrote in Beijing even though if I were to interview a person in her fifties from a different cultural context somewhere in Berkeley, I would never have considered this person to be “elderly.” However, given the different notions of what constitutes “old age” between China and the U.S., I was forced at some point to choose, and I chose to use the local perspective.



Figure 0.9. Impromptu Dancing Plaza

Another translation across cultures that was challenging was the concept of “park.” Without a history of “the Commons” or public parks, I felt that the terms by which I had framed my research was an imposition of external expectations of how things were supposed to work a certain way. To better understand what mattered to the residents of the growing and transforming city, I decided to jettison the frame of “large park”, because of its poor fit with historical conditions in Beijing; parks for the public were a new phenomenon. It seemed that framing the project more widely as an inquiry about “public space” was far more relevant.



Figure 0.10. Bird walking by the road

Instead of starting with a specific form – “large park” – in mind, I decided to identify a specific subset of users engaged in a specific activity as the focus. From my bicycle rides, I witnessed seniors engaged in mass dancing in the streets *and* parks, each morning and evening, and dance became the defining activity of the project. After making this decision, I followed dancers to their dancing places to understand how these residents identified usable space in their city. In effect, I let them determine what the important spaces were in the city.



Figure 0.11. Crowd at Night

Dancing space became the focus of the reframed project. The new research questions became:

1. **Who** are the dancers?
2. **Why** are they dancing?
3. **Where** are they dancing if not in the park, and why are they dancing here?
4. **What are patterns** in the spatial attributes of these spaces?

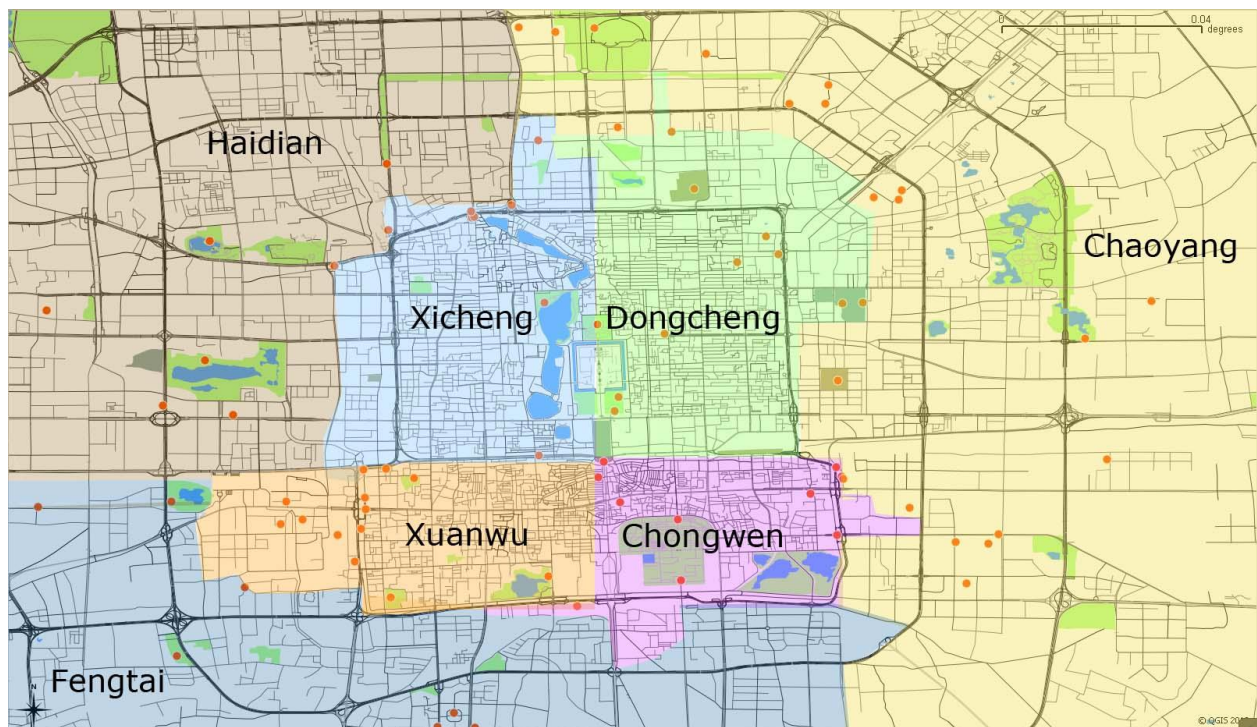
In focusing on people first, writings in public health, cultural geography, everyday life and anthropology became increasingly useful as guides for approaching the topic. While Beijing is being transformed by the influx of finance capital, everyday life in the city continues, and from the new city, residents find ways to create continuity in the midst of change.



Figure 0.12. Still Fishing

City as a Health Platform

As medical anthropologist Judith Farquhar noted, "in Beijing nowadays, one sees life being cultivated wherever there is a little open space" (Farquhar and Zhang 2005, 306). This became plain once the research was reframed to focus first on the community and second on the chosen uses of space in everyday life.



0.13. Locator Map of Beijing with the dance sites indicated by orange markers. The different districts of the city are labeled. Since 2010, however, Xuanwu district (宣武区) become incorporated into Xicheng district (西城区), while Chongwen (崇文区) has been incorporated into Dongcheng district (东城区) (China.org.cn 2010).

From interviews, unexpected theme emerged as a common motivation for the vigorous activities apparent on the streets: the dancers were dancing for health. This finding led me to consider their activities from a public health perspective with a particular emphasis on the population of older urban residents. Along with notions of the city as a global marketplace for manufacturing, selling and consuming goods, Beijing also serves as a site for the defense of health for its many of its older residents.



Figure 0.14. Dancing against Diabetes

Re-centering the Social on the Body

As more than one dancer pointed out during interviews: “health is wealth.” Trading in health lies outside the formal economy; it is a non-monetary consumptive practice when practiced the way the residents in Beijing do. Residents achieve health in informal and cost-free ways, using the city as scaffolding. Like the barter system, participants forgo the money system, but exchange their presence and commitment to dance, mutually benefiting from exchanging their time and effort with others. Many seniors explained that dancing in the city’s interstitial spaces generates well-being and longevity, lowers medical expenditures and promotes social ties that enhance community by providing an informal safety net. The city is scaffolding to support the production of public health.

The notion of the embodied city recalls the ideas of McLuhan about technology and the body: “Cities are an even further extension of bodily organs to accommodate the needs of large groups” (McLuhan 1998, 123). This idea of the city a cybernetic health machine differs with previous notions of an expanded Corbusian “machine for living” as it changes the focus from a

machine aesthetic to one that incorporates biology. First, the problem is not located solely in the built spaces of the city, but the site of interaction between the physical spaces and human imagination and body. Not just generically "public space," but the intersection of communication, ideas, information, and the living, breathing body, in other words, places where "sociality" is generated.⁶ Second, the goods that are valued and produced here are not products ready to be lined up in storefronts, ready for selling, but rather increased cardiovascular fitness, flexibility and feelings of well-being, as well as lessened anxiety and depression through dancing in the city. The goods are stored, not in factory warehouses or the global marketplace, but are located in the minds and bodies of the residents. The city is the site of the production of health, but the fruits of these labors are ultimately located in individual bodies, the ultimate site of non-monetary consumption.

Resulting Contradictions: The Body in the Machine

But intentions do not always square with experience. For many dancers, the only spaces left available to them for interaction are the spaces where the pollution is worst and competition with other dancing groups is fiercest. One dancer speaks about the shrinking spaces of the city: "The roads are broadened and buildings multiply. The living and transportation conditions have improved. But the space shrinks as a result. Two teams must share and alternate the use of a single empty space [sic]". As most of the dancers are aging, they have varying levels of physical and mental abilities. These different competencies or "levels of person factors" preclude easy mobility from place to place, defying that the assumption that time and space can be compressed for good (Lawton 1985, 503).



Figure 0.15. Pollution

But for the most part, dancers choose to adopt the long view and see that the changes in the city now are necessary in order for future generations to benefit. They must sacrifice some comfort now in order for China to regain its rightful place in the world order. Knowledge that the transition will not be easy and will take some effort eases the tensions between their present

quality of life and what is promised to come. Their understanding of the world is that things are always changing and each experience can be seen from multiple perspectives. They choose to see the present-day sacrifice as contributing to future gain.

Implications for Design and Planning

The constraints facing aging residents in the city is apparent to others. As one middle-aged taxi-cab driver explained to me: "Old people should have their own space, where they can make noise and not bother others. Beijing has changed too quickly and the people cannot keep up." Differing arguments about why planners should find dancing in the city relevant could be advanced. One is social justice. If planners value the participation of people in the new city, then paying attention to where lively engagement already exists would make sense. A landscape that provides adequate supports for residents who wish to engage in their favorite activities in a supportive physical environment is something only planners and designers, shapers of the built environment, can provide. But since the public good or social justice are not normative goals of planning in China, this argument holds limited conceptual traction in the Chinese context (Abramson 2007, 70).

Another argument emphasizes the universal importance of promoting a healthy urban population. If this is indeed one of the goals, it is important to note where people are already actively engaged with the city and to understand what qualities about these spaces make them attractive. By ignoring indigenous solutions that currently work, city officials run the risk of obliterating them by mistake in efforts to substitute new solutions that are yet untested. If the new interventions do not work well, then residents may be left with a city where they have no place to go to engage in vigorous physical activity to ward off disease. A beautiful static city where bodies of the populace are likewise expected to stay passive, immobile and obese may be the unintended result.

The Dancing Cure

Socioeconomic change and modernized surroundings have not affected older urban residents exclusively, however. In 2007, the Chinese leadership became aware that increased fatty food and sedentary lifestyles were beginning to affect the urban youth. As McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Pizza Hut become established in urban Beijing, fast food restaurants have become very popular social spaces amongst younger generations who wish to experience a "taste of modernity" (Yan 2005). At the same time and in an ironic twist, doctors and public health researchers from the U.S. have begun looking towards *rural* China for alternative high-fiber, low-fat dietary regimens that could prevent the chronic degenerative and man-made diseases that plague older persons in industrialized nations (Campbell and Campbell 2005). Despite the high caloric foods offered by these restaurants, however, these chain restaurants also offer other amenities that are difficult to find elsewhere in a bustling city. They are also well-lit, clean and convenient places to study that are reliably found in China's urban landscape.⁷ As a result, many students choose to meet at and study inside Kentucky Fried Chicken, not because they love Chicken McNuggets, but because these places are conducive to work. In 2007, Chinese public health officials who mobilized to counter the emerging obesity epidemic implemented a time-honored method to promote health into the middle school

curriculum: *yangge* and other types of dancing (Watts 2007). What appears to matter, despite the comforts provided by modernity, is for all urban residents to find a way to stay active.

In fact, new research has underscored how city design should change in order to better support active living. Urban designers such as Michael Southworth have recently argued for improved connectivity of path networks, linkages to different modes of transportation, varied land use patterns as well as quality of path in the design of cities to promote walkability, while public health researchers such as Howard Frumkin, Lawrence Frank and Richard Jackson in such car-dominated environments such as Los Angeles have called for building new types of communities that would encourage physical activity and prevent disease (M. Southworth 2005; Frumkin, Frank, and Jackson 2004). What may be at stake, these writers argue, is the well-being and health of the residents. This argument – what I call the “survival argument” – is what I advance here.



Figure 0.16. Sell Veggies Here

The overarching question is how practices that are healthful and life-affirming may continue – perhaps in altered form – in the face of change from transformative economic and cultural forces such as globalization. It may be instructive here to reflect on gerontologist M. Powell Lawton’s ecological change model with Beijing in mind. According to Lawton, change can happen two ways: by changing oneself or by changing the space (Lawton 1985, 516). As public participation in Chinese planning is relatively new, most residents are habitually focused on manipulating themselves to adapt to environmental conditions (Abramson 2007). In this process, resilient practices are enacted by an active, engaged body.

Here, I offer a third way that both acknowledges that globalization is an inevitable force creating changes in urban geography, and also legitimizes social and cultural indigenous practices that occur in place as an open-ended, generative source of program for new forms. Bottom-up, improvised, indigenous solutions powerfully signal needs and desires that have been missed; these ad hoc solutions can inform designers and planners that open to listening to locals and understanding more broadly contextual realities and sensibilities. Culture, always changing and flexible, can in fact inspire infrastructure; designers and planners can enhance and support health practices that are happening in place to create new opportunities that fit within the social and cultural ecosystem of the local context. In the case of Beijing, designers, planners and city officials should create spaces that afford residents’ efforts to use the city as a platform for vigorous physical activity and health their normative goal.

In the realm of everyday life, foreign media outlets in China often present negative ways of the country, usually focusing on the topics of its largeness, the economy and negative political associations. Few in-depth accounts of uses in everyday life are available outside of sociological

and anthropological studies, as the Chinese media itself is heavily regulated. This is where I hope to make a contribution about space and practices.

Structure of Dissertation

In the following dissertation, I detail the process of developing my research approach and methods over three fieldwork visits to Beijing from 2004-2010 in Chapter 1, “Working the Field.” In this first chapter, I describe how I developed my research methods after I came on a Fulbright to study how residents were using the parks, and then changed course after I became increasingly concerned about designing a city for dancers. The research findings follow and are presented in five thematic chapters.

In Chapter 2, “Aging”, I discuss how the family serves as China’s de facto social security system through the cultural practice of filial piety. I describe how this system is coming under strain in Beijing as the need for adult children to work long hours away from home begin undermining traditional expectations for adult children to care for senior family members. I also discuss how population control policies from the mid-1950s, early 1960s, and 1970s altered the population structure so that the number of older persons in China is outpacing the number of youth and working-age adults (Banister 1987; He et al. 2007). Through globalization, new forms of institutionalized elder-care are starting to take hold in China to shore up the strain on filial piety. For singletons who are either working abroad or otherwise too busy to execute their moral obligations of attending to aging parents, institutionalized care offers them an alternative solution, albeit one that carries some degree of stigma.

In Chapter 3, “Flash(back) Dance”, I describe how older adults in Beijing, aware of these new pressures, are generating their own solutions. Mindful of burdening their adult children – or not having any children to depend on – they invent their own ways to stay healthy and remain in their communities, exploiting an old village dance called the *yangge* as the means of engaging in vigorous physical activity. In the process of adapting the dance for health, the older residents also find that dancing allows them an opportunity to strengthen their social network and to leave the confines of the private home for Beijing’s public spaces.

In Chapter 4, “Long Life Urban Space”, I address the spatial dimensions of where dancing occurs in the city. In the following Chapter 5, “Grandma’s World”, I present a detailed case study of one dancing group’s experience with the changing urban geography, tracing the story of the group from its inception, to its many struggles in search of space, and finally to its current place between a restaurant billboard and the Lianhua River.

In Chapter 6, “Moves”, I examine the constraints that most dancing groups in this study have reported experiencing at least once since group formation. As the urban geography changes and the city becomes denser, urban space becomes a prized commodity which many actors seek to control. Here, I examine the patterns of *mobility* over time within Beijing as they are expelled from one place to another. Limited by increasing physical frailty and in search of open space near their residences, dancers often find themselves in territorial conflicts with other seniors groups. The interview guides and multiple survey versions, as well as examples of interviews and survey responses are located at the end of this study in the Appendix.

Chapter 1 Working the Field 场地研究

The empirical techniques that I chose during my fieldwork are varied because they evolved to respond to the research questions that evolved while in the field. The research questions were constantly moving targets, because as I gained a better understanding of what was happening, new questions evolved and each time this happened, I had to find new techniques to help me discover the answer. Now at the end of the project and looking back, I see I have drawn liberally from humanities and social science sources in order to clarify concepts that arose in the course of pursuing the research question, “why are the women dancing in the streets of Beijing?” I relied heavily on qualitative research tools to engage with a sizable number of older persons in Beijing. I observed, mapped, conducted extended interviews, deployed surveys with open-ended questions, as well as multiple-choice responses, and encouraged study participants to use their artistic skills to draw cognitive maps of their daily lives. I employed all these strategies in hopes of fleshing out “the world” in which the dancers in Beijing find their place. I sought to ensure their experiences are also chronicled amongst what we already know about rapid urbanization in Beijing. The older residents of the city would like us all to know that Beijing, their home, should be designed *danceable*, so they can keep on dancing and age in place, while enjoying health, sociability and delight.

The focus of the fieldwork was to identify the different spatial types that older urban residents in Beijing seek out for dancing in their daily lives, to understand the relationship between dancing and health, and to discover their patterns of mobility over time in the city. The site of Beijing was chosen for this study because this was where the phenomenon of recreation primarily in the streets rather than in parks was first observed by me, leading me to conduct this study on why aging locals were dancing to exercise in the streets. The capital city is situated in close proximity to the Shaanxi province and Dongbei (Northeast, 东北) region of China, regions where the *yangge* is traditionally danced to celebrate the harvest.

This study uses mixed methods such as observation, mapping, interviews and multiple surveys over the course of three fieldwork visits (2004-06, summer 2007, spring and summer 2010) in an effort to shed light on the *yangge* dancing phenomenon among older, urban residents of Beijing. In Chapter 2 and 3, I interpret individual-level information to find patterns of health, aging and dance. In Chapter 4, I provide a landscape-level analysis of dance sites in Beijing. In Chapter 5, I focused on one specific site in Beijing. In Chapter 6, I provide a city-level analysis of anti-dance contexts in Beijing.

Research Beginnings

I am grateful to Professors Kongjian Yu and Dihua Li of Peking University who introduced me to students from the urban planning department. They volunteered to assist me with fieldwork tasks such as: recruiting volunteers,⁸ translating survey questions and distributing surveys during the exploratory phase of this research project (2004-06). When I returned in 2007, they helped once again with connecting me with eight more undergraduate assistants so we could explore more spaces in the city each day. I trained the research assistants to ask questions and to make field trips to two different sites for practice surveys: Mingguang Qiao (明光桥) and Deshengmen (德胜门).⁹ The research assistants helped me recruit, translate and distribute

surveys to dancers. We met regularly at Pizza Hut to gather the surveys that had been collected, to evaluate the effectiveness of questions in the surveys, to make changes to questions when necessary, to discuss patterns in responses that emerge from interviews and surveys, and to share information about new dance groups so new visits may be planned for the following days. We also discussed problems that emerged in the field. I provided each assistant with travel funding and business cards with my contact information so dancers could speak with me if they wished.



Figure 1.1. Dance City Research Team card

Since I was told in 2005 that GIS information about the city was “secret” and “illegal” for foreigners to possess, we had to rely on published commercial maps for keeping track of dance locations. The commercial maps were often not very detailed. We kept all the locations of the dancing groups that were located on a portable paper tourist map of Beijing. When I returned to my apartment, I would update the new dance sites on a road atlas that was posted to a website that I started called www.gongkai.org.

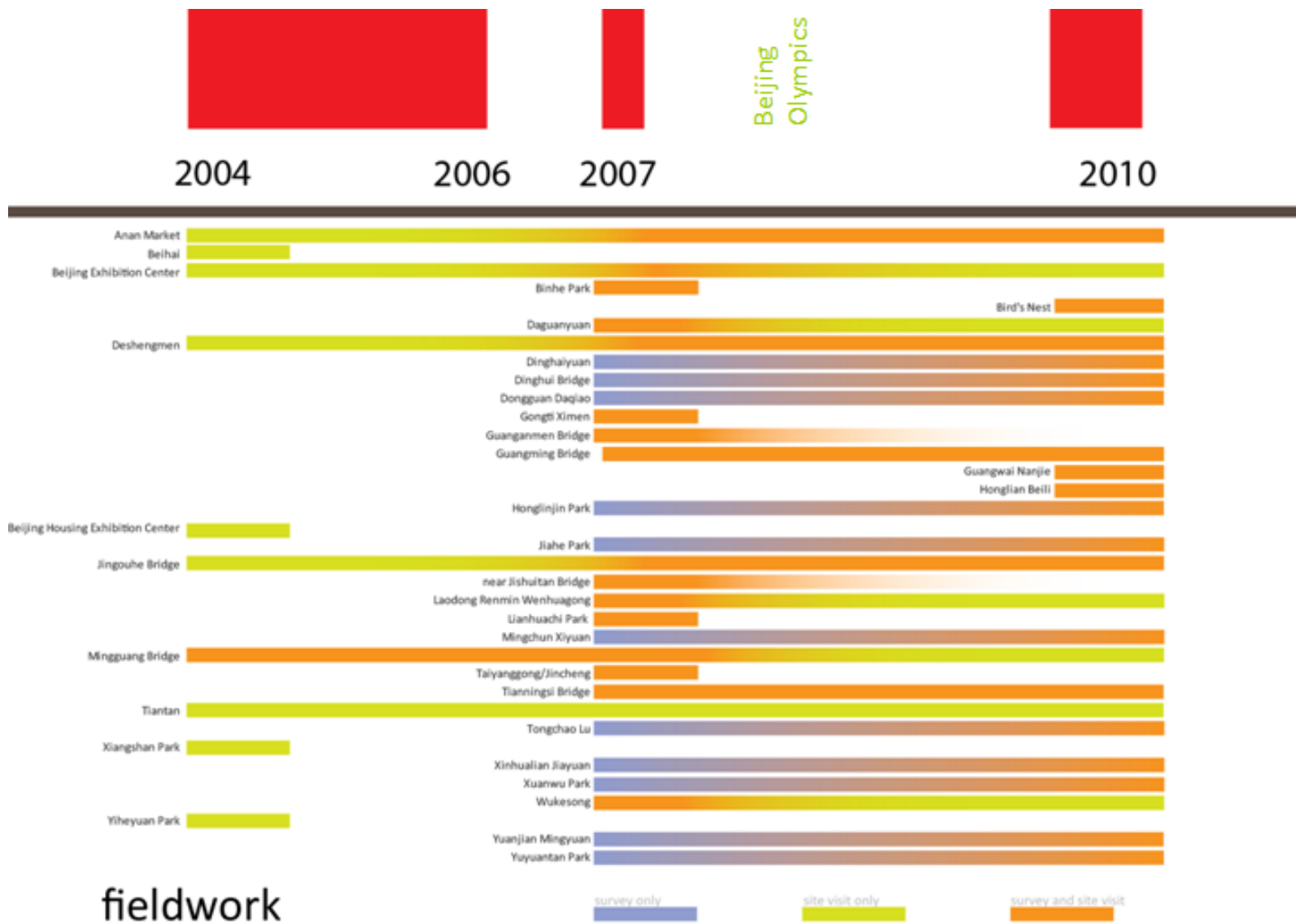


Figure 1.2. Fieldwork calendar for TDC

In 2010 when I returned to Beijing, I hired my own research assistants from the Beijing Foreign Language University, but one planning student – Han Yafei – who helped me before in 2007 returned to Beijing and assisted me in finding translation and data entry services in the city. This third and last visit to Beijing was funded by the Roslyn Lindheim Award in Environmental Design and Public Health.

Subjects

In 2007, Beijing had an official urban population of 13.8 million residents,¹⁰ which grew by the end of this study in 2010 to 19.6 million¹¹. Generally, the retirement age in China is 50 for women and 60 for men. However, there are exceptions for this rule: for women holding salaried jobs, the retirement age is 55 and for workers who have performed well at their jobs, the retirement age may be raised on a case-by-case basis (Liang and Gu 1991, 45). According to a survey conducted by the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics in 2007, retired women (over the age of 55) comprised 10.2% of the sample, while retired men comprised 6.6% of the sample.¹² While no one knows the true number of older residents in Beijing who dance in the street for health, a newspaper article in 2004 has offered an estimate that 60,000 women dance the *yangge* nightly.¹³

Sampling Frame

The subjects for this study are Beijing residents dancing some form of *yangge* in Beijing within parks and residual spaces in Beijing between 2004 and 2010. Their ages ranged from 23 to 83, but most were retirement age averaging around 60.¹⁴ Most of the dancers were women (90%) with a minority (10%) of men. All other non-*yangge* outdoor activities found in Beijing's public spaces – ballroom dance, disco, hip-hop, *taichi*, *qigong*, volleyball, singing, walking birds, flying kites, playing cards, mahjonn, etc. – are excluded. The sample fraction is undetermined because the total population of dancers in Beijing is not known except for the estimate mentioned above in the newspaper.

Limitations

This study did not address of how *men* in Beijing engaged in health activities, as 90% of the participants in this study were female. Urban pastimes considered suitable for men in the city included playing cards, mahjonn, walking birds, flying kites and smoking.¹⁵ Due to the different, sedentary nature of these activities, I decided not to pursue the study of what older men in Beijing engaged in, as the types of spaces that they used diverged from the types of spaces that were populated by older women for their more physically active pastimes. Additionally, I decided to limit my study focus on one particular kind of dancing that appeared to be a favorite of many older women – the *yangge* – leaving aside ballroom dancing, *taichi* and other forms of exercise.

With respect to sampling errors, this study only samples the “survivors:” seniors in Beijing who desired to dance, who possessed the ability to dance, who were able to find a dance group and a dance site, and who managed to successfully dance. Left out were all the persons in Beijing who desired to dance, but who were not able to – for various reasons – achieve this. The

participants in my study share very similar histories as they are mostly from the same revolutionary cohort, coming of age during the Cultural Revolution, but it is difficult to assess the external validity of this sample for the entire population of seniors in the city, but I believe the sample in my study may be generalizable to a subpopulation, namely, those born in the 1940s and 1950s who are now approaching retirement age who live and dance in Beijing between the years of 2004-2010.

Institutional Review Board Protocol

Before departing Berkeley, I had obtained from the Committee for Protection of Human Subjects exempt status for my project for two reasons: (1) subjects are engaged in activity that takes place in public space and (2) obtaining a consent letter would be the only identifying link between the subject and the study, which could potentially inconvenience the subject.¹⁶ What was required of me, however, was to supply all participants with a letter on official University of California letterhead, but translated into Chinese, which explained the purpose of the research, identified me as a researcher from the United States, and provided a telephone number to contact the CPHS if they had any further questions. None of the dancers were identified by name, as demanded by the “exemption” status that I was granted from the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects. My assurance that the questionnaire responses would remain anonymous was an important caveat for many of the dancers.

Somewhat unexpectedly, many of the dancers refused the letters, saying that they did want to participate in the research because they felt they wanted to make their needs known, but they did not want to take the flyer from me. They suggested I save my paper for somebody else. Enough dancers declined to accept my consent letter that I began to suspect the official University of California seal and English writing on the letterhead appeared somewhat threatening to the dancers and they did not want to be found in possession of the paper. They were happy to participate in research, but many did not want to accept the letter.

Recruitment

While the prominent dancing groups in the streets of the Haidian university district (海淀區) was what inspired this study, locating dancing groups in other parts of Beijing that were less familiar to me was a great challenge. Was dancing in the streets just a neighborhood phenomenon near the university district, or was it a phenomenon that happened throughout the city? Both dancers and non-dancing Beijing locals whom we interviewed assured us that this phenomenon was city-wide and common, even boring. One Chinese professor even commented that the dancing groups were so unremarkable that not only were they boring and not worthy of scholarly attention, but they are also considered by him an urban nuisance, as they are everywhere making music and taking up urban space, leading to congestion and creating a disorderly appearance in the city. He said that they should be banned from dancing.

Snowballing

Initially, I recruited dancers by approaching dancers and asking them to refer me to other dancing groups who may like to volunteer to take part in the study. I also asked them to identify

the locations of as many other dancing groups as they could and visited these sites. I was easily able to recruit subjects in the parks for the study, but it was far more difficult to locate groups of dancers elsewhere in the city.

When faced with needing to know exactly where groups are located in the city so we may visit them and inquire whether they would like to participate in this study, the directions were often too vague to be useful. Dancers and residents alike offered very general descriptions of where they believed dancing groups to be located. Directions such as: “over by the Xizhimen overpass” or “at Jishuitan” (积水潭, a large street) were not uncommon. I realized that most people were familiar with the dancers because they were “everywhere,” but when asked to pinpoint exactly where they danced, with a few marked exceptions, answers were very vague.

Freeway interchanges in Beijing are often as complex as the ones in Los Angeles and are often composed of several flyovers that overlap one another and that create many interstitial spaces that are difficult to access or view unless one is situated directly across from the space in question. Inspecting a freeway interchange is difficult on foot because it is often impossible to inspect the entire interchange from one side, and this often required hiring a taxi to traverse to another different side of the interchange in order to secure a view from a different angle.

Contributing to the difficulty in finding the exact location of the dancing groups is the limited time frame when *yangge* is danced in the city. Most *yangge* dancing in the city happens for two hours in the morning (usually from 6-8am), and two hours in the evening (usually from 7-9pm) with only a half-hour variation in the usual “start” and “end” times through all groups in the city. The reason for this regimentation of dance times in Beijing is related to regular hours of business in the city. Occupants of nearby offices and residents often complained about the dancers and their musical accompaniment, so over the course of time, through informal negotiations with neighbors, the two hour frame of time immediately outside the window of regular business hours appeared to be the best compromise for both dancers and non-dancers in urban Beijing to co-exist. In terms of finding *yangge* groups for inclusion in this study, however, the dual, two-hour dancing periods meant that I had only two opportunities to locate dancing groups per day – only once in the early morning, and once in the evening. No dancing occurred during the middle of the day, outside in the urban landscape.¹⁷

Shifting Dance Locations

Some dancing groups practice exclusively in the morning, while others practice exclusively at night. Some dancing groups that engage in dancing both in the morning and night, but they usually do so in different locations, as a good “morning location” is often an inadequate “evening location” due to the lack of good night lighting. But aside from the changing of locations by time of day, the locations that dancing groups occupy also change by season as dancing groups shift their position in the landscape to take advantage or escape from the sun. For example, during the winter, one dance group that dances in the morning prefers to dance at a plaza with full exposure to the sun because the snow melts away from this space faster than in other areas of their neighborhood. Yet during the summer, the same dance group moves to an area with shade, seeking protection from the blazing sun. I did not know this information until my research was well under way, but the constant changing of dance location by dancing groups proved to be quite a puzzle while trying to locate participating subjects.

Many well-meaning, non-dancing residents of Beijing reported locations where they had seen dancers practicing, but they could not recall exactly whether it was in the morning or the evening, and whether it was during the winter or the summer. This, compounded with the sometimes staggered dancing schedules of some dancing groups (Tue-Thurs-Sat or Mon-Wed-Fri dancing), led to many frustrated attempts at locating dancing groups, only to be told by neighbors at the alleged dance site that the group “danced yesterday,” “will dance tomorrow,” or “used to dance here, but then moved away, but we don’t know where.” Dance groups themselves were not able to give very detailed information about where other dance groups practiced – while they may know the other dancers personally, they do not know exactly where the other groups practice because they usually encounter one another at competitions that are held at a central location.

Zeroing in on groups

Since information about where dancing occurs often is very general, finding the dance groups to talk with dancers nearly always required further searching, once one arrived in the general neighborhood. In order to “be in place” early in the morning, I often had to travel by taxi to the prospective dancing site before Beijing’s infamous “wall of traffic” or risk becoming ensnarled in commuter traffic, arriving in the neighborhood late, failing to find the group in time or missing them entirely, an unfortunate situation that happened more often than I wish to report. The rigmarole was the same for the evening. I learned that it was important to “set up” early by moving into the area of the city where the dancing group is rumored to meet, beating the evening rush hour, and ensuring that I was in a good position to locate them as the evening dancing hour approached. This often meant arriving in the new neighborhood hours before the usual dancing times. Arriving at the site early also allowed me to ask neighbors whether they were familiar with where dancing occurs in the area.

Taxi-cab Driver Referral

I was easily able to recruit subjects in the parks for the study, but it was far more difficult to locate groups of dancers elsewhere in the city. After some experimentation with riding my bicycle across town to dancing sites and becoming ill from exhaust fumes, I decided to hire Beijing taxi cab drivers to shuttle me to potential dancing sites. From my everyday contact with various taxi cab drivers, I began noticing that they were very knowledgeable about where dancing groups were located and when and where various groups shifted locations. In fact, the drivers were much more knowledgeable than students, professors and my neighbors in my residential dormitory because they circulate far more extensively through the city than others who live in the city. Their large driving range allows them to witness much that happens on the streets and their occupation forces them to continuously monitor the changes of the city as they must effectively navigate the city streets in order to do their job.

It was at this point that I decided to incorporate Beijing taxi-cab drivers officially as informants in my study to help locate dancing groups in the city. Beijing drivers typically spend twelve to fourteen hours behind the wheel, often sharing a vehicle with another driver and splitting the wages with a company, the owner of the vehicle. I decided to offer cab drivers a deal: carrying a map of Beijing with the dance groups I have already located, I offered them the

incentive to continue paying the fare for the entire morning or evening as long as they are able to take me to a new dancing group that is not yet on the map. Some drivers were very interested in this job and reached out to their network of taxi cab drivers to learn where many other dancing groups were located.¹⁸ While a single taxi driver may only know a few sites, once they dug into their network of co-workers for information about locations of other dancing groups they could more easily earn a full night's fare. The dancing groups that I located through this method are the ones that I have the most amount of information because, at this point, it was only mid-summer in 2007, and I still had ample time to conduct interviews with them.

I also learned new techniques to find dancing groups. It was a Beijing taxi cab driver who taught me to use my ears in order to locate the dancers by *listening*. We were able to locate two groups one evening simply by driving around a neighborhood slowly and listening for the trademark drumming and the cymbal crashing of the *yangge* musicians. The music, striking, rhythmic and clear, rose above the usual hum of urban traffic. Carefully, we would drive circle the neighborhood, making our way in the direction where the music emanated and slowly we would find our way to the inevitable concrete pad where the fan-waving seniors were dancing.

Since the *yangge* is a group dance, each respondent belonged to a dance group, and each dance group was classified according to the type of *yangge* dance they primarily participated in: (1) big *yangge*, (2) new *yangge* (in 2007, the “third set” version), and (3) exercise *yangge*, a *yangge*-inspired aerobic exercise workout. The dancing groups were then further classified by their purpose for meeting, according to information provided to me by the dancers themselves. Some groups met each day just for exercise, while other groups met in order to practice for government-sponsored dance competitions, while still other groups met mainly for exercise, but would periodically participate in competitions.

Facility-based Sampling

In 2007, I learned the name of a dance leader who was helping the Beijing local government prepare for the Olympic ceremonies. Yunke Xiang, an undergraduate student from Peking University who was assisting me with fieldwork, learned an individual dance leader was helping the Beijing local government train residents from different communities in the city to perform for the Olympic ceremonies. Various leaders of the city gathered several times a week at the senior activity center located inside the Worker's Cultural Palace (Laodong Renmin Wenhuagong, 劳动人民文化宫) in order to learn from this individual, whom I decided to call “the leader of the leaders”.

2007 Field Visit

I visited the “leader of the leaders” in late July 2007 to ask whether she would be willing to help recruit dancing subjects for the study. She offered to help distribute surveys to the other dance leaders in her training in exchange for a donation to help some of the poorer groups that were having trouble affording the new costumes to perform at the Olympics. In exchange for filling out the survey, I agreed to pay each participant \$2 per survey. In 2007, \$2 was equivalent to 14 yuan or about the cost of a one vegetable dish at a sit-down Chinese restaurant or two bowls of congee at a fast food eatery. I do not believe the amount was too high to be considered

coercive to dancers. The offer of money did result in some “fake” surveys filled out by one dance leader which I had to discard. However, the other surveys that were properly completed (by different individuals) showed responses that were not significantly different to the ones that were collected without offering monetary compensation. The responses touched upon the same topics of concern as the ones collected from the street. This leads me to believe that the offer of 14 yuan did not bias the dancers at the senior center at the Worker’s Cultural Palace to answer in a different way.

So through Yunke’s tip and the generosity of the “leader of the leaders,” I was able to use this unusual opportunity to access numerous dance leaders, gathered in one facility to recruit many more willing subjects located throughout the city. The way I distributed surveys was as follows: each dance leader who was willing to participate was given five surveys at the senior center to take back home to their own group. Two weeks later, the leaders brought completed surveys back from their dancing group to the activity center. But due to time constraints (I had to return to Berkeley by late August 2009), I was only able to distribute and collect surveys to these subjects and did not have time to conduct in-depth interviews or site visits. However, I did ask for detailed information about where public dancing sites were located so I could visit them in the future.

This special arrangement allowed me to gather data beyond the dance groups that I sought out by word of mouth, on foot, on bicycle, and by taxi. Through this combination of snowballing, referral by taxi drivers, and facility-based sampling through the “leader of the leaders”, I was able to gather 395 usable surveys. When I returned in 2010, I attempted to find the dancers who had participated before by showing at their dance sites. Some participants had already passed away, but many were still dancing and consented to participate in the study once again.

2010 Field Visit

I pursued a follow-up study in 2010. The purpose for this trip to Beijing was to tie up loose ends such as validating the typology of dancing spaces that I had created from the sample of dancers that I found via the taxi-cab informant method, as well as dancers who I became acquainted with at the Worker’s Cultural Palace senior center.

Lessons Learned from 2007, Used in 2010

With the lessons from 2007 in mind, I returned to Beijing to follow up on the dancing groups in 2010. I returned to Beijing for two reasons: (1) to find out whether the dance groups were still active in the post-Olympics city and also (2) to meet the dancing groups that were recruited from the Worker’s Cultural Palace at the end of summer in 2007. As noted above, I did not have the chance to interview these dancers, nor to visit them at their dancing sites in 2007 because I had to return to Berkeley and continue my coursework. Now that I had a chance to read through the *translated* surveys from this previous trip, I wished to follow up with these dancers because they had offered interesting responses. I returned to find them. But unlike the first time when I gathered my data and left China immediately, this time, I made sure I did not leave Beijing until all my new 2010 data collected were translated, processed and cleaned. I

made sure to allocate more time to prepare data, even when this meant collecting fewer interviews and surveys (N=200) than before.¹⁹

While I was able to find many dancing groups who had participated in 2007 once again, many of the individuals I interviewed and surveyed before were, for a variety of reasons, no longer dancing with the groups. However, with the help of the dancers who were still dancing, I was able to find out where their friends had moved and sought them out at their new suburban home. I learned that some had convinced their new neighbors to dance, forming new dancing groups in their new locales. I also tried to locate and follow up with dancers that I located via the taxi-cab referral method described above in 2010.

Contact was made through the same method as before: going to the old meeting site and waiting for the dancers to show up at the usual dancing times. Many of the dancers remembered me, and were eager to tell me that certain dancers had passed or had moved away. Some groups, however, such as the one at Anan Market, experienced a near-complete turnover of dancer membership; the dancing occurred at the same place, but nearly all the current dancers were unknown to me and no one had any recollection of the interviews and surveys that we conducted only three years before. Some dancing groups treated me like an old, lost friend, and I felt compelled to apologize for not keeping in touch. I provided one group with video footage I took of them from 2005 (when I began exploratory studies into the dancing phenomenon), and although the color quality was quite terrible (it was shot on a Video 8 tape and later digitized), they were quite happy and excited to see images of themselves, dancing, from half a decade before.

Differences between Samples

Recruits from street-level exploration differed from those located with the help of taxi-cab informants and from the senior center with the help of “the leader of the leaders” in a few ways. One difference between the groups was the street-level recruits were often not aware of the new dances that the government was developing or the competitions they were promoting to improve dancing form. Somehow, they were less well-informed. Some of the street-level dancers appeared to me to be more friendly to one another – they were a small group of friends who danced together and then the group grew; they were not organized by a single leader for a specific purpose of learning a new government-sponsored dance. The recruits from the senior center were also much more focused on dancing well in order to win competitions and saw participating in the study as a way to elevate the status of *yangge* dancing as an art form to share with the rest of the world from China.

Declined to Participate

One difference between those dancers who enthusiastically wanted to participate in the study and those who looked for an excuse not to participate was their level of education.

From my fieldnotes, May 13, 2010:

The dancers who are less willing to fill out surveys and participate are those who are less educated. For example, at an underpass, the ones who were most suspicious were the ones who excused themselves by reason of their “human quality”, or *suzhi* (素质). One dancer told me today: “My human quality is low -

go talk to the people in the park, they have higher human/cultural quality."

I noticed a bias: the dance leaders always ask the members of the group who were considered to have "higher culture" to fill out the surveys... Those who are not (relatively) elite, who feel their "human/cultural quality" is low, are discouraged from becoming a "representative." Above all, China should not look bad...

Suzhi, 素质, is a concept challenging to translate into English, in my opinion, not only because no clear synonym exists for the word, but also perhaps because at the core of its meaning is the notion of inequality as normative: the acceptance of fundamental inequality between persons chafes against the ideals of egalitarianism in Western liberal democracy. *Suzhi* has been translated into "human quality" and also "human value," referring to one's level of education, social rank, cultural fluency, political standing and even physical ability (Anagnost 2004, 194–195; Brownell 1995). One scholar who traced the word's etymology defined it as "the innate and nurtured physical, psychological, intellectual, moral, and ideological qualities of human bodies and their conduct." (Jacka 2009, 524). The dancer above felt uneasy about participating in this study that is led by a foreigner, noting that others possessed higher *suzhi* than her; in her mind, those who possess superior *suzhi* are better candidates to speak for the record.

Enthusiastic Participants

The interested subjects felt that we could help them improve their dancing situation. They often complained about pollution and lack of space for dancing in the city; they hoped we could persuade the government to make more spaces available to them. The responses they provided were often quite articulate and supportive of our research efforts. One dancer wrote my research assistants and me a letter on the back of her survey:

From ID 285, page 2927:

5:58am, August 14, 2007

Respectful American UC Berkeley and Peking University landscape architecture researchers:

How are you, all of you?

We appreciate your group researching spaces for middle-aged and aging to do exercises. This is a fact that we face in everyday reality. People are more and more concerned about their own health condition - eating too much, not exercising, getting sick, high blood pressure, high sugar level (*sic*). Physical exercises will help you stay well, be comfortable and feel happy: sweating and keeping fit prevents one from worrying and allows one to forget unhappiness.

But space is a real problem - this is very obvious and a reality, not just an imagined problem.

We also are afraid that our skin will become tanned. We are anxious to have good air, more oxygen, grass, shade and larger spaces to allow us to do morning exercises while not affecting other residents' relaxation and sleep. We don't want to bother them. We have not thought of this as a problem until your research made us realize that we do indeed have a problem and it is necessary for us to solve it. Just in time, you rightfully pointed this out to us. We appreciate this

of you.

I believe that you will receive the government's support to benefit the nation and the citizens. Physical exercise has become a routine matter now like having access to food and eating well. To not fall ill, not become obese and not burden oneself - these are very important issues to us and we wish to solve this problem earlier!

Dancer ID 285: 58 year old woman (b. 1949), Leader of dance group

Morning dance site: Guangwai Liangshuihe pang 650 Zhongdianzhan (Xuanwu Qu)

Evenings dance site: Chezhan Dongjie 13 Haoyuan (Xuanwu Qu)

Type of space: space beside the road

Disqualified Responses

While participants were enthusiastic, not all groups embraced the spirit of the study. In a few instances, a single person copied the same answers onto multiple surveys. This was easy to detect because little effort was exerted to change the content of the answers or to camouflage the handwriting (Chinese characters). Oddly, it appeared that participants who were provided with a small gift for completing a survey often offered lower quality responses (i.e. “fake” responses by one person on multiple surveys). In cases when I suspected surveys were “faked”, I disposed of all but one of the surveys. This process of sifting through surveys and comparing handwriting and content of responses took up a great deal of time. One lesson learned is that providing an incentive for participating in research sometimes backfires in the Beijing context. Some dancers who were truly interested in the research even refused payment when I offered them gifts in exchange for their time. They told me that they only hoped that this research would lead to change.

Other Participants

In order to offer different perspectives on the dancing situation in Beijing, I also conducted unstructured interviews with residential committee representatives, parks officials, professors of planning from Beijing universities, and non-dancing residents from the neighborhoods that I visited. To supplement these data, I drew from interviews and writings with Beijing artists, art historians, and long-time Beijing residents. I also sought out historical writings from expatriates, social scientists, architects, planners and political leaders who have either recorded their observations of Beijing at critical times during the city’s development, or have had a hand in shaping Beijing’s urban form and modernization programs.

Environmental Factors of Recruitment

Originally, I hoped to interview dancers in the quiet of my own apartment or to invite them to a banquet room at a restaurant that is less exposed than the street corners and underpass areas where the dancing occurs. What I learned instead was that most of the dancers that I

interviewed preferred the safety of public space, where others could see us talking and also casually listen in on our conversation to ascertain that the topics we covered were orthodox. I noticed early in 2007 that whenever I started interviewing one dancer, others would crowd around as well – I was never alone with one dancer, and I came to realize that this was not an accident, but a way that the dancers watched out for one another. I came to see that the constant presence of “others” is both a reminder to the dancer and a message to me, as a foreigner, that the “nameless audience” is never far away. Hovering nearby, someone is watching. Eyes, but more often, *ears* are judging whether my research and the responses of the participant fall within proper bounds. This, of course, limits what dancers can verbally say in an interview to relatively benign statements. For this reason, the anonymous surveys often offered far more freedom in expressing potentially unpopular or critical sentiments.

Participation of the Illiterate

Through the surveys, I was able to learn the thoughts of some illiterate women who asked their daughters to help them write their responses down. One survey by an illiterate woman revealed that dancing was a great joy to her because her leisure time activity choices were limited by her inability to read: “I can neither read nor write. I cannot do calligraphy (*máobǐzì*, 毛笔字) because I cannot write. I also cannot read newspapers as some older people often do. [Dancing] is easy for me. It suits me” [11:100]. Missing out on early education and unable to participate in any activities that require literacy, this dancer spends her days walking in the city and dancing the *yangge* when she is not doing housework inside her daughter’s household.

Security of Existing Environment

Another factor that affected whether dance groups were willing to participate in research appeared to be the quality of their existing dancing environment. I had a difficult time recruiting dance groups who were dancing in the least accommodating spaces such as underground parking lots and crowded, basement rooms. Even though they are the groups that could potentially benefit from better spaces for dancing in the city, they often appeared to be so frustrated and cowed by their present dancing circumstances that they could not fathom extending themselves further to engage in a foreigner’s research project that may heap upon them further stress. One dancer blocked the door to the underground room where her group practiced and said: “our space is so small there is no room for us to do hardly anything at all, so don’t come in here (*sic*)!”

Conversely, it appeared to me that the more secure a spatial niche a group commanded, the greater the interest they expressed in participating in research so they may improve their space. So while one would expect that dancers in marginalized spaces would hope to change their situation and thus participate in research, some groups like the one described above declined to participate. The ones who have relatively secure spaces wished to participate in research because they wanted someplace even better. However, I detected another shift amongst the groups who danced in the very best places – those sites considered “ideal” by many dancers such as those located inside the Temple of Heaven Park and in the Worker’s Cultural Palace. These groups appeared to harbor a certain degree of apathy towards my research efforts. One dancer sniffed: “We love it here. There is no other place better.”

Support of Dance Leaders

Lastly, the openness of the group leader to participating in research was often the deciding factor, and as stated above, this often depended on how much education she had.

From my fieldnotes, May 13, 2010:

This dance leader is extremely organized and seems to be extremely respected by the rest of her team. She is also really quick - she understood the project right away and began telling me how I need to frame the argument to the city officials to help them. I also think she and my research assistant felt a special connection with her because the leader (who is 69 years old) reminded her of a friend's grandmother whom she knows well; a level of mutual trust was reached very quickly.

Much later in 2010, after I established more rapport, dancers began telling me more about their concerns participating in research with a foreigner. One dancer put it bluntly: "We don't want you to make us look bad. The relations between the United States and China are not 'normal'." I noticed that once I was able to pass the dance leader's muster, things usually went smoothly after that.

The important of maintaining a positive face for China was a concern of some dance leaders, but once anonymity was assured, participants became more forthcoming in their assessments of the shortcomings of Beijing's new emerging landscape.

Participatory Music-making

But sometimes this led to additional challenges. Clearly, I was earning the trust of dancers when they began inviting me to play the instruments with the musicians, and then to dance with them in the street. I accepted these kind, welcoming gestures and learned from participating with their music-making and dancing many things that I would not have known had I not had the opportunity to join them. I learned that many of the male musicians appeared to have hearing problems which I suspect may be caused by the volume of the live music, which was in fact quite deafening. After helping to play the cymbals for a week, I found that my ears were ringing for about half an hour after our session; after the dance session, I noticed that the traffic noise seemed muted, but I believe this was because the loud percussion music had affected my hearing. After the second day, I considered wearing ear plugs, but then decided against this as I did not want to offend the dancers and musicians, but I did politely decline continuing my activities with the musicians soon after noticing the effect the sound was having on my hearing.²⁰



Figure 1.3. No ear protection is worn by musicians as they play their percussion instruments each day.

The musicians did not appear to be aware of the potential damage their music-making could have on their hearing as they never wore ear protection and appeared to especially delight in ending each daily practice session in a passionate, deafening, crashing crescendo. It seemed to me they wanted to produce the biggest sound they could possibly make together and that elicited animated leg stomping, grinning, and great cheer amongst the musicians.

Participatory Dance

Dancing with the dancers was a more enjoyable experience, albeit a humbling one. The dancers know many routines and the way that dances are transmitted from the group to a new member is simply through the process of the newcomer observing and emulating the more experienced dancers. In other words, dancing commenced without a preceding “teaching session”, as is the case in many commercial ballrooms in the U.S. In Beijing, when the dancing time arrives, the musicians begin playing (or the CD player is turned on) and the persons who have gathered together begin to immediately perform their routine. It is up to the new person to learn by themselves and to catch up with the movements of the rest of the group, and this is sometimes challenging, as the group is first moving in one direction and then the next as a unified body. This results in comical, but also potentially dangerous situations when near-collisions occur in the course of dancing, especially when lack of night lighting hampers visibility. I also learned that the dances incorporated a great variety of movements, so sometimes, just as I began to understand how to dance one variation, the music would end and a new dance would begin.

As someone who enjoys dancing, what I found most fascinating was the difficulty I experienced keeping step with the rest of the group, what seemed effortless to the other, experienced dancers. In clubbing or salsa, one may focus on a single partner, as if to carry on a conversation through the dance. However, in dancing with a large group, one is not paired to any single partner throughout the dance with whom one has physical and eye-to-eye contact. For me, this experience was a combination of an uncanny feeling of anonymity while dancing.

However, this sense of anonymity did not lead to a sense of freedom, because one is tethered to a larger, moving group. Moving in my own imagined space, I had to keep careful track of the larger group or risk colliding with my dancing neighbors. Personally, I found the dances much more challenging than I expected because of both their variety and the need to constantly be aware of the locations of the four people who are in front of, in back of, and to both sides of me. If I lost my awareness of others, I would collide with the proximate dancers.

Dancing Rigor

The rigor of the dance teachers was also quite surprising to me, as they were also quite strict about regulating my movements within the group, sometimes pulling me out of the group during the dance session to model for me how I should gracefully move my fan (because I was flapping it inelegantly). Until then, I was under the mistaken impression that the dancing form did not matter so much as to simply the movement of my body. I learned from this experience that the dancers took their collective dancing form quite seriously and wished to hold their members' movements to as high a standard as possible. Even though I was just a visitor, I was not performing up to par. I also realized then that the very old dancers in the group were allowed to dance in their less precise way only because of their limited physical function and disabilities. From the able-bodied members of the group, the dance leaders expected far more. Lastly, I learned that in the larger groups with limited space, the appropriate thing to do is to leave the dance floor after one has danced for one hour so others can have their chance to dance for the evening. I was also unaware of this etiquette despite my years of observation until I was nudged to leave the floor one night by the leader who called my attention to other dancers who were patiently waiting nearby to take their turn on the dance floor. I realized from her gesticulations, smile and nodding approval as I left that dance floor that all dancers in the group shared an unspoken understanding: no matter how crowded, space will be made so that anybody who shows up each night will also have their chance to dance.

Increasing Familiarity

After spending much time with the dancing groups, dancers also began inviting me out to restaurants to share a meal, and then eventually, to their homes. What I did not realize at the time, however, was that leaving the public space with its "nameless audience" and entering semi-private spaces created a new set of challenges. One invitation to share a meal was quite awkward because it stemmed from a misunderstanding about why I was conducting research. This happened in 2010 when one group leader thought I was a television personality from the United States and wanted to understand how I would help their group become famous. She gathered other exercise leaders together to take me out to lunch on multiple occasions. One such occasion was especially challenging.

From my fieldnotes, August 11, 2010:

Kindness can sometimes be hard to accept. Two groups in the Beijing suburbs have been taking me out to lunch and arranging for day-long performances of singing groups, dancers, and musicians. One group thought I was from a television station, but I corrected this notion as soon as I realized the misunderstanding.

This group treated me to a lunch banquet three times - the last time, I brought the DVDs I recorded of their performances (as a gift to thank them for filling out surveys) and was anxious to return home to rest, but they assumed I was still hungry and arranged for another lunch banquet. They chose to go to a very small room with no windows in a restaurant, rather than sit in the open dining area downstairs with the other restaurant guests. Five people joined me for the banquet - all leaders of senior activity groups (dancing, singing, exercise). Many more mosquitoes buzzed around the room and they were landing on us as we dined. Two of the men in the group were chain smoking cigarettes during the entire lunch that lasted two entire hours. One man started trying to kill mosquitoes during the middle of the lunch and succeeded, but left the body of the insect and a bloody splotch on the wall.

The male leaders were dominating the conversation but because they had very strong accents, I had trouble understanding their point. . . then all of a sudden, one man began singing in a very loud voice to entertain me. One leader then made a show of calling in the restaurant waitress to shame her for serving us a small fish. He yelled at her because there was not enough fish in the soup pot and that not everyone sitting around the table had been able to have some fish. This embarrassed me, because various people around the table had just placed many pieces of fish onto my plate with their own chopsticks; the sight of the young girl being publicly humiliated by the dominating dance leader was difficult to bear, yet I knew they were attempting to show me respect and kindness.

What I learned from this experience was that leaving public space for more private realms could actually get in the way of the focusing on research question because of cultural differences, hopes and expectations. I felt I disappointed my hosts because I was not able to help them achieve fame, and we also did not get very far with interviews that day.

Data Collection

Mixed Methods were used in this study to collect observations, interviews and surveys conducted over the summer of 2007 and the spring and summer of 2010. Three hundred and ninety-five dancers representing 77 different dance groups in Beijing participated in the first data collection while 200 participated in the follow-up visit. Data collection techniques I used included: observation, open-ended interviews, semi-structured interviews, open-response surveys, multiple-choice surveys, dance location mapping with bicycle and GPS, and dance space studies. Beginning with observations on the street, I eventually generated many questions that were compiled together to form interviews. From the responses gathered in interviews, I created both an open-response and multiple-choice survey that I vetted with older residents in my residential community for clarity of language and cultural appropriateness. I then disseminated the new survey to various groups and when they were returned, I examined the responses and improved the wording of questions for better clarity. Several iterations of both the open-response and multiple-choice surveys were generated and the process moved fairly slowly through the entire summer of 2007, as it often took one or two weeks before surveys were again collected, so we had to wait that long to see whether any further misunderstandings came to light.

Sequence of Data Collection

As described above, the first trip took place from 2004-06 and was focused on developing the research questions and improving Chinese language skills. The second trip during the summer of 2007 and was focused on collecting data with the survey. The third trip took place over the spring and summer of 2010 and was focused on two objectives: to follow up on the groups surveyed from 2007 and to gather spatial data from the sites. Most of the groups came from the central districts of Beijing, as shown in Figure 0.13 from the Introduction: Xicheng (西城区), Dongcheng (东城区), the former Xuanwu (宣武区, now part of Xicheng), Chongwen (崇文区, now part of Dongcheng), Chaoyang (朝阳区), Haidian (海淀区), and Fengtai (丰台区).²¹ But in 2010, when I returned to Beijing to follow up on the dancing groups, I learned that many dancers had relocated to the suburbs, and so I followed them out to outer Tongzhou district (通州区) to the east side of Beijing.

Overall, the order of methods that I used started from those that were most open-ended and proceeded to those that were more structured and focused. This order was a practical necessary because the dancing of older women in the streets of Beijing is not a well-understood phenomenon and only by first acquainting myself and interviewing the dancers could I later learn their concerns and create a more structured instrument such as a survey. I started with observation of dancing groups in public space, and then proceeded to map their locations on maps, using the two strategies described earlier: recruitment through taxi-cab informants and through a central activity center. These initial interviews with the dancers varied in length from fifteen minutes to nearly three hours. Once the dancers were accustomed to my presence as an audience member, I introduced myself and the research and began open-ended interviews with those who wished to participate in the study. As the answers usually revolved around familiar topics, I formulated specific questions for each topic for structured interviews. After noticing the “nameless audience” effect that appeared to hamper the free expression of sentiments, I integrated many of these questions into both the open-response portion and the multiple-choice portion of the surveys so dancers could answer the same questions in the privacy of their own homes.

In hindsight, although I collected enough surveys from dancers to have a robust sample (N=395), such a high number of surveys was not necessary for the qualitative analysis that I ultimately conducted. Saturation of key ideas was already achieved within the first hundred surveys, and the surveys beyond this number provided only different descriptive details, but essentially the same ideas. The next, nearly three hundred surveys did provide, however was corroboration that the thoughts, feelings and insights of the first hundred were not just harbored by a few, but were widely shared amongst the wider population of older dancing women. Taken together, the response from the nearly four hundred dancer participants study was a resounding plea for the Beijing government to leave more urban space open for dancing, please! One dancer emphatically said to me: “We need more than just places to live! We need space to walk around in, dance and live!”

Survey Iterations

The different iterations of surveys proved to be quite challenging, as I added new questions to replace poorly worded that appeared to cause some respondents confusion. In the end, the first hundred surveys were quite different than the later surveys as the creation of the instrument was still in flux and as a result, secured different information than the later surveys. Because of the inconsistency of questions from the early and later surveys, I decided to forgo traditional quantitative analysis on the multiple choice surveys, and instead focused on the open-response portion of the surveys that described stories that were consistent across the entire group for the dissertation.²² Interview guides and survey forms can be found in the Appendix.

Cognitive Mapping in 2010

New data I collected in 2010 included cognitive maps. The method used for this study was purposefully made open-ended because I wished to see what types of maps the dancers would draw without overt direction or judgment by me.



Figure 1.4. Cognitive Mapping

Respondents were given the following directions: (1) draw a freehand map of their everyday environment, (2) draw and label on the maps places that they frequent in the course of a regular day and (3) indicate your home, dance place and river. These instructions were given for two reasons: (1) to see whether Chinese residents would represent their world differently from residents from the United States, (2) to identify what the important everyday spaces are, and (3) to represent three key elements on the map (home, dance place, river) so determination of cardinal directions would be possible later for analysis. I asked the dancers to narrate their drawings and explain to me what the most important places in their neighborhoods were for them.

Mental mapping has been used in the past to examine how space is understood in the mind, starting with psychologist Edward C. Tolman's 1948 study of rats in search of food in a maze, to city planner Kevin Lynch's 1960 study of how residents conceptualize the city through the use of sketch maps in *Image of the City*, followed by many other studies. Here, I compare and contrast the way I deployed sketch maps for this study, in comparison to other researchers. In the drawing of the cognitive maps, I was less interested in the ways dancers understood in their minds the overall structure of their greater Beijing. I was more interested in the more basic question of "where do the dancers go on a typical day", and "how do they get there?" In other words, the experience of local residents, negotiating their everyday places was what I was after, and not the experiences of visitors or tourists who are delighting in the newness of an encounter in a foreign place. Lynch's instructions to his respondents asked for the externalization of the structure of the entire city to an imagined audience of an outsider. He provided his respondents the following instructions: "We would like you to make a quick map of central Boston, inward or downtown from Massachusetts Avenue. Make it just as if you were making a rapid description of the city to a stranger, covering all the main features" (Lynch 1960, 141). "The stranger" or "tourist view" was a factor, as they were the imagined audience for the map. In this study in Beijing, I sought instead the "insider's" private view of the city, not only for the sake of the dancers' health and well-being, but also because the spectacular, iconographic architecture of Beijing and its ring roads appeared to me, already quite well represented in the media.

We do share the direct approach to sketch-map making, however. This method is "direct" because responses are recorded directly on paper by the respondents' own hands (Pocock 1976, 483). So while I sought different information from the dancers than Lynch did with his residents of Boston, Los Angeles and Jersey City, the questions I asked the dancers and subsequently, the instructions I provided them, were different than his. I was interested in a map of the insiders' view of everyday life rather than a map a helpful insider would attempt to provide an outsider who is visiting their hometown.

The data that I sought to discover was, in many ways, similar to those that Randy Hester also sought in his "sacred structure" mapping process. Working with a community in Manteo, South Carolina, Randy sought to discover "those places - buildings, outdoor spaces, and landscapes - that exemplify, typify, reinforce, and perhaps even extol the everyday life patterns and special rituals of community life" (Hester 1985, 15). However, his method of creating the "sacred structure" map - the map of places that local residents valued most - followed a process of mapping that is different. Initially, Randy and a community planner created a base map of places that they guessed ("hunches") may hold special significant meaning for residents, and then asked Town Board members for feedback (Hester 1985, 12). After this initial consultation with community leaders, he then created a list of names and presented this to the larger community for ranking. The community was asked to weight the names in priority of importance (Hester 1985, 13). The instructions stated: "rank these places in order of significance to them as individuals. . . [and to] state which places they thought could be changed to accommodate tourism and which places they were unwilling to [change]. . . [the goal was] to measure the intensity of attachment to places [and] to recheck the relative importance of places" (Hester 1985, 13). Though Hester is interested in the world of residents as I am, the process of map creation differs from in that maps are created indirectly. The community participates through ranking named items on a list that is provided them. Data is produced, processed, and then the results are presented in map form (Pocock 1976, 493).

At Honglian Beili, I used a free-recall, unstructured (no base map) sketch map method to invite respondents to record information in map form. The resultant maps were often distorted and not aligned to cartographic convention, as discussed in Chapter 1, but this did not matter to me as these idiosyncrasies did not negatively affect the aims of the exercise, and in fact, made their map products more revealing. In this way, the analysis of cognitive maps for this study only tangentially addressed representational accuracy of mental maps, which concerned planner Donald Appleyard. Appleyard (Banister 1987; He et al. 2007) focused on accurate recall of real, physical elements of the landscape. He provided the following instructions, first for the “General Map” and then the “Local Map” for a city in Venezuela: “Suppose now that here is San Felix and here is the Steel Mill, please draw a map indicating the points and places in the city you have just mentioned (places they could remember verbally). After that add any other important features that come to mind.” Appleyard then directed participants to locate a list of landmarks that he provided: “Please make a map of ____ and ____, including schools, the police stations, hospitals, markets, shopping areas, churches, places where people meet, the Concejo Municipal, CVG offices, political party offices and any other things which you think important to mention.”

In contrast, I was not concerned with the “structural precision” of the drawings in this study. I was also not interested in critiquing the composition and ranking of maps from an aesthetic perspective. I was less concerned about affective aspects of the neighborhood such as “place attachment” and more interested in basic questions of mobility and environmental press for a senior population from a public health perspective. Lastly, I wished to place the pencil in the hands of subjects so they may directly record their own ideas on paper, to gain insight into how they would represent their world when given the freedom to do so.

As it turned out, I had to explain the difference between the cognitive maps and objective maps several times to the respondents, as many felt afraid they would “make a mistake” and be judged poorly. As the aim for me was to understand how life unfolds, spatially, in the city on a typical day for urban seniors, so that designers and planners can one day create more fitting environments to support their everyday lives, artistic ability was, for the purposes of this study, value-free. I felt it was quite important to observe the map product outcomes without judging the map artifacts as “primitive” or “sophisticated”.²³

Data Organization

One of the unexpected challenges of this research was the question of how to manage the data that I collected in the field over the period of six years. In this study, I relied on several software programs to help manage and also analyze my data. The programs were SPSS, Atlas.ti, and Quantum GIS. Additionally, I used Adobe Lightroom to help organize and keyword the over 5000 photos I collected since the beginning of this project. I also learned the hard way to back up my data on multiple drives after losing two external drives over the first year in Beijing to mechanical failure and carelessness. Since those experiences, now I have learned to keep one duplicate set of external drives in a remote location and keep two sets of duplicate drives locally. This way, if one local drive breaks from mechanical failure, I will have another backup drive on hand. I periodically rotate an updated set of external drives to the remote location, too, just in case an earthquake or fire in my apartment destroys both my local drives. In the future, cloud computing may make these efforts no longer necessary.

To make sure I could safely transport the box of physical surveys back to Berkeley at the end of the summer in 2007, I copied and bound the surveys into five phonebook-sized readers (the open-response and multiple-choice surveys were together over 5000 pages in total). I ordered three sets of readers, sent one set to the International House where I lived, one set to Los Angeles where my parents lived, and one set to the Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning office at UC Berkeley. I carried the original surveys in my luggage back to the US.



Figure 1.5. Managed 5000+ images over eight years

Translation: 2008-09

Once back in Berkeley in fall 2007, I was confronted with the dual tasks of: (1) translating open response questions and (2) entering data from multiple-choice questions from 395 surveys. This part of processing the data turned out to be the most time-consuming part of the entire project, delaying my finish date for the dissertation by over a year. Upon returning to Berkeley in 2007, I started trying to translate the surveys myself, but then realized the process was too slow. My mother then joined me in weekly Skype meetings to try to assist in the translation, but the writing on the paper was often quite faintly printed, in pencil, and the difference between simplified characters (that are used in mainland China) and complex characters (that are used in Taiwan, where my mother is from) proved to be very confusing.

To complicate the matter, many of the dancers did not have more than a middle-school education and so the characters that they wrote were actually not the correct ones, but homophones of the characters they actually meant to use. My mother was usually able to understand what they meant, but this was an additional hindrance. My mother and I tried to translate the surveys ourselves for six months, but it was quickly becoming obvious that I needed to find another way to solve this problem.

In 2008, I was forced to stop working on the data in order to focus on preparing for and taking my qualifying exams. But by the end of 2008, I decided I had to make a new plan because my mom had heroically translated the first volume of surveys, but four more volumes remained, each one about three to four inches in thickness. The research was stuck and I was stuck. By the spring of 2009, I was still entering data, and the translations were nowhere near completion. Sociologist David Nasatir who had offered me advice and support through much of the fieldwork in Beijing knew of my struggles with the data and found a way to help me. He introduced me to a visiting Chinese student from Fudan University in Shanghai. Through her, I was able to hire Chinese students from her university to translate the remaining four volumes of surveys for a fee.

Data Entry: 2009

I was also able to hire someone to help me with data entry for the multiple-choice portion of the surveys. Finally, at the end of summer 2009, the surveys I had brought back to Berkeley in 2007 were both finally translated and entered in a large spreadsheet. In total, it had taken two additional years after returning to Berkeley to process and to clean the data. In hindsight, I will never again collect data and leave a study site without a plan to translate and enter the data from the fieldwork visit, even if it means staying on site longer than planned in order to find and hire people who can help me prepare and clean the data until they are ready for analysis. I had mistakenly thought that once I had completed the interviews, taken the images and collected the surveys, the difficult part was done. In the field, I rejoiced over the number of dancers who volunteered to participate in the study because I felt I had good coverage. In fact, the mundane tasks that awaited me – the translation, input and developing a system to store data in a way that it would be easy to retrieve again – were just as important for making steps towards completing the study. In 2010, I remembered these lessons and collected fewer surveys (N=200), but made certain they were both translated and digitized before returning from the field.

Mapping: 2012

Because many of dancers occupy spaces that are interstitial and that do not command formal names, I encountered difficulty during the early stages of fieldwork in 2004-06 finding my way back to them. One challenge with mapping interstitial spaces is that they are not depicted on official maps, and without using global positioning systems (GPS) to mark waypoints, ascertaining one's location in a rapidly changing city is challenging. This problem resolved itself in the ensuing years because geotagging images, Google Earth and GPS became ubiquitous.²⁴

My purpose for mapping dancers in the city was to track and document existing social reality that is meaningful and beneficial to locals, but which is not acknowledged. When I began my fieldwork in 2004, I was not yet enrolled in a graduate program and did not have access to ArcGIS. At this point, I was also not aware of alternative open-source options. I did my mapping on a large 8ft x 8 ft map of Beijing that I pieced together from a road atlas, dry-matted and cemented to the wall of my apartment in Beijing.

Mapping started on paper and eventually became digital. My first map was a tourist map, and the second, more detailed map was a commercially-available road atlas. As I continued

working on this research, Google innovated new tools for mapping. First, Google Maps allowed me to place markers locating dance sites on a digital map of Beijing. A satellite overlay option was available, though for Beijing, there was (and still is) the problem that the map and satellite images of China are not aligned. All markers placed on Google Maps in China required correcting on the satellite image and the offsets are not uniform.

In December 2011, I found that the OpenStreetMap (OSM) map of Beijing was much more complete than in 2007, the last time I looked at the Beijing site. A collaborative based in the UK, OSM allows users to upload their GPS tracks of movements inside cities to create free, copyright-free maps for the public to use. In 2012, I began entering my geotagged images onto an open user-generated map. As I was unable to secure a GIS of Beijing through official sources, I was forced to look for other ways to find an accurate map of the city.

Initially, I had trouble downloading the Beijing data directly from the OSM site, but was able to find the processed OSM Beijing layers on Cloudmade.com's website. They packaged the OSM map layers for Beijing, last uploaded on December 13, 2011.²⁵



Figure 1.6. Cloudmade.com's download link for the Dec 13, 2011 Beijing OpenStreetMap data;
http://downloads.cloudmade.com/asia/eastern_asia/china/beijing#downloads_breadcrumbs

Since the parks were not yet mapped in the Beijing OpenStreetMap, I traced the parks in Google Earth Pro, saving them as a .kmz file, and then imported them into Quantum GIS. The .kmz files are compressed files that can be unzipped by renaming the files “.zip” and then extracting the contents of the folder. The resultant .kml file is readable in Quantum GIS. For the final maps in the dissertation, I used Quantum GIS mainly to present my data points and to see how the points are related to the urban context, using user-generated OpenStreetMap as the basemap.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Multiple versions of questionnaires were administered during this period of time, each one providing more information for the design of the next. I used Atlas.ti, a Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) software, to help me organize the open-response responses and to code the patterns of responses that I saw emerge from the data. It was from these inductive patterns from the data that I structured the chapters of the dissertation: aging in

Beijing, the dance and its significance, the value of interstitial spaces in a changing city, the case of one group in the city, and the pattern of moves many groups are forced to make. I used SPSS to describe certain dimensions from the dancers' responses to supplement the analysis, though a qualitative analysis that is really the basis for this study.²⁶

As much as possible, I have attempted to remain close to the data and to provide participants the opportunity to describe their experience in their own words. Although the aging dancers who took part in this study are resilient and creative in their efforts to age healthfully, their opinions and concerns about daily life are not often reflected in mainstream media accounts of China, so this has prompted me to provide them ample room in this study to give voice to their experience in their own words.

Quotes from *yangge* interviews and surveys are referenced by two numbers in brackets that follow each excerpt. The first number before the colon is the ID number of the respondent. Some references also contain a number after the colon that refers to the page number of the interview transcript or survey where the quote appears. In order to protect the identity of all the respondents, ID numbers are used in place of their true names, although general demographic identifiers are provided when the information is available.

Throughout the analyses, I have tried to set my interpretations into the historical context that the dancers occupy, both in their place in history and in their locale in Beijing. The empirical techniques that I chose during my fieldwork are varied because they evolved to meet the needs of new research questions. And because these research questions evolved while I was in the field, the methods evolved as well. Above all, I attempted to gain a better understanding of what was happening for older residents who are trying to maintain their health regimes and friendships in a rapidly changing city.

Chapter 2 Aging 老年化

"The biggest problem is space. Beijing is now an aging society. As a plethora of people retire and have plenty of leisure time, they may take part in various activities such as dance. Dance necessitates space. It is harmful to people's health to dance beside roads. Also we fear that the sound of dance may disturb neighbors." [278] – Sixty year old woman who dances in a plaza

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss how changes in social and economic policy from the late 1970s have affected the institution of filial piety, the tradition for adult children to care for aging parents, putting it under strain and how older residents are responding to these changes by turning to grass-roots efforts of self-care through dance. As a result of population control policies and recent economic structural changes from the 1970s, the ratio of working-age adults to retired adults in China has grown much smaller (Banister 1987; He et al. 2007). According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), while the working-age to old age support ratio in 2008 was 7.9 to 1, this ratio is projected to drop to 2.4 working-age persons to 1 older person by 2050 (Rampell 2011). Many older Beijing residents who came of age during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), who are now nearing retirement, and who are mindful of the stresses that their adult children face, gather with their generational peers to form makeshift families in the city, outside of the traditional family and outside the family home, in concerted efforts to stay healthy and avoid becoming burden to their children, a burden.

Filial Piety as Long-Term Care

Traditionally, the care of older persons in China relies heavily on xiào (孝), or filial piety; adult children are expected to care for aging parents. According to sociologist Deborah Davis, filial piety is grounded in the ideas of reciprocity of care and an acceptance of mutual dependence. As young parents sacrifice and provide for their dependent children at the beginning of the cycle of family life, an unspoken expectation states that when the parents grow older and need assistance, the grown children, now independent and able, will come to their aid. This understanding of reciprocation emphasizes a cyclical interdependence between generations, and offers a differing model for aging than in countries where institutionalized care of older adults is an accepted practice. As Davis (1991, 13) puts it:

dependency in old age is viewed as unpleasant but inevitable, and few people envision an extended period of complete independence from those of other ages. The elderly do not view their dependency as a fatal attack on their self-esteem, and the young and middle-aged do not entertain illusions of perpetual self-sufficiency or disengagement from the old.

In a reciprocal gesture for receiving care and nurturance in childhood, adults are then expected to give back, providing care to the older generation when they are in need of support, and the degree of care that is offered by the younger generation is thought to reflect the moral worth of the entire family, including both the older members and their caregiving descendents (Janelli and Yim 2004, 134). Social pressures enforce the institution. Families who are able to care for the

older members are admired and become worthy of emulation, while those who neglect their older members lose social standing. The care of aging parents did not stop at the unit of the extended family, however. It even extended beyond, to represent the moral value of an entire family. As Janelli and Yim put it, the demonstration of care or lack of care for seniors could extend beyond, to an entire community: “[Filial Piety] testified to a person’s - and by extension his or her lineage’s and village’s - moral worth; and public worth; and publicly acknowledged moral worth was a form of symbolic capital that enhanced social standing and political influence among local communities” (Janelli and Yim 2004, 134). When filial obligations are not performed, public shame implicates all who are involved. Not only does blame fall on adult children, but also on the older persons as well. The logic behind this is: their poor treatment is evidence that they failed to transmit proper moral ideals to their offspring (Branigan 2012). Through coupling the quality of aging parents with the social status and moral worth of the extended clan, social pressure was instrumental in guaranteeing a safety net for seniors in China.

Before the People’s Republic of China was founded in 1949, the state did not provide major support for the care of older persons. After 1949, however, work units (*danwei*) provided primary health care and pensions to retired workers, though these amounts varied by work unit size and resources. Filial piety survived the purge of old ideas, however. Despite the expulsion of many other “feudal” Confucian customs and an attempt to atomize the institution of the Chinese family to realign royalties to Chairman Mao and the new state, the new Chinese leadership still retained filial piety for the care of the aging. This relieved the government of an enormous expenditure.

China’s Shift to a Market-based Economy

Deng Xiaoping began economic reforms in 1978 to transform China’s socialist economy into a market economy. This process began in 1978, but gained steam when he decollectivized agriculture and allowed foreign investment and international trade into China in the 1990s. On the population policy side, the Chinese leadership implemented plans in 1971 and 1979, the former “calling for later childbearing, longer spacing, and fewer children,” and the latter calling for “all married couples . . . to have one child unless they meet criteria for specific exemptions.” (Liang and Gu 1991, 33). The combination of the shift from a socialist to market economy along with changes in population policy in the past thirty years caused Chinese cities to transform very quickly in both social and physical ways. With the economic shift, state-owned enterprises were forced to become more competitive and previously-guaranteed jobs were purged in wide, sweeping layoffs of workers in the 1990s; women were often the first ones laid off because of segregation in low-skilled industrial work (Berik, Dong, and Summerfield 2007, 14). The success of the population policy, while a source of admiration to some for its economic benefits (Potts 2006), increased the burden of care on the offspring of the generation now growing older. And as women live longer than men in Beijing, the number of aging women who are in need of care by family members has increased. These social shifts are happening at the same time that new private-public partnerships throughout the city are changing the physical landscape of the city, rendering many seniors unable to traverse the city on foot and on their bicycles as they previously were able to do.

These changes had the unintended consequence of making expectations from filial piety especially difficult to fulfill for urban working-age Chinese who are working ever-longer hours

in a new, unfamiliar and competitive environment and who may also have their own fledgling family to support. This generation, the single children of the retiring Cultural Revolution cohort who will be raising children at the same time their parents are retiring – often referred to as the “Sandwich Generation” or the “4-2-1 Generation” – often found themselves caught in a bind, with little capital and time resources to fulfill the multiple demands (Zhan, Liu, and Guan 2006; Jiang 1995, 143).



Figure 2.1. The 4-2-1 Generation. Source: (Li 2010). 4-2-1 Family. *Age-old problem looms for families, China Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.china.org.cn/china/2010-10/14/content_21120115.htm

The two adult children (the “2” in the “4-2-1 Generation”) is caring for four elderly parents, while also being in middle of caring for their own families. Some of the dancers in this study are still working, and they speak of the stresses of living in a new market economy. One dancer recounted the shift after Deng Xiaoping’s economic reforms: “Before the 1980s, people had the same salaries. Afterwards, people wanted different pay rates.” A 52 year old woman who dances at an open space near a construction zone explained in detail how she experienced the change: “[Nowadays] we don’t visit each other and are no longer familiar. The gap of incomes has categorized people into classes. I am reluctant to connect with old friends because I feel inferior” [379]. Gone are the days of guaranteed salaries with free health care. As the disparity in pay between people who work at different companies grows the feelings of isolation and alienation grew as well.

For the “4” in the “4-2-1 Generation,” the 1978 economic reforms have introduced a great deal of uncertainty into their future. Those who were forced to retire early often received smaller pensions, since pensions were determined by the income from the last year of work (Ikels 1990, 227). But as the rate of inflation rose in the 1980s and 1990s, pensions were not adjusted and this resulted in an ever-widening income gap between retirees and those who are still employed. Amongst the Beijing dancers participating in this study, the disparity in income

that came with the economic reforms caused some discomfort between friends who previously shared a more communal way of life. During these decades, many work units that no longer received government subsidies and were unable to guarantee workers their pensions. Other work units became bankrupt, unable to compete with other new enterprises in the new market conditions, leaving their employees without retirement funds (Berik, Dong, and Summerfield 2007). With both filial piety and retirement pensions under pressure, residents growing older in Post-reform Beijing improvised solutions to achieve a better quality of life.

Study Sample

The participants in this study comprised 395 respondents who danced *yangge*, a traditional folk dance from the northern China, regularly in the parks and streets of Beijing during 2007.²⁷ The inclusion criteria for these respondents are participation in dancing in the city – inside parks, streets, and community spaces. The dancers come from a variety of different occupations and range from people who received no formal schooling to those who finished college. The majority of respondents were retired and nine out of ten were women. As described in Chapter 1, respondents were recruited through a combination of three sampling methods: (1) snowball sampling; (2) time-location sampling; and (3) facility-based sampling (Magnani et al. 2005). In the first recruitment strategy, I asked known dancers to help me identify other dancers for inclusion in the study. In the second, I created a sampling frame composed of sites identified by knowledgeable locals as dancing places and then traveled to these places to await the arrival of potential, new dance subjects. In the third, I visited a senior activity center at the Worker’s Cultural Palace where I was able to recruit many dance leaders from different parts of Beijing to join the study. They, in turn, recruited willing volunteers from the ranks of their home teams to participate in the study. The following table describes the characteristics of the dancers who participated in the study in 2007.

Table 2.1. Demographic and Dancing History Characteristics of Respondents from 2007

	Valid Percent	Frequency
Sex		
Women	90	351
Men	10	39
Missing		5
Age		
<40	1.0	4
40-49	8.8	34
50-59	53.8	207

60-69	27.5	106
>70	8.8	34
Missing		10
Education		
No formal schooling	3	10
Elementary school	5	17
Middle school	33.5	113
High school or secondary vocational training (zhōngzhuān, 中专)	39.8	134
Post-secondary vocational training (dà-zhuān, 大专)	13.4	45
College	5.3	18
Graduate school	0	0
Missing		58
Income		
<800 yuan/month	9.4	26
800-1200 yuan/month	51.4	143
1201-1600 yuan/month	23.7	66
1601-2000 yuan/month	10.8	30
>2001 yuan/month	4.7	13
		117
Spouse or family		
No	5.9	18
Yes	94.1	287
Missing		90

Respondents were women who danced regularly in Beijing who were willing to take part in this study. Most had two weeks to complete the survey and return them to me, but some elected to

return the surveys to me sooner. In China, the mandatory retirement age for both men and women is much lower than in the US. For men, the retirement age is 60, while for women, it depends. For female blue-collar workers, the retirement age is 50, but for female salaried workers, the retirement age is 55 (Liang and Gu 1991, 45). Exceptions are made for special circumstances when a worker is allowed to continue working past these mandatory age limits, however, particularly when a worker is highly regarded in a work unit.

The dancers were mostly born in the 1950s, during the time following the success of the Chinese Communist Party. Many of the respondents recounted how their schooling was interrupted during the tumultuous times surrounding the Cultural Revolution.

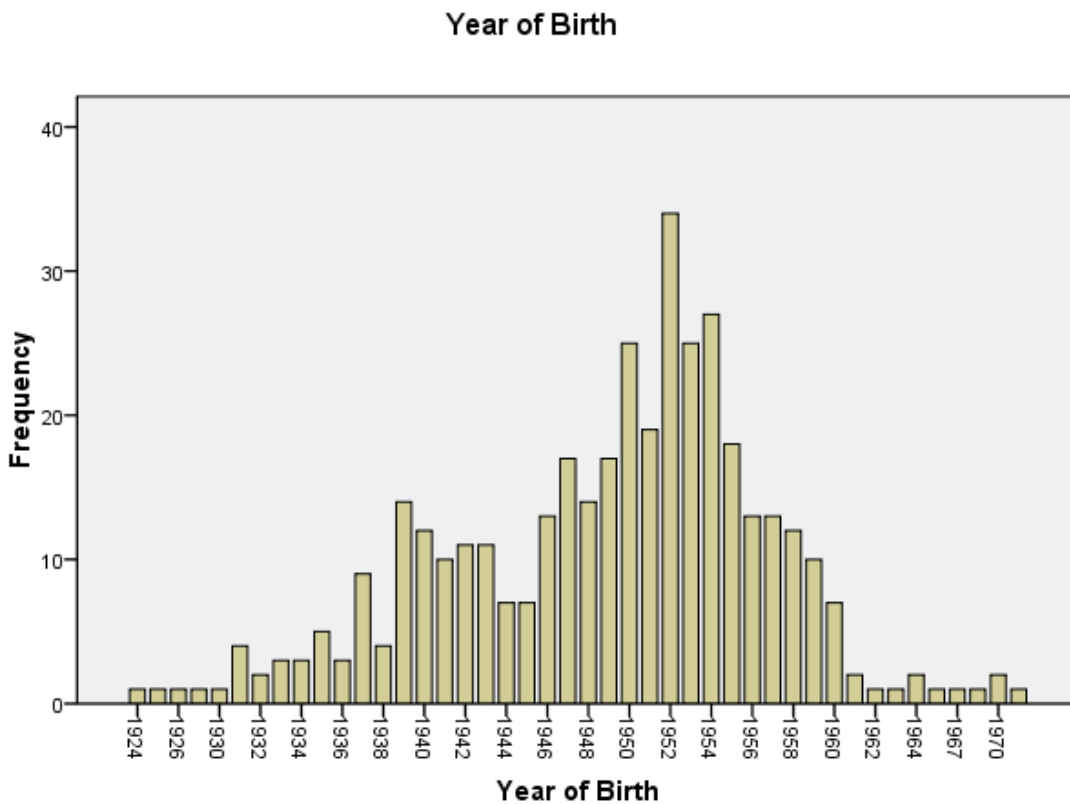


Figure 2.2. Birth year of respondents from 2007 study

This could be one reason why many of the dancers did not pursue studies past middle school and high school levels. Some studies show that the lower level of educational attainment that characterizes this “Cultural Revolution” cohort had lasting impacts upon their ability to achieve financial success in their later years (Berik, Dong, and Summerfield 2007). In their later years, they often became the first workers who were laid off because their unskilled status made them vulnerable to replacement by the younger, more efficient workers from the countryside who were now flooding into cities like Beijing to seek work. And as retirement payouts often depended on the duration of service one has provided, as will be explained further below, this reduces their pension amounts.

According to the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics, the average income for a working adult was 1836 yuan/month. However, as the dancers who participated in this study were retired, their monthly income from their pensions was considerably smaller, averaging 1200 yuan/month. While some dancers receive a pension, many receive support from their children as their pensions have not been adjusted to inflation. Most live with their spouse, unless the spouse is deceased; otherwise, they share a household with their adult children.

Table 2.2. Income per month, per Capita of 3000 Urban Households per month in 2007

Low Income:	995 yuan/month
Medium-Low Income:	1468 yuan/month
Medium Income:	1836 yuan/month
Medium-High Income:	2368 yuan/month
High Income:	3760 yuan/month

However, the older residents themselves do, in fact, give back. They are often hidden sources of support in the extended household, providing childcare without compensation for their working-age children. They also try to help by “not getting sick”; they take great pains to establish their own communities and to engage in vigorous physical activity to remain as healthy as possible, as I will discuss below.

Holistic Health

Many of the respondents began dancing after retirement, choosing it for a variety of reasons. As one dancer at a riverside park put it, “Dance is a joy. I will dance even if I need to squeeze in time. What motivates me to dance is just one idea: health is wealth” [200]. For her, not only is dance a physical activity, but it is also provides her positive feelings. Other respondents point out that dance allows them to exercise not only their bodies, but also stimulates mental activity. A 52 year old woman who dances in a free park explained: “*Yangge* dance can bring me relaxation and happiness. Although I have to sweat and work hard, I feel the joy of doing sports. It gives me a sense of achievement whenever I can complete a separate movement. It feels like I am ten years younger. *Yangge* dance is an exercise not just for the body, but also for the mind” [307].

Many dancers explained how dancing brought them more than just an opportunity to engage in exercise. For some, dancing enriches life after retirement, bringing joy and color. One 55 year old woman who dances in a parking lot explained:

[I dance] for health, and also for meeting more new friends. I was not used to a free lifestyle when I just retired. My health was gradually degraded and I felt bored, too. It has all changed ever since I participated in activities. I dance to the rhythm in the group, and

my actions become coordinated and limbs more flexible. My past colleagues all felt I looked younger and happier when we met. [210]

Dancing offered her opportunities to meet new friends and improved the quality of her life. One 58 year old woman who dances in front of a gate saw her dance group as a kind of extended family: “It is fate that brought all of us together, to take exercises as a group. What I value most is my health, building up a good relationship with my fellow dancers and helping each other are also very important to me. We can't expect a bright future unless we have a good health because it is the cornerstone of everything” [205]. Not only is the dancing a source of vigorous, health-enhancing physical exercise, but it is also a source of emotional and social support that extends beyond her family. A 52 year old woman who dances elsewhere concurred: “I dance both for my health and for making more friends. I'm delighted and happy whenever I see my friends and teammates. When I heard the music I forget all my illness and troubles” [275]. According to these dancers, strong friendships are also a part of aging well.

From the responses, it appears that the notion of “health” encompasses more than just physical health. “Health” appears to include not only physical health, but also mental health, active social ties, flexibility and even joy. Dancing appears to be an antidote to the problem that other dancers have alluded to above, the problem of “we don't visit each other and are no longer familiar” because it also allows for social ties to strengthen and expand.

Changes in Interaction

In fact, many respondents point to changes in the urban form as one contributing factor to their sense of increasing isolation in a rapidly changing city. As one 69 year old woman who dances at Tiantan Park noted:

Our way of interacting with neighbors has changed, in the renovation of the old city many people had moved away and lost contact with us due to the inconvenience of transportation; it is almost impossible to communicate with each other, not to mention get to know them better; as for those who keep in touch with telephone, many have changed their phone numbers. [231]

Another observed, “There is impact. Nowadays people live in apartments, so they don't know each other. They lack opportunities to have talks unless they meet in elevators” [372]. Relocations from urban renewal and changes in telephone numbers aggravate their efforts to try and keep in touch with old neighbors. As none of the dancers in this study own a car or drive, the only way of reaching old friends who have moved away is to take public transportation, which though plentiful in Beijing, is often slow because of the city's infamous traffic congestion. The problem of how to keep friendships alive and make new friends if one moves away can be remedied, according to one dancer, with organized group exercise, such as dance: “People are isolating themselves away from other people. They lock their doors to each other. That's affecting the understanding among people. While taking different kinds of exercises can improve the communication naturally” [275]. Through the everyday, routine meetings for dancing, the dancer uses this method to counter the locked doors and social divides that she sees taking place in the city around her.

Filial Piety under Pressure

As the cost of living rises, intergenerational strains develop as middle-aged working members of the family must often choose between spending finite income on the education of their children or on the care of their aging parents. This is a great source of stress to many families as caregiving duties are spread among fewer adult children, while respectful attitudes towards older persons are shifting (Anon. 2010). For families with higher incomes that can afford the care of seniors, older family members still retain their position, but for families with lower incomes the status of older family members is beginning to drop as would-be family caregivers struggle to balance the needs of aging parents and young children (Xie, Xia, and Liu 2007). Whereas before the economic reforms, the government provided childless seniors with nursing homes called “Home of Respect for the Aged,” seniors with children were expected to receive care from their children, and if they did not have pensions, they were usually fully financially dependent on them, too (Ikels 1990, 229). Outside of support for the childless seniors, few alternatives were available until recently. Experiments for community-based long-term care or CBLTC are relatively new. One such example is the “9073 structure” plan in China’s current 12th Five-Year Plan (2011-2015) which is being piloted in Shanghai (B. Wu et al. 2005). The “9073 structure” plan proposes a decentralized home-care network for 90% of seniors with the support of family or trained nurses, 7% of seniors supported by a community nursing service (such as adult day care centers and meal delivery services), and 3% of seniors institutionalized in nursing homes (Q. Zhang 2012). The experiment is ongoing.

Enforcing Filial Piety

The need for new institutions to support older residents is also evidenced in new laws that Chinese officials have passed to combat elder neglect. Both the Marriage Law of 1950 and 1981 state that it is the obligation of children to care for their aging parents, while the Criminal Law of 1979 states in Article 183 that adult children who do not perform their filial duties are punishable by a sentence of “not more than five years' criminal detention” (Davis-Friedman 1991, 53; Leung and Lam 2000, 79). According to Leung and Lam, adopted children have the same duties, too, as specified in Article 20 of the revised Marriage Law of 1980.

Article 7 of China's Inheritance Law of 1985 states that children who abandoned their filial duties cede their right to inherit, while Article 13 states that the division of the parents’ estate should be adjusted to mirror how much support each descendent has performed (Leung and Lam 2000, 79). While Davis noted that in her field research on older persons in the early 1980s, no interviewees had heard of anyone actually seeking legal means to acquire support from their children, this is no longer the case in contemporary China, thirty years after economic reforms (Davis-Friedman 1991, 53). In 1996, the Elder Rights Protection Law was passed in China, stating that adult children must provide financial support and “emotional stability” to aging parents (Whittaker 2010). Accounts of older persons filing lawsuits against their children for neglect and of older persons dying alone and unnoticed for weeks in their homes now appear in Chinese newspapers (Lafraniere 2011; Whittaker 2010).

Rising Senior Suicides

Also related to the decline of filial piety is the rising rate of suicide among the elderly in urban areas of China in recent years. According to Jing Jun, professor from the Department of Sociology at Tsinghua University, “the suicide rate among elderly Chinese residing in urban areas and aged from 70 to 74, for example, surged to 33.76 per 100,000 population each year during the 2002-2008 period, up from 13.39 per 100,000 in the 1990s” (Xinhua 2010). Traditionally in China, suicide was a critical act that communicated several possible messages: an act of protest, of accusation, revenge and even apology (Lee and Kleinman 2000, 296). Suicide in Chinese society is not a sin, but depends on whether the “message” that the suicide seeks to communicate is justifiable (Ikels 1990, 388). For example, suicide may be regarded as act of “virtue” by an older person who wishes to save limited resources for the other members of the family (Lee and Kleinman 2000, 306). At other times, according to Lee and Kleinman, a suicide may be interpreted as an act of devotion, such as widow suicides that choose to demonstrate their chastity and loyalty to a departed husband in this way (Lee and Kleinman 2000, 297).

However, in general, harming the body is generally forbidden, as filiality extends to the idea that “‘Our bodies, in every hair and bit of skin, are acquired from our parents, and must not be injured or damaged’ (*shen ti fa fu shou zhi fu mu, bu ke wei shang*)” (Lee and Kleinman 2000, 297). So bodies – as precious gifts – must be carefully guarded and cared for, as they have been entrusted to one through a long line of ancestors. However, a perceived lack of filiality *by others*, could also lead to suicide. According to Wolf, “Elderly parents who kill themselves are not dependent on purely mystical means of revenge, for their act itself convicts their sons and daughters-in-law of the most immoral of crimes, unfilial behavior” (Wolf 1975, 114). In this case, suicide would serve as a protest and accusation that adult children have not lived up to their filial obligations. Tu Keguo, director of the Confucianism Study Institution at Shandong Academy of Social Sciences, reflected on the rise of elder suicides in China and suggested that the underlying reason for this may be mental stress endured by “tradition-minded” seniors whose expectations of care are not met by the efforts of their children (Xinhua 2010).

Older women are at especially high risk for suicide in China. In contrast to western populations, women are more likely than men to take their own life and persons over 65 are more likely to commit suicide than the general population (Cui 2009).²⁸ According to Ji, Kleinman and Becker (2001, 5) individuals who are 80 or older have suicide rates four or five times higher than in the general population which counters the idealized notion of the revered elder promoted by Confucian ideology. In order to combat this trend, Chinese officials recently passed laws to counter this pattern of elderly suicides, casting the practice of protest through suicide as a backwards “feudal” custom that should no longer be pursued.

The Cultural Revolution Cohort

The cohort now approaching retirement age experienced the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China when they were in middle-school. Yang (2005) estimates that this cohort is comprised of ten million individuals, though if the elementary school population from 1965 were included, the size of this cohort would then balloon to 120 million. These youth were excused from school for three years while the curriculum was revised to reflect a Maoist

interpretation of history and the world. The youth “rebellion” was backed from the top, the Red Guards were later also disbanded by those from the top. In the late 1970s, Mao stopped the Red Guard movement after their attacks on the Four Olds (tradition, ideas, culture and habits) were deemed too threatening to the stability of the state. They, along with other youth were sent to the countryside to learn what life was like from the perspective of farmers (S. Williams 2001).

This rebel generation has been given many names. They are known as the “educated youth” generation or *zhīshì qīngnián* (知识青年) (or *zhīqīng*, 知青, for brevity), the “rusticated youth”, Red Guard generation, or simply the Cultural Revolution generation (Yang 2005, 289). They are also known as “Mao’s Children,” “the third generation,” and “the Sent-Down Youth,” referring to how they were moved to the countryside (Yang 2005, 24). They have also been dubbed “the lost generation,” or even the “unlucky generation.” The descriptors of “lost” and “unlucky” refer to the negative consequences that this generation has had to bear as a result of missing out on attaining education during the revolutionary time. As they were the least well-educated, the most easily laid off workers in state enterprises, they were often the first ones to lose their jobs. According to Berik, Dong, and Summerfield (2007, 14), “these women. . . have borne the costs of successive policy shifts and political upheavals in China’s recent history.”

Nostalgic Operations

Two competing attitudes color China’s rapid development: an eager imitation of Western capitalistic culture and an emerging nostalgia for the “good ole days” of Mao’s Communism, many of the respondents for this study often speak in terms of the latter. Pointing to the disparity between the new rich and poor, they point to the rhythm and forms of modernization that puts enormous pressure on their children to work, rendering them too busy to care for the aged. At least back in the 1960s, a clearer social order existed between people. However, this sentiment was not shared by all the dancers. For others, the Maoist years and especially the Cultural Revolution was what “put China back by decades,” and is better left forgotten. The dancers who danced the more modern *yangges* tend to think less fondly of the pre-reform times than the dancers who danced the traditional “big” *yangge*.²⁹

Non-Consumptive Strategies: “Not Get Sick”

Before reforms, the work units provided universal health insurance to its population (Pressly 2011). Since market reforms, nearly half of the population in China is responsible for copayments in order to receive health care while the government subsidizes a portion of doctors’ salaries. These changes have led the older residents of Beijing to consider new solutions for these new challenges facing them, and for many of these older residents, the answer was to try and not get sick. What all respondents who participated in this study sought was a way to stay healthy for as long a time as possible. No longer able to count on filial piety and pensions, a vacuum regarding alternative, market solutions for old age support, the current retiring cohort is left in a lurch. Many residents in the generation that is currently retiring find themselves in this situation. According to the United Nations, China is an “aging society”, that is, when 7% of the population is aged 65 years or older. The China Gerontology Research Centre reports that the average elderly income for urban seniors is 8496 yuan per year or about 700 yuan per month, per capita, in 2003 (Ikels 2006, 397). This average amounts to, in American dollars, to over \$1000

per year, or \$87 per month in 2003. This monthly amount varies, however, according to the type of work that retirees previously occupied. Ikels notes that the average monthly pension of people retired from Party organizations was 1010 yuan. Those who worked in government offices, hospitals, and schools received 936 yuan, while those who worked in state enterprises received 610 yuan, nearly 100 yuan below the average. But those who worked in collectives received only 387 yuan, not enough to live without family assistance (Ikels 2006, 395).

Many of this now aging cohort turn to exercise and prevention as the solution: to not get sick in the first place. Taking care of oneself took on increasing importance in the face of the retreat of state services. Falling ill is perceived to impact not only one's own quality of life, but the entire livelihood of the extended family, so unemployed seniors tried to avoid this as much as possible. Seniors can lower the burden on those children who try to fulfill their filial duty by staying active and protecting their health. As one 57 year old woman dancing under the freeway put it, it made her feel better to dance with her community:

Middle and old aged people, after doing housework - don't have much to do and only stay at home. They don't feel very good. They stay at home and time passes - they don't feel too comfortable. They think to do exercise to move their entire body and let their joints move. But do too much housework, old people cannot do this either. So they go out and dance the *yangge*. This activity is not too long, not too much. The entire body can exercise. Then, [they feel] healthy and feel more energized. When I come out to dance, I can forget all the unhappy things when I focus on dancing. My mind is cleared of all troubling thoughts. After dancing, we can chat and share our thoughts and be very happy. [57]

Staying fit also helps maintain positive relationships with their adult children as one dancer confided that she could “escape the home” to go dancing with her friends when family disagreements are brewing.

Medical Bricolage

Many respondents regarded dance as their “therapy.” Because limited pensions precluded them from making the copayments now necessary with the reformed health care system, they would delay going to the doctor until absolutely necessary. In the meantime, they sought physical exercise as their elixir to good health. For example, a 52 year old woman who dances at Xinhualian (新华联) explained: “When I retired I was diagnosed with stomach cancer. I tried dancing, *tai chi*, and sword dancing while I was taking medical care. One year later I learnt ballroom dancing, tried [walking like a model] modeling. Two years later I picked up other ethnic dancing, Latino, hip hop, and other modern forms of dancing. Later I tried the *disantau yangge*” [275]. This dancer points out the wide variety of activities now available to older people in post-reform Beijing. As many of these new activities are quite new in Beijing and have not yet been associated with specific user-groups, they come to the dancers also emptied of context and associated meanings. While hip-hop is usually associated with youth culture in the western context, once a dance form reaches Beijing, it is simply another foreign dance form among many. Older residents may dance to hip hop music without acknowledging the musical lyrics or symbolism. It, as well as participating in “runway” or “model” (this is an

activity where seniors walk in a stylized way as runway models do, but in a large group), is open to anybody who wants to try out the activity.



Figure 2.3. “Model” or “Runway” activity

Modeling, hip hop, *tàijí* (太极), and *yāngge* (秧歌) are just some choices for exercise and physical therapy among many other activity choices, according to many respondents in this study.

Not surprisingly, many of the older dancers have age-related illnesses. One dancer describes how dancing helps her in many ways: “I dance largely because of the health problem. My health became a problem after I retired, and my neck and lumbar vertebra are not very good. After a while of exercising, they became better. Also [dancing provided] my life with a regular routine. The third reason is that my hands, legs and also the brain began to be active” [372]. Not only does the dance provide her with direct physical and mental benefits, but having a set meeting time each day to meet with her friends and exercise provides her a way to structure her day. To her, dancing was her “work,” and it was important to her to go to work each day.

But despite the variety in activities that are now available in Beijing, some dancers seek a low-impact activity to suit their physical capabilities. One activity that appears to be especially well-suited for older residents who have limited mobility abilities is the big *yangge*. A 57 year old woman dancing under the freeway explains:

I am here mainly because of insomnia and high blood pressure. I have some waist and shoulder problems (bent over). My shoulders are sore. I have high cholesterol and diabetes and some heart problems. I have a swollen thyroid. I had surgery on my uterus. Now, I am using both Western and Eastern medicine, along with a diet plan, taking drugs to lower high blood pressure and lower blood sugar level. I have high blood pressure. I cannot endure strenuous exercises. Ballroom dancing, sword dancing, and (performance)

fan-dancing (shànziwǔ, 扇子舞) are no good because there is too much turning around. My head cannot take it - I feel dizzy. [Big] *yangge* does not require too much turning and is more relaxed (natural). If I am busy and can't come, it is okay. [57]

This dancer has multiple conditions, so the less complicated moves of the big *yangge* fits her physical competence better than the modern *yangges* that the Chinese government has been choreographing to “modernize” the dance.

Some dancers acknowledge the difference in physical capabilities as one becomes older, articulating the notion of age-appropriate activities. One dancer suggests that ballroom dancing is too difficult to learn for older residents because it requires complicated steps [278], while another suggests that the quicker physical reflexes of youth are better suited for some activities while older persons should find other activities:

Basketball, football, badminton, table tennis are appropriate for young people. Running, swimming badminton and table tennis are appropriate for middle-aged people. *Yāngge* (秧歌), *tàijí* (太极), ballroom dance (*jiāoyìwǔ*, 交谊舞), aerobics and walking are appropriate for elderly people. Young people are passionate and have perfect dexterity, so they may present their coordination of limbs and passion through these activities. Middle-aged people have pressure in work, so they may adjust activities according to their work. Elderly people choose some activities with slow tempo to fit their low stamina. [372]

This dancer thinks that more slow-paced activities would suit older adults better because they would suit their energy levels better.

Role of Positive thinking

Another pattern that emerged from the interviews was an awareness of keeping “a good attitude” or the association between good mental health and overall health. Many dancers also insisted on having fun and joy in everyday life. As one dancer put it, “We need a colorful and high quality life. We want to try new things. Dancing is an innovative activity, which is good for dancers' health, mood, dexterity and feelings for beauty. Life is dry without dancing” [349].



Figure 2.4. Having Fun

One response of the government to promote dancing amongst the aging is to organize dance competitions with prize money for dancing groups. These competitions, while too strenuous for some of the ill dancers, spur other groups to improve their dancing quality. Some dancing groups have formed expressly with the goal of winning competitions. As one enthusiastic competition dancer put it, "The Olympics are the pride of Beijing people. The trend of exercising is getting strong in every park and community. The *yangge* competitions are increasing for the middle-aged and elderly people, which makes our life more colorful. We gain health through exercising" [210]. By participating in public events and being acknowledged by the government for their efforts to stay active, many dancing groups find the experience very exciting.

Role of Movement

Shared among all the dancers is the idea that "health lies in movement." Even if dancers are not particularly flexible, most generally describe their efforts to continue working on their bodies to achieve what they can. For some dancers, it is the process of never-ending improvement of one's "mental and physical conditions" that characterizes their practice: "*Disantao yangge* has euphonious music and a variety of movements. Sometimes, it is difficult for us to learn some stiff movements. However, after a period of practice, we become familiar with these movements and then master them. We improve our mental and physical conditions naturally" [264]. But surprisingly, looking at ease and looking cheerful plays prominently into the imagination of the dancers, even if personal health is one of the reasons why they dance. One dancer explained that she feels that the effort to be active is what matters, as well as appearing happy. Whether or not her movements are accurate or not matters little to her: "Most of the dancers now are above their fifties whose body structure and gestures have fixed. So it is impossible for them to achieve perfection. I think we should dance following the rhythm, and smile while dancing. That's enough for us" [264].

This attitude differs quite a bit from those of the dancers who have formed groups in order to win prize money. Two groups of dancers became apparent in the study – semi-professional groups that dance in order to perform for an official audience, and amateur groups that dance for physical therapy and for the cultivation of health. It seems, however, that dancing for both groups is satisfying because of the presence that their group commands inside their neighborhood. One dancer described the ways their group interacts with the city government: "The community will give a party during each holiday. All residents will come to enjoy performance. Sometimes the subdistrict office will hold counseling events and invite us to perform. We also feel responsible to dance for the elderly at the nursing homes" [210]. As a group, the dancers are recognized as a group in their community and are sometimes invited to celebrations and go on tours.

Improving *Suzhi*

In her study on the Chinese notion of *sùzhì* (素质), or way of judging the "quality" of persons, anthropologist Ann Anagnost proposes two poles of value in the popular imagination in China. The migrant workers, on one hand, offer up their physical labor and are commonly regarded as having "low *suzhi*." On the other hand, the privileged, single child that enjoys both parental adoration and support, commands "high *suzhi*", as they will presumably participate in

more prestigious employment that is mental in nature. Anagnost notes that in both cases, “The body becomes a site of social and familial investment through the accumulation of embodied competencies along a division between mental and manual labor: education for the middle-class child and labor discipline for the migrant” (Anagnost 2004, 194). The concept of *suzhi* refers to the body as site of value. I suggest that for older persons who cannot offer neither physical nor mental labor, what one may still offer in order to enhance *suzhi* is maintenance of one’s *good health*. In the words of many respondents, “health is wealth.” Other respondents who are more able-bodied can also help with other household tasks such as cleaning the laundry, shopping for food, cooking, taking care of grandchildren and engaging in other instrumental activities of daily life (IADL) of the intergenerational family, but for those who cannot help in these ways, simply staying fit, healthy and in good spirits is contribution enough to improve one’s *suzhi*.

The challenge to improve *suzhi* in China refers to events in history during the Opium War. The humiliation of China by the superior military strength of the west from over a century ago is still fresh in the minds of many Chinese. As one dancer explained to me, improving one’s *suzhi* and China’s overall *suzhi* is a nationalistic and political act of recovering the pride of a nation. This act of national rehabilitation is imagined to culminate in the staging of the 2008 Olympics when China would have its chance to re-present itself to a global audience as a vital, up and coming, and above all, *strong* nation. In the words of a 69 year old woman at Tiantan Park, “The Olympics have encouraged the whole nation to take part in exercise, and all of us are well-prepared to welcome the Games with a strong body and broad mind. We can prove to the world that the Chinese are no longer “the sick man of East Asia” but a vigorous and cheerful people” [231]. Remembering insults from over 150 years before, the moniker “the sick man of East Asia” was used several times by different dancers to exemplify the image that they wanted to decimate. In its place, some expressed the hope to formulate a new one that includes a nation of vital, active, happy older residents who are dancing in synchronous movement.

But in order to achieve this vision, dancers pointed out the lack of space in the city for practice. One dancer explained where urban planning and *suzhi* meet: “I hope the spaces for residents activities can be planned for during urban construction, to improve the “suzhi” of all the people” [394]. Dancing to improve *suzhi* requires physical space and that is diminishing in Beijing’s new urban landscape. This makes their goal harder.

Conclusion

Usable spaces in the urban landscape then become a place where one can take care of one’s own health, perform their duty to care for the body that has been passed down to them, and participate in improving the *suzhi* of the Chinese people. Much depends on the availability of space to perform these duties. Dancers repeatedly point to this need and ask for support from the government. A 53 year old dancer explained:

A city is the center of working, living and the floating of people and goods. City construction should be based on the needs of people (yǐ rén wéi běn, 以人为本). Citizens’ health and mental conditions directly affect a city’s development. If everybody were healthy while working, the work efficiency would improve. So why should we not promote physical activity and improve the *suzhi* of all the people, and positively influence everyone’s health? Why not do it? Especially for people in the middle age and

old, they need to be encouraged to enjoy learning, to participate and to enjoy life when they are old. That is an indispensable part of (the government's) social responsibility. [The government] can find ways to help alleviate the illness or pain of older persons and to improve their mental capacity, so that older persons will not become a burden on their families and society. Therefore it is really beneficial for both the people and the nation to have more places for activities. [394]

This dancer points out that the construction of the city should conform to the needs of the people, likening it to an efficient work environment. As many of the dancers regard their daily dancing as “work,” the analogy began to make sense to me. For a generation that did not experience leisure time until recent decades, daily life consisted of working in collectives and studying political ideology. Now, this generation is preoccupied with dancing in groups and studying healthful aging.

Dancers feel that city officials may better help support their dancing efforts. Many dancers lament the paucity of appropriate dancing spaces that results from the growing city while others lament the new design of parks that does not support group dancing. The same 53 year old dancer observed: “As the aging problem in Beijing gets more severe and the increasing number of immigrants, move into Beijing...although we have more than a few new parks and community lawns, it still cannot satisfy our needs because of the large increase of population” [394]. Another 55 year old dancer in a parking lot reported the same trend: “The roads have been broader, more houses are built and the city is packed. People can only find spots in between. In the community park, there is only enough room for strolling. Almost no space is designed for exercise” [210]. Even though she was able to secure a dance site inside a park for herself, another dancer observed the same problem: “The increase of new constructions and cars, the pollution of air, and the increasing immigrant population [are what bother me]. The people are bustling, crowded, who don't care about public health much. The activity spaces are becoming fewer and fewer” [363].

On the flipside, having a stable dance place helps groups grow in size. One 60 year old woman who dances in a paved space in front of the entrance to a park explained the relationship between having a stable and secure dancing space and group membership:

In the past few years, the number of the dancers fluctuated every now and then. At the very beginning the size of the team was quite small, it then peaked at 100 people when we were taught setting-up exercise; however, it dropped as we moved to other places constantly due to the lack of space; and now, as we have a temporary fixed area for dancing and have enriched our activities, more and more people are coming to join us. The issue of space is the most important factor behind all these. The road widening scheme occupied our space for exercise, some land has been appropriated for the use of building parking lots. All in all, places available for the elderly people are dwindling all the time. [207]

As long as her group stayed in one place, the group size would grow. This dancer attributed this to the increased visibility that groups enjoy when they are reliably found in one place over a period of time. Interest in the community builds and passersby are motivated to join as the dancing becomes an established, admired activity amongst locals. But when the groups are expelled from their dancing locations, membership has the tendency to drop, as the group may

move beyond the range of less mobile members. These group moves will be examined in much more detail in Chapter 6.

But not all groups are unhappy. For groups lucky enough to have a dance place in a park, they feel that all their needs are met. A 68 year old woman at Zizhuyuan Park (紫竹院公園) reported with delight: “Our group exercise every day, and often perform for the community and the park. The government and the district are very supportive, and we have no obstacles” [315]. She, like the other lucky dancers at Tiantan Park and at the Worker’s Cultural Palace, occupy the best places to dance in the city, according to the majority of dancers who were asked where the “ideal” dancing places in the city were located.

But many groups in this study wish that they could improve their spaces to fit their needs. With better spaces, one 68 year old dancer argued, they would no longer have to spend as much time looking for a new place when evicted from the old. If the spaces were easier to find, they could then focus on improving their dancing without the distraction of not knowing where they would have to go next [318].



Figure 2.5. Dongguang Daqiao (东关大桥) Environment

The dancers as a group are clear about what they need from city officials in order to age healthily. A 66 year old woman who dances in a park hopes that Beijing planners can maintain the long view: “Officials of city planning should look into the future while considering the status quo. They should take into account the possible situation after 10, 20, 50, or even 100 years. On the other hand, the city plan should be based on humanity. Enough space should be left for activities. As is known to all, space is a core problem affecting *yangge*” [261].

And of course, *yangge* is the vehicle to good health for many older dancers in the city. One 60 year old woman who dances beside the roads described to me how adapting the dance for health purposes was a creative solution implemented from the bottom up. She shared her wonder about their resilient practice with me:

The old-fashioned Chinese people (mainly Han people) do not stress dancing. There were only a few artists who can master it. Now people self-organize and start this trend! The government should see the trend and create opportunities for the development of dancing, so as to enhance its social impacts and economic benefits
Dancing is beautiful. It is happy to dance and entertaining to watch. This makes a good prospect for a harmonious society, which is peaceful, stable and dynamic in the new era. Dancing is healthy, active, and displays the enthusiasm and courtesy of the citizens. It is an integral part of life together with busy working and studying. We need spaces for dancing and exercising for an ideal living space. Now there are more and more retired

people. We should not neglect their needs and the society should show more attention and supports (*sic*). [349]

This dancer credits the “citizens” with finding a solution that is not only beneficial and practical, but also quite enjoyable and adaptable to dancers with varying physical abilities. What she hopes will happen in the future is official support for this home-grown activity in the form of more and better spaces for dancing.

Despite the decline of filial piety and economic changes that have reduced their pensions, the older residents who participated in this study have found an alternative way to cope with these challenges and to age healthily. Self-organized, spontaneous and resilient, these dancing groups are the response that many seniors living in Beijing have grasped upon to aid them to engage in vigorous physical activity and in generating community in the midst of urban renewal and disappearing intergenerational social contracts. Cognizant of the importance of staying active and mentally engaged, these dancers see that *yangge* is an activity that well suits their special needs. In the next chapter, I examine the transformation of the dance from a ritual harvest dance to a workout dance for the aging Cultural Revolution cohort.

Chapter 3 Flash(back) Dance 回忆跳舞

*“In the past, we niu yangge-ed in the courtyard to celebrate the harvest.”*³⁰ [dancer]

Dancing has retained its popularity through time in China from the village to the city. *Yangge*³¹ (*yāngge*, 秧歌) is a traditional folk dance from the Dongbei (东北) and Shaanxi (陕西) provinces of China dating back to the Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD), the form was adopted during the Yan’an Rectification Movement (1937-1947; 延安整风运动) for the purpose of communicating official political ideology to villagers through the familiar dance form. Now, cleansed of political content, the dance is occupying a new role in everyday life in contemporary Beijing. Dance is now used for active aging, as part of residents’ preventive health strategy. *Yangge* proved to be a convenient vehicle because it was easy for aging residents to recall the steps of the dance from their formative years, as they grew up during the era of high socialism in Maoist China, in the shadow of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The dance has been the reassuring ritual constant in their lives while massive change – political, economic, social and urban – infused all other portions of their lives.

In the 1990s, “*yangge fever*” descended upon Beijing. Growing numbers of spontaneously-organized dance groups attracted the attention of the officials who began requiring dancing groups to register with the city. The Beijing leadership began both promoting new *yangge* dances in an effort to “modernize” the dance and purge it of its more rural and revolutionary associations, as well as holding national competitions with monetary prizes to promote the new *yangge* dances. These new dances, however, differ in both intensity, feeling, and form and require from participants a greater degree of physical competency to perform. As a consequence, a bifurcation of dancers in the city resulted, forming two types of dancing groups: semi-professional and amateur dancing groups.

The semi-professional groups tend to be formed relatively lately, in the early 2000s. Many of the members are middle-aged and in good physical health. The reason for the formation of the group is to compete with other groups and win prize money. The amateur groups were formed earlier in the late 1980s or 1990s. Their members tend to have a greater diversity of ages and were usually non-competitive, although they may decide to take part in a city-wide dancing competition occasionally. Occasional overlaps are in evidence, however. The amateur groups may occasionally compete in city-wide competitions or community performances, too, although I encountered some groups that were still not even aware of *yangge* competitions occurring in the city. The distinction I would like to make here is that the primary intent of the formation of the amateur group was not to compete, but rather to achieve health goals, to maintain friendships, or to have fun. In time, as *yangge* competitions became more ubiquitous, some of these amateur groups also tried their luck at winning. In contrast, the overriding reason for some semi-professional groups to form is to compete and win.

The professionalization of *yangge* is not a recent development. Even in the villages, some *yangge* troupes could be considered amateurs, but some may be considered professionals. These groups differ from the amateurs in that after they finish performing for their own villages, the second group would travel to neighboring villages in search of new performance opportunities. Traditionally, *yangge* troupes performed in both designated and impromptu spaces: permanent stages in temples, and also make-shift stages in school halls, classrooms,

playgrounds, or even streets (Mackerras 1983, 152). In contrast, now in the modern city, the dancing groups – both amateur and semi-professional – had to find new spaces to dance, as will be discussed in later chapters.

As the number of groups dancing old and new *yangge* in the city grew, the space for dancing became increasingly limited. In 2007, the Chinese leadership mandated *yangge* and other types of dancing into the middle school curriculum to combat the emerging obesity epidemic among Chinese youth. A village dance that has been remembered and carried over to the city during a different political era, the *yangge* continues to play an important role in the social lives, as well as physical and mental health of the city's inhabitants, across multiple generations.

Niǔ, 扭

The verb commonly used with the *yangge* dance is “*niǔ*” which means to swing one's hips. Since the 1990s, *yangge* has received considerable notice by Chinese national media and foreigners living in Chinese cities. An estimated 60,000 out of Beijing's 1.2 million senior citizens dance the *yangge* on a regular basis,³² while the Chinese Dance Sport federation reported 30 million people dance *yangge* nationally – a population equivalent to the current populations of Los Angeles and New York City combined.³³ Danced in the streets, under bridges and in parking lots of China's capital, this has led some Chinese scholars to call for further research, noting that the *yangge* revival “especially among middle-aged and elderly women, is a phenomenon deserving of close study in the context of preserving tradition” (Doar 2006). To be sure, preservation of a traditional dance form is at stake, but as I point out in Chapter 2, the new purposes that the dance now serves for the older residents of Beijing exceeds its value as a quaint folk art revival in a new modern context. But here, let us trace the street dance in Beijing back to its traditional context in the villages of the Chinese countryside in the rural northeast.

Made in the Countryside: Village *Yangge* (960 AD – present)

Throughout Chinese history, regional theater - of which *yangge* is just one form – was truly populist, a folk art that thrived at the grass-roots level and which made its way upwards towards the elite. *Yangge* differed from art forms such as landscape paintings and poetry, which were created for the consumption of educated patrons (Mackerras 1983, 158). Literally translated as the “rice-sprout song,” the *yangge* originated from the north Chinese countryside and was customarily danced to celebrate Chinese New Year, as well as weddings and at temple fairs whenever a public expression of communal happiness was desired (Holm 1991). The *yangge* danced in the countryside characteristically takes place at specially designated times in the agrarian calendar: at festival times during the New Year or at the beginning of a new cycle of planting (C. Hung 1994, 402). An elaborate affair requiring villagers to wear costumes and apply thick make-up, dancers parade through the streets with much celebration.

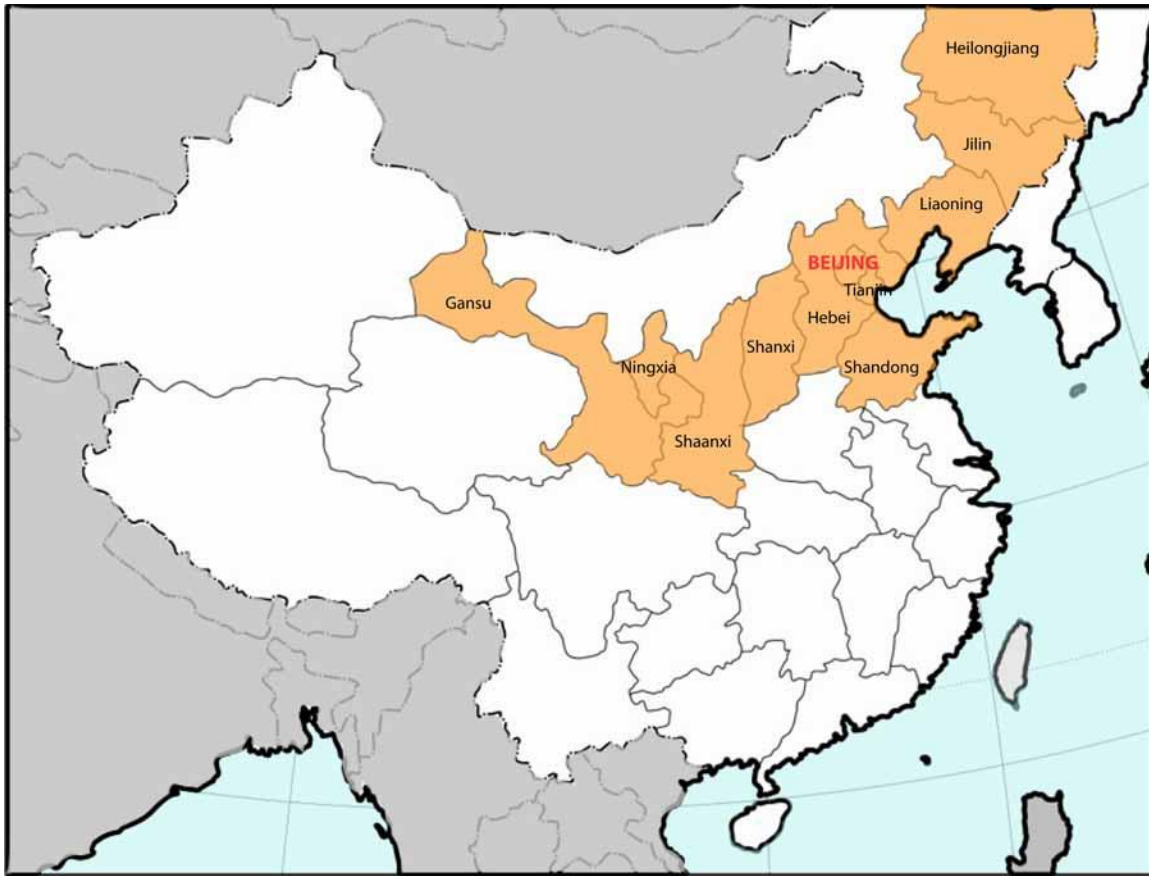


Figure 3.1. Yangge-dancing regions in China. Different variations of the dance are found between provinces and even villages, each locale incorporating different props and performing traditions.

China's Dongbei (东北) region is composed of provinces Liaoning (辽宁), Jilin (吉林) and Heilongjiang (黑龙江省); the Central Loess Plateau region, composed of Shaanxi (陕西) and Shanxi (山西), as well as provinces near Beijing, Hebei (河北) and Shandong (山东) (Gerdes 2008; Graezer 2004; Holm 1991; Qiu 1997, 26–27, 87–93). A collection of folk dances practiced by farmers in the northern provinces of China, *yangge* was developed out of work rhythms in the countryside for entertainment (Mackerras 1983). The dance encompasses many different forms with varying degrees of difficulty.

Like spoken dialects, the variety of *yangge* danced linked performances to a distinct place, communicating the dancer's identity and location. The Dingxian *yangge* (定縣秧歌選) in the Hebei province requires performers to sing, while the Shaanxi *yangge* emphasized dancing movements (Anon. 1999). Within the Shaanxi province, the Ansai *yangge* (安塞秧歌) incorporates a small cylindrical drum that the dancer straps to the side of the body to beat, but the Luochuan *yangge* (洛川秧歌) uses a larger, rounder drum, worn centered on the body to beat (Qiu 1997, 87). From the Dongbei region, the *da yangge* (big *yangge*, 大秧歌) dancers do not carry drums at all, but instead make large, sweeping motions with their arms, waving handkerchiefs and fans, while musicians stand nearby, beating a large drum on a stand. Others sitting on low stools nearby play cymbals, gongs, bamboo clappers and sometimes the *suona* (a Chinese horn, *suǒnà*, 唢呐). In Hebei province, a giant drum is rolled out into the village square

for several musicians to beat while the *yangge* performance takes place a few steps away: a man dressed as a woman with a kerchief on his head “rides” around the square with another man costumed as a donkey; “she” quarrels with and hits with a stick with another man sporting a white wig and fake beard who plays the fool as he follows the donkey pair around the open village space.

Religious Roots: “*Rènao*, 热闹” and Group Power

Dating back to the Song dynasty (960-1279) *yangge* was first associated with the performance of sacred rites. At this time, it was performed with a variety of different props including fans, bamboo-clappers and scarves to greet gods and dispel evil (Qiu 1997). The instruments that musicians who accompanied the dancers then are the same as the ones used now, including the *suona*, cymbals, gongs, and drum. Holm suggests that they are based on folk religion, designed to appease spirits, to bring good luck, and perhaps also to function in a guardian capacity, as some of the dance figures resembled the arrangements of soldiers in battle. He likened the *yangge* troupe to a kind of “spiritual militia, which performed in order to drive pestilence out of the village” (Holm 1991, 169). Indeed, the synchronized, precise movements of the dance troupe and the sheer noise of the booming drum and crashing of cymbals conjures up the sense of a defensive battalion.

Another explanation for the popularity of rambunctious activities such as *yangge* is offered by anthropologist Adam Yuet Chau. Chau explains that *rènao*, or “red-hot sociality” (热闹) is the preferred method of sociality in Shaanbei (Chau 2005, 147). Regarding one province which dances *yangge*, he writes: “Shaanbei people are drawn to temple festivals because the latter provide an occasion when they can produce and experience what in their culture is the most desirable mode of sociality: red hot sociality (heightened excitement)”. Differing from the notion of individual “sociability”, “sociality” as described by Chau is a group level characteristic that one may compare with sociologist Émile Durkheim’s notion of “collective effervescence” which is fundamental to religious feeling. According to Durkheim (1965, 429):

There can be no society that does not experience the need at regular intervals to maintain and strengthen the collective feelings and ideas that provide its coherence and its distinct individuality. This moral remaking can be achieved only through meetings, assemblies, and congregations in which the individuals, pressing close to one another, reaffirm in common their common sentiments.

The focused and concentrated efforts of dancing with others can become an intense experience of reaffirming and expressing shared sentiments.

Dancing Patterns

In the *yangge* dance, several types of dance figures are often incorporated in the course of a single dance performance. Historian David Holm documented the geometric dance figures – the patterns the dance troupes draw inside the performance space – of *yangge* in the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region (Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia, 陕甘宁边区) and also in the Shandong province in China. While marked regional differences between the Shandong and Northern

Shaanxi regions exist, within a single region, the biggest differences between the various types of dances lies in the overall dance figure that the troupes perform. A group that dances in a site that is *dàchǎng*, or “big arena” (大场) *yangge* traces a different dance figure than a group that dances *jīngshén*, or “worshipping *yangge*” (精神) at a site located outside a temple.

Generally, the dance figures fall into two general patterns: those that are generally circular, where the complexity of the dancing appears to lie in the relationship of the dancers to one another as they interweave amongst each other in the interior area of the dancing space, while another discernable pattern in the dance figures is one that engages the surrounding perimeter of the dance space, where the complexity of the dance movements lies in tracing the external bounds of the dancing space with turns and spins.

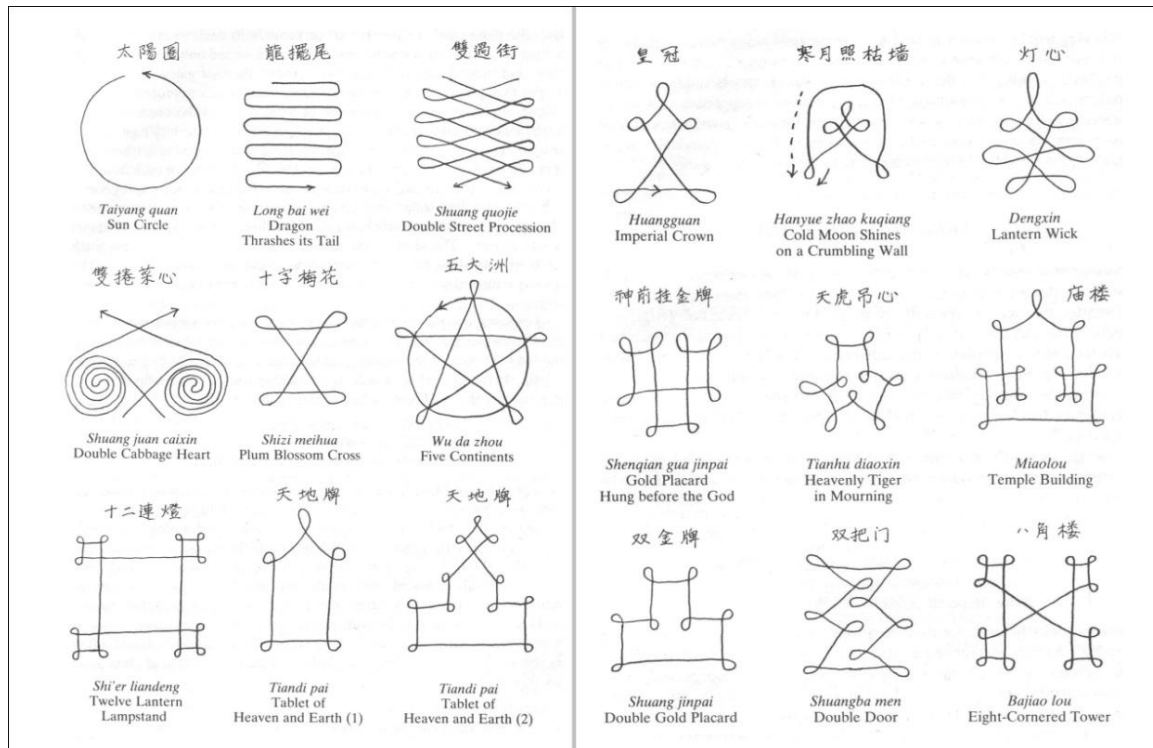


Figure 3.2. Comparison of David Holm's diagrams of *dachang* (big arena; above, left) and *jingshen* (worshipping; above, right) *yangge* dance figures from North Shaanxi (Holm 1991, 169)

The *dachang* and *jingshen yangge* dance figures appear to contain a mixture of both dances with complex interweaving towards the interior that tend towards circular figures and dances that emphasize the exterior, square perimeter of the performance space. The *jingshen yangge* dance figures differs in the demeanor expected of the dancers. While *dacheng yangge* may be boisterous and uninhibited, dancing the *jingshen yangge* demands participants to preserve their composure.

Usually, one individual leads the dancing, although I have observed groups with two leaders as well when the group exceeds thirty or forty dancers. In the dance figures that require the group to split, the troupe is divided into two paired queues, both facing forward towards the leader(s). Swaying to one side and then the other, they pause and then take a few steps forward,

waving their fans while staggering their way to the front of the line. Upon reaching the front of the line, both dancers turn outwards, lifting their fans skyward, fluttering them overhead as if they were falling down from a high place and then dance-step back to the end of their own lines. This group circulating pattern now moves the next two new dancers up to the front of the line. Once the whole group has had their turn at the top of the line, another variant circulating pattern begins.

***Yangge* variations**

Villages vary greatly in how many *yangge* troupes they have and idiosyncratic variations of *yangge* are often regarded as an expression of identity for the village or even an entire region.³⁴ (Holm 1991). At times, intergroup conflict arise as different groups compete for rights to perform at important ceremonies.³⁵ During the Spring Festival, the courtyards are empty because the planting has not begun. Inside one large dirt courtyard, however large, steaming cauldrons sit atop kerosene stoves. Hundreds of dumplings are consumed on this day, shared, communally, with the rest of the village. Villagers trickle in, a few at a time with baskets, to take some dumplings from the communal pots; they will take them home to share and consume with their families. It is calm near the cauldrons, except for the sound of the boiling water and some bursts of laughter from the conversations between villagers who decided to consume their dumplings on the spot. The winter sun beats down and a cold, dry wind blows sand across the uneven dirt courtyard. Steam rises from the awaiting pots. But off in the distance, one can hear the procession of dancers. The music and the *yangge* dancing seems to infuse the quiet rural landscape with hope that big harvests are coming, ones that would fill the entire courtyard to the brim this year, what now stands empty.

Like mobile groups of Christmas carolers in the US who walk from house to house in the snow to sing religious songs on doorsteps spreading evening cheer, the *yangge* troupes in northern China dance in a procession from familial compound to compound, beating drums, cymbals, blowing the *suona* and waving fans in the late morning during the Spring Festival to entertain and strengthen communal ties.³⁶ They [the *yangge* performers] wish the hosts a happy New Year and do the *yangge* dance in the courtyards. Accompanied by drums, they wave red silk waist bands. The hosts set off firecrackers to welcome the dancers' arrival and invite them to taste their home-made rice wine. Sometimes the men dressed as women could number from a handful of people to over a hundred (Chau 2005, 258). The sounds of songs, drums and firecrackers blend, creating a festive atmosphere in the village (Qiu 1997).

Actors

In the village, participants included amateur farmers or semi-professional peasant actors, and in the countryside, it was danced by men and women of all ages (Arkush 1990, 88). In the village context, dancing *yangge* commanded social status because only the wealthier farmers had the leisure time and means to assemble the necessary props and to learn the dance routine (phone interview 2004).

Yangge time and variations

Yangge is danced in villages to mark holidays. Following the Chinese agrarian calendar, *yangge* is performed at Spring Festival (during the first day of the first lunar month), and also during the Lantern Festival (fifteenth day of the first lunar month) (Qiu 1997). Weddings and at temple fairs are also occasions for dancers to perform to amuse and entertain the populace (Arkush 1990, 88). These performances happened at New Year's, festivals and temple fairs, a part “of social life that is exciting and highly desirable” (Chau 2005, 150). Typical *yangge* forms include mainly dance variations such as: “Double Cabbage Heart”, “Double Street Procession,” while other may be skits, such as “The Cowherd” or “Little Cowherds” (Holm 1991; Rogaski). The play forms can be quite rowdy as the stories include much clowning, displays of buffoonery and mock drunkenness, with men cross-dressing, others wearing masks, while others don donkey costumes.

Settings: The Village context

The central pavilion in villages and market towns were places where celebrations of rural *yangge* took place (Arkush 1990, 88). But when dancers performed, they often did so in the yard of one family’s family courtyard compound. Yards were multiuse spaces located in the center of each village family home was also the space for other activities such as keeping livestock, threshing wheat and drying laundry, as well as where dancing occurs on special celebrations [49:443]. Reminiscent of the ancient streets in Pompeii in the ancient Roman world, the grey brick walls of the village’s courtyard homes in northern China define the public street, though the streets are unpaved. But different from Pompeii is the more generous setbacks between the streets and the walled compounds where trees and shrubs are found.



Figure 3.3. Village pathways (top, left), exterior walls of village homes (bottom, left) and the house inside a courtyard (bottom, right) of a wealthy merchant in Langfang village (廊坊) near Beijing, 2010. Note the two horses inside the courtyard of the walled compound (bottom, right).

The brick walls are plain and unadorned. To escape the summer heat, residents often bring short benches or three-legged stools outside so they may sit in the street, near the doorways of their homes to converse with neighbors who are also sitting on short stools outside, or relaxing at an open-air eatery nearby.



Figure 3.4. Village eatery, across the street from the house with the two horses in Langfang village (廊坊) near Beijing, 2010.

Behind the wall inside the compound is an open rectangular courtyard. The back wall of each compound is formed by a low, one-story brick building segmented into three or four rooms: bedroom, living room/bedroom/eating room, and the kitchen. The outhouse and storage sheds are located at the two far corners, in the periphery of the dirt, uncovered courtyard.³⁷

Throughout the year, different grains are collected and dried in the courtyard – including corn and dates – until they are ready for transporting to the market. This first entails loading up the donkey cart or perhaps packing goods into minivans (*miànbāochē*, 面包车).³⁸ Once the goods arrive at the nearest town, they then are transferred into awaiting trucks and transported to market.

Village spaces

One reason for why the dancing figures for *dachang* (big arena) and *jingshen* (worshipping) *yangge* differ, as described above, could be related to where the intended audience of each performance is situated in relation to the space where the troupes perform. In one Hebei village I visited in 2005, dancing took place at a cul-de-sac area in front of the temple.

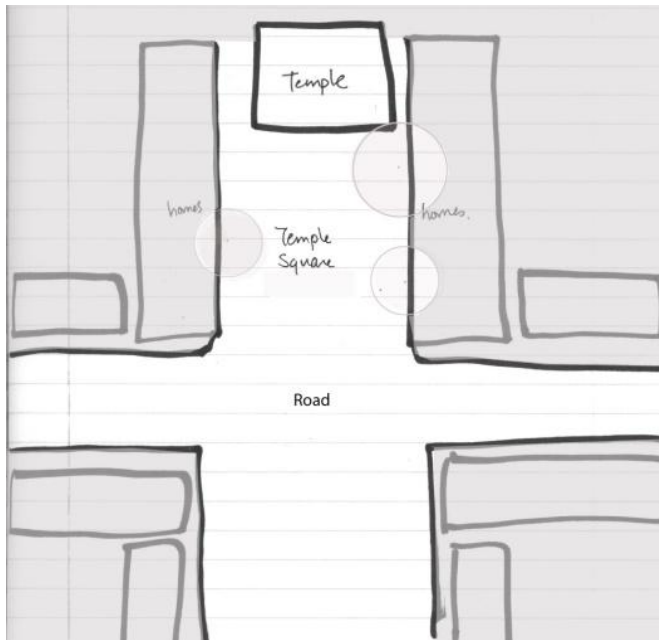


Figure 3.5. Sketch of Hebei village temple square layout from fieldnotes

The widened dirt road becomes a square with the temple facade providing one wall, and the two buildings immediately adjacent to the temple providing walls to define the square. The fourth side of this open dirt space is not closed, as it is the road itself. Dancing takes place in this space where the road ends, the open space before the temple. Another main village road may intersect with this road to the temple, a couple of hundred yards away, making it easy for villagers to stop by to see what is going on. Children climb up in the few trees that may be growing at the periphery of the square, or they may clamber up on the rooftops of the adjacent single-story homes to get a better view. In some villages permanent stages exist in a central square. In other villages, temporary stages are erected for musical performances and dancing, but some villages make do with a simple, open space. Sometimes, villagers bring out a giant drum – perhaps twenty feet in diameter, and four feet high, painted red with skin stretched over the top - so the villagers, crowded around the drum can all beat on it together with their outstretched hands to contribute to the melee.

Music

Music occupied a central position and essential element in Chinese dance and theater (Mackerras 1983). Dancers are nearly always accompanied by a small percussion band of drums, cymbals, bamboo clappers, and horn. Collective dancing marked the New Year on the Chinese agricultural calendar; *yangge* was a ritualized ecstatic practice that has now ubiquitous in the city. The importance of music in Chinese dramatic performances is why some scholars regard all traditional theater in China “opera,” according to Mackerras: “Music is not only the dominant feature of all traditional theater; it is the characteristic music of each regional form that most distinguishes it from others and provides most of the wide variation between the regional styles.” And because of the strong ties between provincial origins and music, different varieties of *yangge* evoke strong ties to native place identity. For example, most of the dancers

interviewed in this study who prefer the big *yangge* come from the Dongbei region, north of Beijing, while many of the other dancers who choose waist drum *yangge* come from the Shandong province where this variety of *yangge* originates.



Figure 3.6. Musical instruments used to play *yangge* music

Participatory Element of *Yangge*

One quality about *yangge* worth noting is its openness to improvisation and responsiveness to its context. The dance took on new forms as individual dancers suggested new moves for the group to try out. As the dancers and musicians play to and with one another, performing with a new musical band could result in changes in the usual dancing patterns to match the way the music is performed. Arkush explains that the audience also has a hand in changing the performance: “It seems likely that the operas not only influenced but were influenced by ordinary people- that they were shaped to a significant degree by local players and in response to audience demands” (Arkush 1990, 88). Like a natural language, *yangge* changed and grew, new movements were invented and old ones took on new meanings. In short, the dance was enriched by its participants and enthusiasts from below. In popular *yangge*, the dance was fluid and responsive, like slang, it changed with the times to reflect new meanings and sensibilities in all its commoner glory.

Transient Dance

In pre-Revolutionary times (before 1949), dance and theater troupes traveled from village to village in search of performance opportunities.³⁹ These groups performed in both permanent spaces such as stages inside temples and palaces, and also temporary spaces (Mackerras 1983, 152).

Historian William Dolby describes where the dance groups were situated in each of these performance spaces. Dolby remarks: “Generally, it seems they [dancers and actors] performed everywhere and anywhere. In the palace, they might be held at the foot of steps at the lower end of the imperial or royal hall, at the upper end before the emperor, or within the space formed or contained by the bell and gong stands in the hall. They might be held at the foot of some building of more than one story or in an upper story, and wherever feasts, parties, and festivals were celebrated. Places of performance were sometimes referred to as ‘playing places’ or as ‘singing places.’” (Dolby 1983, 18). In other words, *yangge* was danced wherever adequate space was available – the dance was never “zoned” to any particular space or place, unless it was for a formal occasion such as the village celebration. But even then, the dance may start in the village pavilion, but then the dance – what one observer in the 1940s likened to a conga line - would make its way out of the fixed location and throughout the streets to bring the merriment to residents who were staying at home (Kidd 2003, 74).

Characteristic, perhaps, of a tradition of building where spaces typically supported multiple uses, the spaces where *yangge* was performed were often named by referring to other activities that happened there. For example, different areas within the large space of the village yard were often referred to by residents as “the drying place,” the “storage area” and “the place for playing.” The yard was one big space, but invisible boundaries were applied to the space in the villager’s mind that set one apart from the rest of the landscape apart from the rest, as defined by – sometimes overlapping – functions. The casual signification of a verb (“playing,” “singing”), descriptive of the activity, was used to assign a quality to the location. She pointed to the center and told me “here is the location of our dancing place.” This orientation towards space recalls J. J. Gibson’s definition for an *affordance*. From the field of many possibilities, the villager recognizes the quality of an object or environment – what it affords – that is useful for fulfilling a certain need, and thus names the space by its particular usefulness (Gibson 1986, 127).

Strengthening Ties and Imagined Rebellion

As the *yangge* group threads its way through the village lanes, social ties are reestablished in a context of merriment. As described by Qiu (1997, 5):

The Singers on the stilt team go from house to house to pay New Year calls by giving impromptu performances. People dance to the beat of the drums and gongs in the yard. A joker threads his way through the dancers while making fun of himself to amuse the audience. The performances have not only built closer relations between villagers but are also entertaining people during the festival season.

The excitement and mirth of the dance is enhanced by the crowds that without fail gather to enjoy the *yangge* spectacle. The sense of playfulness bordering on anarchy is sometimes

enhanced by the presence of another figure that occasionally accompanies the dancers: the fool who staggers about as if in a drunken stupor.



Figure 3.7. An old man playing the fool, clowning beside two lines of *yangge* dancers at parking lot of Anan Market in Beijing in the summer of 2010

Historian David Arkush (1990, 88–89) suggests that *yangge* provided a way to express dissatisfaction, resentments and other negative emotions and in a safe and socially sanctioned way:

One of the reasons drama was so compelling may be that it also allowed people to play, in a safely distanced way, with attractive but dangerous ideas and desires: sexual impulses, moral doubts, subversive fantasies, matters that were upsetting or threatening for the community. The Dingxian operas, I believe, were a way of exploring collectively troubling moral questions. In particular, they gave disguised expression to a chafing at the authority of elders in the family, a dissatisfaction with the dominant ethic of filial piety, a resentment against the rich, and a yearning for and faith in a source of moral authority outside local society.

The array of old characters that enact these comedies often include: the fool, the priest with a big head, the old woman, the fisherman, the firewood gatherer, and the young girl (Holm 1976, 3). In fact, acrobatics, makeup, and humor have always been characteristics of Chinese theater, though the ending was always happy, if not for the individual, but for the common good which is often synonymous with the reestablishment of the social order (Mackerras 1983, 2–3).

...and Loosening Ties

But *yangge* also provided occasions to loosen immediate ties and strengthen more distant ties as well. Arkush pointed out the role that village *yangge* performances offered women: a rare opportunity to leave the physical confines of their homes to participate in the public realm for several days. Women were free to visit other relatives to participate in performance events, just as female relatives from neighboring villages were invited to travel and stay with them (Arkush 1990, 88).

This temporary freeing of women from their designated roles and associated chores appears to come with the dance as it is danced in an urban environment, too, as we will see. To dance with their friends once in the morning and another time in the evening becomes one of the highlights of one's day, according to several *yangge* dancers, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Contemporary Rural China

Is this village *yangge* from Holm's (1991) study still happening today? Arkush and Dong Xiaoping assert that the form of *yangge* danced in villages today has remained relatively unchanged, despite the political, economic and social changes that have occurred in China in the past sixty years (Arkush 1990, 87; Anon. 1999).



Figure 3.8. The dance troupe at Dinghaiyuan (定海园) in Beijing still participate in *yangge* folk plays during Spring Festival

Village troupes are still dancing *yangge* to celebrate Spring Festival, to perform at the Lantern Festival, at weddings and at temple fairs (Qiu 1997, 87).

Choreographing the State: The Information Dance (1937-1969)

"Our meeting today is to ensure that literature and art become a component part of the whole revolutionary machinery, so they can act as a powerful weapon in uniting and educating the people while attacking and annihilating the enemy, and help the people achieve solidarity in their struggle against the enemy." - Mao Zedong in (1980 [c1943])

“Old wine in new bottles”

In May 5, 1942, Mao delivered a lecture in the village of Yan'an in the Shaanxi province, the main base camp for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) during the War of Resistance against Japan. In his “Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art,” Mao encouraged the Party to use folk art as a medium to disseminate political propaganda to the peasantry (C. Hung 1994, 396; Mao 1980). Mao sought the right medium for his message, while considering the audience he had to reach. “[Literate] cadres of various kinds, soldiers in the army, workers in factories, and peasants in the countryside want books and newspapers, while people who aren't literate want to see plays, look at pictures, sing songs, and listen to music; they are the audience for our works of literature and art” (Mao 1980, 60).

In the years preceding, Beijing students started the May Fourth New Culture Movement (1915-1921), seeking to modernize Chinese culture so it could compete with the West. Chen Boda suggested to Mao in 1938 that in order to modernize, old forms of art should be retained, but filled with new political ideas (Holm 1991). Mao sought to unify the country, using plays, pictures and music to capture the attention of a populace that largely could not read or write. The arts were well-suited for this purpose because they required no literacy of the audience to participate or to comprehend the underlying message, one of the reasons why *yangge* dance has retained its popularity amongst all segments of the population through time (Mackerras 1983, 4) (Mackerras 1983, 4). As Chang-tai Hung and others have pointed out, Mao filled old bottles with new wine, that is, suffused old, familiar folk forms with new, revolutionary ideas to improve communication with the less educated. In a civil war that largely pitted the industrialists in the cities against the farmers in the countryside, Mao amassed a large support base in the latter and used folk art as a way to communicate and rally his constituency.

Up to this time, *yangge* was a form of folk entertainment. After the Communists took control in 1949, a “scripts-by-committee” was put in place so dances would continue to reflect current political ideology. *Yangge*, as well as other forms of dance, became one of the many forms of entertainment used by the government to disseminate information. The advantage of using old forms of art is manifold – people were already accustomed to participating in these activities and physical infrastructure to support these activities were already in place. Like experienced stagehands, villagers knew what to expect at each event, including watching *yangge*, participating in the performances themselves, or paying visits to each others' homes, sharing a dance, some rice wine or giving a cigarette. Anticipation in the mind of the peasantry makes sure that *yangge* will be danced again each year.

The Make-Do Dance

The supporting spaces were also already there. In open spaces in front of temples, and during New Years Day on the agricultural calendar, as well as at temple fairs and the Lantern Festival, dancing took place. The Communist party took note of this and matched their message to local dialects and folk dances. According to historian David Holm: “all targets of propaganda were to be addressed in terms of their own specific psychology and within the terms of their own experience, not merely in terms of general political issues The CCP was not just to agitate for revolutionary uprisings, but also to make wider contact with the masses in the context of their everyday lives” (Holm 1991, 20).

Mao and his party sought to blend new ideas into the existing language of everyday life to lessen the possibility of a quick rejection. According to Holm, “In this effort, all pre-existing values and forms of China’s ‘old-culture’ as they existed in the minds and collective experience of Chinese people were or at least could be linked to the new political ideals and manipulated for the furtherance of revolutionary aims. The use of ‘old forms’ of literature and art, then, was simply a particular manifestation of a much more general strategy in CCP political work” (Holm 1991, 20). So Mao and his party appropriated vernacular *yangge* for their political goals, thinking that without regional adjustments, revolution would fail.

Liberation Dance

On Oct. 1, 1949, the People’s Republic of China was established. Witness to the celebrations on the first day of the new Communist regime, David Kidd writes in his memoirs about his life as an American expatriate who married a member of the Chinese elite gentry during the Chinese Communist Revolution. He noted the excitement throughout the city the night before (Kidd 2003, 54):

Schools, government offices, and labor organizations were all working on their contributions to the great parades that were to celebrate the occasion. Dance groups were practicing the Planting Dance, imported by the Communists from the provinces. Everyone was busy learning the songs of New China, making costumes, and, because the demonstrations would last into the night, making lanterns.



Figure 3.9. Yāogǔ (腰鼓) or the waist drum *yangge*, performed in Tiananmen Square during the 1950s

Kidd described *yangge* from the perspective of the privileged classes on that momentous day in the People’s Republic of China (Kidd 2003, 60–61):

The dances. . . began to move in the mincing, swaying gait of the Planting Dance, their heads rolling as if they were drunk. The steps were intricate, and were synchronized perfectly with the music. The dancers swayed right, whirled, took two steps backward, one step forward, with breathtaking precision.

Of course, no farmer ever danced such a dance during the planting or at any other season. I had seen the real Planting Dance eight months before, when it was first introduced into Peking, and it was a very dull dance. But government schools of dance, drama, and music had had their effect on the venerable steps of what Aunt Chin called ‘that vulgar country dancing.’

To the sensibilities of the elite, the farmers’ dance was vulgar, uninteresting, and uninspired. However, the government was taking measures to remedy the situation. None other than Mao Zedong would create committees to transform the “vulgar country dancing” into a new dance that was “synchronized” and “precise” – that would better fit the image of the new nation.

The new dance differed from the bottom-up, organic way from which village *yangge* performances evolved. According to Mackerras (1983, 3):

Troupes would take a rough scenario and improvise the production so as to enhance opportunities for leading actors to demonstrate their skills in performance; the latter, along with their musical accompanists, would have to be considered the ‘authors.’ Others might then learn by rote, and pass on, the production as it was given on stage by the originator or inheritor of the piece.

The fluidity and improvisation of these performances would contrast with the politically-loaded dance that the emerging Communist party devised in order to target various segments of the population so they could be encouraged to partake in the “revolutionary enterprise” (Holm 1991, 19).

The Manipulated Dance: The “Mass Line” and Guerrilla Dancing

Elite and popular forms of theater have always existed in China. Before the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, court writers created elite dramas for the imperial court. Mao used this same approach with a populist twist. He turned to vernacular art to reach the non-elites in the countryside. Retooling the folkdance to carry political messages, Mao used popular story-telling, dance and folk theater as media to broadcast the views of the Chinese Communist Party to illiterate Chinese who lived in the countryside.⁴⁰ Dance and songs about country life were surefire, popular entertainment for farmers and Mao used these “wholesome” diversions infused with new ideas to promote Communist ideals.



Figure 3.10. We are Red: Performances that re-enact the founding of the People's Republic of China are staged in contemporary China. Here, the Dinghaiyuan *yangge* troupe is singing in the costume of Red Army cadres in 2006.

A 67 year old dancer who danced under a freeway explained to me how the imperial gardens were opened to the populace and how *yangge* was danced:

After the liberation of the country, the parks became free on Labor Day and National Day. Many art troupes danced *yangge* and performed comic dialogues and traditional dramas in the parks. Also on National Day, parades took place with participants dancing *yangge*. Such *yangge* dancing activities were organized by the government or other public institutions. [58:502]

Chinese Communist Party introduced *yangge* into the cities as musicals that narrated the victory of the Revolution. But the new *yangges* that were designed by committee did not allow for the evolution of themes from the community that the traditional village *yangges* accommodated. In the eyes of some anthropologists, this restricted creativity and ossified the lively popular dance, resulting in the "decline of this art form in urban China" (C.-T. Hung 2005, 82).

During the Second Sino-Japanese War, Mao also encouraged the use of dance in scare tactics against the Japanese who were occupying Shanghai. Chinese in Japan-controlled Shanghai would participate in "guerrilla-style" performances "all over the city," but out of sight of the occupation force, to spread propaganda against the invaders (Mackerras 1983, 153). These tactics resemble modern-day flash mob phenomena, but carry the idea one step further because of the messaging function that they also serve. These performances could be explained as embodied expressions of what James C. Scott (1992, 4) calls the "hidden transcript:" discourse that takes place behind the backs of powerholders, that highlights by its very existence, the incomplete and precarious control over the city that those in power (in this case, the Japanese invaders) hold.

The Morality Dance

According to Chinese performance studies scholars, Colin Mackerras and Elizabeth Wichmann, theater was often used in history as a tool for educating illiterate masses on ethics.

Use of live dance and performance as a media to communicate information reached as far back as the Song dynasty (960-1279), and continued onto the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) when the elite who had fallen out of favor with the new court, turned to staging theater to give voice to their alternative political views (Mackerras 1983). During the later Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, rulers used theater to promote Confucian ideals, establishing normative ways of relating to different actors within society. After the fall of the Qing in 1911, the ensuing regimes soon picked up dance and performance again as a vehicle for political education, instrumental in teaching the new ideals of a changed political landscape (Mackerras 1983).

When Mao Zedong and his cadres sought to mobilize the rural population for the Communist cause, *yangge*, as well as other forms of folk culture such as story-telling and folk opera, was an appealing choice due to its degree of integration with rural life. It was a dance of farmers, by farmers. Mao adapted urban intellectual concerns to these folk forms, relying on dance, oral and performing literature in order to advance Communist ideals (Judd 1990). These new dances eventually appeared in Beijing's new urban squares. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, nearly all forms of written literature were banned for three years between 1966 and 1969, and government committees went to work, revising and correcting literary content to reflect Marxist-Leninist political ideology at the same time that large, Soviet-style architecture and squares began appearing in Chinese cities (McDougall 1984, vii–viii).



Figure 3.11. A decorative, New Year's paper-cut of a *yangge* dancer

***Yangge* Ban**

Yangge served this purpose well for the two decades following Mao's 1942 Forum, but despite this, in the course of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), *yangge* itself was eventually banned. The radical and progressive students from the May Fourth Movement of 1919 were the ones who first cast suspicions on old folk forms. They felt that China was weak, when compared to the West and blamed "backward" elements of Chinese culture for keeping the nation from modernizing.

Mao soon took up the challenge to create a new National Culture that could compete with that of West, one that was based on science, industry and technology. His approach differed, however, from the May Fourth reformers in that he felt the peasantry would not understand a message that was too new and unfamiliar, so he encased his revolutionary political messaging inside familiar art forms such as musical theater and dance. New arts such as “model revolutionary theater” were offered to the populace to enjoy and to ponder. Traditional arts such as storytelling and *yangge* were also used in this way, but after the new political ideals took hold, the Chinese leadership discarded these old art forms because of their intrinsic, perfidious association with the “old ideas” of religion and feudal culture.

Mao felt a transitional bridge was necessary between the “Four Olds” and revolutionary ideology and advocated manipulating folk art in order to achieve these goals. The new “revolutionary *yangge*,” along with other forms of transformed folk art, would complete the work that May Fourth organizers had envisioned but failed to communicate to the masses because they could not find an appropriate common language.

Dance was not only a form of communication and a vehicle for official doctrine, but also a vehicle for social control. Dance scholar Liu Zhiming regarded theater as: “a medium for the development of the people’s attitudes towards life, government, labor, sacrifice, service ... in the direction of socialism. We return again to the question of images, of what qualities the people see as good or bad, the kind of person they admire or dislike. In a country such as China, where quick and radical social change has recently taken place, popular attitudes or value systems are particularly important; for if attitudinal change fails to keep pace with industrial, economic, and technological change, then old ways return” (Mackerras 1983, 178). Dance choreographed by the Ministry of Culture was a way to discipline the body to national norms, what Susan Brownell refers to as “training the body for China.” Anthropologist Marcel Mauss has a more general term for process: *techniques of the body* or “the ways in which from society to society men know how to use their bodies” (Mauss 1973, 70). This socio-psycho-biological complex of habitually uses one’s body is transmitted from generation to generation and vary across cultures.

Yet according to Mauss, these patterns do change. Mauss observed how swimming changed in the course of his life. He noted that in the past, swimmers commonly dove with their eyes closed, but later, this was no longer fashionable and swimmers dove with their eyes wide open. Swimmers also used to swallow water and then spit it out, but now they no longer do this. Breast stroke used to be how everyone swam, but now it is the crawl. In other words, the rituals that people engage in do follow certain patterns in order to fulfill certain functions such as learning how to stay afloat and navigate water, but the patterns themselves may shift.

Most respondents experience dancing as pure delight. Psychologically, this suggests that dancing offers participants to psyche themselves up for another day, the way that other groups may follow a ritual before taking on another some kind of difficult task. As discussed elsewhere, dance has been the reassuring ritual constant in everyday life in the midst of change. Facing massive social change, it is not hard to imagine why *yangge* became a “fever” in the 1990s.

The Countryside Dance in the City (1990s – present)

After the Cultural Revolution and Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping instituted a new wave of political and economic reforms that liberalized the country. In 1978, China began the process for applying to join the World Trade Organization and began transitioning from a planned to a market economy (Berik, Dong, and Summerfield 2007). State control over media were relaxed over the 1980s, as Beijing TV (later renamed China Central Television Station or CCTV) started broadcasting cartoons, programs and advertising from different parts of the world. Cultural expression at home was also relaxed, resulting in a boom in both contemporary and nostalgic Chinese art movements. *Yangge* was no longer banned. With the emergence of rocker Cui Jian in 1987, Chinese rock and roll was born and in 1988, Zhang Yimou filmed "Red Sorghum" for commercial consumption. It was during this time in the late 1980s that *yangge* came to the city (Goldkorn and Martinsen 2006, 407).

Since the 1990s, *yangge* takes place at regular, fixed times all over Beijing in the morning and in the evening. Dancers travel to parks in the morning where residents practice *taichi*, sword-dance, qigong, and the *yangge*. In the evenings, residents appear in neighborhood plazas to dance again: *yangge*, salsa, tango or waltz. While mostly women dance, a few men do as well. They are mostly retirees, but sometimes children and adolescents join the dancing with the more mature group, too.



Figure 3.12. New addition to the troupe at Deshengmen (德胜门)

Accompanied by loud percussion music, residents practice this dance in spaces under freeway overpasses, underground parking garages, parking lots and in construction areas. The live music and the motion of thirty to fifty bodies moving in unison transformed the otherwise dark and dusty corners of the city into spaces of dynamic animation. The dancers emphasize the importance of the music. Without the music, they explain, the dance group is not complete. They encourage me to take photographs and interview the male musicians because "they are part of our group, too!"

Relief Valve

Soon after Deng Xiaoping took over China's leadership in 1978, he began reforms that dismantled China's planned socialist economy, plunging the population that had grown up with ideas of collective values and state-sponsored safety net into a new world they had not known before, a development that some China scholars refer to as "the breaking of the iron rice bowl." In this context of these changes, many kinds of "fevers" took hold of the public. Chau explains the "fever" or "craze" phenomenon in reform-era China: "people rush to do the same thing because this thing suddenly becomes really popular, whether it is investing in the stock market (*gupiaore*), going to the disco (*disikere*), learning English (*xueyingyure*), going abroad (*chuguore*), consuming and discoursing 'high culture' (*wenhuare*), or doing rustic *yangge* dance in urban China (*yanggere*)" (Chau 2005, 150). Both new and old sources could spark new "fevers"; the film *Titanic* and *yangge* were equally capable of mobilizing large proportions of the community to devote considerable time and energy in towards these topics (Noble 2003).

Yangge continued to serve its purpose as a legitimate reason for women to leave the home and move around the city as it did for village women to leave the village to visit friends and relatives. One dancer explained how engaging in health cultivation activities allowed her to achieve a degree of freedom in the city: "I've done them all—*taichi qigong*, *yangge*—at home, at work, in the park. But *yangge* is best because it's more lively and we get to move around more, all over the city in fact" (N. N. Chen 2001, 170). While some of the other activities also take place in a scattering of public spaces, *yangge* groups flourish in public places *all over the city*, and different teams perform different dances. As a result, a dancer can "shop" for dancing groups until she finds one that is performing the *yangge* she prefers, and if she grows bored of the routine, she can leave to find a different team. To the delight of this dancer, the flexibility of memberships in dancing groups has the added benefit of allowing a fluidity of movement through the city, while engaging in an activity that is considered beneficial and legitimate. For this able-bodied dancer, she has reason to leave her home and to travel around the city for several overlapping, consecrated purposes: to achieve fitness, to alleviate familial concern about her health, to save on medical expenses, and to maintain her friendships.

Far from isolated, one-off, eccentric groups, the advantage of *yangge* is that it is everywhere. One 55 year old dancer at a parking lot asserted to me the importance of the dance for mental health, creating community and even for the greater stability of the society:

The urban people should try to forget about the constraints of life. We throw away all our worries when we dance. Through dancing we have fun, make friends, and forget our illness and even our age. Through dancing we stay young forever. The fact that more people join dancing is a sign of harmony of the society. The dancing groups have become a landscape in the parks. We are the hosts of the city [for the 2008 Olympic Games], and we are responsible to add vigor to the city. [210]

This dancer sees "vitality" in the city as the responsibility of the people, a communal enterprise that all residents are responsible for creating. Vitality is the inevitable outcome when one participates in life in the community; it comes about when residents engage in sociality with neighbors, enlivening communal spaces along the way. Vitality is not the responsibility of an urban planner to orchestrate, and it is not the task either, of planners to engineer a more "exciting" urban life.

Sportification of *Yangge*

Beginning with the Asian Games in 1990, Chinese leadership has increasingly placed emphasis on improving the competitiveness of its sports education programs. Though China's defeat in the opium wars at the hands of the British and other imperialist powers took place over two centuries ago, many dancers still mention the caricature of "the Sick Man of Asia" symbolizing the defeat of China from this time. Instead, they hope to replace it with a vision of a strong, modern and powerful China that is forward-facing, scientific and energetic. Interviews revealed that dancers held in mind an imagined audience. References to others who "will be watching" and a strong desire to "show the world" was a theme that ran through nearly all surveys questions related to the Olympics. When asked about why the audience is so important, one dancer answered: "We will be driven to dance better, so that people from the world can see the pride of the middle-aged and elderly people in Beijing" [201]. From interviews, it became apparent that even though most foreigners today may only think as far back as Chairman Mao and the Red Guards in associations with the history of China, for many ordinary Beijing residents in this study, their working memory reaches back much further. For them, the "face" recovery process dates back to the opium wars when the first insults accumulated.

But some competitions were intended for an internal audience. *Yangge* competition was made possible as "*yangge* fever" drove residents into the street until the Chinese leadership decided to step in the late 1980s and require dancing groups to register with the local government so they may monitor these spontaneously-organizing, grassroots groups. Anthropologist Nancy N. Chen (2001, 170) explained the significance of government intervention to make this spontaneous activity "official."

Even though *yangge* initially emerged in the urban landscape as a predominately women's leisure activity and therefore harmless, as with *qigong*, the municipal government quickly began to regulate the activity, requiring each troupe to register for a formal permit to practice on street corners. The impromptu crowds of up to several hundred people that gathered to watch in the evenings were too much of a distraction for city authorities and often obstructed traffic. With such a formal structure however, it became possible for *yangge* troupes to compete with each other.

Before official registration was mandated, dancers flowed freely between different groups, according to whim. After registration was required, the movement between dance groups, though still flexible, was reduced. As each member belonged to a designated group, many dancers reported feeling loyal towards their group and this increased sense of identification with their "home" group allowed for intra-group competition.⁴¹

Many China scholars have looked for signs of civil society in modern China. Following Jürgen Habermas, they hypothesize that an emerging middle-class in China would inevitably herald the beginnings of a new public sphere in the one-party state. With increased economic power, they argue, the new middle-class will demand the rule of law, higher environmental standards, representative government and human rights. In short, democracy will come to China as an inevitable conclusion. Some sites where scholars detect signs of citizen activity autonomous from the state over time include, during prerevolutionary times: the theater and temples; during the revolutionary era, in the fields and factories; and in post-reform China, in NGOs and in leisure time hobby associations, such as *yangge* groups.

But as Nancy N. Chen points out, after city leadership required the groups to register, they also set up civic, provincial and nation-wide competitions that offered cash prizes. The Chinese leadership also began creating new dances that would debut publically, every few years. When I began my research in 2004, Third Set *yangge* was very popular amongst residents. However, some who felt the dance was too difficult for them to learn. During my second visit in 2007, Third Set *yangge* had been incorporated into the dance routines of most of the groups. My third visit to Beijing in 2010 just missed the new debut of the latest *yangge*, the Fourth Set variation. By requiring the groups to officially register its members, encouraging them to compete with other groups for prize money, and periodically providing the dancing public with new (and more difficult) dances, the Chinese leadership has altered the fluidity and spontaneity of urban street dancing while not yet providing them new spaces in the city to practice (as will be discussed in later chapters).

The strategy for regulating dance is also not limited to urban *yangge*. *Yangge* competitions have also been established for farmers. “The third largest sports event after the Beijing Olympic Games and Paralympics in the country this year, the Sixth National Farmers’ Sports Meet that opened yesterday evening at Quanzhou, Fujian province (泉州,福建省), is unique in its name and style” (Anon. 2008). What sets this competition apart from other high-profile events, such as the 2008 Olympics, is the audience here is internal.

Reification: Intangible Cultural Heritage Status

But the common folk dance was elevated to national prominence as the Chinese leadership moved to restore the cultural heritage that the Cultural Revolution threatened to erase. On December 31, 2005, *yangge* achieved “intangible cultural heritage” status as item number 105 through its inclusion on the second list of heritage items by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) (Doar 2006). This move was significant for the future of the dance because now an “official” version was identified, rendering other *yangge* spin-offs to “non-official” status. This, as we will see in later chapters, posed challenges for both amateur and semi-professional *yangge* groups who – unlike the professional dancers on stage – do not have their own permanent spaces for practice.

Chapter 4 Long Life Urban Space 万岁场所

Introduction

In Chapter 2, we learned why some retirees in Beijing feel an increasing sense of urgency to stay healthy. Those who face uncertain filial support are motivated to find alternative ways to protect their health. *Yangge* dance, with its wide permeation in tradition, politics and the popular imagination became an easy vehicle for older persons to use to achieve these purposes without much difficulty. One of the advantages that older dancers pointed out was that the dance was easy to remember, as the music and dance steps were already known, and additionally, many other people in their generation shared this pastime, as leisure time activities were not as varied then as they are now. Another seeming advantage is the dance can take place anywhere – no special field or sports court is needed for dancing – only a wide, flat area. But this is not the case. Nearly all dancers pointed to lack of space as a problem plaguing their daily practice. In the words of one 60 year old dancer:

The biggest problem is space. Beijing is now an aging society. As a plethora of people retire and have plenty of leisure time, they may take part in various activities such as dance. Dance necessitates space. It is harmful to people's health to dance beside roads. Also we fear that the sound of dance may disturb neighbors. [278]

Since Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms of 1978, Beijing officials have been making great efforts to modernize the capital city, and as a result, Beijing has experienced growth and urbanization at an astonishing pace. In order to describe where dancing lodged itself in this transforming urban landscape, I will first look back upon how the urban landscape has changed over the course of the lifetime of the current retiring dancing cohort. It is necessary to understand first what the urban order was, before describing what form the dancers' adaptations took.

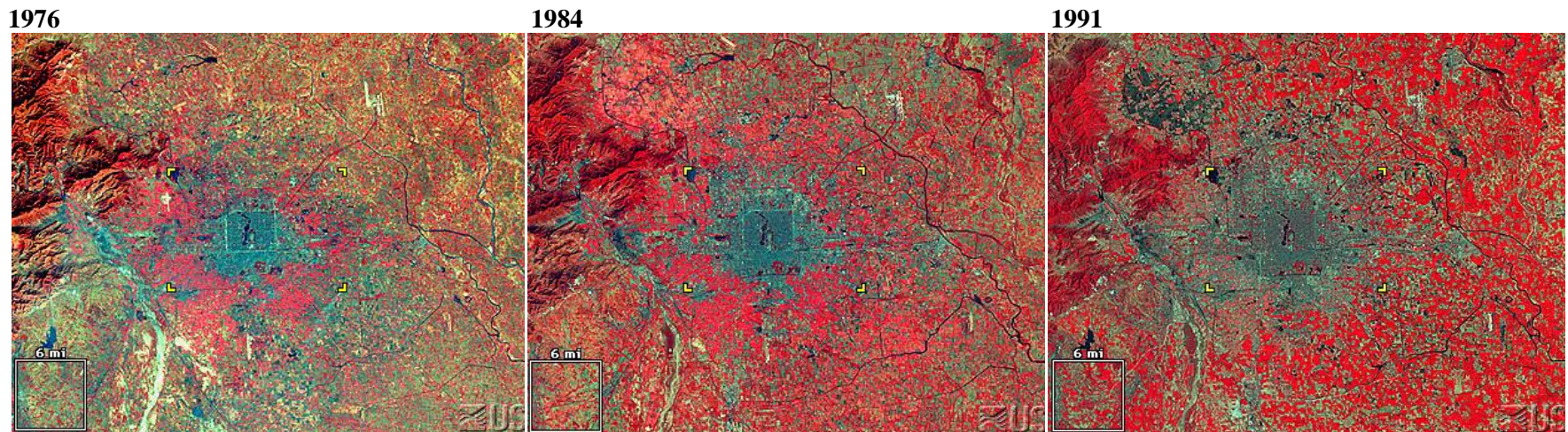


Figure 4.1. Map and Satellite Image of Beijing's Growth, 1976, 1984, 1991. Source: Campbell, Robert Wellman, ed. 1998. "Beijing, People's Republic of China: 1976, 1984, 1991." *Earthshots: Satellite Images of Environmental Change*. U.S. Geological Survey. <http://earthshots.usgs.gov>.

Contemporary Beijing is a product of thirty years of Soviet economic policies and another thirty years of market-based policies on top of an imperial city of low-rise courtyard homes and *hútòng* (胡同) lanes. The new master plan for Beijing that was approved in 2005 relies on “polycentric development to promote population decentralization and suburbanization” (Feng et al. 2007, 538). Nearly half of the dancers in this study were born during this period, while others who were older could recall the Republican period (1912-1937) that preceded the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, as well as the war against Japan and the Chinese civil war during the years in between.

But the city was always changing, incorporating new technologies from Europe, the United States and Japan. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century, these changes were palpable in the landscape of the city. Influence from Europe and North America could already be seen in the development of the Beijing waterworks and macadam-paved streets, while Japan’s influence is evidenced in the appearance of the bicycle that was later “localized” into human-powered rickshaws in the Chinese context (Strand 1993; Strand 2000; D. Wang 1998; Carroll 2006). These new modern additions to the city generated much excitement and often drew large crowds of spectators to them.

Some urban spaces always maintained their appeal, however. The streets – even in their old, unpaved form – were a popular site for meetings in everyday performances of both entertainment and state functions. Wang (1998, 50) describes how streets were commonly used as social space:

The streets became a part of opera settings, which drew the audience directly into the action. . . In Chengdu, local operas were performed 'along the streets' (*yanjie yanxi*) in the second lunar month, hence the name 'spring operas' (*chuntai xi*). The audience stood at the sides of the street watching performances. . . Local operas were also performed throughout the year in front of temples, guilds, and native association halls as part of various ceremonies. These were locally called 'yard operas' (*baba xi*) because spectators stood in the squares or courtyards to watch the shows.

Another display of power that happened in the street was executions. Historian Susan Naquin described the spectacle of executions at Caishikou (菜市口), a street intersection to the south of the Imperial City: “the populace of Peking, like that of the empire, related to the government more as audience than actor...It was as genuine spectators, however, that the citizenry came to Caishikou, the intersection in the Outer City where criminals from throughout the empire were executed by the Ministry of Punishments” (Naquin 2000, 359). These spectacles, as well as the passage of the emperor through the city, took place in the everyday space of the street of the low-rise imperial city.⁴²

During the Republican era (1912-1937), Chinese officials sought the advice of Soviet planners to industrialize Chinese cities to improve manufacturing of goods for the nation. The Soviet model focused on optimizing the productivity of workers and located the industries next to residential areas within the city in five-to-six story walkup apartment houses (Bater 1980; Ma and Wu 2005). The purpose of this city design was to improve both economic productivity and to foster political ideology. By situating living spaces so close to factories, planners sought to reduce unproductive commute time and while the cellular *danwei* that contained its own schools, stores and clinics offered a new communal style of organization – the “social condenser – that

was designed to form new communes that would “replace the family as the basic unit of society” (Bray 2005, 87). According to Ma and Wu (2005, 6) life in the Chinese city during the soviet period was not very exciting: “Visually, the city was clean but drab, orderly but dull, and standardized in urban design but monotonous in building style. Socially, the city was disciplined but humdrum, safe but lackluster, with very few social facilities and events to enliven the restrained urban aura.” The uniformity of the buildings reinforced the notion that all the people were equal. Large scale public spaces punctuated the former city of walls for large-scale events involving the masses.

During this time, the work and personal life were blurred, as Maoist political ideology infused all aspects of daily life. Workers enjoyed freedom to move between work and family realms, however, as long as one’s politics were aligned with the current goals. Anthropologist Lisa Rofel (1999, 261) described how workers found freedom within regimentation:

Workers took a measure of control over organizing their own daily movements, mixing the space of the factory with domestic space by doing their laundry, shopping, or washing bicycles at the factory or during work hours. In this manner workers during the Cultural Revolution challenged the meaning of their place, both physically and in terms of social divisions of authority and power.

Rofel argues that by performing household tasks at the factory, workers blurred the distinction between contributing to the Party and to one’s own benefit. Household chores were performed during factory hours, expanding the amount of time workers could spend at their discretion. As most residents did not have much leisure time or extra income to spend on commercial entertainment under Mao’s leadership, most people stayed home when not on the work floor, but by using work time to accomplish personal chores, a workable balance was struck (S. Wang 1995). Undermining efforts to maximize productivity through reorganizing communities into the *danwei* pattern, the culture of work during this period of high Maoism was not an intense affair; what was at stake was developing the political consciousness of the masses, ultimately, and work productivity took second billing (Rofel 1999, 260).

This was all to change, however, under Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zedong’s successor as Chairman of the PRC. As the new Chinese leadership transitioned from a planned to a market economy, a loosening and depoliticizing of leisure time was set in motion (S. Wang 1995). The low to medium density land-use of the Soviet mode of the 1950s through the 1970s changed dramatically and reshuffled key components of Beijing’s urban form (Pickvance 2008). New city officials relocated Mao’s factories from the center to the fringes of the city, and constructed, in their place, lucrative residential housing. The reason for this sudden building boom and rise in real estate value had to do with the creation of a new land market. During the planned economic period, housing very close to the workplace was provided to employees by state-owned enterprises, usually for very low rent.

After the economic transition, individual *danwei*, the local government, and to a lesser degree, individual entrepreneurs entered the newly-created primary land market and began buying their own properties. Since all urban properties were state-owned until the 1990s, no clear distinction existed between public and private spaces (Profous 1992, 151). The thirty years of communal living in *danwei* predisposed residents to sharing facilities and amenities among themselves and their extended communities. Community amenities, including space, were often

borrowed for temporary use and shared on an as-needed basis. It was not until the new Property Law enacted in 2007 when the Chinese leadership sought to distinguish private from communally used spaces and to acknowledge private property rights (L. Zhang 2010, 98). Within this ambiguous, fluid space without clearly defined lines around what is or is not accessible, residents liberally borrowed and occupied urban spaces for their personal use and everyday tasks.

In the secondary housing market, these (mostly) institutional players traded their holdings with hopes of earning profits.⁴³ In 1982, the land market was opened to foreign investment (Zhou and Logan 2002, 147) and the divestment of the state continued. In 1998, work units were no longer allowed to provide working housing and workers were encouraged to find their own housing (Feng et al. 2007, 533). As these transactions proved to be lucrative for some, wealthy suburbs and low density suburbs emerged. This led to Beijing's massive housing bubble that is only starting to show signs of slowing in recent years.

The workplace also changed following this transition as movement in the factory became more regimented and less fluid. According to anthropologist Lisa Rofel, before the economic reforms, the workers who came of age during the Cultural Revolution mixed their daily household chores into the workday of the factory. After 1978, they were no longer allowed such flexibility and were instead expected to focus on singular tasks and be willing work at different work posts, as needed, in order to achieve maximum economic productivity, as informed by the guidelines of American Taylorism. Rofel (1999, 262) explains:

Workers [were not allowed to] leave the shop floor to accommodate the kinds of 'personal' labor chores they had incorporated into their work during the Cultural Revolution. But conversely, no worker can become unduly attached to any work station. A worker must accept a change in assignment - for example, from twisting the silk threads to sweeping the floor - without protest. Individuation also means interchangeability of the parts.

The increasing standardization of skills and segmentation of time resulted in the increased surveillance and control over the movement of workers on the factory floor. Workers were no longer allowed to sit and converse or to “remain spatially rooted in one place or to move in the prescribed circuits”, but were expected to follow new rules of economic rationality and work in a concentrated way, at posts demanded by the management (Rofel 1999, 268). Furthermore, after industrial plants are moved out of the central city - employees must choose between moving out to the suburbs and finding new jobs in their old neighborhoods. In either case, daily life became far less convenient (Feng et al. 2007).

In the larger urban landscape, the changes from the speculative transactions in real estate left behind a distorted *mélange* of old and new: courtyard houses (*sìhéyuàn*, 四合院) from imperial eras and narrow alleyways (*hútòng*, 胡同), next to walled *dānwèi* (单位) complexes and abandoned factories from the era of high socialism. These past building orders, piled alongside gleaming new *xiǎoqū* (gated microdistrict communities, 小区) that continue to take over Beijing create an impression of a city undergoing rapid transformation (L. Zhang 2010, 99; D. Lu 2006). Beijing's urban form is changing from a low- and medium-density city of single-story imperial-era housing and Soviet *danwei* to, a high-density vertical city within thirty years.

During this time, open space found its place in a variety of different niches in the urban landscape, although they were not truly “open” to all members of society. During imperial times, elite residents who lived in significant cities enjoyed gardens for recreation. According to historian Chang (1977, 94-95):

The higher the administrative status of the city, the more likely it was that open land and surface water within the walls would be devoted to parks. These recreational areas were preserved for the most part for the use of the aristocracy, officials, and local gentry. All imperial and many provincial capitals included parks and lakes that became famous.

During the Republican era (1911-1937) that followed the fall of the Qing dynasty in China, many of these ceremonial spaces, imperial gardens and palaces were opened to the Beijing citizenry (Dong 2003, 82). Zhongshan Park (中山公園), also known as “Central Park,” was the first park that Beijing Officials opened in 1949. It collected not only entrance fees, but also taxed the restaurants and tea houses that were located inside the park (Dong 2003; Gamble and Burgess 1921, 236).⁴⁴ Other parks that followed in its wake, such as Capital Park in the south part of the city were less successful, as frequent wars interrupted daily life during this period and soldiers often commandeered these spaces for their own use. Other forms of open space that emerged at this time included the imported macadam street that spurred a rage for promenading (Carroll 2006) and plazas constructed by Soviet-inspired planners for parades and gatherings.

But since the Republican era, the Chinese leadership has been concerned about China’s status in the hierarchy of countries in the world, and the city’s form was one area where they focused much time and attention. Since then, the situation has improved. Residents of Beijing appreciate better roads, and the new trees in the city. The overall air quality in Beijing has improved, since the large industries moved to the suburbs in the 1990s to make way for the building of market-rate housing in the central city. Since July 2001, when the International Olympic Committee announced that the 29th Olympics games would take place in Beijing in 2008, new parks have been designed and built, while former temples and parks are now open to the public, though fenced and still requiring an entrance fee (Beyer 2006; Profous 1992, 150). Many residents discovered new hobbies that brought them to new parts of the city in their newfound leisure time, since political study sessions no longer occupied their non-working time.

Art Historian Wu Hung acknowledges that a preoccupation with urban iconography is relatively common in developing countries. The urban form serves as a marker of identity in the global imagination and plays a role as a kind of visual mnemonic so the global elite can “place” a city in the mind’s eye. Using Kevin Lynch’s terms, these iconic spaces have that quality of imageability; they can stimulate easy visual recall with just one glance (Lynch 1960, 9). Hung (2004) sees China following this logic:

In the Third World, there are a lot of efforts to create such spaces...even the biennials and triennials are this type of spectacle. It’s a need to bring this country, or this city, to the most cutting edge of art or architecture. . . there is this similar mentality underneath these kinds of projects. In China right now they are building similar kinds of public parks. Often, they are built in the center of the city to create a space to represent the contemporaneity of the city, to show that they are modern, global, beautiful...it’s almost like a showcase.

This is not only an effect that city officials are hoping to achieve, but also dancers, too. Even though the building in the city sometimes present obstacles to their dancing practice, many dancers share the same vision as the planners and hope the city display will impress the international guests coming to the city for the Olympics. A 60 year old dancer who dances beside the road supports and enjoys city beautification efforts: “Greening is a long-term plan. Of course the recent greening is related to Olympics. The city has changed so much. It is cleaner and more tidy, beautiful, and marvelous” [349]. A different 60 year old dancer who dances in a paved area in front of a gate emphasized the importance of impressing an external audience:

It is a great chance to display the beauty of Beijing to the rest of the world, and let the friends from all corners of the world to know more about the city. Beijing should also take this opportunity to impress the world with its new look, to stimulate the development of economy and upgrade the quality of its people (“*suzhi*”) as well as the standard of living. [207]

It seems that planners in Beijing are seeking to shape the built environment to a “new look” that matches the image of other centers of commerce around the world.

Dancer Response

However, by the time the 2008 Olympics arrived in Beijing, many Chinese who call Beijing home had become nostalgic for the quiet intimacy of the tree-lined alleys and uncrowded *danwei* neighborhoods, though they did welcomed the conveniences that the new improvements brought such as better roads and night lighting (Chang 2003). Some of the residents were also growing older and for the reasons discussed in Chapter 2, sought places in the city where they could engage in their daily health rituals. The proliferation of new parks was not actually helping them find danceable space, however, according to some dancers. One dancer at Zhenguosi Beili (镇国寺北里) points out that the efforts of the city officials are doomed to fail because of the size of the retiring cohort. A 53 year old dancer who dances at a construction zone predicted: “As the aging problem in Beijing gets more severe and the increasing number of immigrants, move into Beijing. Although we have more than a few new parks and community lawns, it still cannot satisfy our needs because of the large increase of population” [394].

While nearly all the dancers laud the “neat and tidy” appearance of new streets, planting of trees and lawn and improved air quality, city beautification presents obstacles at times for residents who wish to dance because space is a limited resource in the city. The increasing numbers of retirees is matched by increasing number of migrants flocking to the city to build Olympic venues. At the same time, more new automobile ownership drives the demand for parking places. International investment in real estate fuels construction projects that continue, non-stop, in the city, occupying leftover spaces that were previously openly danceable. One 69 year old dancer inside a park explained: “With the modernization of Beijing, more and more land has been requisitioned for other use The planning has used up much space for city construction and greening . . . however, the number of *yangge* dancers is becoming larger and larger, which leaves us with the problem of not having any room to dance” [231].

The roads were often mentioned in their response – the spaces at the shoulder of the smaller roads were often places that groups chose for dancing. But with the increasing number

of automobiles that populated the city streets, roads were widened to offer more driving lanes, and open fields were paved over to become income-generating parking lots, leaving the dancers without a space for their dance practice. One 60 year old dancer in front of a paved area in front of a gate explained: “The road widening scheme occupied our space for exercise, some land has been appropriated for the use of building parking lots. All in all, places available for the elderly people are dwindling all the time” [207].

As a result, many dancers who lost their spaces by the street found themselves funneling into the few community parks that were inside their neighborhoods, but these areas also soon reached capacity, too. One 55 year old dancer in a parking lot observed: “The roads have been broader, more houses are built and the city is packed. People can only find spots in between. In the community park there is only enough room for strolling. Almost no space is designed for exercise” [210]. The walking paths inside the park did not accommodate the large, flat open spaces required for dancing. To some, the appearance of new public parks in Beijing were intended to address the need for Beijing to appear as a modern city, not so much to service the needs of the residents. Parks were just one requirement among many in order for cities to attain “world-class” status, but while theoretically this should benefit all, planners are not thoughtfully creating a diversity of spaces that could suit all residents. The problem of not having space to dance is aggravated by inappropriate design.

Many dancers talked sadly about the repercussions from urban renewal and the destruction of the historic buildings in the city. One dancer commented about the demolition that tore through the neighborhood abutting hers. One 52 year old woman who dances at a construction site explained: “There have been many changes. There are more modern buildings and very few ancient ones are left. The heritage of the cultural history is disappearing. I feel very sad” [379]. At her dancing site, one side of the street that was previously part of her neighborhood was no longer standing. The rubble was blocked from public view by tall sheets of blue corrugated metal.

However, others welcomed the changes in the city, seeing the clearance of “unauthorized constructions” [220] and “shabby houses” [205] as signs of “progress.” One 60 year old dancer who still dances in a space beside the road acknowledged that “The old city of Beijing is almost lost”, but then enthused about the improvements that follow:

The Olympics accelerates the construction of the city. The modern buildings rise up every day. The roads are widened, extended, and the city railway and metro now reach every corner of the city. More and more people participate in exercising on the street, in empty space and the parks, as long as the place is available. The national fitness is the dream of many, and the city has built more areas for greening and leisure activities, which is loved by the people. [349]

The Olympics did appear focus efforts by both Chinese officials and residents to “clean up” and to modernize Beijing before the start of the Games. This sense of purpose, to put Beijing’s – and by extension, China’s – best face forward was taken to heart by many of the dancing groups that I followed. They sought to align their own practice to the new mandates from city officials, focusing on the impressing an imagined world audience with their physical vitality, warmth and good cheer. The same dancer enthused: “Dancing is beautiful. It is happy to dance and entertaining to watch. This makes a good prospect for a harmonious society, which is peaceful,

stable and dynamic in the new era. Dancing is healthy, active, and displays the enthusiasm and courtesy of the citizens” [349].

Above all, the dancers who supported Beijing’s beautification efforts hoped to embody the “Harmonious Society” that current Chinese leaders have named as a priority for the nation. This goal, what Donald and Zheng (2009, 509–510) have called “the post-socialist class game,” depends in part on *wenming* or “civilizing” and improving the *suzhi* or “quality” of the populace and achieving virtue by aligning oneself with the right trends, each in its proper time and place, and working in order to follow the new model.

Overall, the dancers agreed that the urban environment has improved: greening to make the city more beautiful, pollution control to make the air more breathable, a rapid transit system to enable traveling across town and paved roads to facilitate the running of errands under all kinds of weather conditions. The city with technological improvements impressed many of the dancers for its efficiency, convenience and cleanliness. A 53 year old woman who dances in a parking lot observed: “Beijing has changed for the better year by year indeed. The greening has also been stressed for the Olympics. The quality of the air has improved. Transportation is very convenient in particular. People can reach any destination at ease” [211]. All respondents acknowledged that the city was transforming, but some supported the direction of change.

Dancers explained to me that paved surfaces improved their ability to run their errands around in the city in the rain without dirtying their feet and clothing. And pointed to the extensive rapid bus transit system that allows them to visit parks on the weekends when they have more time to spare. Similarly, the relocation of the steel factories to the outskirts of town also improved the quality of air so that when they returned home after a day of grocery shopping, they would not find themselves “in a bad mood” from breathing in particulate matter during the day.

Much unhappiness surrounded the relocation of households from the inner city to the suburbs due to urban renewal policy that started in the 1980s (Feng et al. 2007, 533). In order to acquire land for inner city residents, the Beijing municipal government claimed areas near the city that had been zoned for “agricultural production” and commenced large-scale construction projects, beginning in the 2000s (Feng et al. 2007, 533). The former workers on these agricultural lands became “landless farmers” and were offered free residences in the new constructions in repayment for losing their land and source of income. Many of the dancers told me stories of how friendships were lost after city officials moved households to the suburban districts towards the east of Beijing. Even moving friends two hours away by bus resulted in decreased contact, as a four-hour round trip commute by bus would have been impossible to sustain. Distance and long commute times rendered the advantages of the new, paved roads surfaces irrelevant to maintaining strong social ties. The relationships and community that built up around the dance group are being frayed by adoption of the modern city model from Europe and North America. One 69 year old woman who dances in a park explained:

Our way of interacting with neighbors has changed, in the renovation of the old city many people had moved away and lost contact with us due to the inconvenience of transportation; it is almost impossible to communicate with each other, not to mention get

to know them better; as for those who keep in touch with telephone, many have changed their phone numbers. [231]

As older women in Beijing were expected to continue working after they retired from their paid employment in the form of taking care of young grandchildren, providing support to other ailing adults in the household and housekeeping, they often did not have time to commute long distances to socialize and dance with their former dancing groups (He et al. 2007, 27). But for the groups of dancers that did stay, they found their niches in the changing urban landscape.

Seeking Dance Space

Where are the niches for dancing in the city? The primary concern for dancers is finding a place to dance. Without a place, dancing cannot happen. But with increasing urban density, the dancers of the rollicking rural dance that took place in the fields and leftover spaces of the medium-density city of the 1950s through the 1970s are finding it difficult to find a niche within then new high-density city. Often, the older residents in the city are the ones who occupy the prime real estate in the inner part of the city. When the *yangge* “craze” emerged in the 1990s, dancers sought out spaces in the city that would meet their needs. Using Rapoport’s term, dancers selected spaces out of the city that were *congruent* with the *yangge* dance’s requirements (Rapoport 1982, 146). The requirements for successful dancing in the city consist of both social and spatial requirements.

Social requirements include:

1. an interesting dance that many wish to participate in
2. a quorum of people (minimum of about ten dancers) willing and interested in dancing
3. the presence of organized, knowledgeable and able individuals who are willing to lead a group in dance
4. musicians familiar with generating dance music (or a recording of the music) and
5. some source of funding to hire musicians and purchase props and costumes if needed.

Spatial requirements include:

1. a flat, even space without obstacles or trip hazards
2. a large enough space with square footage adequate for at least ten dancing bodies.
3. sound-buffering qualities between the surrounding commercial and residential areas and the music from the dance
4. close proximity to the residences of older dancers
5. access to electrical outlets if the music source is a mechanical player
6. a light source if dancing happens in the evening, and
7. protection from sunlight if dancing occurs in the day.

Dancers' improvised seasonal adjustments to meet these requirements as will be discussed in Chapter 5, but generally, these preferences held steady across all groups in the study. Since no previous user's guide existed to instruct how one should use a modern city, the dancers appropriated spaces largely on whether the "affordances" offered by the spaces are congruent to their needs.⁴⁵

Inter-group Jostling

Ambiguous ownership over spaces could sometimes lead to competition between groups for control over limited spatial resources. Sometimes a smaller number of dancers within a group split off from a large group and begin competing with the original group for space. In the words of one 60 year old woman who dances in a parking lot: "We didn't like our leader very much, so we split off to form a new group. But now, our residential community no longer supports us" [52:458]. When one group splits off from another group, this often results in a problem with sharing the original space. Eventually, when a new plaza was built near the community, the original group left for the new space with the support of the residential community. The faction stayed in the original parking lot, because they were not welcomed to join the original team at the newly constructed site.

From the perspective of a 53 year old dancer at a construction site, the phenomenon of split-off groups is an annoyance because they begin competing for limited spatial resources and throw the loyalties of member dancers off balance. She observed: "Some members left in the past. They are usually the younger ones who want to split and build new groups to compete with us. It is usually the young and ambitious members who want to split from the group" [394]. According to several dancers, the factionalization of dancing groups is often regarded as a threat to not only harmonious daily life, but also the security of place for the original group. As one dancer puts it, "We have no fixed place. Sometimes we dance outdoors, sometimes we dance indoors. We have to face the weather problem" [372]. Factions break off from larger groups and form new groups, which require even more space and this aggravates an already tenuous spatial balance in the city for dancers.

At another location, two dance groups learned to share the same space after struggling for the same space for years. The two groups disliked each other, but they have learned to coexist. A dancer from one of the groups explained that because of lack of available spaces, they were forced to find a compromise:

There have been fights in the past, but now the other group comes on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and we come Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Our two teams often complete in performances and need the space to practice. These last few days, the other group was away at a performance so they did not come here. We were able to occupy the entire space! But when the two teams are here together, then we split the space down the middle and dance side-by-side. [108:798]

But sharing the physical space does not solve the problem. Another member of the dance group pointed out to me the struggle over sonic space is nearly as trying: "Right now, there are two teams here. For this small space, that is too much. There is no day this space is not used - it is occupied every day. The two teams dance together, but each team's music disturbs the other.

The cacophony is too hard to bear!” [110:811]. Tensions between groups mount both as spatial resources are stretched and as conditions for dancing worsen. But where, exactly, are these struggles for space occurring in the city?

Where the Dancers are: Dance Place Locations

Dancing takes place all over the city, but mostly in the parks and in other leftover spaces within the city. Many of the dancers who live in the *lǎochéngqū* (老城区) or “old urban districts” of central Beijing dance near the second ring road. This area within the second ring road approximately corresponds to Beijing’s built-up area before 1949 and contains, up until recently, four inner districts, as shown in Figure 0.13 in the Introduction: Xicheng (西城区), Dongcheng (东城区), Chongwen (崇文区), and Xuanwu (宣武区) (Feng et al. 2007). On July 1 2010, the Beijing municipal government incorporated two historic inner districts in the southern part of Beijing - Xuanwu and Chongwen – into adjacent districts to their north, in efforts to streamline municipal governance and reduce costs (China.org.cn 2010). The dancing locations also extend out to the suburban districts of Chaoyang (朝阳区), Fengtai (丰台区), Haidian (海淀区) and Shijingshan (石景山区), as well as to Tongzhou district (通州区) to the east where the Dongguang Bridge (东关大桥) site is located, far beyond the fourth ring road.

Instead, many groups found spaces near their homes in structures in the city that happen to meet the criteria for dancing and are borrowing these for their temporary uses. In the map below, we see that most of the dance groups that I studied in 2007 have found spaces either in or near parks in the city or are located near road networks.

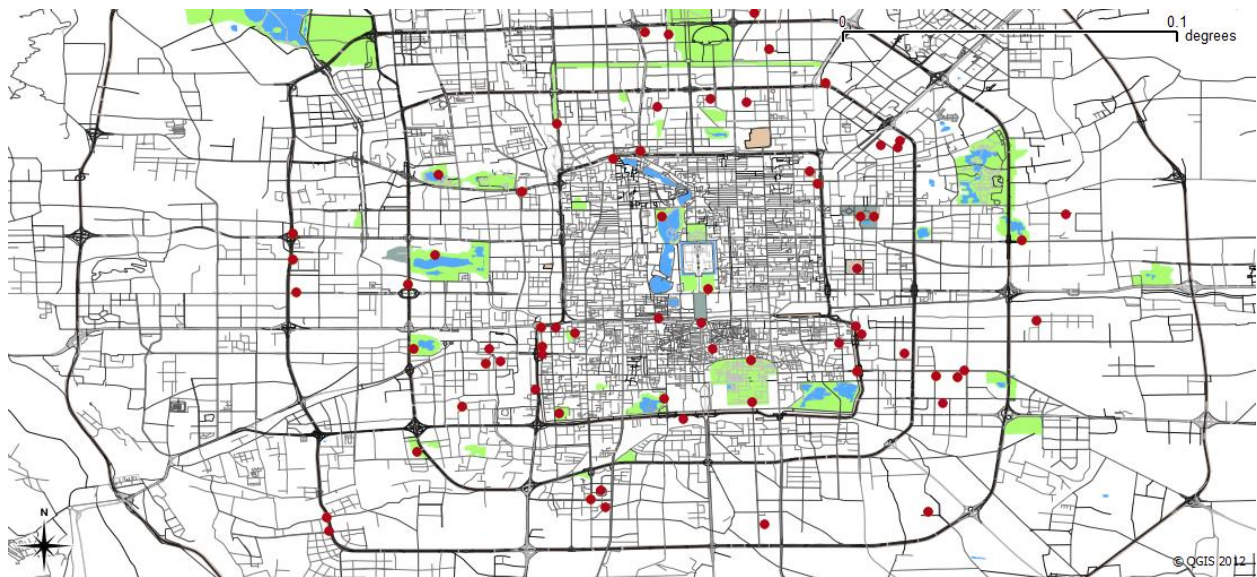


Figure 4.2. Beijing dance places in this study

In order to discuss these types of spaces, I will clarify some definitions of terms I will employ. “Place” is the proper name of the particular dancing location that is indicated by a red dot on the map, for example, “Deshengmen, 德胜门” or “Gongti Ximen, 工体西门.” I will use the term “site” when referring to this location and describing the measurable spatial aspects of

the dance area that would be of interest to landscape architects and urban planners. For example, I will use the term “site” when referring to the measurements of Deshengmen. “Spatial typology” refers to the framework of spatial categories that I have placed each place in this study. They include types such as “underpass,” “parking lot”, and “park with fee.” Lastly, I will use “location” when referring to the general placement of the dance place in the context of the city.

Table 4.1. Typology of sites used for dancing in the 2007 study

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid underneath freeway bridge	68	17.2	17.2	17.2
parking lot	47	11.9	11.9	29.1
park with no fee	86	21.8	21.8	50.9
park with fee	40	10.1	10.1	61.0
paved area in front of gate	17	4.3	4.3	65.3
space beside the road	20	5.1	5.1	70.4
sidewalk	20	5.1	5.1	75.4
plaza	43	10.9	10.9	86.3
alongside river	17	4.3	4.3	90.6
open space near construction zone	23	5.8	5.8	96.5
community activity space (aboveground)	11	2.8	2.8	99.2
basement	2	.5	.5	99.7
underground parking garage	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total	395	100.0	100.0	

Dancing takes place at roughly thirteen types of sites: (1) areas underneath freeway bridges; (2) parking lots, (3) parks without entrance fees, (4) parks with entrance fees, (5) paved areas in front of gates to stadia, (6) spaces beside the road (unpaved), (7) sidewalks (paved), (8) designated plazas, (9) areas alongside rivers, (10) construction sites, (11) designated community spaces, (12) basements, and (13) underground garages.

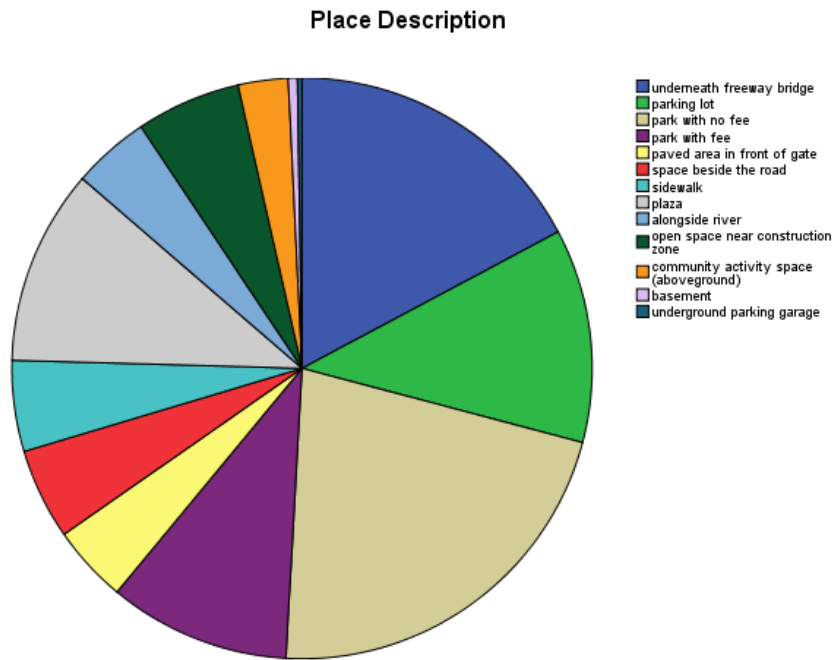


Figure 4.3. Pie chart of site typologies in 2007 study

After assigning each site to a type, I created another meta-category called “Design Intention” in order to more easily analyze the intersection between design vision and user response. From these thirteen site types, two could safely fall into the category of “park,” what I define here as dedicated green space area with an explicit boundary; three fall within the category of “plaza” , what I define as hardscape areas set aside and dedicated for public use; and the rest – nearly half – fall into the category of “appropriated spaces”, what I define as spaces in the city’s urban infrastructure or storage areas in housing complexes that were not intended for use by the public for gathering. Three specific places do not easily fit into any of these three categories of park, plaza and interstitial space even though I coded them as “interstitial space.” I will call special attention to these spaces because they have been remodeled to such an extent over time that they have begun to suggest their own new category of space. For these three places, I removed them from the category of “interstitial spaces” and placed them into a subset of spaces that I call “hybrids.” The presence of *yangge* dancing at the site, verified by a site visit, was required for inclusion in this study. All sites are situated within the Beijing metropolitan area.

Table 4.2. A selection of sites included in the 2007 study

Place Name	Site Type	Design Intention	Area (sq ft)	Dimensions (ft)	Access
An’an Market 安安市场	parking lot	interstitial	4500	30 × 150	free
Deshengmen (left side) Deshengmen II (right side) 德胜门	plaza (relic site)	hybrid	2800 2500 (5000)	35 × 80 31 × 80	free

			total)		
Dongguang Bridge 东关大桥	underpass, enhanced	hybrid	1050	22 × 48	free
Gongti Ximen 工体西门	paved area in front of gate	interstitial	1500	50 × 30	free
Guang'anmen South (riverside) 广安门南	riverside area, enhanced	hybrid	4500	45 × 100	free
Laodong Remnin Wenhugong (Worker's Cultural Palace) 劳动人民文化	park with fee	park	12000	60 × 200	pay
Shaoyaoju 芍药居	construction area	interstitial	2500	50 × 50	free
Tianningsi Bridge 天宁寺桥	underpass	interstitial	3000	20 × 150	free
Wukesong Qiao 五棵松桥	sidewalk	interstitial	1600	20 × 80	free
Xinhualian 新华联	basement	interstitial	1000	25 × 40	free
Xuanwu Park 宣武公园	park with no fee	park	1200	24 × 50	free (now)
Yuanjian Mingyuan 远见名苑	parking garage, underground	interstitial	1100	27 × 40	free
Zhanlanguan (BJ Exhibition Center) 北京展览馆	plaza	plaza	3200	30 × 40	free

Most of the sites share similar characteristics, as the requirements of both the Big and new *yangges* are similar. They take place in areas where the ground is flat and large enough to enable a group of at least twenty dancers to either: (1) move around in a circular figure or (2) make dancing motions while staying in one position within a larger group of peers. The smallest area documented was 1000 sq feet, and the largest area was 12,000 sq feet, inside the Worker's Cultural Palace Park, where all the dance leaders in the city meet together to learn the newest dances from state-sponsored professional dance teachers, what the research team nicknamed "the leader of the leaders." Most of the dance areas are not so large, however, and are only a quarter of the size of the dance space at the Cultural Palace.

Parks

Inside the general "parks" category, I include neighborhood parks, former imperial gardens (now large parks), and university campuses. Universities other types of school campuses are often regarded as publicly available amenities and used as parks by the local residents. Schools that are open to residential use in this way include Peking University, Beijing

Foreign Language University, and Tsinghua University, although many of them close their gates in the evening or ask for school-affiliated identification for entry during times when school officials think heightened security is necessary. It is also inside the parks in Beijing that one finds many individual exercisers, either practicing *qigong* near trees, or practicing meditation.

Aside from the university campuses, parks were often gardens of former imperial scholar-officials. Some parks are new; Chaoyang Park on the east side of Beijing is a pastoral park with undulating hills and small groves of trees reminiscent of public parks of the English tradition. However, distinguishing characteristics of these spaces that are most salient to dancers was economic rather than physical; some parks charged an admission fee while others did not. Living with limited pensions, older residents often did not patronize “fee parks,” citing the expense of the entry fee, even though annual parks passes at discounted prices are available to them. As a result, I divided park spaces into economic rather than design categories: those that require entrance fees and those that do not. However, later in the course of research, I learned that certain design characteristics did, in fact, affect dancer use, as I will discuss later.

Parks with fees: Imperial Parks

Parks are very popular destinations amongst the dancers who were lucky enough to live near one. Earlier in the century, parks were only open to elites. Historian Mingzheng Shi wrote about the transition from imperial gardens to public parks during the end of the imperial era. He learned that: “The best urban spaces were reserved for the ruling elite and remained off-limits to ordinary urbanites, who, consequently, used streets for recreation. . .” (Shi 1998, 225). Shi makes a distinction between “unpretentious” parks and “upscale” parks. The former were meant for the commoner, while the latter traced their ancestry to gathering places of the imperial family and their elite entourage. For example, in the 1910s and 1920s, Beihai (北海) and Zhongshan Park (中山公園), both formerly part of the chain of imperial gardens surrounding the Forbidden City, were opened to the public. Both these parks, by virtue of their historical heritage, were “upscale.” Other “unpretentious” parks hailed from more humble origins. One such example is Taoranting Park (陶然亭公園), also known as the Merry Pavilion located to the south of Beijing, which was built on the site of a former Buddhist monastery, a tile factory and a paupers’ cemetery (Shi 1998, 224, 251).



Figure 4.4. Worker's Cultural Palace

In contemporary Beijing, one still can see that parks may be roughly attributed “upscale” or “unpretentious” status, but differing from parks in western countries, both usually require admission fees. Sociologist Galen Cranz (1979, 5) notes the cultural difference presence of entry fees in Chinese parks: “In the United States park administrators cannot charge entrance fees because of early opposition associating them with class-ridden Europe. Ironically, the Chinese impose a user tax with impunity, while it is an anathema in the democratic U.S.” Parks in China are expected to be self-sufficient, to some degree. The income from entry fees helps pay for the cost of maintaining the parklands, Cranz explains. If there is still a shortfall between collected funds and operating costs, then it is up to parks administrators to apply for funds from the municipal planning commission, which in turn applies for funds from the state planning commission. Once the funds are secured, the parks administration manages their allocation (Cranz 1979, 5).

Within the city, the parks with clear relationship with imperial history such as the New Summer Palace, the Old Summer Palace, and the other parks connected along Beijing’s chain of lakes all require admission fees, although residents may pay for a low-cost yearly entry pass. Beihai, Zhongshan Park and the Merry Pavilion all require entrance fees, although some fees are quite minimal.⁴⁶ Modern parks in Beijing such as Chaoyang Park (朝阳公园) in Beijing are also available for an admission fee.

Parks with no Fees: Neighborhood Parks

Only a few parks did not require an admission fee. The Purple Bamboo Garden, and more recently, Xuanwu Park (宣武公园) are some examples of parks that did not require payment. Located in the southwest district that has now been incorporated by the Xicheng

district of Beijing, Xuanwu Park is situated in a densely populated residential area with poplar-lined streets that tunnel under dense canopies of green.



Figure 4.5. Xuanwu Park

Xuanwu Park charged fees in the past, but city officials have since changed the rules and now entry is free. In general, free parks are wildly popular with residents who are living on limited income, where each RMB spent could make a difference. These parks are often very full, and some residents have complained that as a result of the crowding, they could not find a place for dancing. For users of parks with fees or without fees, they claim that the better air inside the park is one of the reasons why they prefer to dance in the park.



Figure 4.6. “Overflow” Qigong (气功) in Xuanwu Park on paths and steps (not pictured)

Yet in many parks, paved areas are limited. This poses some difficulties not only for dancers, but also for other park-goers who attempt to engage in group exercise. The dearth of large, flat areas within parks has led to some creative uses of stairs and pathways by exercisers such as the taichi group pictured above. Large, flat areas within some parks are few, but large green spaces

with sinuous paths and densely planted groundcover are more common, reflecting how many of the public parks in Beijing were originally former private gardens of imperial officials.

Parks are not always accessible, however. In addition to requiring an entry fee, they also have rules and regulations that limit use. As with fee parks, free parks are set aside from their surrounding urban context with walls and at night, their gates are shut. Users are also not allowed in the parks at night. Dancers who hope to dance after supper in order to “help digestion” cannot dance at the parks in the evening. Parks – fees or not – are only a daytime possibility. Other dancers reported that parks do not allow big *yangge* dancers in particular from entering the park. A 67 year old male musician explained: “Playing drums and gongs is forbidden in most parks, though Daguanyuan (a large park in Beijing, 大观园) allows that.” Thus new *yangge* dancers are allowed to enter parks and find a space inside big *yangge* dancers cannot gain entry and must find dancing space elsewhere

When I asked a Beijing parks administrator why this was the case, he explained that since big *yangge* is very lively, the dance would negatively affect other people’s enjoyment of the space, so only dance groups that use recorded music may enter. Only new *yangge* dancers utilize the recorded music. When I asked whether big *yangge* dancers would be willing to record their music, several big *yangge* dance leaders explained that they regard the musicians as part of the team, and their dancing is composed of a dialogue between the dancers and musicians. For these reasons, they are not willing to record their music because they do not wish to exclude the musicians from their group.

Plazas

Large plazas have the potential to afford both Big and new *yangge* dancers. Though devoid of trees to clean the air, the wide open spaces left behind by socialist planning are ideal spaces for large scale group dancing. But since many of the dancers are concerned about the tanning effects of sun on their skin and plazas are often offer few shade structures, dancers who choose to dance at plazas often meet at night.

While some plazas are located far enough away from residential areas, other neighborhood community spaces can be more problematic. While convenient to reach, many dancers have explained that the spaces are not usable to them because of the number of complaints they receive from neighbors for disturbing the peace. One dancer remarked to me that they tried dancing for less than five minutes before an irate neighbor dropped an empty beer bottle out of the window that then shattered next to the dance group on the pavement as a sign of the displeasure they were causing his ears.



Figure 4.7. Beijing Exhibition Center plaza

The plaza in front of the Beijing Exhibition Center is constructed as a freeway overpass that stretches over the multilane Xizhimenwai Street (西直门外大街) near the Beijing Zoo. In the evenings, the space is filled with not only two big *yangge* groups, but also hundreds of other residents, line dancing, roller-skating, ballroom dancing and people-watching. Dancers here participate with other groups at different sites during the morning hours because of lack of protection from the sun here at the plaza.

Interstitial Space

Spaces are often appropriated for temporary uses in Beijing. Spaces under the bridge and other interstitial spaces were commonly used for fairs and festivals since imperial times. These events were cultural, social, and commercial and for entertainment which often used the street as its “place.” Mingzheng Shi (1998, 223) described the City God Temple festival as a celebration that would take place three times a month. Farmers from the hinterlands would gather their goods and bring them to Beijing in order to show city residents their wares in stalls lined each street. More activities took place under Sorghum Bridge west of Beijing during the Clear and Bright Festival, where musicians, acrobats, and magicians would set up tents to entertain residents. These events were temporary and made use of the interstitial spaces in the city as their settings, and occurred repeatedly throughout the agricultural calendar. The use of the city’s streets and otherwise unoccupied spaces were and are still today also used as sites for temple fairs, what Shi called “an exposition of popular culture and a museum of folk arts” (Shi 1998, 224).

Beijing seniors wishing to dance have turned to borrowing urban spaces from the city on a temporary basis in order to supplement and support their exercise regime. Writing about contemporary China, city planner Daniel Abramson has pointed out the lack of tradition in planning for the public realm has led to weak “stitching” between individual design projects and streets (Abramson 2007, 70). Between constructions and non-alignments with the street grid are gaps. Unlike Le Corbusier’s purposeful liberation of buildings from the street grid, the gaps in the Chinese urban fabric are often unintentional. Though this is not unique to China as such conditions were also found in other ancient cities such as in Rome (Venturi 2008, 80), in Beijing, these particular gaps are quickly filled gaps with new uses. One scholar has even argued that such street-side, residual spaces are necessary for the public realm in China to flourish (D. Wang 1998).

Interstitial: Underneath Freeway Bridge

One of the most popular places for big *yangge* dancing today is the spaces under freeway bridges. These spaces have many qualities that are supportive of *yangge* dancing – both Big and new forms. One of the advantages these spaces offer is protection from the sun and rain. Often, these spaces are also located next to urban rivers where the air temperature is cooler and agreeable to the dancers who are engaging in aerobic exercise.



Figure 4.8. Tianningsi Qiao Team

The spaces under bridges are also usually flat, wide and paved, providing ample space for larger big *yangge* groups to dance, unimpeded. The group in the image above enjoys live music without discrimination from neighboring residents because the nearby commercial buildings have generous setbacks from the street and underpass. These advantages are offset by the disadvantages of dancing at a site filled with noise and air pollution from nearby traffic, put as one dancer put it: “Although it is heavily polluted, I’ll still come to dance. Only when I come out and dance everyday do I feel in a good mood” [9:88]. This dancer acknowledges that the air where she dances is not optimal, but when she considers her options, she decides that the trade-off is worthwhile. She would rather leave home to go outside instead of remaining at home alone because dancing with her friends lifts her spirits.

Interstitial: Parking Lot

Parking lots are another popular space for big *yangge*. Like the plazas, the parking lot affords the movement of a large group of dancers. But they are usually only sites for night dancing, because mornings, the lots are filled with cars. Also, from the dancers’ perspective, the lack of overhead protection from the elements is also a deficiency in this type.



Figure 4.9. An’an Shichang parking lot dancing

The An’an Shichang parking lot has been the site of big *yangge* dancing for many years. A large audience that exceeds the number of dancers gathers each evening to enjoy the live music and to watch the dancing. Since my first encounter with the group in 2004, stone

fountains have now been added to the parking lot to improve the ambience of the space and the bicycle parking that used to occupy more than half the lot has been removed so the dancers now have more free ground area at the site for dancing.

Interstitial: Space beside the Road (includes Sidewalk)

When sidewalks are wide enough, they can also become dance sites. The group at Tongchao Lu (通朝大街) practices a version of *yangge* called the “waist-drum dance.” Each individual dancer carries a backpack-sized drum and together as a group, they beat on their drums in unison. The dancers of this form of *yangge* have chosen this space because they are located far enough away from non-dancing residents who complain about their drumming.



Figure 4.10. Tongchao Lu sidewalk

Behind the billboard, however, buildings will one day be built; the dancers are not certain whether they would be allowed to continue dancing on the sidewalk once they open for business. The dancers at this site do not care about the lack of overhead protection because they dance in this location during the late afternoon.

Interstitial: Construction Zone

Throughout Beijing, one can find various construction zones and they are often appropriated by nearby residents for dancing. As property values increase in Beijing, the weak stitching between buildings and street grid are increasingly being pulled tight and new constructions are taking over small empty fields and other leftover spaces in the midst of the city. While most of the construction areas are cordoned off by blue, corrugated metal fences, dancers found ways to gain access to the sites.



Figure 4.11. Shaoyaoju

In the time when the ground has been cleared of weeds and compacted but before construction has taken over the entire site, the residents of Shaoyaoju borrowed the cleared, flat ground to dance to new *yangge*. Little light was available in the construction area and electricity was not available, but the middle-aged and older dancers brought a portable cassette player to provide music for the group of about forty dancers. Squatting around the group in the darkness and smoking cigarettes was the silent audience of migrant workers who worked at the construction site during the day, and who watched the dancers as their evening entertainment.

Interstitial: Basement

Beijing dancers also found potential dance spaces in the storage areas underneath their residential buildings. Basements are used in Beijing not only to provide housing for the service personnel that work in many residential *xiaoqu*, but are also the regular places where many competitive dance groups in the city practice. The basements are often equipped with mirrors, prop storage rooms, meeting spaces and stereo systems to facilitate dance practice for serious, competitive dancers.



Figure 4.12. Xinhualian

While the dancers who dance in the basement concede that they are missing the greenery and fresh air of an outdoor dance space, they point out several advantages that this type of indoor space offers. Of prime importance is certainty: an indoor space allows the dancers to dance regardless of the weather. Dancers felt they were at less risk for being evicted from this space.

Most indoor groups pay a fee for using the space, especially when storage facilities are available to them, but others who occupy simpler spaces often do not enjoy this amenity.⁴⁷ Other advantages include having a place to store their equipment and being close to their homes. As the concrete walls of the basement muffles their music, they can practice any time during the day without disturbing their neighbors.

Interstitial: Underground Parking Garage

Another site where dancers practice is in long-term parking garages. This type of space offers similar benefits to basements, as they offer dancers protection from the elements and a large, flat area for group practice. In long-term parking garages, few automobiles enter and leave, so accidents are less common. However, the temperature of the underground parking garage is very low and the ground is very dusty.



Figure 4.13. Yuanjian Mingyuan

During my visit to Yuanjian Mingyuan, the low temperature in the underground parking garage was quite noticeable. Even after dancers exerted themselves, I observed some dancers stamping the ground with their feet in between sets in order to keep warm. I also noticed that when their feet hit the ground, small clouds of dust appeared around their ankles. The stale and dry underground air did not circulate in the parking garage, but the concrete walls adequately buffered the sound of the recorded music that upset neighbors aboveground.

Hybrids

As explained above, I created this category of “hybrid” for certain sites in the urban landscape that did not comfortably fit into “parks”, “plazas” or “interstitial spaces.” To the dancers themselves, there are really no such categories, but simply “room” or “no room” for dancing: *yǒu dìfang* (有地方) or *méiyǒu dìfang* (没有地方). Some dancers regard any space covered by vegetation could as “park”, even if it is residual space planted with lawn and flowers near a freeway flyover. Since I seek to facilitate translation and to enhance description, I will use the vocabulary from the typology of spaces that designers are accustomed to working with in the West, while offering new categories where existing ones are inadequate. Hybrid spaces may be conceptualized as a subset of appropriated space, but those that have been “enhanced” to the point that they are no longer quite merely an unused or forgotten portion of a larger structure nor are they the outcome of clear design intentions. To the credit of Chinese planners and city builders, many of these hybrid spaces have come about through acknowledging popular uses of existing spaces and a subsequent move to support and enhance these efforts.

Hybrids: Relic Parks

One prime example of the meeting of bottom-up uses and official improvements is Deshengmen. A gate of the old walled city of Beijing, Deshengmen is now a structure supporting multiple uses. It is now not only a museum for ancient coins, a parking lot for tour buses, but also a landmark at the traffic rotary on the Second Ring Road for those who are headed for the Badaling Expressway (八达岭高速公路). At the foot of Deshengmen, on what would have been the outer side of the city, is the dancing place for two groups of big *yangge* dancers. Though the two groups do not mix, are not on speaking terms with one another, and even try to occasionally engage in music-volume battles with one another, they both agreed separately that their dancing site is well-suited to their dancing.



Figure 4.14. The Electric Relic that is today's Deshengmen

The rotary circle is quite large in size and half of it has been adorned with greenery to create a park-like setting. During 2004, a gardenesque landscape with a few trees and lawn and winding paths was in place, attracting older men with pet birds from nearby residences to come to the space to enjoy the park-like landscape in the rotary. By 2010, however, the landscape had been replanted with rose gardens and shrubbery, and wider hardscape areas to accommodate

larger number of visitors. Other changes took place. In 2010, I noticed that night lighting was installed on the gate overlooking the paved dancing area, which provided nighttime dancers with an atmospheric and effective light source.

Other improvements have been made to the site since the start of research. As the rotary is surrounded on all sides by traffic, the sound of the live drumming from both big *yangge* teams is drowned out. But the effective buffering effect of the surrounding traffic also presents dangers to the dancers, as these seniors must cross the multi-laned roads in order to access the site. In 2007, one 69 year old dancer remarked: “When crossing the road, there's a spot where we can't see the cars from our angle and they can't see us either” [13]. But in 2010, this danger was remedied, as Beijing officials built a walkway to access the site from a ramp under the freeway. New public bathrooms were also installed near the new access ramp.

Hybrids: Underpass Parks

Some of the newer constructions in the outer districts of Beijing also point to the willingness of the Beijing municipal government to experiment with new combinations of public space instead of following old forms. The space underneath Dongguang Bridge in Tongzhou district illustrates the sensitivity of the designer or planner for including spaces for sitting and night lighting underneath the overpass.



Figure 4.15. Dongguang Bridge

A popular place for nearby residents of all ages, the space underneath this bridge are a much more popular destination than the adjacent park whose meager trees are unable to provide respite from the punishing rays of the sun on one of Beijing's smothering summer days. Also under another bay of Dongguang Bridge is a small children's play area complete with mechanical merry-go-rounds and carnival games. Ballroom dancers occupy the side of yet another bay, while small children taking roller-skating classes occupy the space across from the new *yangge* dancers.

Hybrids: Riverside Parks

Many of the spaces near the urban riverways of Beijing have been planted with rows of willow and poplar trees and have become very popular places, not only for the many fishing enthusiasts of the city, but for dancing groups who are fortunate enough to live by one of these areas. Not only do these spaces have the advantage of cooler temperatures in their proximity to water and overhead protection by the allées of trees, but they also tend to be sandwiched on both sides by elements indifferent to sound. On one side, the distance between the dance site and the

residences across the other side of the river buffers the sound of drumming. On the other side of the dancing space, the sound of traffic from the large street buffers their music as well. The advantages of proximity to home, overhead protection from sun and sound dampening effects make these riverside parks one of the more desirable spaces in the city.



Figure 4.16. Guang'anmen South

Conclusion

In conclusion, dancing happens anywhere in the city where adequate space is found – in parks, plazas and interstitial spaces, some of which have been so enhanced that they create their own new hybrid space deserving of a new category. But not all spaces are accessible to the entire spectrum of *yangge* dancing. For example, big *yangge* dancers are excluded from most parks in Beijing because the activity does not fit with the other quiet and reflective activities that are thought to be proper for the park context. The most accommodating and flexible spaces in the city for all *yangge* dancing proves to be residual spaces that are either part of or near urban infrastructure. While plazas offer some flexibility due to size, the close proximity of residences often renders them unusable to community dancers. Instead, underpasses, parking lots before and after store opening hours, sidewalks at night, spaces in front of stadiums when no events are planned, and spaces on top of or in front of relics from the old city wall prove to be the spaces most amenable to all *yangge* dancing.

Chapter 5 Grandma's World 婆婆世界

"We must consider not just the city as a thing in itself, but the city being perceived by its inhabitants." (Lynch 1960, 3)

Introduction

In Chapter 4, I laid out a typology of dancing spaces in Beijing. Here, I focus on one site in particular as a case study of the larger phenomenon of senior appropriation of urban space. The dance group at Honglian Beili consists of over two hundred older urban residents who dance in the evening from 7:15-9:15 pm at a riverside plaza in the Xuanwu district in Beijing⁴⁸. The purpose of this chapter is to understand the daily routine of dancers and identify the destinations in their neighborhood are particularly relevant to them. The methods I use here to examine the spatial parameters of their everyday lives include dancer-generated sketch maps and daily routine surveys. From the content of the maps I identified the destinations and landmarks they deemed important enough to include and compared these to how many of these locations they were able to access over the course of a typical, single day. The aim of this portion of the study is to better understand how individuals within the group perceive and experience living and dancing in the neighborhood, in the context of everyday life.

Fifteen dancers volunteered to complete daily routine surveys (N=15) and a smaller subgroup created sketch/cognitive maps (N=11) of their home, dancing place and destinations for a typical day. Cognitive maps here, I define as a representation of an individual's internal knowledge of the spatial and environmental aspects of the external world (Golledge 2005, 329; Kitchin 2001, 2120). The purpose of the mapping exercise was to reveal what places in the neighborhood were commonly visited by the dancers and any other notable places that they felt worth commenting on, from the insiders' point of view. The daily routine and general surveys were distributed to participants who were given two weeks to take the materials home, complete them, and return them to the researchers for a small token of appreciation for their efforts.⁴⁹

The cognitive map drawing took place after surveys were completed, over a four hour period over two days at the urban plaza. Participants made appointments to meet with the research team and respondents waited their turn to draw a map. The map drawing took place outdoors, while sitting on the bench under the pergola on the side of the plaza nearest the restaurant. The Chinese translation of "cognitive map" we used was *yìngxiàngtú* (映象图), which roughly translates to "impression map." I provided 18 x 24 in. white drawing paper and a rigid drawing surface, pencils, markers and pens to participants. My instructions them to: (1) draw a freehand map of their everyday environment, (2) draw and label on the maps places that they frequent in the course of a regular day and (3) indicate your home, dance place and river on the map. Sketch maps have been used in a variety of studies by psychologists and planners in the past, but the focus here is on representations of the everyday landscape from the perspective of a resident, as described in Chapter 1. Kevin Lynch's five-element typology of the physical environment (1960) – paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks – is useful here for considering the different types of places that appear on the map products, and I will identify examples of these elements in the sketch maps discussed below.

Dancers were also asked about what the dancing group means to them and how they feel about the city's recent transformations. The ritual aspect of the dancing proved to be quite important as a temporal structuring element in the day of the dancers, as some of the older dancers reported that they only leave their homes twice a day – to dance in the morning and then to dance again in the evening. They are indeed “nodes” in the everyday landscape where everyday activity takes place. According to Kevin Lynch (1960, 47), “nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter. . . Or the nodes may be simply concentrations, which gain their importance from being the concentrations, which gains their importance from being the condensation of some use or physical character, as a street-corner hangout or an enclosed square.” For the dancers, the dancing serves as two types of nodes in one's orientation to daily patterns of life. The dance site is a spatial “node” where focused activity takes place each day, but dancing itself is also a temporal “node” that takes place at a fixed time each day, functioning as a structuring element in one's daily schedule. Implications of ritual dance for both physical and mental health have already been explored by Richard Schechner (2006) and Maria Vesperi (2011). Here, I offer that engaging in what anthropologist Adam Chau (2006) calls “sociality” or *rènao* (热闹) through dancing may also offer benefits for preventative health.⁵⁰

Aging in the Honglian Beili Community

Honglian Beili community is a small residential community located west of Lianhua River (莲花河) in the southern Xuanwu district (宣武区) of Beijing. The south side of Beijing has historically been a less developed, less affluent part of Beijing (Elliott 2001). Much of the development in Beijing, for both infrastructural improvements and new constructions in preparation for the Olympics, has been focused on the northern and western parts of the city where the embassies and business districts are located. While some areas of the “South City” – such as the Qianmen Theater and Silk District – have been razed and rebuilt, the Honglian Beili neighborhood has remained relatively intact. Figure 5.1 below shows the locations of all the dance places studied during the spring and summer of 2010.⁵¹ This chapter will focus on one, Honglian Beili, the site situated between the third and fourth ring road that is circled on the map.



Figure 5.1. 2010 map of dance places in Beijing. Honglian Beili is circled in the southwest side of the city. (Map: Caroline Chen)

Context and Physical Aspects of Honglian Beili Plaza

Urban Context

Honglian Beili plaza is located to the east of the Honglian Beili community, a series of five-story walk-up apartment units, arranged in rows. Rows of mature trees provide a deciduous canopy in the spaces between buildings. Forming the western boundary of the plaza is the Lianhua River and a north-south running access road called Lianhua River Westside Road (莲花河西侧路). This access road intersects the Maliandao South Road (马连道南路) just to the south of the Honglian Beili plaza.

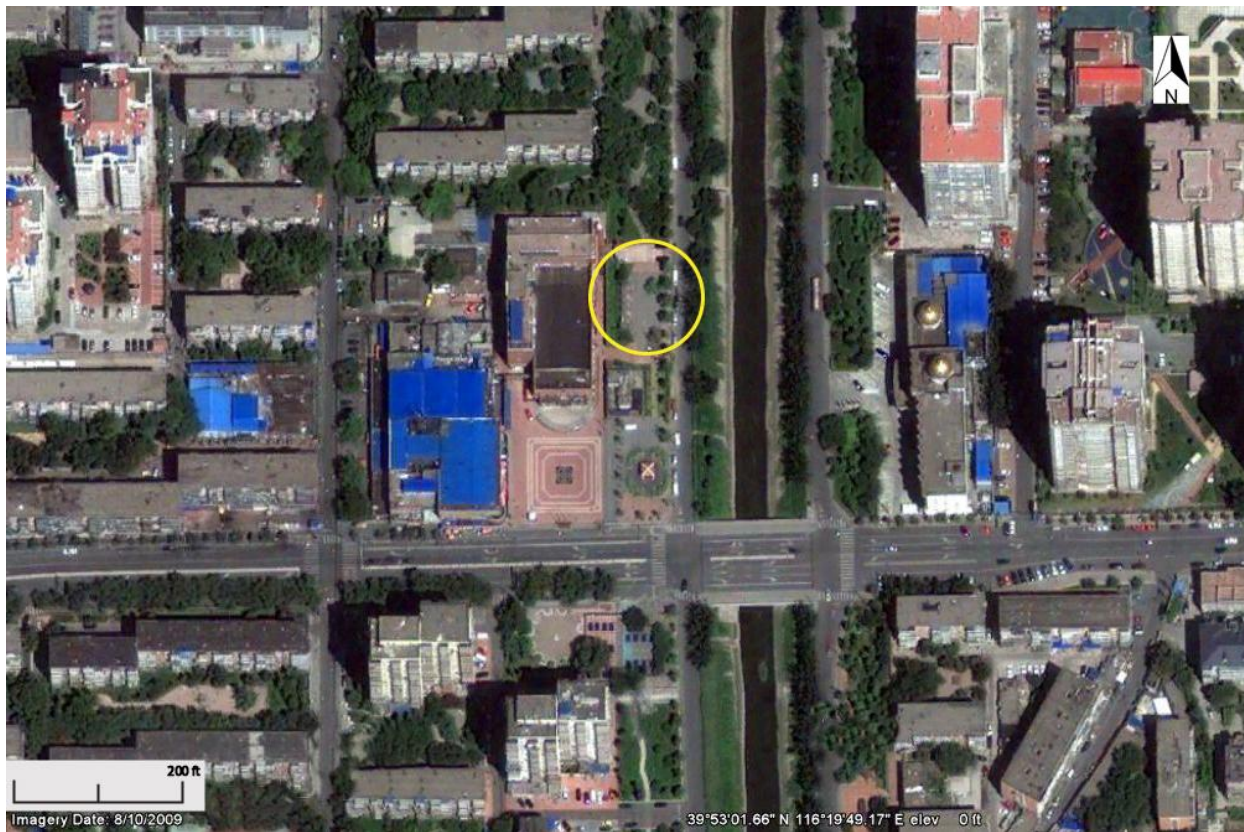


Figure 5.2. Aerial view of the Honglian Beili plaza, located between the Honglian Beili community on the west, and Lianhua River on the east. The Yuanjian Mingyuan community is located across the river to the east. Source: Google Earth Pro.

In Figure 5.2 above, the study site is circled. To the south of the site, is Honglian Culture Plaza (红莲文化广场), another large hardscape space, paved in red brick that is also a popular, evening dancing place. This larger plaza, though not the focus of this paper, shows up as a landmark in many cognitive maps. As this site is not entered upon or used by all of the respondents (except for walking across the space as a shortcut to their intended destinations) they could be regarded as a “landmark” in Kevin Lynch’s typology of five elements that constitute the physical environment of the city: a “type of point-reference, but in this case the observer does not enter within them, they are external” (Lynch 1960, 48). Though only a few feet away from their

regular dancing place, the Honglian Culture Plaza is the site of a very different kind of dancing in the evenings: disco-dancing. This space is frequented by adolescents and young adults at this time.

Many small markets and stores are embedded in this old neighborhood and the sidewalks are crowded with many aging residents, walking or biking without hurry, toting colorful nylon shopping bags filled with vegetables. The squeals and laughter of children playing in the street add to the small-scale, intimate feeling surrounding Honglian Beili plaza.

Honglian Beili Plaza

According to residents, this neighborhood has retained much of its pre-reform character unlike other districts in Beijing that have experienced a great deal of demolition.



Figure 5.3. The small plaza at Honglian Beili at 6:30pm before dancing begins

Approximately 60 ft by 80 feet, Honglian Beili plaza is paved with grey, concrete bricks. A large, wooden pergola with benches was built on the side of the plaza adjacent to the restaurant after the group claimed the space for themselves in 2007.⁵² The plaza itself is open to the sky, but protected from major traffic noise from the nearby Maliandao South Road because the plaza is set back from this main thoroughfare.



Figure 5.4. Honglian Beili riverside plaza after an afternoon shower: view to the NW (Source: Caroline Chen)

Two large planters with evergreen trees are also located in the plaza. The trees do not provide shade, but demarcate the northern and southern boundaries of the space. Low shrubs planted along the back of the pergola and lawn planted inside the tree planters soften the impact of the concrete paving and brick wall that are the two major defining features of the space. In Figure 5.4 above, the planter and tree on the northern boundary of the space are visible.

As night falls, the space fills with older women carrying nylon bags, which are filled with dancing props instead of vegetables. The women bring folded fans, handkerchiefs, rubber balls connected to elastic cords for dancing, but they also bring newspaper clippings and herbal health remedies to share with fellow dancers. When the flood lamps that shine on the restaurant billboard overlooking the plaza are turned on, the reflected overhead lighting shines coldly on the women who dance in rows, arms-length apart. When the billboard lamps are off, the plaza is only illuminated by diminutive walkway lamps to the north of the site. Under these lighting conditions, it is impossible to see the features of each dancer's face so one must remember what each person is wearing to tell the dancing bodies apart. Still, silhouettes are visible in the semi-darkness, and with the music so lively and gay, dancers are able to somehow avoid colliding with one another in the deepening darkness.

Dancer profiles

The profiles of the dancers who gather at Honglian Beili are very similar to those of other groups I have studied around the city. Most of the participants were women and the group

members' ages ranged from late fifties to their early eighties. As I was interested in studying the daily paths of dancers at retirement age, I asked if older dancers in the group would participate.⁵³ The ones who agreed to participate in the daily routine survey and the cognitive mapping averaged around 60 years of age.

The leader of the group is a sixty-nine year old woman who expressed her interest in participating in the research to make their dancing plight known: the spaces in the city for the elderly to dance are diminishing. The total number of members of the dancing community at Honglian Beili is estimated to be two hundred, although at any one time, only one hundred women are dancing. No one really knows how many residents of Beijing dance *yangge* at night, but one newspaper in 2004 did venture a guess at 60,000. If each group averaged around thirty dancers, then, by 2004 estimates, this translates to approximately 2000 *yangge* groups active in the city each night. No doubt the number of dancing groups has dramatically grown in recent years as the government has promoted *yangge* and other dances as ways the urban elderly can promote their own health as a patriotic duty.

Illiteracy and Layoffs

As discussed in Chapter 2, many members of this generational cohort were teenagers during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, and are often referred to as the *Lost Generation*⁵⁴ or the *Sent-Down Youth* (MacFarquhar and Fairbank 1991, 216). China began its entry process into the World Trade Organization in 1978, and since 1992, when the reforms accelerated, many structures of the former socialist planned economy were dismantled, including the decollectivization of agriculture and the disbanding of some *danwei* (socialist work unit) (Berik, Dong, and Summerfield 2007). During this time of structural adjustment, many workers were laid off, and for some, after they approached retirement age, the state was unable to provide them an adequate retirement pension. Many laid off workers or retirees who receive inadequate pension benefits are unable to seek restitution because of China's weak rule of law (Berik, Dong, and Summerfield 2007). Instead, they focus on finding alternative ways to fulfill their needs. *Yangge* dance is one such solution to preventing illness and keeping medical expenses low when one has limited means for members of this generation, of which dancers in this group are part.

Increasing Alienation

Although Honglian Beili itself had not seen great changes, some dancers here did not escape unscathed. For those who underwent forced relocation due to the city's urban renewal, their sense of community was forever altered. One dancer described the change: "I used to live in a bungalow, but because of the city renovation, I moved to an apartment. The relationship with the neighborhood has been much affected. We hardly meet each other and have no contact or talking." Moving from a street-level home to a tower resulted in fewer casual encounters for this respondent. This resulted in less communication between her and her neighbors, leaving her with a sense of isolation.

The physical environment was not the only change in the city that resulted in this sense of isolation, however. The economic reforms that were adopted by the Chinese leadership also further exacerbated the sense of difference for some dancers. As the gap between the haves and have-nots widens in China, one respondent explained how this also negatively affects the

cohesion of the community: “We don't visit each other [in the neighborhood] and don't know each other [with each other]. The gap of incomes has categorized people into classes. I am reluctant to connect with friends because of inferiority.” With increasing physical distance and separation into “classes,” walls are built between former neighbors, different dancers explain. One unifying force, however, that holds the possibility of mending the rifts in the fabric of their community, they explain, is *yangge*. One common desire shared by all aging residents in the community is the quest for health, and here at the dancing place, they may meet to dance together to achieve this common goal.

Rebuilding Community

One dancer reported that the friendships with other dancers that emerge from their nightly communal meetings at Honglian Beili are what matters to her. She explained: “It is a good exercise and entertainment. I am very happy to be with the sisters in the group. I can also share my troubles and difficulties with friends, and I feel much better... because friends will think for you.” Another dancer agreed that dancing and other group activities are a terrific way of warding off the isolating effects of living in towers and keeping good relationships alive: “Neighbors have activities together and keep good relationship.” Her nearby friend concurred, adding that the reason she dances is: “For health, but what matters more to me is friendship. Mutual communication is very important, we try to understand and help each other like sisters, and of course, old acquaintance should not be forgotten, too.” The leader then joined the discussion to summarize: “The city changes affect how well we know neighbors. We do everything with closed doors, so we lack opportunities to talk with our neighbors. Doing physical exercise in the evening improves relationship between neighbors.” Daily dancing is a useful vehicle to regain both personal health and community ties that are in danger of atrophying.

Dance is a vehicle not only to health, but to community. And the community, “the sisters,” provides support in problem-solving and protection from stress for the dancers. The community of dancers promotes continued engagement in daily physical exercise, what is crucial for healthy aging. All the ingredients – enthusiastic participants, motivation, desire, and need – are present, save for one: dance space. This healthful, beneficial cycle can be maintained – as long as there is space usable for dancing.

Health Information Sharing and the Joy of Learning

But physical health is only half the story. Dance gatherings are beneficial also for gaining new health-related knowledge. During fieldwork, I observed dancers sharing with each other health-related informational booklets about food and herbal remedies such as pine pollen. During breaks in dancing, the women share with each other new information they have gathered about pressure points they may manipulate on their bodies that would assuage joint soreness. The dancing place is a place where residents encourage one another to remain active and also to exchange information about how to age well. Dancers explained to me how this works: active old-old dancers demonstrate to young-old dancers that one can continue to be active in later years, and young old dancers share new information and health strategies they may have researched on the internet or learned from television with the group on new ways to stay

healthy.⁵⁵ Dance gatherings are beneficial not only for physical exercise, but also for gaining new health-related knowledge.

Suspension of Filial Duties

One Child Only

As discussed in Chapter 3, dancing in Beijing became very popular during the 1990s (Graezer 2004), an indirect response to the outcome of the One-Child-Per-Couple policy instituted in China in 1979. The policy set out to reduce pressure on national resources by slowing China's population growth (Smil 1993). Also discussed earlier, unintended consequences emerged in the wake of this successful family-planning initiative. Now, many aging Chinese couples have only one adult child to depend upon for assistance and support in their old age in a nation where assisted living and long-term care facilities are a fledgling and somewhat controversial industry (B. Wu et al. 2005). One underlying concern that permeated throughout the interviews and surveys was how falling ill could cause stress and strain to the precarious web of extended family ties.

The possibility of burdening their child weighs heavily on the minds of many of the older dancers at Honglian Beili. As one woman put it, the most she could do was to stay out of the hospital: "I have plenty of leisure time and I come to dance almost every day, it can not only help me to keep fit but also reduce burden of my child and her family to take care of me." Another dancer echoes the same concerns: "I dance for health. If I am healthy, I suffer less from diseases and can prolong my life. Also, I will not be a burden on my child." This dancer thinks about her own personal well-being, but she also thinks about the consequences of falling ill and the impact it may have on her extended family. So she dances with these two concerns in mind - she is dancing for herself and also to prevent her children from having to endure hardship on her part. The intergenerational consciousness is both demonstrated in mind and in body. With many adult children busy with their own families, many aging Beijing residents spontaneously started organizing dancing groups to achieve this shared goal.

Instead of Second Childhood, a Second Shift

In pre-revolutionary times, it was customary for the daughter-in-law to care for aging grandparents as well as her own children. However, today, some young families find that an additional bread-earner in the family is necessary, as the cost of living in Beijing rises. This means that many more families in Beijing now comprise of two working adults. Commanding more economic power than the older grandparents, daughters-in-law are now making new forays into the workforce outside the home, and no longer staying at home to raise small children or to care for aging in-laws. From the perspective of seniors, this change could translate into less familial support in their retirement years. Now, instead of looking forward to a leisurely retirement – what Yi-fu Tuan (2007) calls "the second childhood" – the current aging cohort is finding themselves caring for their grandchildren while both parents are away at work, instead of being cared for.

What becomes apparent in the Daily Routine surveys of respondents is how much they contribute to their extended households. Many reported that they cook meals for the entire family, shop at the market, and clean. When grandchildren are in need of care, they often interrupt their dancing practice in order to stay at home with the children so their daughters-in-law can work.



Figure 5.5. Grandmother babysitting grandchild, watching her *yangge* group dance in 2010

Providing childcare interferes with participating in *yangge*. From interviews, a three-stage timetable of dance participation amongst the dancers emerged: (1) a pre-grandchild period when one could dance unimpeded, without childcare responsibilities, (2) an “active-duty” grandchild period when one breaks from dancing and remains on the sidelines (or just stay at home), watching other people dance, and then (3) a post-grandchild period when the grandchild leaves home for school and one is liberated to pursue one’s own interests.

Observations at the dance site leads me to conclude that many grandmothers who are on “active-duty” grandchild care come to the dance site to watch their friends dance, thus retaining social ties during this time, even if they do not actively participate. As these grandmothers often have their small grandchildren in tow, the dance places often become sites of intergenerational engagement. Not only are the visiting “active-duty” grandmothers present, but also fascinated infants, and the ever-present audience of working-age commuters who pass by, staring. In this way, dancing places are sites of intergenerational mixing. Architect Roslyn Lindheim believed that this was necessary for an intergenerational-city to support older people (Lindheim 1974, 10).

Moral Behavior

Many of the dancers indicated they felt uncomfortable dancing with a man in a public space. This may explain why the preferred dance form of this cohort is a group dance populated mostly by other women. A commonly expressed sentiment has been shyness in embracing a stranger of the opposite sex in public. One dancer explained: “I prefer solo ballroom dance, *jiāoyìwǔ* (交谊舞). I find it uncomfortable dancing in a pair of male and female. Perhaps it is due to the education in my times. But I have no objection the recent requirement that middle school students should learn ballroom dance. They are, after all, a new generation.”⁵⁶ This dancer explained that because sexuality was de-emphasized in her formative years, she found the turn towards public romance to be difficult. She acknowledges at the same time, however, that times have changed and is tolerant of new norms in the younger generations.

The feeling of awkwardness about embracing someone of the opposite sex in public was shared by many in the dance group. A different dancer explained that she felt ballroom promoted illicit behavior, as it “is one of the factors that cause household instability”, that is, they promoted extra-marital engagements that later would lead to divorce, pernicious imported notions that she attributed to the West [213]. Another dancer pointed out practical difficulties in finding a suitable partner and suggested how participation could be enhanced by abolishing the need for male partners and leadership by more qualified teachers. One 76 year old woman who dances in a park explained: “No men would like to dance with women at their seventies like me. Also I have no passion in ballroom dance. I think we lack teachers of high qualities at present. Students should learn something fundamental, such as group dance” [351].

For these reasons, the dancers explained to me that they have changed different ballroom dances to fit their own tastes. In fact, they have hybridized ballroom from what is customarily a couple’s dance in the Western context, into a dance that one can do without a partner, but nested within in a larger group, like hip hop. Dancers cited reasons why male partners are so difficult to find. For those who do not wish to dance in a stranger’s arms, their spouse may not be a suitable partner because they may have already passed away, may be ill at home, may not know how to dance, may not wish to learn how to dance, or may not want to dance. The solution to this, several dancers told me was: *solo ballroom*. Dancing ballroom by oneself in a large group liberates a woman from needing to seek out an appropriate male partner.⁵⁷ To solve the pernicious problem of finding a good dance partner, the dancers have translated an art form from one cultural context to another. Solo ballroom is a culturally acceptable form that is aligned with both the moral codes and practical demands of their generation.

Changing Social Practices and the Environment

In this backdrop of social and spatial transformation, aging residents in Beijing continue daily patterns of life, shopping for vegetables, preparing meals, visiting the doctor, picking up prescription medicine and dancing. Engagement with physical activity is associated with successful aging and longevity (US Department of Health and Human Services 1996), and many elderly in Beijing choose dance as their preferred form of exercise.

The urban landscape of Beijing in recent history has dramatically changed since China’s shift from a planned to a market economy in the 1980s. Mao Zedong’s vision of the city as an

industrialist dream – “a forest of chimneys” – gave way to Le Corbusier’s vision of the city as a Modernist dream: “high buildings, set far apart from one another, [to] ... free the ground for broad verdant areas” (Le Corbusier 1973, 65). But some of the realities of everyday life in Chinese cities – such as the use of the street as a vital and important social space – did not overlap well with the Modernist ideals that conceptualized streets as conduits for the seamless flow of goods and passengers. When the Modernist plans were laid out in the Beijing, residents appropriated for themselves, these new types of spaces that were intended only for the automobile. To the chagrin of planners and new automobile-owners, residents of the city spread out their vegetables to sell on overpasses; danced in the parking lots and underpasses; and rode their bicycles on the expressways, causing congestion in the roads, but also putting themselves in harm’s way.

Surely, the character of the city is changing very quickly. Architects such as Wu Liangyong, who hoped to preserve the character of old neighborhoods in Beijing, experimented with projects such as *Ju’er Hutong* (菊儿胡同), by creating new hybrid developments that used concepts drawn from traditional low-rise courtyard house (*sìhéyuàn*, 四合院) while at the same time addressing new the needs of contemporary urban living by raising the density that the buildings can handle (L. Wu 1999). Other familiar spatial forms such as the Soviet-styled work units (*dānwèi*, 单位) also encountered change, often razed for building new, taller residential units. However, some studies show that despite the changes to the city’s housing stock, the cellular urban form in Beijing still persists in some blocks and streets in the city (X. Lu 2003).

Effects of Urban Renewal

Dancers reported that the city has changed a great deal in the past decade, even though their particular neighborhood in Honglian Beili – when compared to other neighborhoods in the city – has been spared, for the most part, radical change. But not all dancers escaped the effects of urban renewal. One dancer at Honglian Beili spoke about the loss of her home in the wake of Beijing’s Olympic preparations. Dancing with her friends, she explained, provided her some continuity in daily life, after she was forced to relinquish her family home to move to the nearby residential tower.

“Time-share Dancing”

The existing space at Honglian Beili is perceived by many dancers as too small. Although, according to the dance leader, two hundred residents in the neighborhood who consider themselves active in the dancing group at any one time, the space can only accommodate fewer than one hundred dancers. To allow for everyone to have their chance to dance each night, dancers take turns using the outdoor space. Some arrive during the earlier segment of the evening (around 7:15 pm) and will dance for an hour. If the dancer observes that others are waiting nearby to take their turn dancing, she will graciously cut short their dancing time on the dance floor to make room for somebody else. No sign-up list structures this process. Several dancers explained to me that everyone simply pays attention to see whether someone else is waiting and automatically leaves the dance floor to make room, if more room was needed for latecomers. One dancer describes their practice of “time-share dancing:” “Yes. The space is too small. If some people come late, they will have no place to dance, so some of the members

leave. It is hot now, and the group is crowded. So some people said that they would return when it is cool.” In order not to create a sense of obligation for the dancers who are waiting for their turn to dance, the dancer who has danced (and who now wants to leave in order to make room for others) may provide some kind of excuse for leaving the dance floor. She may say she is “tired now”, “it is too hot” or she would like to “take a break”. Different explanations are provided in order to allow the latecomers to feel comfortable taking their place.

But this unspoken dance etiquette is coming under strain. One dancer pointed to the increasing number of people aging in Beijing and who wish to begin dancing: “The number of dancers is increasing, and the size of the space is becoming too small.” The amount of time dancers can dance each night is decreasing. Still, in order to continue nurturing their community’s ties, the dancers practice mutual turn-taking for the time being. This, the dancer leader warned, is only a stopgap measure, however, and may not be a workable long-term solution.

Dance groups are growing and the city spaces are shrinking, while residents are being reshuffled in the city. In fact, the Honglian Beili group as a whole was forced to change dance sites in the past. This phenomenon of *expulsion* or *forced mobility* of dance groups in general, and of the Honglian Beili group in particular, will be explored in much more detail below. But some dance members are also new. They used to dance elsewhere, but when their homes were demolished, they were relocated into the Honglian Beili neighborhood and are now continuing to dance by the river. Of the dancers at Honglian Beili who participated in drawing cognitive maps, a quarter have had to change their dancing place since the inception of the group in 2001. Of those who have had to move, one had to move twice, another moved three times, and the last one has had to move four times.

<u>Reasons for dance members’ moves:</u>	
Moved twice	reason: road building
Moved three times	reason: road building, no lights, moved to the other east side of the river at one point, but there was inadequate lighting for night dancing, so they moved back.
Moved four times	reason: unclear “there is no place for activity”

Figure 5.6. Reasons for recent dance member’s moves

Despite the disruption in dancing, leaders in their community are often not sympathetic to the plight of aging dance groups. One dancer explained that this made finding a place to be active throughout the year quite difficult: “Our community does not have an activity space for senior people. The people who have the power [to make such decisions] have built an entertainment club, and it has been difficult to take part in activities in the winter.” Instead of a multi-use activity center, the apartment management chose to build an entertainment club because it was perceived to have more potential to generate income.

The same dancer also ruefully observed that children’s play centers and parking lots are often given priority over reserving or constructing activity spaces for aging residents because young parents are willing to pay a high premium to make sure their children have a safe place to

be during the day while both they are away working, and because the same young families demand a place to park their new automobiles. As potential income-generating spaces, play centers and parking lots are, to some residential committees, better economic investments than activity spaces for aging residents who have limited pensions.

Catchment Area for the Dancing Place with No Name

The catchment area for the small riverside plaza at Honglian Beili is quite extensive. One seems from the map below that some dancers must cross large roads and the river in order to arrive at the plaza. Some of the dancers who dance at Honglian Beili Plaza come from nearby areas, but some reside on the other side of large streets such as Guang'anmen Wai (广安门外大街).

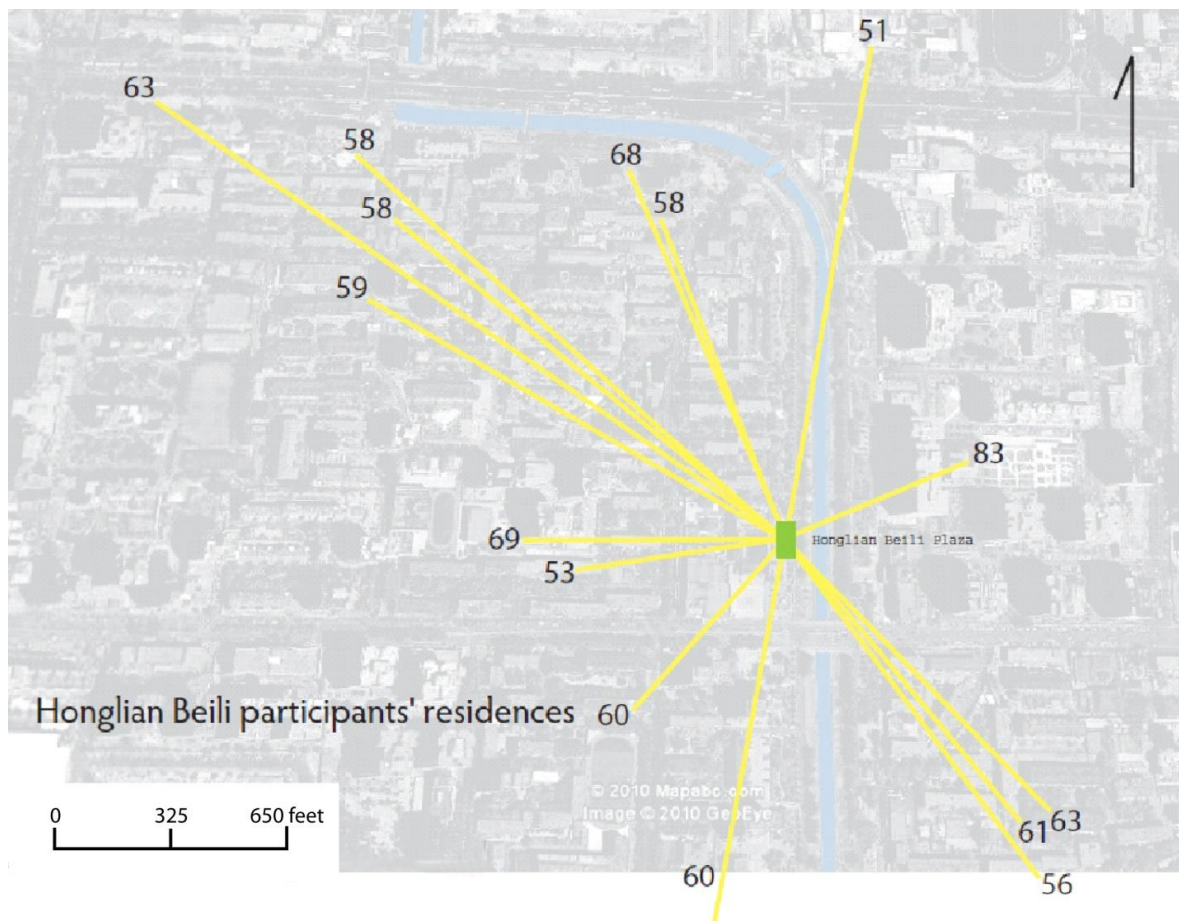


Figure 5.7. Catchment area of dancers for the Honglian Beili plaza. Numbers indicate their age.

Time/Activity Structure

Nearly all respondents who participated in the Daily Routine surveys from Honglian Beili (N=15) reported waking up at 6am and going to bed at 10pm, although one respondent reported arising at 5am. All of the retired dancers performed housework in the morning and afternoon, and all of the dancers either walk, bike, or more rarely, take the bus to arrive at their destinations.

None of the respondents owned cars or knew how to drive. Half of the dancers took naps after lunch in the afternoon for one hour; one respondent who still worked reported that it is customary for all workers in her office to take an afternoon nap, so she takes her afternoon nap at her desk. All respondents spend two hours in the evening dancing at Honglian Beili plaza unless the space becomes too crowded and they make way for others. One respondent noted that, in addition to dancing each night, she also bikes forty minutes each day: twenty minutes to work, and another twenty minutes to return home. She did not include this activity as exercise when calculating her total daily exercise time for one day, however, and I only learned this through examining her sketch map later on.

Patterns appeared in the sketch maps. I found little correlation between the degree of detail between the maps drawn by older and younger members of the group. Three dancers – one who was fifty-four, another who was sixty and the leader who was sixty-nine years old – drew the most detailed cognitive maps, while another dancer who was sixty-one drew the least detailed cognitive map. Roads, markets, bridges and overpasses, and the nearby Honglian Culture Plaza appear with great frequency in the cognitive maps.

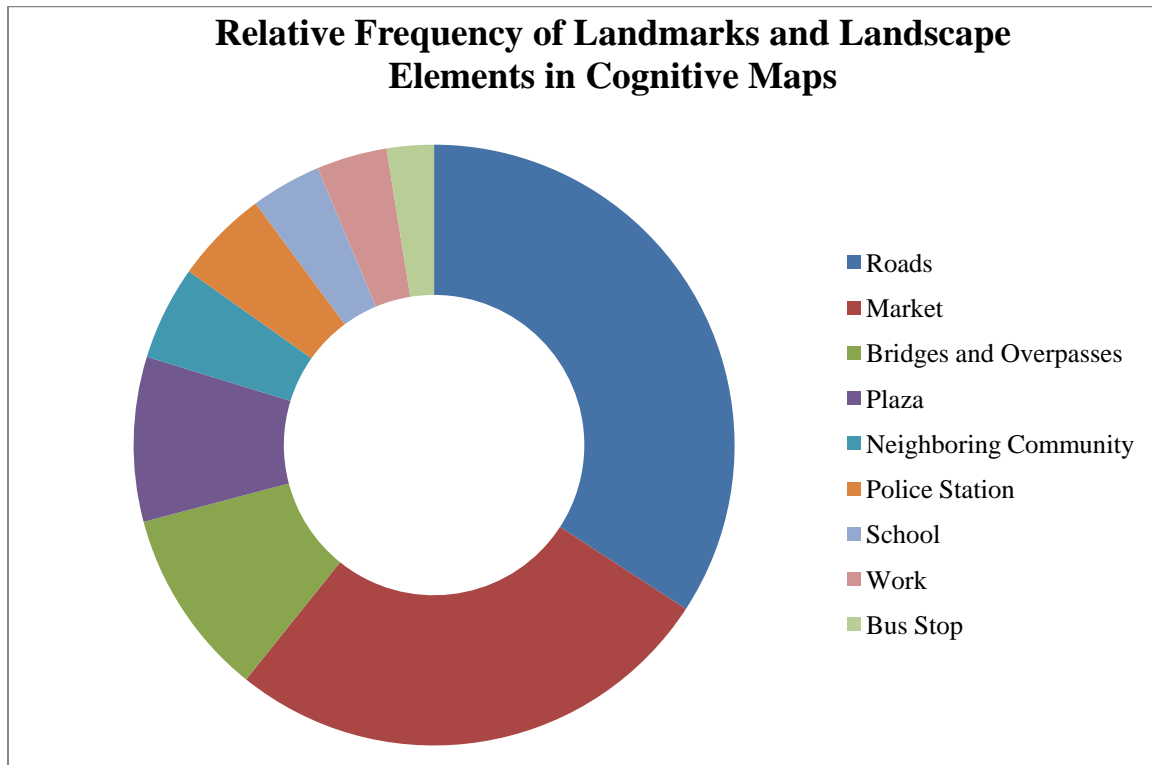


Figure 5.8. Relative frequency of places drawn on the cognitive maps drawn by eleven respondents

Schools often appear in the drawings as well as the neighborhood police station and adjacent areas such as the Yuanmingyuan Community across the river. Other landscape elements that are drawn in include bus stops and gas stations, as well as the comments about the smell of the river, confusing areas in the neighborhood, and the path that they take daily to travel to the dance destination from home. The description of “garden” was also used very loosely by one fifty-seven year old dancer who used this term to describe areas in the neighborhood that were more lushly planted with vegetation and street trees.

Daily Routine Surveys versus Cognitive Maps

A comparison of the Daily Routine surveys show that many of the respondents have similar time/activity structures throughout the day. A comparison between the places that were visited in one day, compared to the places named on the cognitive map showed that respondents are constrained by time to visit very few known places in the course of one waking day. The research implication is that if one wants to understand the scope of a subject's world, cognitive maps can yield this kind of global information. However, for research on vulnerable populations like older urban residents that may be at risk of falls and fractures, tracking individuals' daily paths in the form of activity diaries may be more useful in learning where the difficult obstacles are located in the daily landscape (Shumway-Cook et al. 1997). Overall, the detail of data that the sketch maps revealed was better than the information collected by the surveys.

Table 5.1. Each row contains responses provided by the same respondent. Destinations that appear on the Daily Routine survey appear in the left column. Destinations that appear on the Cognitive Map appear on the right column.

ID	Places appearing on Daily Routine Surveys	Places appearing on Sketch Maps
500	home work Honglian Beili activity center Honglian Beili dance place	bus stop #80 (comment: <i>she exercises on the sidewalk near the bus stop</i>) Honglian Culture Plaza food market bridge road (comment: "crooked")
510	work home	supermarket morning market drugstore Honglian Culture Plaza food market bridge (3) overpass road
513	shopping at food market home	walkway road gardens (2) residential tower (home)
514	home hospital life insurance company dance place	morning market 1 (comment: "outdoor – inexpensive") morning market 2 (comment: "indoor – expensive") supermarket primary school home food market Honglian Culture Plaza
518	bus stop (comment: [this is where she practices <i>taichi</i>]) food shopping	bridge morning market (comment: "cheap") food market

	home dance place	morning market home middle-school
--	---------------------	---

The table above shows how dancers provided far more data on their cognitive maps about the context of the neighborhood than an hourly inventory of destinations traveled in the course of one day.

Cognitive Maps: Drawing Themes

Cognitive maps were drawn by eleven dancers at Honglian Beili. Although two hundred older residents dance at Honglian Beili, I was only able to find eleven volunteers to participate in drawing cognitive maps in 2010 because many dancers said they were fearful that they would “make a mistake” or create maps that would be “ugly.” While these were the stated excuses for not volunteering to take part in this portion of the study, the suboptimal conditions of drawing pictures outdoors in the waning evening light could also be a contributing reason why many dancers decided not to take part.⁵⁸ The last drawings completed on paper each night were done in the dark with the help of light from the screen of my laptop.

The maps did not follow the established conventions of cartographic representation with the northerly direction oriented to the top of the page. Five out of the eleven drawings were drawn with north at the top of the page, but five of the drawings were oriented with west at the top of the page, and one was drawn with south oriented at the top of the page (and true north pointing to the bottom of the page). Ten drawings were drawn in landscape format, while one was rotated and drawn in a portrait format.

One fifty-eight year old dancer also produced a map that was more of a time-space diagram, than a cartographic representation. She drew on the map the time and mode of transportation she needed to reach various destinations with the center of the map as her home. She paid very little attention to geographic details or to relative distances between different destinations. On the whole, the drawings were very diverse in their expression of “the lived neighborhood”, not complying with common formal cartographic norms.

Kevin Lynch’s typology of five “physical form elements” (paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks) are useful here to discuss general patterns that appear in the sketch maps. “Paths,” defined as “channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves,” are well-represented in the form of roadways and routes” (Lynch 1960, 47). “Edges,” defined as “boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity,” are also apparent in Guang’anmen Wai , the large road to the north of the dancing place, and the Honglian Beili River that runs from the north to the eastern periphery of the dancing site (Lynch 1960, 47). “Districts,” defined as places where the observer may physically enter and which share an identifying character, are not visible in most drawings, with the exception of one drawing where a dancer placed circled a transit hub with a dotted line and commented that she found particularly confusing to navigate (Lynch 1960, 47). This transit hub district, like the one drawn by Canadian children in Halseth’s and Doddridge’s study, was relatively detached from the rest of the picture, “‘hanging’ in space” (Halseth and Doddridge 2000, 576).

Of the many “nodes,” defined by Lynch (1960, 47) as “ points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter,” that appeared in the drawings, many consisted of the following: the dancing place, markets, bridges and overpasses, police station and schools, whose frequency of appearance is shown in the doughnut diagram above. Lastly, common “landmarks” or “point-references” in the drawings included the illuminated billboard of the “Gold Mountain Good Food Restaurant” (Jinshan Meishicheng, 金山林美食城) and the larger to the south of their dance place, the Honglian Beili Culture Plaza. Nine of eleven drawings refer to these two major features in the neighborhood.

The sketch maps drawn by aging residents of Honglian Beili did not differ very much from those drawn by different populations in other studies. Both drawings by older children in Canada and the respondents in Beijing prominently note the locations of commercial areas (Halseth and Doddridge 2000). Like the American adults from Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles, the dancers in Beijing prominently displayed paths as city elements (Lynch 1960, 49). Also like the American adults in Lynch’s study (1960, 52), dancers appeared to have trouble understanding how streets meet when the character of the path changes, as evidenced by one drawing where “a crooked road” is noted, but floats in an isolated area in the middle of the map.

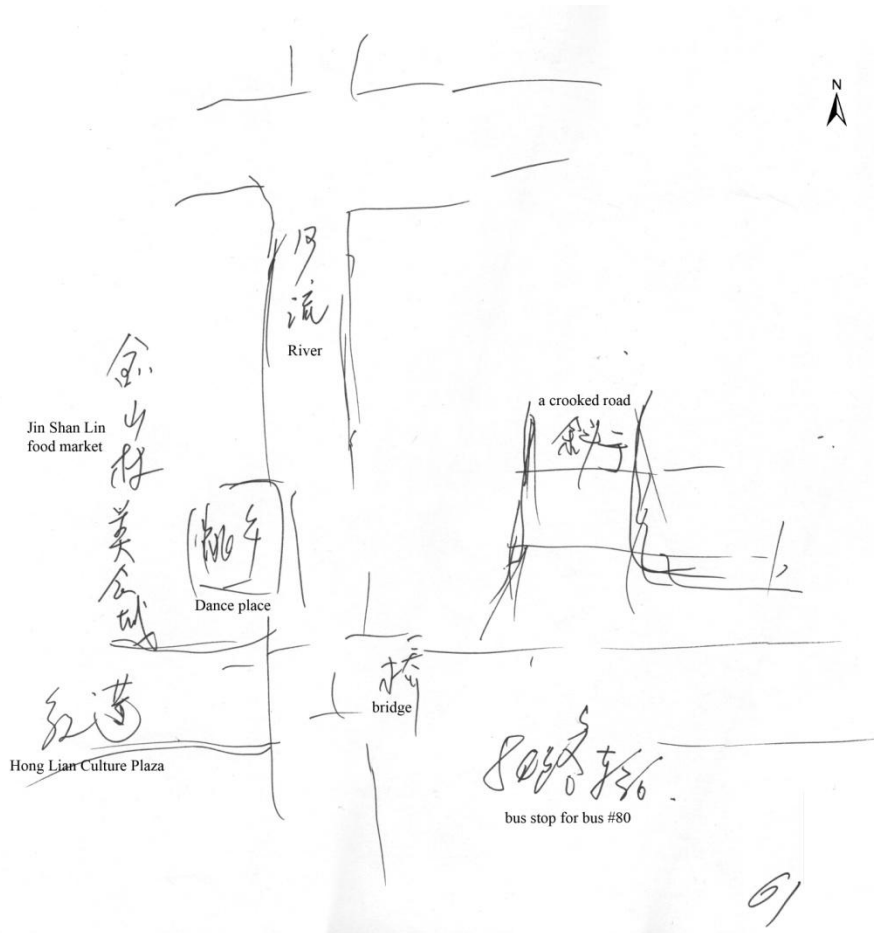


Figure 5.9. Crooked road, disconnected from the rest of the neighborhood

Most subjects drew specific places as destinations on their maps, eschewing drawing the complete neighborhood with the exception of one dancer. As in Halseth's and Doddridge's study, a gas station was noted in one map even though the children in their study did not drive. Halseth and Doddridge attempted explain this pattern: "Given the results noted above about the strong recognition of roads as paths, it is quite likely that parents routinely stop off at these gas stations en route to children's or family activities across the city. The children recognize these sites as important in their travels" (2000, 577).

While this may be the case with children in British Columbia, this explanation is less convincing in the Chinese context, as the dancers revealed in interviews that they had little experience as either drivers or passengers of cars. I propose an alternative explanation: the easy-to-recognize, red and white logo of PetroChina, 中国石油, is recognizable from a great distance, making it a visible landmark for seniors with impaired eyesight.



Figure 5.10. Gas station as landmark. Source: Image by Tycho de Feyter on his blog (de Feyter 2012)

Namelessness

One puzzling quality that I noticed while interviewing dancers was how the dancing space did not have a proper name. Different people used different words to refer to the same paved activity space that they visit each day. Some examples include: "Along the riverside behind Jinshan restaurant in Honglian community," "East park of Gangway Community in Xuanwu District," and "North-east corner of community square in Honglian community." This dancing place is often referred to in relation to its proximity to other landmarks in the area such as the Jinshan restaurant, the Gangway Community, and the larger, Honglian Beili Culture Plaza to the south. The space itself, while clearly a distinct space in the physical landscape, set apart by dual tree planters and an arbor, has no official name. The dancers continue to refer to their dancing place as "along" another geographical feature, "behind" a named community, and "northeast" of another named space. One is lead to wonder whether the lack of proper name for the space refers to its perceived lack of value or importance in the eyes of city leaders.

Pride

The cognitive map below was drawn by the dance leader. She spoke with pride about her neighborhood. She explained that Honglian Beili has a very good primary school and all the dancers' children attended this school, so it is a great source of pride for them.

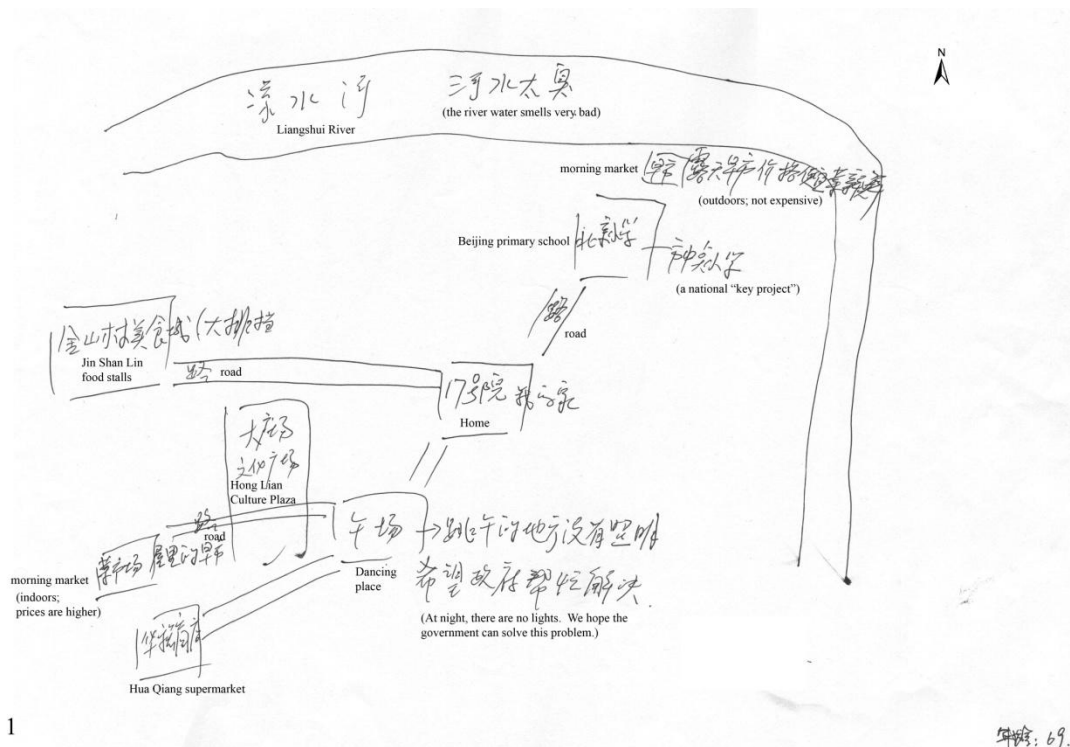


Figure 5.11. Drawing from the 69 year old leader of the Honglian Beili dance group

Although she does not volunteer at the school or have anything directly to do with the school any longer, she prominently drew this place on her map and explained to me that everybody feels happy just knowing the school still stands and is still winning national attention for its excellence.

On her drawing, she also noted which markets had better produce prices, and what obstacles presented dancers with difficulties. She notes that the dancing place is dark at night and the river has a bad odor. She wishes the government would help: “At night, there are no lights. We hope the government can solve this problem,” see Figure 5.11 above.

Bad Lighting

She was not alone. In fact, nearly half of the participants provided suggestions for how their neighborhood could be improved for dancing. Half of the comments focused again on the need for reliable nighttime lighting. The image below shows the large billboard advertisement for the neighboring restaurant that has been providing Honglian Beili plaza with evening lighting for several years. While the billboard lamps were a reliable source of light in the past, it has not always been illuminated at night in recent years.



Figure 5.12. Honglian Beili plaza at twilight, a quarter hour before dancing begins

One respondent explained why: “It has been much hotter this summer and the restaurant that we dance in front of is using up lots of electricity because it has to keep the air conditioner on the entire day. As a result of this, the restaurant did not want to leave [the outdoor] lights [that illuminate their small dancing plaza] at night. We need more lights for our dancing” [3:11]. As an unintended consequence of energy conservation, the elderly are dancing in the dark. The billboard is no longer a reliable source of light for the older people.

Confusing Places

Other respondents described dangerous intersections on the way to the dance place. One dancer focused her drawing on a particularly confusing and inconvenient area near her home: “There is a bus station with lots of parking - this area is a mess. Many people are there and the traffic is terrible. I think there should be a road that cuts through this area so people don't have to go all the way around the parking area” [6:1]. In Figure 8 below, this respondent drew a circle around the area she found “confusing” – the area around the West Railway Station and then told us that area near the Second-Hand Goods Market was confusing as well.

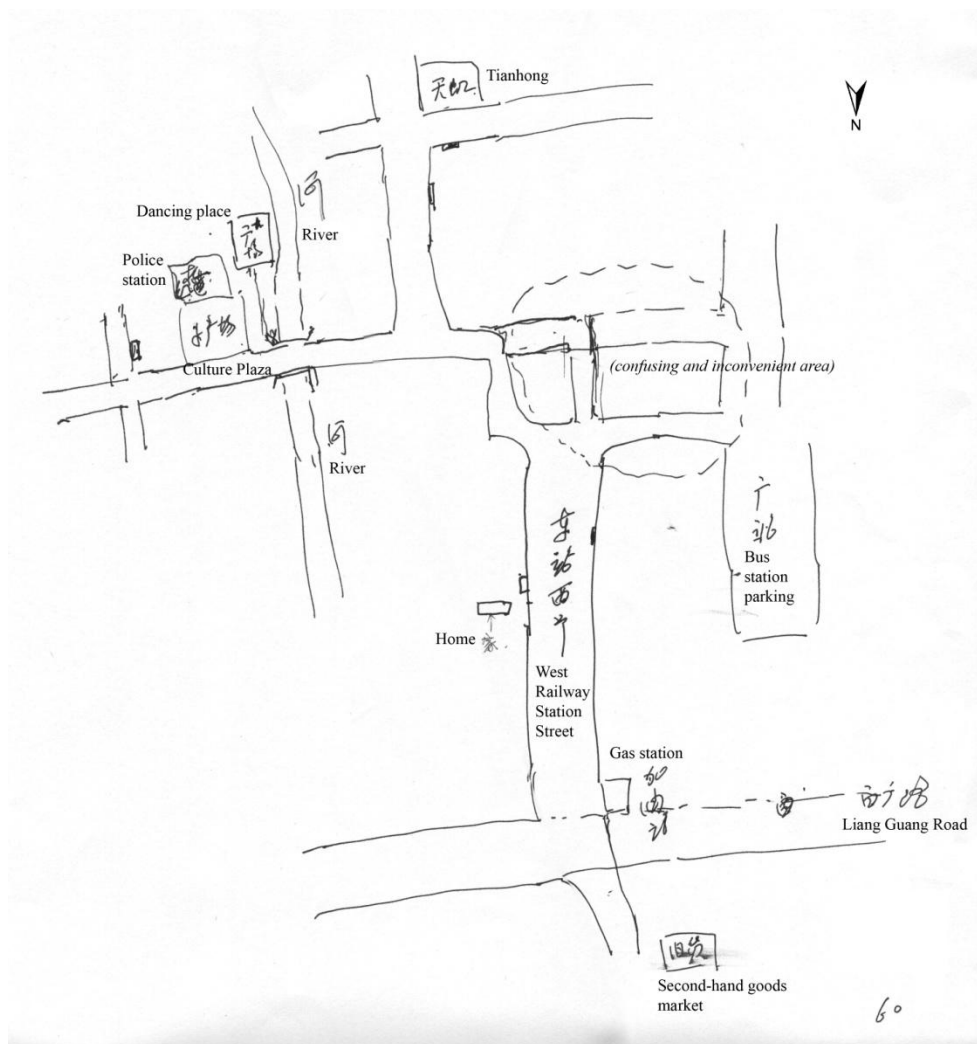


Figure 5.13. Living near one of Beijing’s main transit hubs, a 60 year old dancer laments the confusing road conditions

The participant who drew this map recommended a through street in this congested area so aging residents like her can avoid circumnavigating the parking lot before arriving at the bus station [6:2].

“The River is Dead”

Other respondents were concerned about the nearby Lianhua River. Unlike the Charles River in Lynch’s Boston study that was obscured by structures and somewhat “forgotten” in the mental maps of residents, the Lianhua River was quite present for the residents of this Beijing neighborhood because of its proximity and odor. One third of the participants remarked that the river was in need of immediate remediation:



Figure 5.14. Constructive criticism for city officials from a 61 year old dancer

One respondent acknowledged previous efforts by city planners to improve the river’s water quality. The efforts failed, however. In Figure 9 in the upper right corner, one respondent wrote encouraging words to the planners on her map: “Continue restoring the river, little by little” [7:1].

Sunlight and Seasonal Timing

This same respondent who was concerned about the river also named another common concern in many general surveys: how to avoid the sun. In Figure 9 above, she named the “Dancing Place in the Morning,” at the top of her drawing. She explained that this was a particularly well-designed space for dancing because “the buildings cast a long shadow in the mornings” [7:1], blocking the sunlight from the concrete area in front of the building. While the retirement age for women in China is 50 and 55 (for those who occupy official positions), permission to work beyond retirement age is possible on a case-by-case basis. This respondent is 61 years old and still commutes by bicycle to her work each day. According to her daily routine survey, this sixty-one year old woman begins her day dancing in front of this tall building with the long shadow, and then she leaves for work. After work and before dinner, she plays hacky-sack for one hour with her friends. After dinner, she dances two more hours at the Honglian Beili plaza with the other one hundred older women. Every day of the week, she exercises two and a half hours, not including the forty minutes she spends each day commuting to work and back.

Another respondent mentioned that the position of the sun during different seasons was a criterion for where one could or could not dance. She provided an example: in the wintertime

mornings when temperatures are low, dancers search for places that are warmed by the sun. When the sun moves, they move with it, but when the weather is too warm, they will find other places away from it.

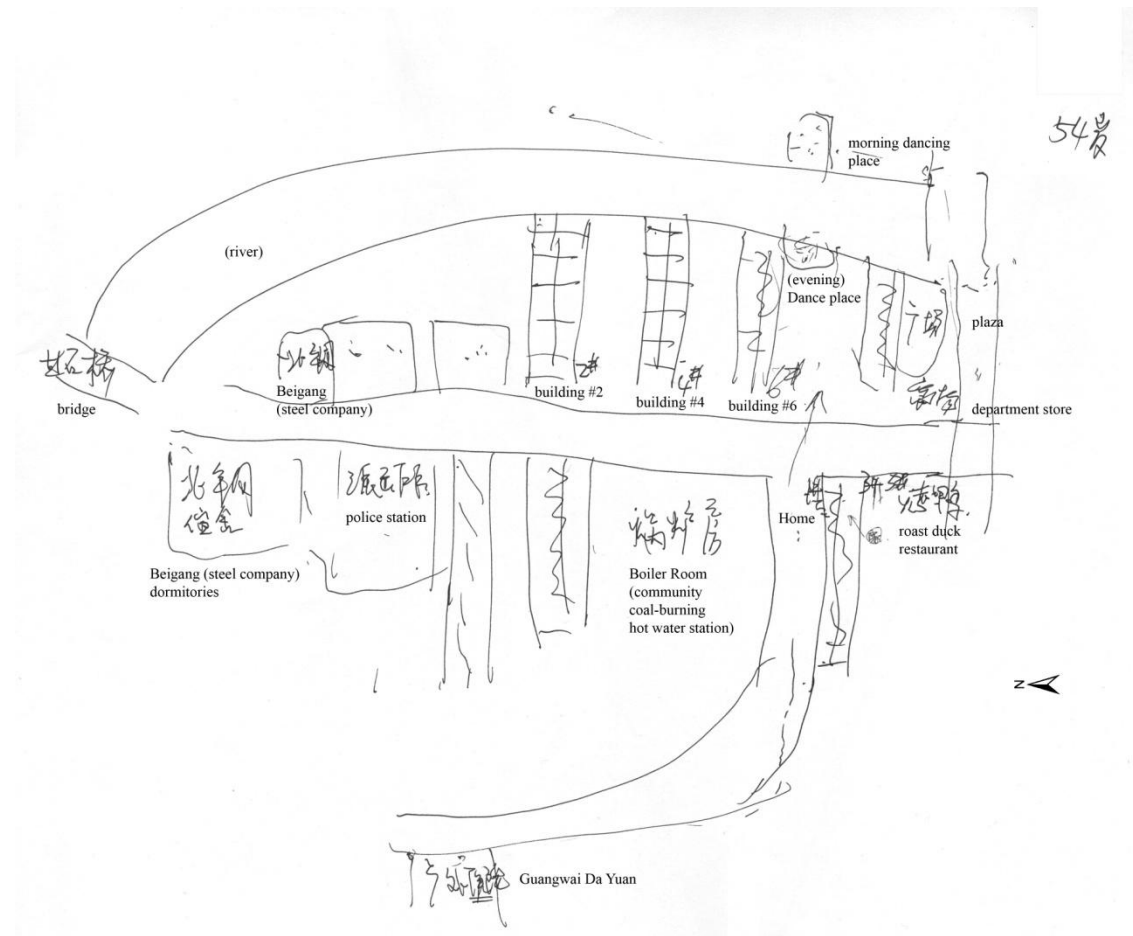


Figure 5.15. A 54 year old dancer’s drawing of her residential community

From the general survey, she identified Honglian culture plaza as such a space. This is the plaza that is directly to the south of Honglian Beili plaza. In Figure 10 above, this large plaza is simply labeled “plaza.” Note that the map she drew is rotated so that the map’s “north” is actually pointing west. This respondent added that the warming rays of the sun serve two functions: (1) to keep dancers comfortable, but also (2) to melt the snow on the ground so dancers may have a clear place to dance.

Conclusion

From this analysis, designers and planners working in China are in a good position to help design a danceable city. Spaces may be improved in many ways. For safe evening dancing, night lighting for dancing spaces and electrical plugs for amplifiers would help reduce the risk of dancers colliding with one another, falling down, or otherwise sustaining injuries from dancing in the dark. Aging residents are at pains to find flat urban plazas that are warm in the winter and protected from sun in the summer. Spaces designed for morning dancing do not require lighting,

but would ideally receive morning sunlight. Spaces designed for evening dancing would naturally not require this kind of solar access, but should be located in a space that would dampen sound so the dancing music will not disturb residential neighbors. Pairing dancing places next to large commercial businesses such as restaurants are generally a good match. Office buildings and schools do not pair well with dancing places, as workers and school children inside may not be able to concentrate well when the older people begin dancing.

When I asked middle-aged residents in Beijing whether they would dance *yangge* once they near retirement age, the majority responded that they would. They have been intrigued for years by the dancing on the streets in Beijing and wish they could join, but have no time at the moment to pursue this interest. Men were less likely to imagine themselves dancing. Some even denigrated the dancing as something people who have nothing else to do (*méiyǒushì*, 没有事). A minority of men, however, did express their interest in changing the status quo by joining women to dance themselves. “It looks like fun!” observed one taxi-cab driver, who explained to me: before he migrated to the city, he danced on stilts during the spring festival, a pastime that he enjoyed very much. As one dancer put it: “*Yangge* is my country’s tradition – it cannot vanish.” [153]. For others, the dance represented a tried and true method to retain health in older years. As another dancer put it: “*Yangge* will only cease to exist when there are no more elderly people” [228].

Chapter 6 Moves 移动

“In the light of the experiences accumulated in these forty years and these twenty-eight years, all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, nor is there a third road.” – Mao Zedong (1977)

“dirt. . . [is] matter out of place” – Mary Douglas (2010, 44)

Introduction

In Chapter 4, I discussed the types of spaces in Beijing that are claimed by residents for *yangge* dancing. The purpose of this chapter is to show how changes in Beijing’s urban design contribute to unintended, forced mobility of dancers throughout the city. Causal factors for moving are both external and internal to the group, including: complaints from neighbors over noise, inadequate space, eviction by police for obstructing traffic flow, eviction when space is claimed for new land uses, outgrowing the space available, too much sun exposure, lack of lighting, pollution, extreme temperatures, defective and uneven paving, and more rarely, discovery of an improved site elsewhere.

In this last chapter of the dissertation, I examine a subset of 26 dance groups who agreed to take part providing me with their group’s history, out of the 77 total dance groups that participated in this study. The oldest group was established in 1985 and the newest group in 2006. For all dance groups – whether they danced the big or new *yangge*, finding a stable place to dance in the city became an increasing concern in the late 1990s as construction in Beijing gained momentum, in the years leading up to China’s inclusion in the World Trade Organization in 2001. As the post-Mao Chinese leadership dismantled the socialist economy and opened the city to foreign investment and international trade, the urban design of Beijing changed dramatically to resemble that of New York, London, or Tokyo. The resulting higher density of residential areas and emergence of newfound leisure time reshaped not only everyday life, but also notions of what a good citizen should be. In this chapter, I show how residents must adjust to a city whose leaders changed guiding notions of how to live and how to behave within one generation.

In order for the city to appear “modern”, the Chinese leadership has pursued an urbanization campaign that seeks to modernize not only the urban built environment, but which also attempts to “modernize” the residents who inhabit it, through behavior and morality campaigns. I suggest that recent urban and social engineering has the tendency to marginalize *yangge* dancing, a preferred pastime of the aging residents in the city. I also show how continued forced mobility of older residents seeking danceable space results in the reduction of participatory chances for them to socialize and exercise. However against the grain, dance groups persevere and continue to find opportunities in the city to continue dancing despite these constraints, although their tenancy is increasingly precarious and their next move imminent. This chapter examines different visions of new Beijing, the efforts to create new citizens, the pattern of forced mobility through various urban spaces in the city, and actual factors that result in expulsion, that is, forced movement from a current dancing site.

New Vision of Beijing

In the early years of the People's Republic of China, the utopian vision for Beijing as imagined by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party was largely informed by the 220 Soviet experts that Moscow sent to help the fledgling nation with transitional government administration and economic management (J. Wang 2011, 41). On November 1949, M.G. Barannikov, a Soviet planning expert, wrote about what he identified to be the key deficiency of Beijing as a Communist city (J. Wang 2011, 104–105):

Beijing does not have large industrial enterprises. . . But, as New China's national capital, it should be a large industrial city as well, not only a city of culture, science and art. The working class in Beijing now accounts for only four percent of the local population. In contrast, the figure is twenty-five percent for Moscow. That means Beijing is a consumption city, where most residents are merchants, not laboring people, hence the need for work to industrialize the city.

Stalin's principle for city planning stipulated transforming “consumption” cities into “productive” cities, and by these standards, Beijing did not qualify as the model of a proper Communist capital city. Beijing lacked industry. The Chinese leadership responded to this criticism and sought to remedy this perceived deficiency in a literal way by building heavy industrialization in the heart of the city. Standing on the rostrum on Tian'anmen Gate (天安门), Mao declared his wish to look out into “a forest of chimneys” (J. Wang 2011, 85).

During the founding years of the PRC, ordinary Beijing residents made many sacrifices, placing production, industrialization and nation-building above their own needs for personal comfort, in the name of the new Republic. This sense of self-sacrifice was expressed by the slogans: “Production first, (people's) livelihood second!” as well as “One foot for industrial growth, one inch for improvement in (people's) livelihood!” (J. Wang 2011, 87). Residential building took a backseat while the new nation focused on industrialization, even as increasing numbers of people moved from the countryside to the city. As Beijing's housing stock fell into disrepair, no new housing followed in its stead until much later in the 1980s, after Mao's death. The result of this situation was thirty years of crowded cohabitation and poor living conditions for many residents of the city.

By the time Deng Xiaoping began applying for China's entry into the World Trade Organization in 1978, the official vision of the city had begun changing. The pendulum had begun to swing away from “a forest of chimneys” towards one of modernistic skyscrapers. Under Deng's reforms, publicly-owned or socialist property was sold off as private property, which during his predecessor Mao's time was considered a crime subject to punishment (Bechtler 2009, 14). By the 1990s, new building typologies had begun emerging in the city: exclusive residential projects such as the *xiǎoqū* (小区), walled superblock compounds composed of high residential towers; and the suburban “villa”, modeled after the western-style, single-family, detached bungalow. These new forms were emerged in the urban landscape with breathtaking speed as developers competed with one another to fill the market demand for new housing. Indeed, by the 2000s, search for the right vision for Beijing had traversed a great distance, moving from a model of the 1950s glorifying self-sufficient, walkable factory work

units to a new model of the 1990s supporting global commercial chains and luxury lofts, serving the needs and tastes of global urban nomads.

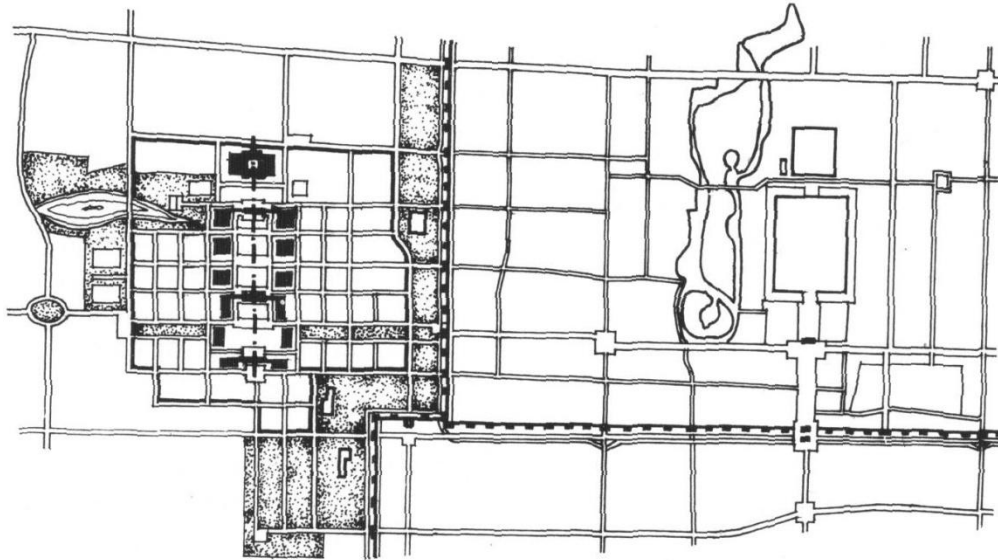
Leisure City Beijing

This “new” vision of Beijing as a city of culture and leisure had actually been offered at an earlier point in history, however. In the late 1930s under Japanese occupation, a master plan for Beijing – then known as Beiping (北平) from 1927-1949 – articulated plans for the city to cater to culture and tourism, what Chinese leaders would also strive to do, half a century later. In 1938, Beiping was effectively under Japanese occupation, and the city’s administration described its vision of the city (J. Wang 2011, 53):

Beiping shall be preserved as a cultural and tourist city. Plans for developing a new urban area on the suburbs of the city shall be acceptable. This is because redevelopment of the walled city would be too costly. Moreover, those traditional-style residential buildings in the city are distributed and designed in such a way as to be unable to suit the needs of the Japanese in their life while difficult to rebuild and detrimental to the value of Beiping as a tourist city.

The Beiping administration master plan’s call to preserve the historic center of the city did not come to pass, because of several reasons: the wish by Mao to claim the historic center of the city for the new regime’s use and arguments about wasteful duplication of administrative facilities on the western suburbs. However, the creation of the city as a cultural and tourist city was already hatched.

The Beiping plan also included exclusionary guidelines for the new urban spaces, specifying how new urban areas should be made enjoyable to new Japanese residents, while allowing them to “avoid mingling with the local Chinese” (J. Wang 2011, 54). The new plan also stated that the homes of future Chinese residents would be located “outside the city, in places near the walls” (J. Wang 2011, 55). Such segregating measures underscored the Japanese influence in the city’s administration during the 1930s. The plan assured that the historic city center of Beijing would be spared for tourism and new Japanese settlers would be spared contact with the Chinese local rabble.



Liang-Chen Proposal: The New Administration District in Relation to Old Beijing
 (Source: *Beijing's Urban Construction since the Birth of New China*, 1986)

Figure 6.1. The Liang-Chen Proposal for Beijing with the new administrative center located to the west of the historic city center. Source: *Beijing Record: A Physical and Political History of Planning Modern Beijing*. Singapore (J. Wang 2011, 120).

This vision of a green, leafy Beijing was evoked again, following the Chinese Communist victory on October 1, 1949, this time from an architect and city planner. In February 1950, during the critical period of planning Beijing's future, two Western-educated Chinese designers presented their vision of Beijing. Architect Liang Sicheng and planner Chen Zhanxiang took inspiration from Patrick Abercrombie's plan for greater London, arguing against the vision of the Soviet "productive" city (J. Wang 2011). They hoped to preserve the historical structure of the city, including the city's numerous walls, watchtowers, and courtyard homes. Liang and Chen sought to infuse the city with greenery for contemplation of nature. Like the Beijing administration's master plan, they sought to locate the new administrative center to the west of the city in order to preserve the old city for aesthetic enjoyment (J. Wang 2011, 136):

The city walls [should] be developed into a "continuous park," which would be "unique" across the world. The moat that surrounded the walls, he said, "is ideal for rowing and angling and people may do skating on it when it is frozen in the winter." "Raised flower beds and lawns may be built on the flat tops of the walls, which are at least ten meters wide. The park, fitted with garden seats and beautiful with lilacs, roses and other flowers, will be large enough to allow in hundreds of thousands of visitors at a time. In summer evenings, people may come for coolness and leisure. Once atop the walls in bright, clear autumn days, one will have a good view of the entire city and sceneries far beyond – the rolling hills in the northwest, the vast expanse of flatland in the southeast, etc. By being so close to nature, people would become even more broadminded."

By decentralizing the new government, both Liang and Chen hoped to create a modern, zoned city with greenbelts so that residents can have easy access to natural areas for rest and recreation (J. Wang 2011, 382, 450–451).

Liang and Chen were eventually criticized for offering this alternate vision for the city. In the 1950s, the founders of the PRC sought to strengthen ties with Stalin and the Soviet Union while also showing their commitment to Marxist thought. Two decades later, Liang was forced to submit a self-criticism for his “conservative” ideas and sensibilities and Chen was labeled a “rightist” and subjected to years of forced labor during the Cultural Revolution (J. Wang 2011, 382, 450–451). The city walls and historic fabric that they tried so hard to save were largely dismantled and destroyed, the new administration was stationed inside Zhongnanhai (中南海), the imperial park in the center of the city, and smokestacks rose within the core of Beijing. But after Mao’s death, the city was reshaped again. The factories were moved outside the city limits and the city was rebranded as a capital of leisure and tourism, welcoming cosmopolitan visitors.

But the built environment was not the only great change. Also new for residents in the city were the introduction of leisure time into everyday life and the emergence of a wider variety of recreational activities. Whereas everyday life under Mao mandated participation in “voluntary” political activities during non-working time, the market system under Deng loosened and depoliticized leisure time and allowed residents to choose how they wished to spend their time (S. Wang 1995). In the past, most people stayed home because they did not have the means to pay for entertainment. Choices for entertainment were limited to taking part in organized singing or dancing. But now this has changed for residents of means. Today, residents may now choose to eat at commercial restaurants, apply for tourist visas to leave the country, or join private gyms. None of this would have been possible for ordinary residents in the past three decades. In only thirty years the ideal of the “modern” city, as well as that of everyday life transformed.

Efforts to Create the New Citizen

In a pedantic tone, Chinese officials have sought to promote the “modern” image of the city since the 1980s, not only through changing the physical infrastructure of the city, but through schooling and socializing residents in proper etiquette that would befit “modern” citizens as will be discussed further below. This is not a move without precedence, however. Efforts to modernize China and to shed its moniker as “the sick man of Asia” have preoccupied past Chinese administrations as early as 1858 when the British navy blasted its way into China. Historical records, documented by arriving British soldiers, showed their disappointment with the rather large and bustling, but unremarkable Chinese city, devoid of monumental architecture.



Figure 6.2. View from the River, Canton. Source: William Pryor Floyd. (1873). View on the River Canton, No. 29. 20 x 25 cm. Source: Wellcome Images, London.

This stands in stark contrast with bedazzled Commissioner Lin of the Chinese Imperial court who wrote about his wonder when he first encountered with European (Portuguese) architecture at Macau (Waley 1958, 68):

Starting off again, we went the whole length of the Southern Ring Street [the Praya Grande?] from south to north, getting a general view of the foreign houses. The foreigners build their houses with one room on top of another, sometimes as many as three storeys. The carved doors and green lattices shine from afar like burnished gold Unfortunately foreign clothes are no match for foreign houses . . . (Waley 1958: 68)

While Lin admired the expressive foreign architecture, he was less impressed with the clothing of the Portuguese, judging it ill-suited to the humid weather of Macau.

British visitors arriving in Canton were critical of Chinese garden design. Mr. James Main from England who was sent to Canton in 1793 to collect Camellias wrote in his journal of the “studied violence” of the gardens that greeted his eyes, compositions that represented to him a “perversion of the harmony.” He complained in his journal: “Here no *coup d'œil* calls for admiration, no extent of undulating lawn, no lengthened vista, no depth of shadowy grove, no sky-reflecting expanse of water, - nothing presents itself but a little world of insignificant intricacy” (Main 1827, 136). Chinese gardens, devoid of expansive lawns, grand vistas, inviting groves and other familiar design elements that are commonly found in the design of parks and gardens from Europe disappointed Mr. Main. The British gentleman concluded that Chinese garden design was deficient. He continued his assessment: “In short, except the beauty and rarity of the plants, the visitor finds nothing interesting in their style of gardening: no scope of ornamental disposition; no rational design; the whole being an incongruous combination of

unnatural association” (Main 1827, 137–138). From his ethnocentric perspective, the only redeeming value he could find in the whole venture was the opportunity to export the wide selection of exotic plants available in China for European horticultural consumption.

Hygienic Notions

Historian Ruth Rogaski explored how China wholeheartedly embraced "practices of health and politics" of Western modernity during the mid nineteenth century and remarked with surprise how willing the Chinese were to adopt modernity so readily, even though the origins of modernity came clearly from the West, a product of scientific experimentation, technological development and industrialization (Rogaski 2004). She wondered why China sought not to develop "its own" modernity that is original and endemic, but seemed easily satisfied with adopting modernity from abroad. She then later pointed to Japan as a possible mediator for modernity, "a facilitator". Rogaski argued that when it became evident to China that Japan was able to industrialize and gain military and economic prominence as the Western countries, this observation spurred the Chinese leadership to embrace Western modernity, as Japan's success was interpreted as evidence that the Western "formula" for modernity could work in an Asian context (Rogaski 2004, 11).

During this time, ideas about public health, germs, and manners arrived in China, first from the British, and then later from the Japanese in the 1930s and 1940s. The encounter between the Chinese and the would-be colonists was recorded through a rhetoric of inferiority and lack, from the perspective of the victors. The Chinese cities were perceived to be lacking in infrastructure. Sewers, clean water and modern medicine were in short supply, and the city was "disorganized", not zoned. The residents were also judged to be likewise flawed: ill-mannered, dirty and unhygienic (Rogaski 2004, 6). In a similar vein, one decade earlier in the 1920s, missionary and sociologist Sidney Gamble pointed out that Beijing was lacking in playgrounds, public parks, and "wholesome recreation" (Gamble and Burgess 1921, 25, 236) Gamble was specifically concerned about the latter, mentioning it seven times in his report and pointing out that this lack rendered men prone "to the temptations surrounding them" and contributed to the proliferation of prostitution in the city (Gamble and Burgess 1921, 244, 243). Beijing, when compared to other cities of the world and when judged through the lens of its foreign critics appeared to be in a state of constant lack of what other cities possessed in abundance.

The appropriative history of modernity in China raises questions about the meaning behind certain representations of modernity such as public parks, dress, and manners. I suggest that these forms and practices may in fact be more cosmetic and less deeply rooted than forms and practices would that emerge from modernities that have developed over a longer period of time, *in situ*. In other words, I propose that a difference lies between state-sponsored mimicry of the latest modernity and true personal agency. As Dean MacCannell put it, "the community becomes postmodern, then, when it develops consciousness of itself as a model and learns to profit from its image" (MacCannell 1992, 102). In the case of China, the models in question come from abroad, but these are indeed self-consciously emulated and performed in showcase cities like Beijing. MacCannell's concept is relevant here, because in adopting these models, the Chinese leadership is deliberately promoting a certain image of a modernized state, populated by modern citizens to gain acceptance by the international community. But has the Chinese

leadership and population truly embraced the newly imported ideas or are they adopted for appearances only?

Anti-Rustic Sentiments

During the 1950s through the 70s in Beijing, model behavior required ardent commitment to the ideas espoused by Chairman Mao as well as alignment with correct political views that could and did change over time. These dimensions set one apart from being a good proletariat or a dreaded “rightist”. This has since greatly changed. Political scientist Lei Guang (Lei 2003, 614) quotes from an editorial written by Wang Weiming on August 7, 1996 in a Shanghai newspaper article in the *Youth Daily*, titled “Women in Cheap Sandals Running Amok in City Streets:”

Women running all over the place in cheap sandals thus constitute a fashion “statement” (*shuo fa*). It tells us that a huge gap exists between women living in the same period, owing to differences in history, economy, geography, and culture. It also tells us that material accumulation does not lead to a refined life. It further tells us that a city like Shanghai may accept someone who is daring (*cu fang*) and bold (*cu kuang*), but not coarse (*cu zao*), or worse, cheap (*cu lie*) and vulgar (*cu pi*). When you belong to the latter group, we then cannot but read two words from your bodies scouring about in those cheap sandals: country bumpkin (*ba zi*).

While Guang noted that many readers of the paper wrote in to condemn the opinion voiced in Wang’s editorial, Wang’s point of view showed that the model for the ideal citizen has clearly shifted away from that of the “good proletariat.” No longer differentiating good and bad along class lines, Wang drew the line instead between those who live in the city and who are cultured with good taste, and those from the countryside who lack both the means and cultivation to know the difference. Wang suggested that only someone who can “lead a refined life”, and who is daring and bold, can represent “a city like Shanghai”, but a *bazi* in cheap sandals cannot. Wang dismissed the *bazi* with her utter lack of fashion sense and consumptive agency, admonishing her to return home because she sullies the image of the city.

The question of which behaviors and sensibilities are proper in the city and which are not targeted by the *jīngshén wénmíng* (精神文明 or just *wénmíng*) or “spiritual civilization” campaign, one part of Deng Xiaoping's "two civilizations" program from the late 1980s.⁵⁹ The goal behind *wénmíng* was to shape and adapt the minds and behaviors of residents so they would follow the new norms and customs that support the market economy in China (Boutonnet 2011). This official “civilizing” campaign was codified in 1996 with a formal declaration called the *wénmíng gōngyuē* (文明公约), or “charters of civilization.” According to cultural theorist Boutonnet, these rules were targeted specifically at “poor, underprivileged people living in urban areas,” teaching them how they should behave in public in order to boost the image of the city (Boutonnet 2011, 7). The goal of the *wénmíng* campaign was to promote conformity among residents to a certain standard of behavior, to ensure societal harmony at home as well as boost the international image of China abroad (Boutonnet 2011, 11).



Figure 6.3. Western rules: standing in line

These behavioral and moral guidelines are wide-ranging. Not only limited to specific areas in the city such as parks or other spaces that – in the Western tradition – have served as places for socializing newly-arrived rustics, the *wenming* campaign permeates everyday life and applies to all spaces where one may be observed by others. *Wenming* is thought to be the duty of all residents to enact, and also the duty of all residents to enforce. The program includes many everyday behaviors, ranging from personal hygiene, to keeping publicly accessible spaces clean, to managing one’s appearance to appear happy in public. Concrete examples include keeping bathrooms clean, keeping shared spaces free of litter, finding afternoon programs for children, dressing up to go to the park, standing in line and refraining from pulling up one’s undershirt up to expose the naked belly in public in order to cool off, even when the weather is very hot outside (Farquhar 2010, 572; De Vries 2009). Proper adherence to the rules of *wenming* would demonstrate to others who are watching to what degree one is “spiritually civilized.” When residents keep the bathrooms clean, and public spaces free of trash, enroll their children in afternoon programs and wear their best to the park, according to the rhetoric of *wenming*, these actions contribute to the national effort to strengthen China, or the very least, could improve the image of the city (De Vries 2009).

Wenming as social control also figures into the daily life of dancing groups. From the perspective of dancers, dance is satisfying on many different levels. For many, it is a practice that allows them to engage with people outside their immediate family circle and participate in the city, while drawing admiring comments from tourists. It is a way to promote harmony within the extended family by keeping medical costs to a minimum and a way cultivate the mind and body with new challenges on a daily basis. Moreover, several dancing groups frame their pastime in the rhetoric of beautifying Beijing, promoting the Olympic cause and reclaiming the reputation of its inhabitants from history. A 69 year old woman who dances in a park observed: “[Dancing and] the Olympics have encouraged the whole nation to take part in exercise, and all of us are well-prepared to welcome the Games with strong bodies and open minds. We can prove to the world that the Chinese are no longer ‘the sick man of East Asia’ but vigorous and cheerful people” [231:2102]. This dancer explained to me that humans are an integral part of the urban landscape, and she hopes to show an imagined, international audience that Beijing’s older

residents are fit and happy in these modern times. Their dancing provides the evidence for their new, improved status.

Wenming factors into dancing in a negative way when dancers are perceived to disturb others through loud drumming or obstructing traffic. When the dancing groups encounter problems fitting into available space in the city, residents often complain that they are behaving in an “uncivilized” way that besmirches the city. They, like the *bazi*, aroused the contempt of Wang; they are “rabble-rousing” villagers that do not belong in the modern city. Yet the criticism leveled at the dancers is not quite accurate, because nearly all the dancers in this study (N=395) are long-time Beijing residents or natives. It is the city that has changed from underneath their feet and the new standards of “model citizenship” that has descended upon their everyday life to police their actions, now deemed out of step with the times.

Cultural Resistance

At the same time the editorial appeared in Shanghai, another popular sentiment was on the rise in the 1990s that embodied rustic values through the dance. This folk revival swept through cities in China, prompting some preservationists to urge further investigation into the proliferation of *yangge* street dancing in the Beijing.⁶⁰ *Yangge* dancing was common sight on the streets starting in the late 1980s and continuing into the 21st century, prompting some scholars to interpret such actions as residents’ grass-roots efforts to create meaning and identity through their association with dancing groups. As collective ties loosened in the Deng era, a corresponding loss of idealism and identity befell the revolutionary cohort, and when they were unable or unwilling to conform to the new *wenming* behavior mandates in post-reform China, such as leading quiet lives and lifestyles of “tasteful” consumption, they found “emotional solidarity” in sharing nostalgia inside the city (Yang 2003, 284). Socialized in the countryside, some disaffected members of this generation turned to “rusticating the urban life” in order to create their own alternative meanings and identities (Yang 2003, 287, 267).

Shifting Norms of Public Behavior

Many of the dancers in this study still hold norms and morals born of pre-reform times. As described elsewhere, several dancers described discomfort with ballroom dancing because such dancing involves men and women publicly embracing, what was not considered morally proper in earlier times.



Figure 6.4. Ballroom dancing by the Audi in the parking lot

As one 53 year old dancer put it “We don't like ballroom dance (*jiāoyìwǔ*, 交谊舞) because it requires the chemistry between two people, which sometimes damages certain family ties. I think *jiāoyìwǔ* is for socializing between elites” [330]. The association between ballroom dance and fear of out-of-control extramarital infidelities was echoed in many of the responses by those *yangge* dancers who did not approve of ballroom dancing.

However, in order to adapt to the new norms, some residents turned to modifying new activities so they fall within their notion of proper behavior. One 53 year old dancer suggested that if dancing was sex-segregated, then this would solve the problem: “I don't like it because it [ballroom] requires both males and females. It is okay if only females dance it” [334].



Figure 6.5. Women partners, ballroom dancing

Indeed, it is not uncommon to see women in Beijing dancing ballroom in pairs to avoid the taboo of dancing with a stranger of the opposite sex in public sight, originating from earlier norms of behavior. This way, dancers are still able to participate in the new activities that are now available in the city without upsetting notions of moral behavior that they have already internalized in childhood. But when the residents alter the form of the dance to suit their own personal comfort, the dance is emptied of any historic or romantic meanings and becomes simply another leisure activity in the city. In Chapter 3 we learned how the fledgling Chinese Communist party used the familiar form of ritual *yangge* to communicate new Marxist political ideologies to farmers in the countryside. Here, again, we see another dance form emptied of meaning and used in a different way in order to fill a new purpose: just another leisure time activity. Only here, instead of using a familiar dance form, a different foreign dance form is appropriated and emptied of its original, associated historical and social meanings. Ballroom dance is now used for physical exercise and to generate feelings of *renau*, or animated sociality and merry-making in everyday life, an important component of the structure of feelings for those in the revolutionary (and now retiring) generation.⁶¹

In many ways, the new *yangge* is another chimera that draws from many different *yangge* traditions from northwest China. The dance differs from the big *yangge* in one major way, in that dancers no longer follow one another in a circulating line, but each individual dancer is rooted in their designated place on the dance floor and remains “in formation” throughout the course of the dance while making dancing motions with their arms and legs. A 72 year old woman who dances by the gate explained: “*Disantao yangge* use the form of modern dance. The accompaniment is recorded by cassettes. It helps us keep healthy mentally and physically. People improve their qualities through dance. Big *yangge* is an ancient dance with folk features. It uses drumming as accompaniment. The drumming is passionate” [392].

While the movements of the new dances are more physically demanding than those of the old dance, the group no longer moves as a unified, “follow-the-leader” body, and the music is more melodious, no longer “passionate” drumming.



Figure 6.6. New *yangge* at the Worker's Cultural Palace

Gone are the circulating, moving dance figures described in Chapter 3 that can encounter difficulties in cramped urban spaces. Instead, the new dance fixes each dancer to one place. The dancers then synchronize their individual movements with those of other individual dancers who also stay in place. The music is recorded, thus more portable, and volume of the music is adjustable. But the new dance is more physically challenging and this comes with consequences, which will be discussed below. Reflecting on whether she would be able to continue dancing the dance, one 55 year old dancer plans explained: "I would be unable to dance one day after I grow old, and my dancing will not be as pretty. I would then try other ways of exercising" [210]. For many of the older dancers, this new dance is indeed quite impressive, but more challenging to dance "beautifully", which prompts some dancers to think that to avoid marring the image of the city they are trying hard to improve, they will one day quit.

Another cultural shift in Chinese society since the founding of the PRC is the status of the dog in the city. Dogs, in particular, were criticized for their lack of political consciousness and drain on limited resources. David Kidd (2003, 132), an American expatriate living in Beijing during the Chinese Communist Revolution, described what dogs represented from the 1940s:

I think the Communists really hated dogs because in a very tangible way the dog, loyal to individuals and not to beliefs, represented the last defense of the private citizen against the increasing nosiness of the police, the community, and the state. As a result, the Communists, besides insisting on the licensing of dogs, investigated and taxed the owners. How, the owners were asked, could they afford to feed a dog? Had they no shame about feeding dogs while human beings starved? Where did they get the money to keep a dog? And so on. In the end, the owner usually found it easier (as the authorities had expected he would) to quietly get rid of his dog, while the dogs kept by stubborn owners would often mysteriously disappear or be found poisoned.

The dogs of Peking had thus grown scarce, and precious to those few who still had them, so it was not just a dog that Aunt Chin was talking about but the only protector, halt (*sic*) and old though he was, of our right to smoke opium and play mah-jongg, to beat our children and keep secrets, to stand on our heads in the morning if we wanted to, and sleep in green and purple pajamas at night. Although Aunt Chin claimed not to like dogs, she had begun to feed this one from her own hands, and Baldy had come to love her more than anyone else in the family, looking at her with sad, moist eyes, in a way her cats never did.

Dogs, poisoned and scarce during the 1940s, have now returned to the displeasure of some older residents who still saw them as competitors for limited resources. A 58 year old woman who dances in a parking lot put it this way: "Too many people have dogs as pets in the city. The dogs along with their shits interfere with our dance" [331]. Another 58 year old woman who dances at a plaza from a different group echoed her exasperation: "Open parks are full of people walking dogs. There are increasing numbers and kinds of dogs in parks. Even big dogs which seem dangerous walk here and there. We have to avoid these animals. So it is time that related official departments take steps to control the situation!" [213].



Figure 6.7. Loyal friend at Honglian Beili riverside plaza

Not all older residents feel this way, however. Some credit their pet dogs for lifting their spirits and helping them recover sooner from medical procedures for age-related illnesses.

Through the increasing variety of dance forms available and the reintroduction of dogs into the urban landscape, one sees that what is at stake for the older dancers in Beijing is continuation of their everyday dancing practice. Questions of whether they can find room to continue dancing, whether they can adapt to the new dances that are morally challenging for them or more difficult to perform, compound with other questions of whether they still dance in a manner that can still contribute to the beautification of the modern city. Dancing in the city has become an increasing struggle in the light of urban changes, diversification of leisure time activities, and shifting norms for ideal “civilized” behavior.

Mobility Profiles

The beautification and infrastructural development of the city have presented dancers and musicians new social and physical obstacles to overcome. Along with urban densification, the increasing presence of automobiles, and pollution, dancing groups are often forced to move and cannot find stable tenancy at a dance place of their choosing. The new urban landscape of Beijing includes challenges such as increased density, accompanied by intolerance of nearby residents to noisy, live dancing music that is amplified by the tall concrete walls of their own high-rise homes. As discussed before in Chapter 4, after a real estate market was established in the 1980s, pressure increased to convert unused urban open spaces into income-generating developments, leaving smaller available interstitial spaces in the city, many of which are converted into pay-to-park lots. Art collector Uli Sigg describes the often unplanned nature of development that characterizes development in cities like Beijing. In an interview, he explained (Bechtler 2009, 46–47):⁶²

In talking about urbanism, you have to realize how these new cities come about. It is basically the economic drive. A project starts with an investor and a sum of money. The

investor will have an architect or maybe an engineering firm, and when the project is already designed, it is only then that the city starts to think about how to connect the project - which will be built in any case - to the existing environment. That's how these cities develop. . . . You actually start with an investor and a project, you don't start with a plan. That's why they talk about 'post-planning'. I think Hou Hanru came up with the term: first the city is built, then you start to plan.

In addition to the building of commercial projects, infrastructural improvements that include the building of subways, widening of roads, bridge-building as well as beautification projects have transformed the city into a massive construction site. While construction sites can sometimes offer dancing groups a temporary place to dance, they are conditional on whether construction companies, nearby residents and police allow them entry. In order to understand the scale of the forced mobility most groups in this study have had to face, it is instructive now to examine the *Mobility Profiles* of twenty six of the seventy-seven groups in this study. Three hundred and ninety-five respondents were surveyed in 2007, representing 77 different dancing groups in Beijing. Of these 77 groups, 26 consented to participate in the “moves” portion of the study. Of these participating groups, I asked for the chronology of dance places that each group danced at from the time the group was established to the July 2007 when I collected their information. The *Mobility Profiles* shows the sequence of types of spaces dancing groups have used for dancing and whether the cause of the subsequent move away from the dancing place is voluntary or forced. The Profiles begin when the dancing groups are first established and end in July 2007, when I collected information from the dancing group.

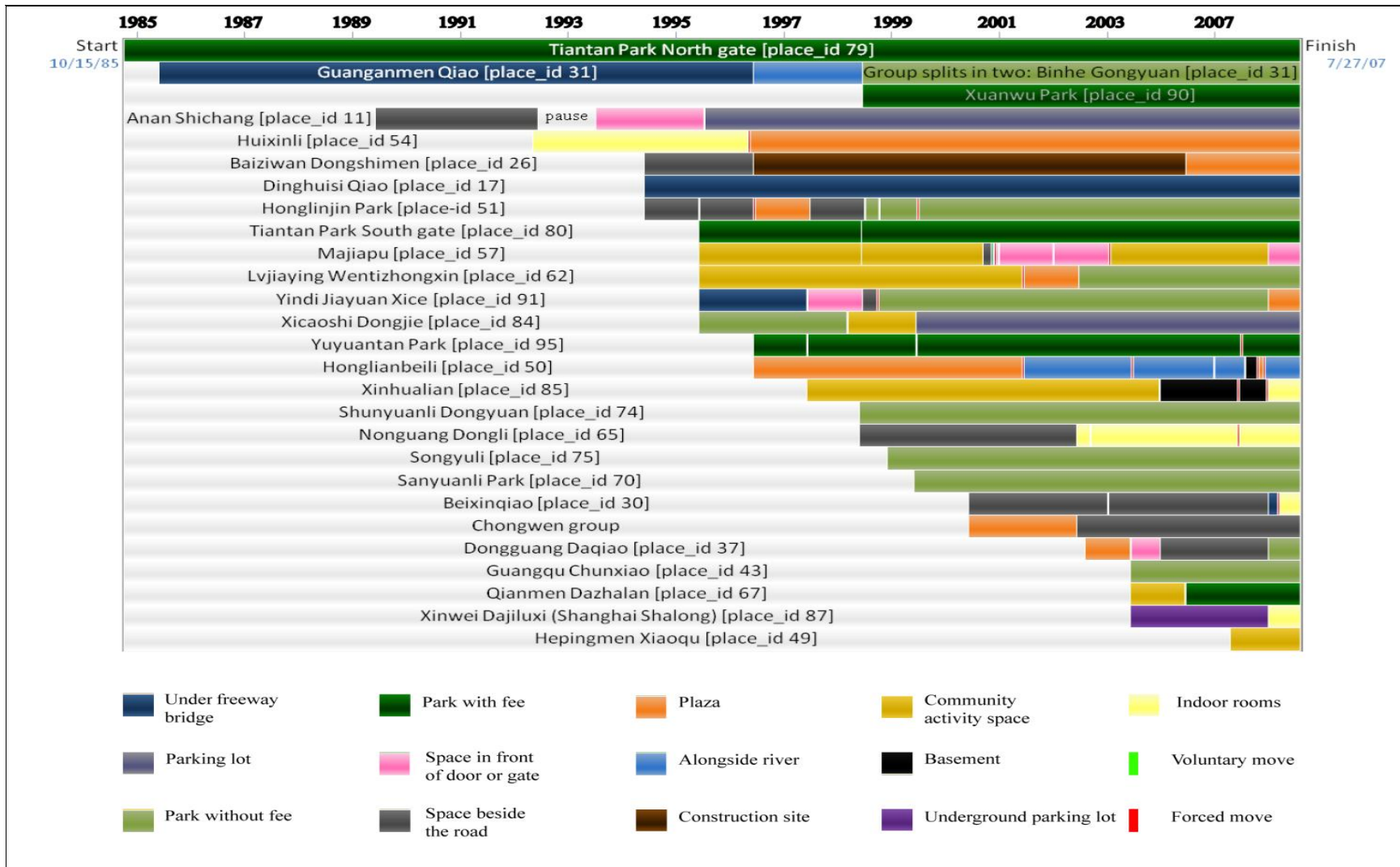


Figure 6.8. Mobility Profiles for twenty six dancing groups in Beijing, July 2007

In Figure 6.8, each row is a different dancing group and the color of the bars reflects the type of dancing space. Each change in dance site is followed by a short break – either in green or red – indicating whether the move was voluntary or forced. The greater the number of breaks in the bar, the greater the number of moves the dance group has made. One can also see from the chart that not all dance groups formed at the same time. The oldest group formed in 1985, while the most recent group formed in 2006. Many of the groups were formed in the mid- to late-1990s.

Also from the chart above, we can see that the earliest-formed dancing group, Tiantan Park North gate, did not change its dancing location since 1985. Only seven of the 26 groups were able to find a stable dancing place and stay in one place during the entire length of their dancing group's existence. We can also see from this chart that parks – both those without a fee and those with a fee – appear to be the most stable places for dancing. Of the seven groups that stayed in one place, six of them danced at parks, with the exception of Dinghuisi Qiao (定慧寺桥) which is a space underneath a freeway bridge.

Adaptation Patterns

To examine some patterns that appear in the Mobility Profiles, I examine the chronology of dancing moves for some selected groups. The patterns I will point out are: the splitting of large groups into two smaller groups; the negotiation between new and old places as temporary dancing places during times of construction; the move indoors in hopes of increased spatial control; and the funneling of expelled groups out of neighborhoods and into parks as a last resort, what I term *green warehousing*.

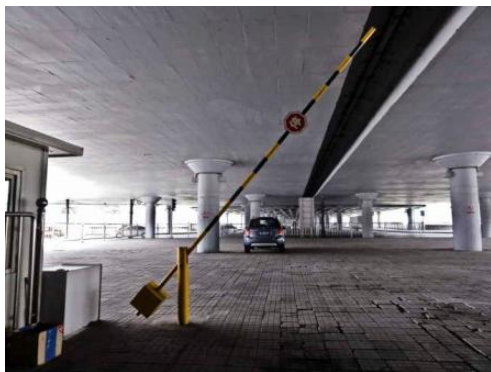


Figure 6.9. Guang'anmen Qiao (广安门桥) as private parking lot

Splitting

One interesting pattern that appears in the Profiles is the pattern of splitting seen at Guang'anmen Qiao (广安门桥). This group that danced underneath a freeway bridge eventually split into two smaller groups when the pollution trapped underneath the bridge became too overwhelming with the increase of automobiles on the road, at about the same time a private company presented plans to take over their dancing space and convert it into a pay-for parking

lot. In this case, the group, moved a few hundred yards south of their freeway bridge to an unoccupied riverfront site, but there, they antagonized nearby residents for their live music.

"It is close to the residential zone. Residents came several times to protest against the noise we made. We had to move." [55:476]

Confronted with nowhere to go, the large group split and found new dancing locations within two different nearby parks, one that charged for admission and one that did not.



Figure 6.10. Moved from Guang'anmen Qiao to Xuanwu Park, dancing *disiatu yangge* in 2007

Honglian Beili (红莲北里) Mobility Profile

The dance group at Honglian Beili riverfront plaza that I examined in Chapter 5 has quite an extensive history of moving.⁶³ In 1997, a group of older women in the Xuanwu district (宣武区)⁶⁴ gathered to watch other residents dance ballroom in the evening at Honglian Culture Plaza (红莲文化广场), next to the Lianhua River (红莲河). A 64 year old dancer explained:

The population is very dense here near the Honglian Culture Plaza, so this plaza is mostly used by social [ballroom] dancers. My neighbors, my friends and I looked at all the people gathering there and asked them why do they not join the dance and do some physical exercise, but they said they don't want to (*sic*).

After that, we learned dancing from middle- and old-aged people at the park and brought those dances back home to teach [the people in our neighborhood]. They were so interested [in learning to dance]! From the original seven members, we have now expanded to 200 members. [373: 4392]



Figure 6.11. Ballroom dancing at Honglian Culture Plaza

The dances they created were group dances that did not require participants to have a partner, as some of the women were widows and did not want to dance with strangers. Some members of this group of friends joined classes offered by the central government to learn a few dances and then afterwards, returned to teach the other friends.

From 1997 to 2000, they danced on one side of Honglian Culture Plaza, sharing the space with ballroom dancers. Other residents noticed them and joined their group. A 58 year old dancer explained: "Now, pursuing and seeking healthy retirement is becoming more and more our concern. They [retirees] watch us dance, and also want to join our group, but the space is small and cannot accommodate a big crowd" [285: 2925]. What appealed to the older residents was the easy-to-learn dance and they felt that the low-impact exercise was appropriate for their physical abilities. It was also a social activity that did not require finding another partner which could be cumbersome, nor embracing a male stranger in public. But by 2000, friction between their group and the ballroom group emerged. The ballroom dancers complained that their music was too loud and was drowning out their own music so that ballroom dancers were experiencing trouble hearing the beat [285:2924].

The Honglian Beili group soon moved to the other side of the Lianhua River to a small plaza at the base of a large residential tower that was being constructed within the Yuanjian Mingyuan residential complex, but only after two years at this new site, they were again faced with complaints about their recorded music after the residential tower was completed:

"This is the place that our group leader chose. It is close to home, [but] new residents moved in nearby and at the beginning, there was arguing [about the sound of music, but] later, [we] tried to talk it over with the residents and explain to them that this is a space owned by the people and everybody can use it. Now it is okay." [285: 2925]

But the understanding turned out to be brief. Sadly for the group, intimidation and scare tactics were used in order to wrest control of the community space away from the dancers. After more conflicts and a memorable incident that involved an irate resident dropping a beer bottle from a window from the upper floors of the high-rise that smashed into many pieces onto the community space, the group moved back across Lianhua River to a small dirt area to the north of the Honglian Culture Plaza. Back on the old side of the river, the group danced for another two years on the riverside dirt patch without conflict and disruption until 2004 when they were again forced to move because city officials decided to construct a road next near to the Lianhua River.



Figure 6.12. Alongside river at the base of Yuanjian Mingyuan

At this point, they moved back across the river to the site where the beer bottle incident occurred. By this time, the space at the base of the residential tower had been improved: planted with trees and paved: “[On the other side of] Lianshui River, [now there is] grass, lawns and trees. There is a crossroad which is located at the small road by the big street. The residents complained that the music was making too much noise” [285: 2923]. Another member of the group explained: “Because our location on the road was being repaired, we looked across the river and saw an empty space. We then went over there, but it was at the foot of a residential building and the residents were unhappy we were there. Loud sounds were not permitted. [Our] activity's schedule was not allowed to last past 9pm and the lighting there was not good” [373: 4393].

But despite their efforts, the residents still complained, and this time, the group that by now had grown to 100 dancers decided to ask permission from the apartment management to move to a basement inside the Yuanjian Mingyuan complex. They hoped that the underground walls would adequately buffer their music and not disturb nearby residents.



Figure 6.13. Basement room in Yuanjian Mingyuan

It was small, dark, had poor air circulation, but the move had an unintended consequence in that as residents of Yuanjian Mingyuan learned about their dancing, more people wanted to join and the group membership ballooned. One dancer in the group recalled their situation: “Too many people were joining [the group] and the space is too small, even for just standing there” [373:4392].

Eventually, the situation became untenable as they outgrew their underground space while the residents continued to come into the basement to complain about their music. It was again time to move. The same dancer continued her narrative: “[After moving] because of the

road construction, we moved to Yuanjian Mingyuan's basement. But after the residents complained on November 2006, we moved [back to] Honglian Culture Plaza” [373: 4391]. So after three months dancing underground, they moved back across the river to the Honglian Culture Plaza where they first conceived the idea of forming a dance group.

Now 200 members strong, they were again evicted by the ballroom dancers, but by then, the road construction along the river had finished, so they returned to space beside the river and in front of the “Gold Mountain Good Food Restaurant” (金山林美食城). There, they settled into the former open space beside the river that had by now been paved as a parking lot near the road that had been newly constructed. At this time, the leader of the group decided that the group had had enough moves and wrote a petition to the local government requesting that the space by the river become a permanent dancing place for them. After some discussion, the local government agreed and built an arbor on one side of the area, planted two trees and the site became Honglian Beili riverside plaza. The only requirement was that their dancing time be restricted to the evening hours, to avoid bothering the businesses and residents nearby. As described in Chapter 5, since not all 200 members can all fit into the site at once, dancers who arrive early for dancing each evening voluntarily leave early to ensure that all the members who showed up to dance would have a chance to do so that evening, too.



Figure 6.14. Five leaders of the Honglian Beili group and their government-supported plaza

Moving Indoors

Another pattern worth noting in the Mobility Profiles is the number of groups that eventually moved indoors. Xinhualian (新华联), a competitive dancing group composed of mostly middle-aged dancers, began dancing in a central community space, but then were forced to move. A 52 year old woman who danced in the parking lot explained:

The indoor [space] of Fuheyuan was too small and the basement air was bad. The Xinhualian north district plaza opened only after 8am, and the Xinhualian south district opened only in the afternoon. The north plaza is open in the evening, but there is a lot of car exhaust and many pedestrians who are passing [so the space is too crowded for dancing]. [275:2754]

They tried dancing in the basement, but then relocated to a semi-subterranean storage room that they remodeled to have large mirrors on two walls, a large walk-in storage closet and meeting area. One dancer from this group claimed that if a designer or planner could offer her the best place in an outdoor city space with a wooden dance floor and birds singing in the trees nearby she would still prefer her subterranean room if they are unable to assure her that she could access and use this space at any time. She explained that she would still prefer her indoor space because it could provide her protection from the elements and the mirrored walls would allow her to improve her dancing form. But most importantly, she cherished the feeling of security, knowing that she has a designated place set aside for her, so her group would never have to wander the city homeless, searching for another place to dance.



Figure 6.15. One of the Xinhualian's group leaders in his semi-subterranean office space (with storage)

But for other groups, even securing an indoor space does not translate into stable tenancy. For a Nongguang Dongli (农光东里), unhappy neighbors evicted them from their original space near the road. The space was not ideal to begin with, as it was too cold in the winter, too hot in the summer, and dark, so the group moved to a nearby gym. This move indoors proved to only be temporary, however, as the residential committee closed the gym to remodel it into a judo studio. The dance group then moved into a small, indoor room within their residential complex [205].

Unlike the dancer who would reject birdsongs and a space in the city outdoors, other dancers told me that a move indoors would change the exuberant feeling of the dance that originated from a celebratory context, in the open air of the fields. A woman who danced in a parking lot preferred dancing outdoors over dancing indoors: “You can’t pack as many people into an indoor space and the feeling is different [than being outdoors]” [108]. For her and for others, finding one's place in the city is an important part of feeling that one is participating, and for the activist generation, this is quite important. A 60 year old woman who dances in front of a gate commented: “Beijing residents have this right because we regard this city as our own home; it is quite natural for us to express our feelings of anger, grief, joy and happiness at home. Dancing can add color to our city, and bring happy, harmonious atmosphere to it as well” [207]. Other dancers also echoed this sentiment: the city is their home and their daily activities surely add to the vibrancy of urban life.

Honglingjin (红领巾) Mobility Profile

Another Mobility Profile pattern that stands out is how many of the dance groups eventually move to a park (both those that require an entrance fee and those that are free). At first glance, parks may appear to be more stable than other spatial types. After all, parks are

where dancers like the Honglingjin (红领巾) group and Yindi Jiayuan (银地家园) finally found refuge in the multiple moves across the city. However, it is important to tease apart what is *chosen* from what is *the only choice*. The Honglingjin group's Mobility Profile is interesting as it is composed of both Neighborhood moves as well as Intra-park moves. After exhausting all possibilities for dancing within their own neighborhood, a secure space for dancing still eluded them even after moving to Honglingjin Park (红领巾公园).

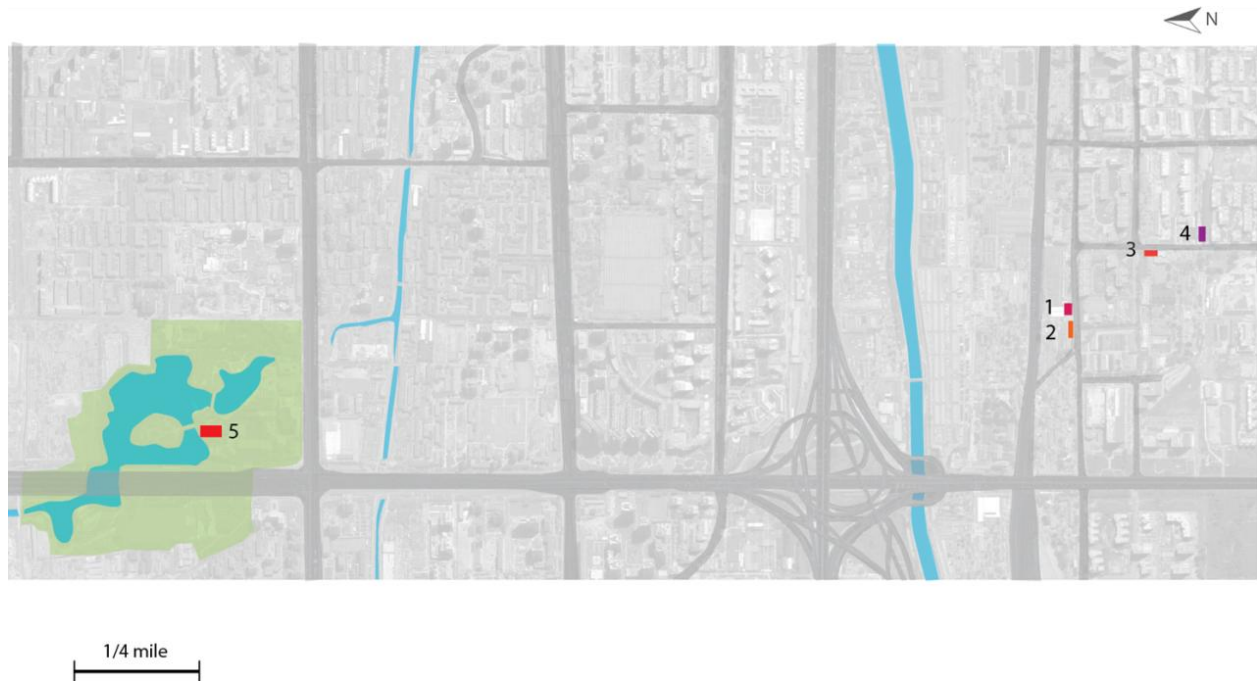


Figure 6.16. Move Map for the Honglingjin group

The Honglingjin group is composed of 45 members who live in the eastern portion of the city in the map below. They dance both big and new *yangges* and rely on recorded music for dancing. Still, despite the use of recorded music, they have experienced difficulties finding a place to dance in the city since 1995 when they started informally dancing together on the side of the road in their neighborhood. The first dancing place of this dance group was located on the side of a large road near the apartments where they live, as indicated by the red square in the locator map above. The 52 year old leader of the group described their first space: “First, we found an empty lot. There were big trees overhead and so the space was very cool. We tried to find even ground. This space was located near the side of the road. This was a small space and it was noisy, not satisfactory. There were many morning exercisers” [330].

The description of the ideal space offered by dancers is often quite similar, as already stated in Chapter 4, they wish for spaces that are: (1) flat and even without obstacles or trip hazards, (2) large enough square footage for ten dancing bodies. They also prefer spaces that: (3) have some degree of sound-buffering between the surrounding commercial and residential areas and the music from the dance, (4) be located in close proximity to the residences of older dancers, (5) provide access to electrical outlets if the music source is a mechanical player, (6) offer a light source if dancing happens in the evening and/or (7) protection from sunlight if dancing occurs in the day. If the spaces are located near greenery, this is an added advantage in

the opinion of some dancers, but these seven qualities are valued by nearly all dancers who participated in the study.



Figure 6.17. First dance place on the side of the road. The dancing space is now occupied by minivans and cars

In 1996, however, this dance group were evicted from their place on the side of the road because construction was planned for the empty lot. By 2007 when I took the image above of their previous dancing site, a building had been constructed where previously the trees grew, and the empty lot had become a paved parking lot. The group found their second space by shifting a few dozen yards south of their old dancing place to another space beside the road adjacent to the pinkish apartment buildings visible to the left in the background of the photograph above. At the time the group danced in the space, it was merely a widened space on the side of the road.



Figure 6.18. Second dance place on the side of the road (post-greening)

A 58 year old woman from the group explained how the efforts of city officials to beautify the city with grass often left space undanceable: “Grass is planted inside small holes in the ground of the parking lot. We can hardly dance on those small holes. And it is also difficult to clean the ground” [330]. Her friend explained how they were expelled by the planting of vegetation: “We had to move because of greening (绿化). The ground was all used to grow grass” [330: 3729-31]. By the time I returned to this dancing space, ten years later, the grass

bricks the dancer described had been removed. The image above taken in 2007 shows traces of the failed greening effort The aforementioned grass bricks were replaced with tile and as is apparent in the image above, were now broken.

Again forced to move, the group found a newly-constructed community activity space near residential buildings. This space was both convenient and the paving was even, but the proximity to nearby high-rises (picture below, right) became problematic. Soon after they moved to this place, residents from the high-rises descended to ask the group to leave. By the end of 1997, they complied.



Figure 6.19. Community space near high-rises

In a last ditch effort to find a space within their neighborhood, the group moved to one more apparently “open” roadside space in the neighborhood. This space, also used by travelling bicycle repairpersons, appeared inviting to the dancing group because of the convenient location close to the homes of the dancers. The pavement was also quite even and the trees to the west provided some afternoon shade. But by the end of the year, however, they were again asked to leave by neighborhood residents who found their music disturbing.



Figure 6.20. Roadside space in the community

It was only at this time in 1998 when this informal group of residents who had informally been dancing together decided to become an official “group” after local government agencies decided to monitor the proliferation of grass-roots dancing groups all over the city by requiring them to formally register. While not all groups in this study complied – especially the long-established groups that formed in the late 1980s and early 1990s – this neighborhood group did. But once registered, their search for stable tenancy continued.⁶⁵ After moving four times within their neighborhood, the group decided to try their luck at Honglingjin Park, a 96 acre park that is free to the public, thinking that their chances of securing a stable dancing place would improve. This entailed a 40 minute public bus commute, but with all options exhausted in their own neighborhood, the leaders of the group did not see any other choice. This was the beginning of their Intra-Park Moves.

When the dance group arrived at Honglingjin, they discovered that other dancing groups shared their same predicament inside the park; other groups were also funneled out of their neighborhoods and into the parks as their last hope for a stable dance place. As the 52 year old dance leader put it: “Whenever one wants to dance in the park, all the spaces are already taken. We wind up fighting for space, for bigger or better spaces. They are all occupied. We eventually went to the sloped area by the side of the road [at Honglingjin park], meeting there every day at the regular time. There are too many people and not enough space” [330:3730].

Inside the park, their search for a stable space for dancing continued. After witnessing so many people inside the park, the group first tried to dance just outside the south gate entrance to the park, on the street corner. But at the beginning of 1999, they were forced to move again because other users in the park complained that their group was obstructing access of the sidewalk to enter the park. The site they had chosen was not wide enough to accommodate both dancing and the unimpeded flow of pedestrian traffic.

After the group moved into the park, they began dancing in an unoccupied area at the foot of a large tree, but dancing on the uneven ground proved to be challenging and many dancers feared they could easily fall down and injure themselves. The leader narrated their moves:

We first found space in the cool shadow of a big tree, but the ground was uneven, so moved to the side of the road to find flat paving. Here, the space was small and there was a lot of noise. We were not satisfied and there were too many morning exercisers. Wherever we tried to dance, [the space] was occupied, so were always fighting for better or bigger spaces, but they were all occupied. We tried the area by the road, [meeting there] everyday at a regular time to dance, but there were too many people and not enough space. [ID 330 (21M): 3731]

Different from inside the city, the conflict inside the park involved conflicts among different exercise groups instead of between irate neighbors and the dancing group. Still, the competition for spaces continued within the green preserves of the large park and by mid-1999, they decided to move to a new place in the Honglingjin Park.

The group then decided to move to a distant location by a small hilltop further inside the large park in the north. They liked the space because it was large enough to accommodate group dancing, but discovered that the floor was not flat and the paving broken. Additionally, the

location of the small hilltop in the interior of the park required each dancer to walk a long distance from the south gate entrance of the park to reach the dancing place. This proved to be too discouraging for some of the older dancers. The leader said she understood: “We had to move because the dance space was far from home and the ground was not even. [This garden is a bit far for me] it takes me half an hour to one hour to travel from home to the garden” [330:3729]. The leader explained to me that for older adults, it is not pleasant to commute 40 minutes by bus each day to reach the park, then walk another 30 minutes until one can reach the dance site. For her, she has to bring the amplifier and props, and even if she can carry these bundles by dragging a folding grocery cart with her equipment behind her, this is quite a lot to do, *before* she even begins leading the other dancers for another two hours of dancing. The walk back to the bus stop and the ride home is equally unpleasant.

She implored me to tell “my design friends” what her idea of the perfect place would be: “The ideal place should be located inside the community and with strong sound insulation. Thus, the distance is relatively short. Also the place should offer electrical outlets, so we do not need to bring batteries” [330]. It is not easy, she said, for older adults to travel and to carry heavy equipment, for long distances. She would much rather stay much closer to home.

At the end of 1999, the group was forced for the third time since their decision to enter the park. This time, they moved to the east gate of Honglingjin Park. Here, the space was good because it had a flat floor, but it was also a popular place among many other groups and the flow of pedestrians entering and exiting the park distracted from the enjoyment of dancing. The leader explained why they had to leave: “[This space was] too small, [there was] too much pedestrian traffic passing by]. I could not enjoy dancing while trying to avoid the stream of pedestrian traffic at the same time” [330:3729].



Figure 6.21. Honglingjin south gate area

In early 2000, they decided to move back near the South Gate entrance of the park. Park officials had just completed some renovations in the area and the group hoped that they could find improved conditions there. The space near the south gate was now much improved because

of the presence of a flat, even floor and overhead protection from sun from nearby trees. However, many other groups coveted the same space, too. The leader explained that this is the best place they have been able to find since they arrived at Honglingjin Park, but it is far from perfect:

Our current dance place where we dance is close to the park [south] gate... The paving on the ground is even and the morning air is cool. Later in the day, [the temperature] will be very hot. In the winter, the sunshine warms us.

What is not good [about our space] is how [pedestrians] walk through our group [as we dance]. They pass in front of us, behind us, even passing through our group as we are dancing. They don't walk around us and this affects our dancing. In front of us is a *taichi* group and beside us is a ballroom group. Their music is very loud and noisy and sometimes we argue with them over the volume of the music. [330: 3731]

In 2007, this was the best the group could find inside the park. As with all the other activity groups that have been uprooted from their neighborhoods, they have to find their own space within the microcosm of the park.⁶⁶

Green Warehousing

This pattern is visible in many of the Mobility Profiles that end in 2007 in park spaces far from the dancers' homes. I refer to the process of funneling all potentially problematic neighborhood activities into a designated park reserve as *green warehousing*. When at risk of obstructing traffic, making noise or basically "getting in the way" in the functioning of newly developed neighborhood, activity groups are forced out and eventually move into park preserves, out of sight, out of the way, and (inadvertently) out of the flow of everyday life. This process is problematic for the dancers as they enjoy being part of everyday life. One dancer shared how she felt dancing is her contribution to both the parks and the city, in making it more welcoming and lively. Dancing in the city in full view of the community contributes to the older residents feeling beautiful and youthful. They feel they are contributing to the modernization and beautification of Beijing through showing through dance their feelings of joy and vigor.

Forced or Voluntary Moves

After so many accounts of expulsion, the question arises whether this is representative. Are most of the breaks in the Mobility Profiles, as in the case of the Honglingjin group, forced or voluntary? That is, did the groups leave because they had no other choice, or because they decided they found a better place and chose to depart? Perhaps city improvements could allow groups to move to better places. This could certainly be true in the future, but for the dancing groups examined in this chapter, ending in 2007, most of their moves were indeed forced.

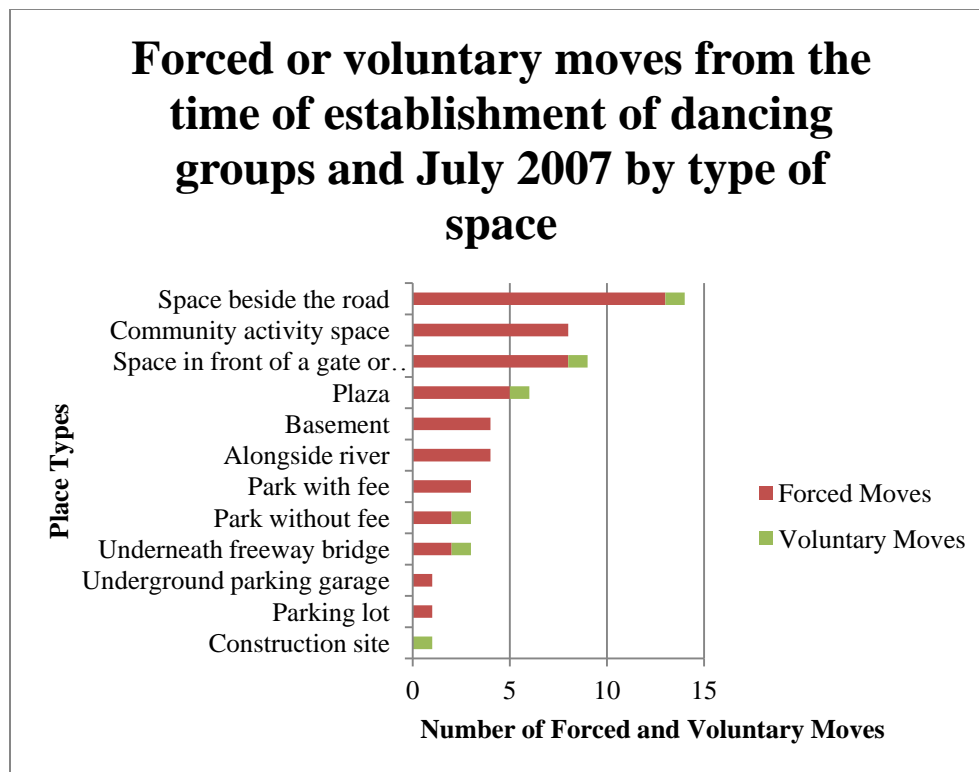


Figure 6.22. Most moves experienced by dance groups are forced

The chart above shows that, across all types of spaces in the city, most groups reported that they were involuntarily forced to leave their dancing spaces. Out of a total of forty-two moves documented by this portion of the study, only eight moves were voluntarily made from a current dancing place to a new site that the group perceived was better suited to their needs at the time the decision was made. The other 34 moves were not voluntary. These moves resulted from a change that resulted in the current space no longer fitting the group’s social and spatial needs as discussed in Chapter 4. This change in fit could be the result of both internal and external factors, that is: something happening internally within the group, such as outgrowing a space; or pressure stemming from the surrounding environment, such as complaints by irate neighbors for a group to leave. Overwhelming pollution or non-negotiable site defects such as uneven paving are also regarded as external factors that “force” a move.

Expulsion Factors

Another question comes to mind. What are the most common reasons why dance groups would be expelled from each spatial type? For example, spaces under a freeway bridge are not necessarily noise-sensitive places, so different patterns for expulsion are in play in these types of spaces.

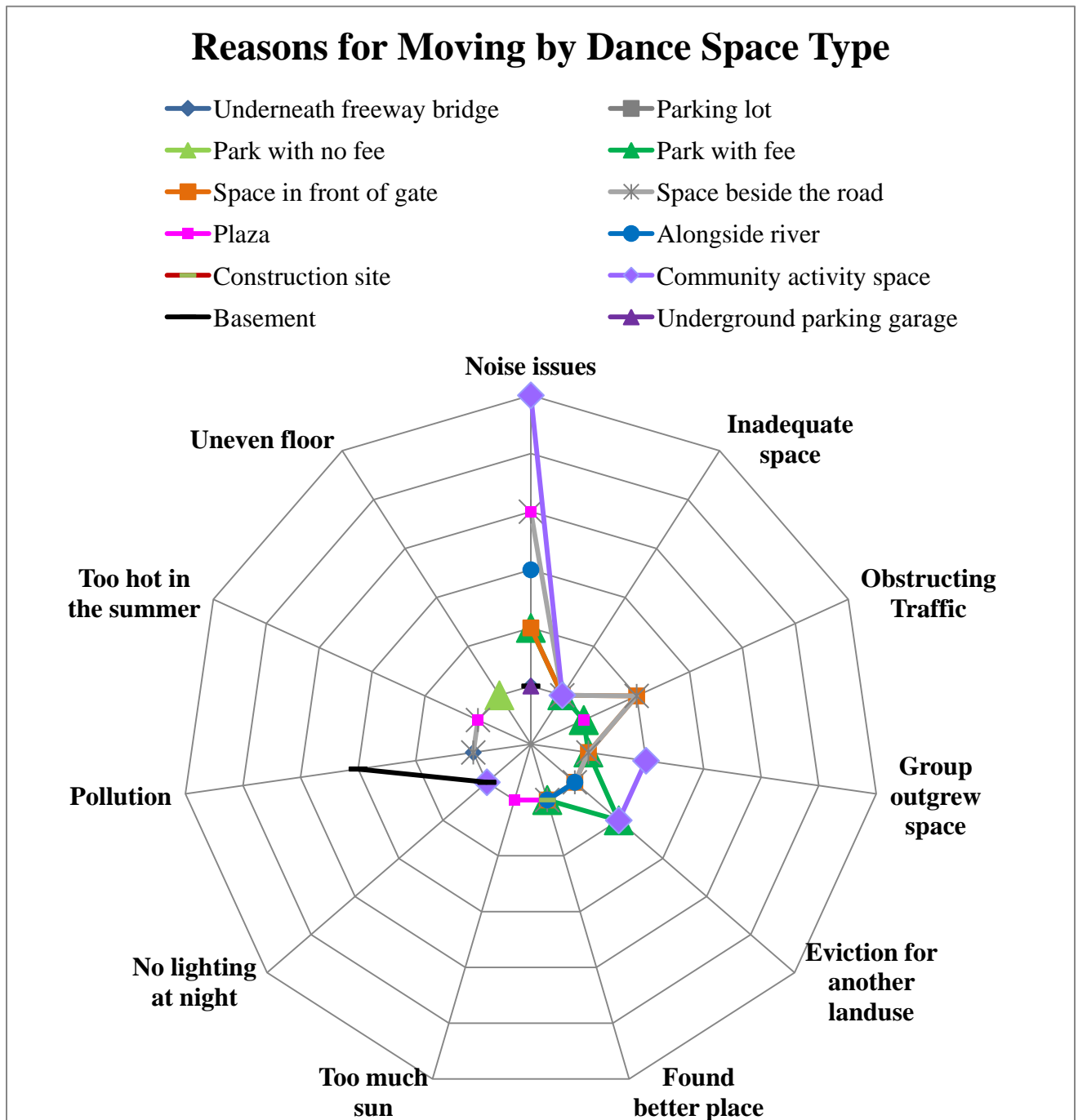


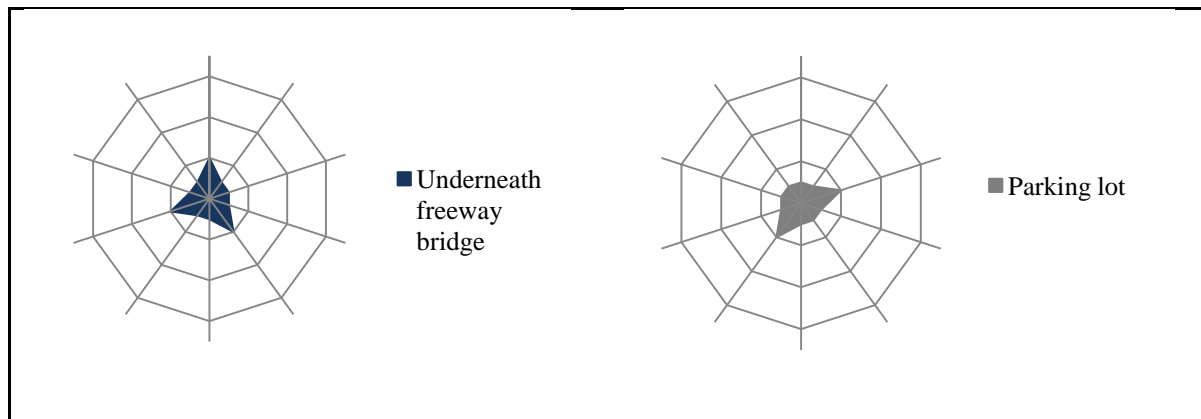
Figure 6.23. Why dance groups must eventually move, by spatial type

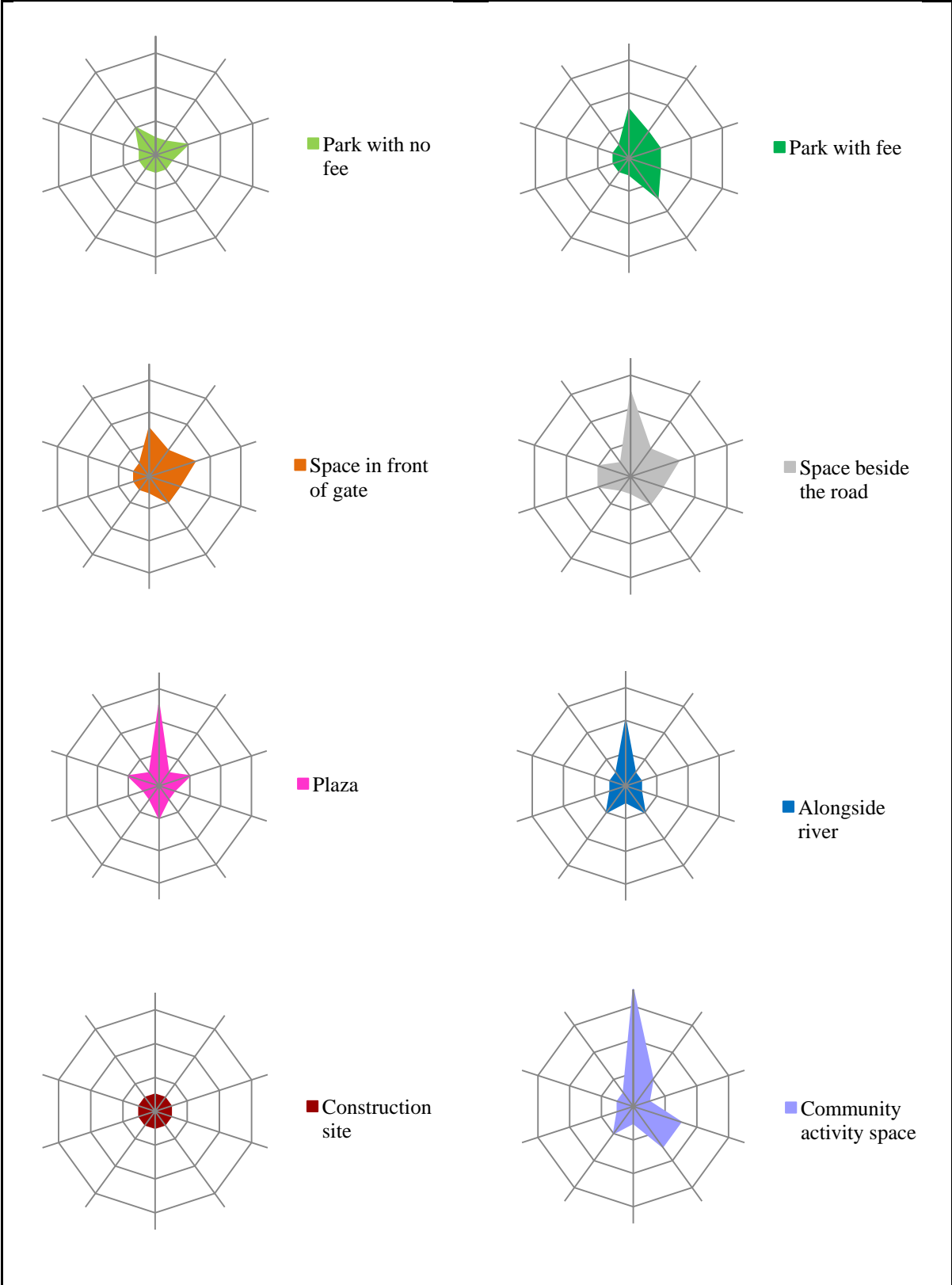
From this diagram of each site type’s Mobility Profile, we see that “noise issues” appears to be the overall, biggest problem for dancers that occupy all sites, followed by “eviction for another land use” and “obstructing traffic.” One pattern that stands out is how often dancing groups at community activity spaces (light purple) are forced to give up their space. The diagram above shows us that often, dance groups move away from the community activity spaces because of “noise issues,” although problems such as “outgrowing the space” and

“eviction for another landuse” are also likely reasons for expulsion. For example, open spaces used for dancing may be transformed into parking lots or entertainment clubs, both income-generating commercial landuses. Likewise, we see that groups that dance at plazas and spaces beside the road are also evicted for noise transgressions, although they are not evicted as frequently as groups that are dancing at community spaces.⁶⁷ Conversely, inside both types of parks, in basements and spaces underneath freeways, noise is usually not a problem.

We also see from the diagram that although groups often perform near streets and traffic, they do not necessarily leave these spaces because of pollution; a site that groups do in fact vacate because of pollution is the basement, where dancers feel that dust and indoor pollution is difficult to tolerate and a reason find another place to dance. Parks – both ones that require an admission fee and those that do not – are relatively stable places for dancing, although we learned elsewhere that big *yangge* teams are denied entry into some parks in the city. Finally, it makes sense that community activity spaces which are usually centrally-located, highly visible and easily accessible to many residents also suffer from the disadvantage that these spaces become easily outgrown. As more and more interested and curious residents join the dancing ranks, the group size grows, the music volume increases, and the dancing group may start disturbing other, non-dancing members of the community.

A comparison of common *expulsion factors*, that is, reasons for moving for each spatial type reveals which types of spaces that dancers occupy are most vulnerable to expulsion. The diagrams below use the same axes as the “Reasons for Moving by Dance Place Type” diagram above⁶⁸, to visualize comparatively, the sum of reasons for expulsion from each spatial type. The greater the area in the diagram is, the greater the number of reasons for expulsion from the particular spatial type. The smaller the shaded area in the diagram, the fewer the reasons for expulsion.





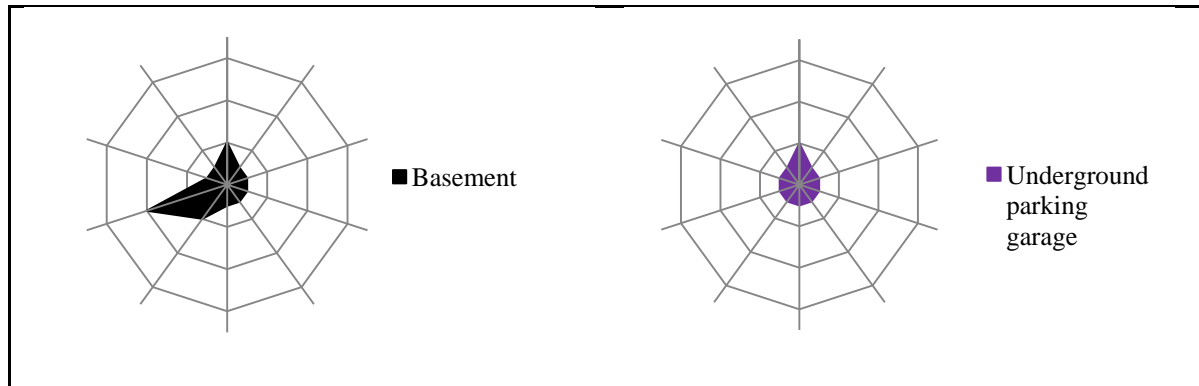


Figure 6.24. Expulsion diagrams visualizing frequency of expulsion by cause, for each spatial type

From the comparison of the expulsion diagrams, we see that some spaces are more stable than others. For example, dancing groups that practice at construction sites, underground parking garages, parking lots and parks without admission fees are usually not expelled while spatial types that one usually considers official “public space” such as community activity areas and plazas are surprisingly difficult spaces for dancers to retain for their own use. These spaces tend to be unstable spaces where a dancing group may be expelled for many reasons. Parks without admission fees is one exception to this observation, however. Where dancing groups are lucky enough to secure a space in a nearby a large, free park, these space appear to be quite stable.

Reliable Spaces

In contrast, spaces that may not present themselves as obvious public spaces such as construction sites, underground parking garages, and surface parking lots appear to be the most reliable types of public spaces available to dancers. In order to use these spaces, however, dance groups still must negotiate the use of space with others. For example, while construction sites are in themselves temporary and unstable, they are generally spaces where dancers can practice in peace without others appearing and calling for their removal. From the construction sites I visited, the dancers only appeared after the work for the day was finished, so although these diagrams show us that dancers were not expelled from construction sites, one should note that they automatically adjust their dance schedule so they do not interfere with the construction work.

Adaptations

In fact, adjustments on the part of dancers are in evidence for all the other spatial types as well: to avoid conflict with others, dancers must compromise. Sometimes they make concessions by changing the time of day that they dance; sometimes they take breaks from dancing when school-aged children must study for their university qualifying exams. Expulsion happens only when all compromises have been tried and no more workable solutions are possible. Looking at the quality of the most stable spaces available to the dancers – construction sites, underground parking garages, surface parking lots and parks without admission fees – leads one to consider how designers, city planners and designers can improve the landscape in order to not only support the efforts of older residents to stay healthy, but also to enhance their

experience as they dance. Because local older residents will pursue their love of *yangge* in whatever spaces are available to them, this would seem to suggest that Beijing has special urban design requirements that, if acted upon, would make the city unique amongst others. Beijing could be the Danceable City.

Survival Tactics

In Chapter 2, we learned that many of the dancers in Beijing who came of age during the Cultural Revolution are now nearing or at retirement age. Although a wider variety of leisure time activities are available in Beijing today than thirty years ago, the current retiring cohort often cannot participate because they cannot afford to pay. As before, they continue to lead an austere everyday life as they did during the revolutionary period, although their children may have more opportunities open to them. Many from this older generation seek out dance as a way to continue participating in familiar pastimes with other members of their same age cohort to care for their health. A 56 year old woman who dances in a park explained:

The main purpose of dancing is physical exercise. Most of us are retirees. We don't have money to go to the gym every day. We don't live near the ideal, big spaces - to go everyday to the park is too far [for us]. We are limited to places close to home. We should think - now - of providing people a good place to dance and not postpone this idea for later. We will all age. Like everyone in society, we would like the government to pay attention to our needs and to provide a good solution for us. [291]

Dancers such as this one often respond to questions in terms of “we” and continue to express hope and belief in the government’s beneficence and willingness solve various problems related to their dancing practice. From space, to teachers, to dances and even funding for batteries for music amplifiers, it appears that dancers employ a two-pronged approach: they continue to ask for help from the administrators of the city on one hand, while finding their own solutions on the other. They are very resourceful in creating their own solutions to meet their needs. A 60 year old woman emphasized the resiliency and perseverance of dancing groups: “Ten years ago, the neighborhood committee director was fond of dancing and organized a dance team named Yimei. This team has lasted until now. During the ten years, we moved from one place to another to practice dance. Under such poor conditions, we have persisted for ten years” [208] A combination of enduring hope in the Chinese leadership and bottom-up efforts to better one’s own situation appears to be the strategy that dancers adopt for finding ways to continue their health activities in the wake of serious societal change. The extent they are willing to adapt to new conditions is remarkable.

From the above Mobility Profiles, we see that building and beautification of the city may cause unforeseen consequences for dancing groups. Many groups were eventually funneled towards the nearest park in a process I call *green warehousing*, as an outcome of urban development that does not build spaces suited for popular *yangge* activities that are enjoyed by many older adults from the revolutionary generation. In order for dancing groups to gain entry into the park, they must travel long distances and abide by park rules, that is, the groups must often be split into smaller groups, as the spaces inside the park are either too small or lacking in sound insulation so that groups are limited to the extent that members can still hear the music. Turning up the volume so that more dancers can hear the music becomes problematic because

this often drowns out the music of nearby groups. The rules of the park also affect the actual dance itself. Unlike the big *yangge* groups that dance the conga-like big *yangge* in its follow-the-leader fashion, only new *yangges* are allowed in the park. Everyone dances, arms-length distance apart, in one place. As a result, the groups inside parks – the way parks are currently designed – must conform by certain rules of park use and these restrictions in turn suggest a maximum size for each group, the type of dance groups that are allowed entry, and the times when they may dance.⁶⁹ These are just some examples of how the available choices and limitations of physical space in Beijing are affecting the actual range of activities and dance that older adults may choose.

The design of the new modern city and the new “citizen beautiful” ignores the redistribution of spaces to dance in the city. Through exclusion from desirable spaces near home, relegation to distance spaces contained in parks, and association with inferior spaces in the city, aging residents are encountering increasing resistance in their efforts to help themselves, their families and friends through renewing social ties and exercising. As the urban landscape changes to accommodate and support the global urban nomad, long-time Beijing residents who dance *yangge* continue to move about the city in a much smaller circuit and on a much smaller scale. Instead of accumulating frequent flyer miles in business class and collecting hotel toiletries from around the world, dancers move about their neighborhoods on a bicycle or on foot, measuring distance traveled by yards and blocks, while looking out for potential danceable space. They also measure their moves by the degree of fatigue or rejuvenation they may feel in their bodies to determine whether the commute or dance was worthwhile. When they find the next niche in the urban landscape, they will certainly continue to smile as they dance so they can, at the same time, beautify the city and still survive.

Conclusion

“Physical exercise has become a routine matter now like having access to food and eating well.”
– a 58 year old dancer, observing a shift in the everyday life in Beijing

According to Abdel R. Omran’s Theory of Epidemiologic Transition (1971), once socioeconomic factors in developing countries improve, the predominance of diseases that afflict populations shifts from pandemics of infectious diseases, malnutrition and maternity complications to “degenerative and man-made diseases” such as cancer and cardiovascular disease (Omran 1971, 516–517). In fact, in Omran’s view, the shift in health, morbidity and mortality patterns “are closely associated with the demographic and socioeconomic transition that constitute the modernization complex” (1971, 527). Modernity comes with its own set of health challenges once lifestyles change. As cities are often the places to modernize, change is often experienced first in the urban settings, and only later in rural settings.

Filial Urbanism

Lacking large extended families and adequate retirement pensions for old age support, aging dancers in Beijing have crafted their own self-organized health interventions to help survive and help others in their same generational cohort. One cannot help but wonder what will hold for the next generations of older residents in Beijing who are coming of age in times much different than those who came of age in the 1950s and early 1960s. Will they, too, dance? Since

dancing was mandated in 2007 by Chinese public health officials to be part of the middle school curriculum, it appears that dancing continues to be associated with health in the popular imagination across generations.

However, whether future generations of older persons in Beijing will continue to dance *yangge*, in particular, is difficult to predict because of the changing times and tastes. However, I would predict that future generations will be participating in some form of group dance. But whether they will dance to hip hop, Bollywood music or Gangnam Style instead of *yangge* remains to be seen. What I do believe is that for *yangge* to continue in Beijing, the following social factors must be present: knowledge of the dance, good music, a quorum of dancers, and the desire to dance *yangge*. Adequate and appropriate space is also necessary. An individual dances in physical space; a group must dance in a larger physical space. Since group dancing and activities appear as a favored mode of physical exercise of older residents in Beijing, I conclude that spaces with the qualities listed in Chapter 4 – flat, even spaces without obstacles, large enough space for at least ten dancers, sound-buffering qualities to minimize noise disturbance, walking distance from dancers' homes, access to electrical outlets for a music source, lighting at night, and protection from rain and sunlight – are critical for *yangge* to survive as a favorite pastime of active seniors in Beijing. Without the motivation for or the space for *yangge*, older residents in the city may cease this particular form of vigorous physical exercise for health.

Healthy aging is a concern not limited to one ethnic population, one urbanizing city with a rapidly developing economy, or to China with its particular cultural heritage. Urban designers, planners and epidemiologists from industrialized nations have also been seeking their own solutions to help protect against and remedy “chronic diseases of affluence” or Omran’s “degenerative and man-made diseases” such as heart disease, diabetes and obesity. The proportion of the population in the U.S. nearing retirement age will increase in coming years, but the trouble here is that many are not engaged in regular physical activity. Designers, planners and epidemiologists are beginning to argue that cities should be designed differently than they are now because the built environment may be hampering active and healthy lifestyles (M. Southworth 2005; Corburn 2009; Frumkin, Frank, and Jackson 2004; Prohaska et al. 2009; Satariano and McAuley 2003). Children, teens and older adults are arguably disproportionately affected as they often do not have access to transportation and so are often not able to travel far from home. Thus, the spaces in their immediate neighborhoods take on special significance; walkable neighborhoods with good connectivity, access to public transportation and visual interest can encourage residents to walk more (M. Southworth 2005). Recognition of the importance of the design of walkable neighborhoods to support everyday life have linked designers as varied as New Urbanists Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jane Jacobs, despite their philosophical differences; the efforts to create more pedestrian-friendly environments are a concern to many.

Looking at the larger picture, researchers and practitioners in industrialized countries who are concerned with public health are seeking to make the urban landscape accommodating for the human body in a diversity of manifestations, across the span of human development. In the case of older adults, the difference between whether one can live independently in the community or whether one must live in an institutional setting may depend on social factors such as whether there are available family members nearby who can provide care. Environmental factors matter as well, such as whether there are steps to negotiate in the home, hills to negotiate in the

neighborhood, stores close by, crime to be concerned about, and public transportation to use to for longer forays into town. If the social and environmental factors provide adequate support for the instrumental activities of daily living (IADL), then aging in place, inside the community, is possible; if not, then an institutional setting that provides the missing supports through the form of professional caregivers is an alternative solution. As most older adults express a desire to continue living in the community, gerontologists have been spearheading research on how this preference may be realized. Gerontologist Andrew Scharlach (2010; 2011; 2012; 2012) is researching how residents of Naturally Occurring Retirement Communities (NORCs) self-organized to create supportive-services programs so they may age in place. Others are focused more on changing the physical environment. Gerontologist Jon Pynoos and architect Victor Regnier (1987; 2002; 2003; 2005; 2009; 2002; 2003) examine how residential homes may be retrofitted to accommodate the needs of older adults who are experiencing the inevitable disablement process that comes with growing older.

As the greatest urbanization in the future will happen in parts of the developing world, it may be time to take stock of design experiments in the industrialized world, decide what has not worked so well and what is now being retrofitted and improved; perhaps it is time to consider alternative models. The risk of not doing so is that mindless replication of defunct city building forms would continue spreading the same attendant problems that that designers, planners, gerontologists and epidemiologists are now trying to tackle in industrialized countries such as problems of automobile-dependent communities that limit vigorous activity by residents.

I suggest that the strategies for health employed by urban residents of developing countries may be instructive. Self-organized, bottom-up efforts to use city spaces to engage in vigorous physical activity, maintain community ties, exchange information, and maintain friendships can serve as both inspiration and a starting point for design programming. By “following the people” (cóngzhòng, 从众), designers can find new sources inspiration that can inform concept-driven design (as a subsequent step). In the case of Beijing, aging residents are facing the dual challenge of dwindling filial support due to population policies from the 1970s at the same time that institutional alternatives such as assisted living facilities have not yet matured. With few alternatives and with limited pensions, their thrifty and simple, low-tech solution is to dance in the streets and other interstitial spaces. And despite efforts to control and regulate the grass-roots activity by officials, dancing *yangge* continues to thrive, remaining resilient and pervasive in the urban landscape of Beijing.

Future Research

Future research on immigrant health practices could provide insight into alternative models of healthy living distinct from the biomedical model of industrialized countries. Learning about how immigrants conceptualize health, including what social and physical activities they engage in may be useful. Knowing the underlying ideas that motivate healthy activities may serve as the basis for starting to think about how the environment may be structured so these activities may continue. Indeed, the commitment to health does in fact appear to take on a variety of forms amongst different immigrant communities. As one looks at different generations from the Chinese diaspora who have migrated to Hong Kong and to the U.S., one sees anecdotal evidence of participation in group exercise in older years. Under the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) tracks near the El Cerrito station in Albany, California is a

group that regularly practices sword dance. Further south on the Fremont line at the Lake Merritt station are *taichi* groups that meet on weekends who are composed of many ethnicities, not only Chinese-Americans. Between Haviland Hall and the C.V. Starr East Asian Library on the University of California of Berkeley campus, one can find another group that practices *qigong* in the afternoon. Older Asian women in the Mission District in San Francisco shun the lawns to practice *taichi* in a basketball court in Dolores Park.⁷⁰ While the forms of group exercise described here do not include *yangge*, they are similar in that they are forms of regular, self-organized group-oriented exercises directed towards achieving health that share common spatial requirements.

I am also very interested in socio-cultural attitudes towards aging and the social role of older persons across other ethnic groups. Learning where attitudes are especially positive may help pinpoint opportunities to provide additional supports. In other words, I am interested in finding: (1) self-organized health practices that originate from improvisations created by the people themselves, and (2) ways of supporting these useful practices through social and public health interventions. By focusing on both spatial and social-cultural requirements for pursuing healthful living, designers and public health advocates could see and identify what elements in the built environment matter and how they may innovate, while public health advocates could see where opportunities for education about healthy living can be reinforced.

Given the demonstrated desire and motivation of older residents to dance in Beijing, the task is now up to Beijing leaders, physical planners, urban designers and landscape architects to create a *filial urbanism*, one that nurtures, cares and supports its older residents to achieve their needs in later life. This requires that the city leadership set aside adequate so this aging cohort may not only have an apartment to live in, but also have access to appropriately designed public spaces near home where they may safely and comfortably dance their way to a healthy long life in the Danceable City (跳舞城市).

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¹ China's GDP growth rate from 2001-2011:

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
8.3%	9.1%	10.0%	10.1%	11.3%	12.7%	14.2%	9.6%	9.2%	10.4%	9.2 %

Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/country/china>

² According to Jeremy Goldkorn, *zhìchuāng* (智窗) or “Knowledge Window” is a homophone of *zhìchuāng* (痔疮) or “hemorrhoids” (Goldkorn 2008).

³ I researched the Tiergarten Park in Berlin, one of the twelve parks represented in the exhibition; Contributions to the conference eventually became an edited book, *Large Parks* (Czerniak, Hargreaves, and Beardsley 2007).

⁴ Prof. Peter K. Bol, Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations describes how while a sense of commonly shared history and civilization exists, enduring regional cultural differences have continued despite the successive centralized empires. He finds that the concept of nation-state, a unified “China,” is not conceived in the same terms as the West.

⁵ Since my last visit to Beijing, however, the entrance fee in some parks are now being waived. Xuanwu Park (宣武公园) required an entrance fee in 2007, but in 2010, the fee was abolished, to popular acclaim.

⁶ “Sociality” is a term that anthropologist Adam Chau defines as “the condition of social co-presence, i.e., the gathering of a group of people in one social space. Sociality may encompass but is distinct from both social interaction and social relationship. . . sociality can happen even without the people present having any preexisting social relationships or interacting with one another in any substantial or meaningful way” (Chau 2006, 147).

⁷ In fact, the Pizza Hut at Wudaokou (五道口) was the meeting space for the research team in 2007. The convenient location close to Peking University and availability of large tables inside an air-conditioned setting enabled us to work unhindered inside a bustling city with few opportunities for a dozen persons to gather for several hours.

⁸ Their names are Jingsi Xu, Anyang Hou, Liyan Xu, Siyuan Peng; and part-time: Zhiyi Xu, Fanbu Shen, Zhigang Zhao.

⁹ Their names were Yafei (Susan) Han , Yunke Xiang, Yuping Zhang, Min Zhu, Haofei Liu, Minyu Fang, Tingting Deng.

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- ¹⁰ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics. (2009). Population (1978-2007). eBeijing, the Official Website of the Beijing Government. Retrieved October 15, 2012, from http://www.ebeijing.gov.cn/feature_2/Statistics/Population/t1071369.htm
- ¹¹ English.news.cn. (2011, May 5). Beijing's population tops 19.6 mln, migration key contributor to growth. Xinhua. Beijing, China. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-05/05/c_13860069.htm
- ¹² This was on a sample of 30,000 representative residents.
- ¹³ It's time to bring out the dancing shoes. (2004, August 3). China Daily. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-08/03/content_357306.htm
- ¹⁴ However, on exceptional occasions, I did observe middle-school children dancing, but they did not choose to participate in the study.
- ¹⁵ Interestingly, I was told by more than one taxi-cab driver that this differs in the context of the countryside where men often trained for folk dancing for celebrations around new year. This informant told me he longed to participate in dancing once again. "Men don't dance in the city," he said, "but I am not sure why not." Indeed, a group of undergraduate students who assisted me in 2007 with distributing surveys and locating dance groups attempted to find out in 2010 which leisure time activities retired men were engaged in and confirmed that most were indeed engaged in sedentary, though arguably cognitively-engaging activities, but they were few to be found, dancing.
- ¹⁶ As exempt status has no expiration date, I was not required to renew the CPHS protocol when I returned in 2010 because the protocol remained unchanged.
- ¹⁷ That is, unless the group danced underground or inside a building. These "indoor" groups were not included in my 2007 study, but later added to the 2010 follow-up study because these alternative spaces had become more widely used.
- ¹⁸ Often times, the taxi-drivers would drive me to an area where there is a large gathering of dancers. However, many of the groups consisted of "old-person's" disco or ballroom dancing, not *yangge*. I mapped these activities as well.
- ¹⁹ These 200 surveys that I collected in addition to the 395 surveys mentioned above are not included in this study. Some data from both 2007 and 2010 were included: interviews, site visits and dancer mappings. However, the survey data included in this dissertation are limited to the 2007 sampling (N=395) and the 2010 sampling (N=200) are not, due to time constraints.
- ²⁰ I also considered offering earplugs to the musicians in 2010, but refrained out of concern for offending them. In the interests of saving their hearing, however, I may offer them earplugs next time I visit Beijing.
- ²¹ However, by 2010, due to urban renewal, some of the dancing groups had moved out to the suburbs, so in 2010, I also conducted fieldwork on two different groups in the eastern industrial Tongzhou district.
- ²² It is possible, however, to return to the collected data in the future and analyze just the last three hundred surveys using quantitative analysis techniques, as these surveys were identical and issued

five to a group leader, from the Worker's Cultural Palace activity center, all in one day and with the same directions. But I will not do this now.

²³ Unlike Donald Appleyard, I was not concerned with ranking map artifacts by type ("sequential" or "spatial") and on a gradient of accuracy, from those that are "primitive-looking" to those that are "sophisticated and assured" (Appleyard 1970, 103). I was concerned with the content that were included and excluded in the imagined world of the respondents, and the maps – drawn by hands both amateurish and skilled – were simply a convenient vehicle for expressing this information.

²⁴ As a side note, at the time of this writing, Google Street View does not yet exist in China.

²⁵ I downloaded shapefiles from Cloudmade from: <http://download.bbbike.org/osm/bbbike/Beijing/>

²⁶ I sense that there is still much potential in the quantitative data I have collected, but further courses on categorical variables is in order before I can start working with this data.

²⁷ *Yangge* will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter; The responses from interviews and surveys collected in 2007 fieldwork trip (N=395) are the focus of this dissertation. Updated information from interviews conducted in 2010 on the follow-up fieldwork visit are included in Chapter 4, "Grandma's World", but the 2010 surveys (N=200) are not examined here.

²⁸ However, rural women are more at risk for suicide than urban women in China.

²⁹ The different *yangges* will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

³⁰ The verb commonly used with the *yangge* dance is "*niū*" – pronounced "n-yo" – which means to swivel or swing one's hip, not unlike how one moves one's hips when salsa dancing. Dancers informed me that this smooth, stretching movement has stretching benefits for one's waist and lower back.

³¹ *Yangge* is pronounced "yung-guh" or "yung-ger" in the Beijing dialect. It is the name of a category of folk dancers, performances and songs that literally translates to "rice-planting song" in English.

³² <http://www.unescap.org/esid/psis/population/database/chinadata/beijing.htm>;
<http://www.princeton.edu/~his325/week5/Yangge/yangge.html>; It's Time to Bring out the Dancing Shoes. 2004. China Daily. Available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-08/03/content_357306.htm (Accessed July 2, 2010).

³³ Also reported that an additional 30 million people of all ages choose to dance hip hop, the waltz, salsa or other dances (Anon. 2004).

³⁴ Conversation with historian David Johnson at UC Berkeley on January 27, 2010.

³⁵ Shannon May's description of her wedding in Huangbaiyu (黄柏峪村), China, personal communication.

³⁶ Spring Festival in China is the equivalent of New Years Day the West. Typically it takes place in mid to late February, but other years it takes place in March. This is because it is determined by the Chinese agricultural calendar, not the Western calendar.

³⁷ The outhouse is an interesting construction. In some villages it is simply a shed with a hole in the ground and a wooden board for squatting. In other villages the outhouse is raised and there is a pig living a few feet below, ready to dispose of any waste that comes its way.

³⁸ Literally translated as “breadbox” car, minivans are often called this name because the form of the vehicle is reminiscent of a loaf of bread or breadbox.

³⁹ The theme of Jia Zhangke’s 2000 fictional film Platform or Zhàntái (站台), set in Fenyang (汾阳市), Shanxi, heart of *yangge* territory shows how a traveling theatrical troupe adapts to changing political, economic and social policies from Mao’s leadership to contemporary times. At the beginning of the film, one learns that the “platform” that Jia Zhangke titles his film refers to a railway platform from a popular song. The platform in the song refers to a space for waiting for passengers of a scheduled train. Later in the film, the “platform” space is again invoked to describe the sequence of stages where the dancers perform. The first stage was shared by a political rally supporting Mao, a later stage was one at a carnival, and another on the back of a flatbed truck. The last stage shown in the film was a high-tech stage set reminiscent of the ones used for big-name rock concerts. In this three-hour film, Jia Zhangke shows how high-level political-economic shifts trickle down to affect the everyday social lives of an ordinary Chinese theater troupe.

⁴⁰ This was the subject of his talk at the Yan’an Conference on May 2, 1942.

⁴¹ In light of other spontaneously-organized, grassroots groups such as the Falun Gong, it is interesting to note the Chinese government tolerates *yangge* while it condemns the other.

⁴² “Soldiers cleared the roads and hung curtains to block the view from cross-streets” (Naquin 2000, 104). Unlike the processions in Rome, the procession in Beijing of the emperor through the city was one which commoners were not allowed to set their eyes upon.

⁴³ This leads some scholars to conclude that China’s land market is actually “quasi-market,” not a truly “open-market.”

⁴⁴ The ability of Chinese parks to generate profit differs quite markedly from the public parks that descend from ideology of parks that descend from that of the English tradition where parks are supposed to be “free” for all, an escape from the everyday commercial life. See (Cranz 1979, 4).

⁴⁵ “Affordance” here refers to psychologist J. J. Gibson’s term: the qualities of an object or environment that offer themselves to an activity – in this case, dancing – that provides a measure of fit (Gibson 1986, 127).

⁴⁶ In 2012, the cost of entry to Beihai, Zhongshan Park and the Merry Pavilion is: 10 RMB, 3 RMB and 2 RMB, respectively.

⁴⁷ As a side note, one of the basement groups I observed shared the underground spaces of the residential complex with migrant workers. The migrants make up much of the maintenance workers and personnel of the residential complex and live in discounted rooms that are located underground. While many migrants work in the daytime but sleep in the basements at night, dancing group stagger their schedule accordingly, dancing in the daytime and leaving the underground spaces alone for the night. Even underground space is limited and turn-taking takes place.

⁴⁸ The Xuanwu district was incorporated in 2010 into part of the Xicheng district.

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- ⁴⁹ I recorded a DVD of one of their dancing sessions and dancers who participated in drawing cognitive maps were given a copy of this DVD.
- ⁵⁰ The concept of “sociality” or *renao* (热闹) is discussed in previous chapters (Chau 2006, 12, 62).
- ⁵¹ This map also shows which dance groups I visited in 2005 and 2007 as well.
- ⁵² This process will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 “Moves”.
- ⁵³ The Chinese government considered raising the retirement age for women in China recently from 50 and 55 (for salaried female employees) to 60 years of age, but this change has not been made.
- ⁵⁴ “Lost” sometimes refers to loss of life opportunities that this generation experienced; many were not able to continue their education in the wake of the Cultural Revolution. “Sent down” refers to the official program by the government that “sent” the youth “down to the countryside” to learn Communist values from farmers.
- ⁵⁵ “Old-old” is defined here as seventy-five years to eighty-four years of age. “Young-old” is defined as sixty-five to seventy-four years of age.
- ⁵⁶ However, Marcel Mauss noted that partner dancing is not necessarily the only possible form of dancing, rather is a culturally inscribed one: “Lastly we should realize that dancing in a partner's arms is a product of modern European civilization . . . they horrify everyone in the world but ourselves” (Mauss 1973, 82).
- ⁵⁷ Although not part of this study, I have also witnessed two women dancing tango as partners at the Honglian Culture Plaza. This appears to be another alternative to the problem of finding that elusive male dancing partner.
- ⁵⁸ The dancers at Honglian Beili politely declined my invitations to draw inside the restaurant immediately behind the dancing place, a site that I thought would be much more comfortable with better lighting. They preferred to stay outdoors, in public sight of their friends as they completed their drawings, despite the growing darkness.
- ⁵⁹ The other was “material civilization” which referred to improving the economic prosperity of the country.
- ⁶⁰ “The revival over recent years of *yangge* dancing in an urban system, especially among middle-aged and elderly women, is a phenomenon deserving of close study in the context of preserving traditions” (Doar 2006).
- ⁶¹ Here, I am using Raymond Williams’s notion of “structure of feeling”, the “lived culture of a particular time and place” (R. Williams 2001, 64).
- ⁶² The development of cities in China is not uniform. Cities with strong ties to overseas Chinese communities and which receive remittances from abroad can develop in quite different ways. See (Abramson 2008).
- ⁶³ The experience of this dancing group is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, “Grandma’s World”.

⁶⁴ Xuanwu district is now incorporated into the Xicheng district as of July 1, 2010: State Council approved a plan to merge the four districts in the core area of Beijing - Dongcheng, Xicheng, Chongwen, and Xuanwu - into two larger ones (China.org.cn 2010).

⁶⁵ Groups that were not registered asked that I not reveal their identities. Most groups, however, were registered and proudly retrieved and displayed to me their paperwork as evidence. It is unclear to me, from the perspective of dancing groups, what the advantages (or disadvantages) of being officially registered are.

⁶⁶ As a side note, by 2010, the Honglingjin group had moved again, to another area within the park, but I am stopping this analysis of the moves for this chapter at 2007.

⁶⁷ One thing to note in the diagram above, however, is the possibility that a group may choose to leave a dancing place because they found a better dancing place: “Found better place”. This is the exceptional case when a group is not expelled by other powers, but chooses to leave a dancing place voluntarily. However, in the groups that participated in this portion of the study, none reported moving by their own volition. Thus, I will omit this possibility in the diagrams in the following comparison of expulsions by site.

⁶⁸ The axes are the same with the single exception of one dimension, the “Moved to a Better Place” axis that previously occupied the bottom right corner of the diagram. The reason why this axis was removed is twofold: (1) moving voluntarily would not constitute “an expulsion” and (2) none of the groups moved from their spatial type for this reason.

⁶⁹ Most large parks such as Honglingjin Park in Beijing are fenced and gated. In the early evening, they are locked up.

⁷⁰ Thanks to William Healey to sharing me this discovery with me.

Appendix

The interview protocols and survey instruments used in this project as well as a sample interview transcript and a few survey responses follow:

2005: Exploratory Surveys

I developed various surveys and techniques for gathering information over the course of the study, starting from the preliminary surveys and progressing to the cognitive mapping surveys during the summer of 2010. Here, I will describe basic survey types, including some sample questions, while the actual surveys and interview guides are found in the Appendix at the end of the dissertation.

In late 2005 with the help of a new group of Peking university undergraduates, I chose five locations in the city where group gatherings happened on a daily basis and administered thirty descriptive City Project surveys. The taxi-cab mappings described above under the section, *Sampling Frame*, served as a guide for us, where to travel in the city to meet dancers. The interviews were carried out in Chinese and ranged from 15 minutes to an hour, depending on the willingness of the interviewee to participate. The five sections of the survey were: (1). Age, Education and Work; (2). Activity; (3). Health-Seeking Behaviors; (4). Attitudes towards Space and Health; and (5). Social Networks Module. There were thirty returned questionnaires and informal interviews.

Some sample questions from this survey include:

- Why do you like participating in this activity?
- Do you know anyplace else that has this kind of activity?
- What other activities do you engage in?
- Are you happy with this place or what needs to be done to this place in order to make it a more suitable place for this activity?
- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements is true for our society?

(SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; N = Neither agree or disagree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree)

- The government should contribute to providing more public spaces. _____
- Beijing's urban environment is improving; the public has adequate place to participate in healthy activities. _____

2007: Dance City Research Team Interviews and Surveys

I developed and administered next major iteration of the survey in 2007. The final version consisted of three sections: (1) a narrative section that allows for open-ended responses, (2) a migration section focused on how many times, where and why the dance group has moved

its dancing location in Beijing over the course of the group's existence, and (3) a multiple-choice section that is formatted for coding in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Guided Narrative Interviews

The purpose of the first and third sections is to examine the conceptions of health and how they are related to dance in the minds of the dancers, to reveal the dancer's reasons for her choice of the particular *yangge* in question ("big" or one of the "new" varieties), to understand the relationship between the dance and the physical requirements of the urban spaces the groups chooses to occupy, and to discover how the dancers feel about Beijing urban transformations.

Sample questions from the narrative interviews include:

- Why is *yangge* especially suitable for you? (As opposed to a different activity like ballroom dancing)
- How do you feel about other kinds of dancing that involves the whole body? (For example, like ballroom dancing, *taichi*, and new *yangge*?)
- Do you think people who dance *niu yangge* in the countryside are doing it for the same reasons as the people who dance it in the city? Please explain your opinion.

Migration or Mobility surveys

For Chapter 6 "Moves", I looked towards the experience, not of individual dancers, but of a dancing *group* as a unit. The migration survey, which I later renamed the "mobility" survey, was designed to trace how a group has moved around the city. Of the total 77 different dance groups surveyed in this study, 26 groups agreed to provide information about their "moving" history.

This survey came about from a recurrent theme in dancer interviews. Many dancing groups been evicted from one dancing site to another on numerous occasions and they expressed a sense of futility about what they can do. Except for the groups who were dancing inside large parks, a sense of insecurity about their access to dancing sites plagued many dancers, new and old-timers alike. In response to this prevalent sentiment, I developed a survey that took into account when the group was formed (The first group in this study was established in 1985 and the last group in 2006) and tracked how many times the group moved. The moves were classified as either "voluntary" or "forced."

Sample questions from the migration section of the survey include:

- When did your dance group first form? _____
- To how many places has your dance group moved since its formation?
- Where was the space that your group first danced?
- When did you move from this space?
- What caused the move?
- Please choose one: a) we wanted to move; b) something happened and we were forced to move

Multiple-choice Surveys

Sample questions from the multiple-choice section of the survey include:

- Size of Group?

1. __ 10 and under 2. __ 11-20 dancers 3. __ 21-30 dancers 4. __ 31-40 dancers
5. __ 41-50 dancers 6. __ 51 and more dancers 7. __ don't know

- Length of meetings?

1. __ half an hour 2. __ one hour 3. __ one and a half hours 4. __ two hours
5. __ over two hours 6. __ don't know

- How many leaders are in your group?

1. __ no leader 2. __ one leader 3. __ two leaders 4. __ more than two
leaders 5. __ don't know



Consent to Participate in Research “The Danceable City”

My name is Caroline Chen. I am a PhD student at the University of California at Berkeley. I would like to invite you to take part in my research study, which concerns informal uses of space in Beijing, China.

Procedures:

If you agree to participate in my research, I will conduct an interview with you at a time and location of your choice. In the interview, I will ask about what your dance spaces look, sound and feel like; how big the space is; and what makes this space different from all the other spaces in the city where you can dance, as well as your Daily Path to and from these practicing spaces. The interview should last between thirty minutes to an hour. With your permission, I will videotape your group’s dancing while you are practicing in public.

There are three parts to an interview: (1). Dance Space History Questionnaire and Matrix, (2). General Questionnaire, and (3). Daily Path walking interview. If we need to meet again at a later time, we can meet in a public place at a pre-determined time, recognizing each other by sight to complete the Daily Path walking interview.

1). The Dance Space History Questionnaire and Matrix traces the different city spaces over the years where you have danced and exercised outdoors since when you were born.

2). The general questionnaire covers five categories: (a). background and demographic information; (b). urban activities; (c). urban space; (d). attitudes towards space and health; (e). motivating factors.

3). With the Daily Path walking interview, I will videotape the path you usually take to get to your dance and exercise space. While we are walking, I will ask you to tell me about what you notice about everything around us. I will ask you to tell me about what you hear, see, smell and feel about what is around us as we walk together. With your permission, I will videotape only the Path itself - the surrounding built environment and urban space - and will not videotape you. I am taping to record the qualities of the physical environment, as well as to accurately record the audible narration of your experience while passing through the space in real-time. If you feel uncomfortable, I can turn off the video recorder and if you do not wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time.

Benefits:

There is no direct benefit to you from taking part in this study. It is hoped that the research will help urban designers working in Beijing to create environments that better serve and support local residents’ uses and activities.

Risks:

There is little risk in participating in this interview, as I will never ask you your name or capture your image during the Daily Path walking interview.

Confidentiality:

Participation in my research may involve a loss of privacy, but your data will be handled as confidentially as possible. The information and the videotapes will be protected as follows. I will store the video recording and any notes about it in a locked cabinet. The data will be coded and stored in a laptop that is password protected. No one else will have access to this password. I will not know your name, so your name or any identifying information in any reports, publications, or presentations related to this research will never appear. As I mentioned before, if we have to meet at a later time to continue the interview, we will meet at a public place at a set time and we can recognize each other by sight.

When research is completed, I may save the tape and my notes for use in future research done by others or myself. However, the same confidentiality measures described above apply to any future storage and/or use of the materials.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this research please feel free to contact me. I can be reached at: carolinechen06@berkeley.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the University of California's Berkeley's Committee for Protection of Human Subjects at 001-510-642-7461, or email: subjects@berkeley.edu.

Participation in research is voluntary:

You are free to decline to take part in the project. You can decline to answer any questions and are free to stop taking part in the project at any time.

If you agree to take part in the research, I sincerely thank you for your generosity with your attention and time.

You will be given a copy of this agreement to keep for future reference.

PRACTICE OF SPACE:

Preliminary Project Questionnaire Cover Page

ID of Interviewee: _____

Name of Interviewer: _____

Date/Time of Interview: _____

Location of Interview: _____

Language Interview Conducted In: _____

Duration of Interview: _____

Activity: _____

Description of Place: _____

Number of People (estimate) at Activity: _____

Not for Publication, no referencing without the consent of Caroline Chen

Contents Confidential

EXPLORATORY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Module 1: Age, Education and Work

1. How old are you?
2. Are you married?
3. Highest level of education completed:
 - a) None
 - b) Grade 5
 - c) Grade 6- Grade 10
 - d) School Leaving Certificate
 - e) Intermediate Level of College or Completed 10+2
 - f) Bachelor's Degree
 - g) Post-Bachelor's Degree
4. Do you work outside the house?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
5. If yes to 2:
 - a) What do you do, or what type of work do you mainly do?

 - b) How much do you earn per week? _____

Module 2: Activity

1. How often do you come here?
2. How long have you been participating in this activity?
3. When did you start doing this activity here?
4. Have your activities changed in the past few years?
5. Why do you like participating in this activity?
6. Do you know anyplace else that has this kind of activity?
7. What other activities do you engage in?

Module 3: Space

1. Show me on the map where you live and the route you took to get here.
2. How do you get here?

3. How long does it take you to get here?
4. How would you rate your satisfaction for the place for this activity?
Very Weak Weak Mediocre Strong Very Strong
5. Are you happy with this place or what needs to be done to this place in order to make it a more suitable place for this activity?
6. Why are you not in the park doing this activity?
7. Would this activity be better in a park?
8. Where would you do this activity if this place was no longer available?

Module 4: Social Networks Module

1. Does someone else live in your house with you?
(yes no)
2. What is the average age of your social network?
(15-24 25-34 35-45 46-55 56-65 66-80 other)
3. What other activities do you engage in with your social group?

Module 5: Attitudes toward Space and Health

1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements is true for our society?
(SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; N = Neither agree or disagree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree)
 - a) Beijing's urban environment has improved. _____
 - b) The public's health is improving. _____
 - c) There is adequate place in Beijing for this activity. _____
 - d) The public should be allowed to have more choices of places for this activity.

 - e) This activity contributes to physical health. _____
 - f) This activity contributes to social health. _____
2. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements is true for our society?
(SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; N = Neither agree or disagree; D = Disagree; SD = Strongly Disagree)
 - a) The government should contribute to providing more public spaces. _____
 - b) Beijing's urban environment is improving; the public has adequate place to participate in healthy activities. _____

THE DANCEABLE CITY

Structured Interview, version 1

Exercise Space History:

关于跳舞历程的问卷 Questions about Dance Practice

A. 活动的开始 Activity Beginnings

您哪年出生 What year were you born? 您多大了现在 How old are you now?

您开始跳舞时有多大岁数了 How old were you when you started dancing?

您在哪出生 Where were you born? 农村,县城还是城市 Countyside, Town or City?

请写出在哪 Name of the Place _____

您曾经上过学吗 Have you gone to school? 您在哪求学 Where did you go to school?

您的学校教您跳舞吗 Did your school teach you to dance? 是 yes, 不是 no?

是什么舞 What was the dance called?

您曾经为政府官方跳过舞吗 Did you ever dance for government officials?

那次跳舞是为了什么活动 Was the dancing to promote an idea?

B. 跳舞的历程 Exercise History

(对于每一种舞蹈或每一个跳舞地点, 请问以下问题)

(For each kind of dance or each different dance place, ask the following questions)

这种舞蹈具体叫什么 What was this particular dance or exercise called?

多少人一起跳 How many people danced or exercised together?

伴舞音乐是什么样的 Was there music? What kind of music did you listen to?

为什么学校教您跳这种舞 Was there a leader in the activities?

是别人教您跳这种舞的吗 Did someone teach you how to dance? 是谁 Who was that?

您家里的人和社区里也一起跳舞吗 Do other people in your family or community dance?
谁去跳舞 Who can dance?

C. 跳舞场地的设施描述 Physical Descriptions of Dance Space

请描述一下跳舞的场地 Please describe your dancing space。

每天几点开始跳舞 Each day, what time to you begin dancing?

每一轮跳多长时间 How long are each of your dance sessions?

跳舞场地的地面是怎样的 What is the floor of your dance space like?

用什么材料铺成 What kind of material is it made out of?

场地有防晒措施吗 Does the dancing place have overhead protection from the sun? (如, 树木、天桥等) (For example, overhead trees or a bridge)

场地是室内的还是室外的? 请描述一下。 Is the dancing place indoor or outdoors? Please describe.

场地周围有绿化吗? 请描述一下。 Was there greenery and vegetation nearby? Please describe.

场地是公开的可见的地方吗 Could the space be publicly observed? 请描述一下。 Please describe.

场地可以很方便地到达吗 Could the dance space be very conveniently accessed? (从路程和路途
中是否有障碍方面衡量) 请描述一下。

D1. 跳舞场地给人的感受描述 Experience of the Dance or Exercise Space

场地在夏天时让人感觉怎样? 冬天呢?

How did your dance space feel in the summer? In the winter?

如果是在晚上跳舞, 场地中有怎样的照明?

If the dancing or exercise happens at night, what kind of lighting did the space have?

场地里听到的噪音大吗?

Was the space noisy?

场地那有很多可以观看您跳舞的人吗? (此场地是公共开放的,还是私人的不允许旁观且外人进入的?)

Were there many people who could see you dancing or exercising? (Was the space very public or was it protected from on-lookers or people who were not in the group?)

周围有可见或可嗅到, 可听到的自然景观吗? 请描述一下。

Was there nature nearby that you could see, smell or hear? Please describe.

场地内空气质量怎样?

What was the quality of air in the dance or exercise space?

D2. 换场地跳舞 Changing Dance or Exercise Spaces

为什么您换地方跳舞了? 为什么不在原来的地跳了? 那个场地有什么问题吗? 您能找到其他地方跳舞吗? 很难找吗?

Why did you change the location where you dance or exercise? Why did you move? Was there a

problem? If so, what was it? Were you able to find alternative locations? Was it difficult to find?

您觉得现在跳舞的场地和原来那个场地比起来，哪个更好一些？这两处有什么不同吗？

Do you think the place where you dance or exercise is better before or now? What is different between your old space and your new space?

您换地跳舞后，每天要走的路线是怎么变换的？现在每天去场地时用的时间是比原来多了还是少了？

How has your Daily Path to the new dance or exercise space changed? Does it take you a longer or shorter period of time nowadays to get there?

(注意 Important!!!!: 让被访者在地图上画一个“圆圈”，标志曾经跳舞的地方 Please have them mark on the map a “o” where their old space was。划一个“叉子”，标志新换的场地的位置 Mark with an “X” where their new space is。划一个箭头表示变动方向，并标上换地的日期 Indicate with an arrow to show the move and then add the date to show when the move occurred)。

访谈编号

(DCR 小组编号)

叙述性问卷

Narrative Structured Interview, version 2

健康，空间与舞蹈 Health, Space and Dance

访谈者姓名 Interviewer Name: _____

访谈者序号 Interviewer ID Number: _____

被访谈者编号（访谈者个人的编号系统） Interviewer ID (Interviewer's own system): ___

被访谈者编号（DCR 小组编号系统） Interviewer ID number (DCR Team system): _____

被访谈者性别 Sex of Interviewee: a) 女 female; b) 男 male

被访谈者的出生年份 Year Interviewee was Born: _____

访谈日期 Date of Interview: _____

访谈时间（24 时制） Time of Interview (24 hour clock): _____

访谈地点（地点编号） Location of Interview (Place ID number): _____

访谈使用的语言 Language of Interview: a) 中文 Chinese; b) 英文 English

访谈持续时间 Duration of Interview: _____

活动 Activity: _____

场所描述 Description of Place:

a) 在桥下 underneath a bridge; b) 停车场 parking lot; c) 公园 park; d) 公园或学校前铺装的地面 paved area in front of a park or school gate; e) 楼房之间的空间 space between buildings; f) 人行道上 sidewalk; g) 马路或街道 street or driveway; h) 广场 plaza; i) 沿河 alongside a river

场所的定性描述 Qualitative Description of place:

（大小 size, 周边环境 surroundings, 自然 nature, 地面 floor, 灯光 lighting, 遮阳条件 protection from sunlight（树 trees, 桥 bridge overhead））

估计参加活动的人数 Estimated Number of people at the activity: _____

不可公开发表, 未经作者 Caroline Chen 的同意不得参考
内容保密

2007 年 7 月 17 日

1) 您为什么喜欢这项活动 Why do you enjoy this Activity?

- a) 您怎么称呼这项活动 Name it? (被访谈者使用的确切的词语 exact words)
- b) 您参加这项活动多久了 How long have you been participating in this activity?
- c) 您是怎么开始参加这项活动的 How did it start?
- d) 您喜欢有人看你们跳吗 Do you enjoy having an audience?
- e) 怎么加入进来 How did you join in?
- f) 在这项活动之前您参加过别的活动吗 Did you do other activities before this activity? 那个活动是在哪儿进行的 Where did this other activity happen?
- g) 您多长时间来一次 How often do you come?
- h) 您冬天也来吗 Wintertime?
- i) 您家里其他人也来跳吗 Do other family members join in?
- j) 您跳得真好 You dance so well! 您是怎么学到的 How have you learned? 有学校教吗 Had school taught you? 你们为政府表演过吗 Have you danced for the government? 为其他组织呢 Other? (如企业、团体等)

2) 很多人扭秧歌锻炼身体 Many people dance *niu yangge* for HEALTH.

- a) 您的身体怎么样 Body health condition? 有病吗 Any illnesses? 有很严重的疾病吗 Serious illnesses? 您怎么治疗的 How to deal with it?
- b) 为什么秧歌这项活动特别适合你 Why is *yangge* especially suitable for you? (您来扭秧歌而不是参加其他类型的活动, 比如交谊舞, 舞剑, 太极拳等 As opposed to a different activity like *jiaoyiwu*?)
- c) 您感觉其他类型的也能让全身运动的活动怎么样 How do you feel about other kinds of dancing that involves the whole body? 比如交谊舞 For example, like *jiaoyiwu*, 太极拳 *taichiquan*, 新秧歌 *new yangge* (也用扇子, 但是和着音乐跳)
- d) 您觉得其他活动也和扭秧歌一样好吗 Do you think these other activities are as good as *niu yangge*?
- e) 为什么这项活动对您的身体有好处 Please talk about why this exercise is good for your body, 您实在养气吗 Is it because you are *yang qi*? 如果扭秧歌跟养气有关系, 请您解释一下 Please explain if *qi* is related to our *niu yangge* practice.



3) 是什么**驱使**您来跳舞 What **MOTIVATES** you to dance?

- a) 交朋友 make friends
 - b) 会老朋友 meet old friends
 - c) 对这个地方有特殊的感情 special emotion with the space
 - d) 为了健康 health concern
 - e) 记忆（空间，年轻时代） memory (space, time when they were young)
-

4) 交通 **TRANSIT**

- a) 您是怎么来这儿的 How do you get to the dance space?
 - b) 到这儿得多长时间 How long does it take you?
 - c) 来这儿的路上有什么不方便的地方吗
Are there any difficulties that you meet along the way to the dance space?
到儿路上走的顺吗 Is it convenient to approach the dance space?
-

5) 跳舞空间 **DANCE SPACE**

- a) 你们为什么**在这里**跳 What is the reason that you dance *here*?
- b) 有没有在场地使用方面和别的队发生过小的摩擦 Are there small conflicts with using the dance space?
- c) 你们换过跳舞的地方吗 Have you changed your dancing place in the past?
什么时间 *When*? 为什么 *Why*?
- d) 为什么不选择在公园里跳呢 Why are you not dancing in a park?
- e) 附近其他的场地可以跳舞吗 Are there other places nearby for dancing?
- f) 群众**一般**的**锻炼**活动有足够的空间吗? 环境改善了吗?
群众的**这项**活动有足够的空间吗? 环境改善了吗?
- g) 健身器材好还是空场地好 Do you think adult playgrounds are better, or do you think

think Open Space is better?

- h) 除了秧歌这里还有什么事情发生 Aside from *yangge*, what else happens here in this space?
 - i) 您觉得这个场地怎么样? 有没有什么地方您不喜欢或者让您觉得不舒服? (夏天呢? 冬天呢?) How do you feel about this place? Is there anything that you don't like or anything that disturbs you about this place? (in the summer, in the winter?)
-

6) 空气质量 AIR QUALITY

- a) 对现在的环境污染您感觉如何 How do you feel about environmental pollution?
 - b) 空气污染怎么影响到了您跳舞 How does air pollution influence or affect your dancing?
 - c) 医保制度的改革是否促使您多参加锻炼以保持健康少生病? Do the health care system changes influence you wanting to exercise more, to keep healthy?
 - d) 您觉得户外锻炼比在室内锻炼好吗? 为什么? Do you think exercising outdoors is better than exercising indoors? Why?
-

7) 城市变化 URBAN TRANSFORMATION

北京的城市建设正在如火如荼地进行。

There has been very rapid construction happening in Beijing

- a) 在快速的城市建设中, 什么对您的**跳舞活动**影响最大? 什么对您的**日常生活**影响最大?
 - b) 城市绿化、新的住宅楼建设、马路的扩宽或者其他的城市变化影响到了您的**生活**和**跳舞**了吗?
请解释一下这些变化怎么影响了您的**生活**和**跳舞**。
-

8) 文化变迁 CULTURAL CHANGES

你们扭秧歌的活动发生了哪些变化 How is your *niu yangge* changing?

- a) (对打鼓的秧歌队) 为什么不用磁带放伴奏的声音
(To groups with drums) Why not use a cassette?
- b) (对用磁带的秧歌队) 你们为什么不在桥下跳?
(To groups with cassette) Why not under the bridge?
- c) 您曾经想过参加别的活动吗?

Do you ever think about joining a different activity?

- d) 你们的秧歌队经历了多大的变化?
How much change has your dance group experienced?
 - e) 您有照看孙子或孙女的任务吗?
Do you have grandchildren to take care of?
-

9) 代际变化 GENERATIONAL CHANGES

有些年轻人觉得扭秧歌不适合老年人玩儿。

Some young people think *niu yangge* is not suitable for old people.

- a) 对此您怎么看? What do you think of this opinion?
 - b) 您觉得他们为什么那样认为? Why do you think they think that way?
 - c) 他们觉得老年人玩什么比较合适? What kind of activity do they think is appropriate for older people?
 - d) 过去扭秧歌在哪里会有? 什么场合下人们扭秧歌?
-

10) 都市中的乡村景象 VILLAGE IN THE CITY

您觉得人们在农村扭秧歌和在城市里扭秧歌的目的相同吗? 请解释一下。

Do you think people who dance *niu yangge* in the countryside are doing it for the same reasons as the people who dance it in the city? Please explain your opinion.

移动历史的问卷

Migration History Survey

健康，空间与舞蹈

您好！我们是美国柏克里大学博士班学生 Caroline Chen，和北京大学景观设计学研究院的研究小组。

每天清晨、傍晚，我们常能看到您们在欢快地舞蹈。我们被您们那热闹的舞蹈场面深深吸引，您为什么热衷于扭秧歌呢？您觉得现在扭秧歌的场地怎么样？我们想了解您的需求，和您心中最理想的场地。

希望您能以回答此份问卷的形式配合我们的研究。万分感谢！

注：在本份问卷中，“跳舞”即代表“扭秧歌”

填写说明：请在符合您的实际情况的选项前面的横线上打勾，或者在问题后面的横线上填写答案。

例-1、请选择您的性别：A, 女 B, 男

例-2、您哪年出生？ 1950 年

请选择您的性别：

A, 女 B, 男

您哪年出生？ _____ 年 birthyr?

您现在所处的地点是 _____，今天是 _____ 年 _____ 月 _____ 日，现在的时间是（请用 24 时制表示） _____。

第一单元：基本情况描述

您跳舞的地点 Name of dancing place (Place ID): _____ (填写名称)

您跳的秧歌舞类型 Name of activity:

1. 第三套扭秧歌 disantau yangge 2. 大秧歌 big yangge 3. 其他 other: _____

以下内容不需要您填写。

Respondent ID number (interviewer's): _____

Respondent ID number (**DCR Team system**): _____

Location of interview (Place ID number): _____

Place ID number: _____ Place name: _____

Language Interview Conducted in:

(1) Chinese; (2) English

Activity: _____

Description of place:

(1) underneath a bridge; (2) parking lot; (3) park;

(4) paved area in front of gate of park or school; (5) _____

_____ space between buildings; (6) sidewalk; (7) street or

driveway; (8) plaza; (9) alongside river;

(10) other (please

specify: _____)

Estimated number of people at activity:

Drop-off survey? (1) yes; (2) no;

3) 您跳舞的场地情况 Description of Place:

1.____在高架桥下 underneath bridge; 2.____停车场 parking lot; 3.____不收费的社区公园 free park; 4.____收取门票的公园（包括月票、年票） park with fee (year pass); 5.____学校或公园门前的平地 paved area in front of gate of park or school; 6.____路边 road side; 7.____街道或行车道 sidewalk; 8.____广场 plaza; 9.____沿河地带 alongside river; 10.____建筑之间的空地 space between buildings; 11.其他：（请填写） other (please specify)_____

4) 您跳舞的音乐类型 Type of dance music: 1.____现场音乐（打鼓） live music (drum); 2.____磁带播放 taped music; 3.其他：（请填写） other (please specify)_____

5) 现在一共有多少人在跳舞? How many people are in your dancing group? _____

a 场地变迁简史(主观描述) Brief Migration History (subjective description):

秧歌队成立的时间 Date yangge group was established:

地点 Place: _____ 简要描述那个地点 Brief description of space:

↓
迁移原因 1、
Reason for 2、
migration: 3、

转移到第四个地点的时间 Amount of time spent at this new place:

地点 Place: _____ 简要描述那个地点 Brief description of space:

↓
迁移原因 1、
Reason for 2、
migration: 3、

转移到第四个地点的时间 Amount of time spent at this new place:

地点 Place: _____ 简要描述那个地点 Brief description of space:

↓
迁移原因 1、
Reason for 2、
migration: 3、

转移到第四个地点的时间 Amount of time spent at this new place:

地点 Place: _____ 简要描述那个地点 Brief description of space:

例子 Example:

秧歌队成立的时间 Year group was established: 1996

地点 Place: 马路西边 roadside 简要描述那个地点 Brief description of space: 土地 dirt

↓
迁移原因: 1. 绿化 greening
2. 原扭秧歌场地被占 place for yangge occupied
3. _____

转移到第二个地点的时间: 2002

地点 Place: 马路东边空地 简要描述那个地点 Brief description of place: 原来是土地, 后修明光桥, 桥下砖地空场

移动历史的问卷 (选择部分)

Migration History Questions (Optional Questions)

- 舞蹈队成立的时间 When did your dance group first form?:
 - 自从舞蹈队成立, 你们更换过几次跳舞的地点? To how many places has your dance group moved since its formation?
- 1) 你们第一次跳舞的地点在哪里? (请在地图对应位置上标 1) Where was the space that your group first danced? (Please put a number "1" on attached map for the first site)

 - 2) 你们哪年开始在那里跳的 What year did your group dance there? _____

 - 3) 为什么那个地方比较好? (圈出所有的可能原因)
Was the space good? (circle all that apply)

a) 平整的地面 flat floor; b) 离家近 close to home; c) 上方有遮挡物 overhead structure; d) 有界的区域 (不开放) enclosed area; e) 我们可以任意制造声音 can make lots of noise; f) 周边有绿化 greenery around; g) 那个地方已经有人跳舞了 people dancing there already; h) 照明好 good lighting; i) 空间大, 适合跳舞 space was big enough for dancing; j) 其他 (写明) other reason (please specify)_____ k) 不知道 don't know l) 没有原因 no answer

 - 4) 为什么那个地方不好? (圈出所有的可能原因)
Why was the space bad? (circle all that apply)

a) 地面不平整, 石块已经破碎 floor not flat, paving was broken; b) 离家太远 far away; c) 下雨时没有遮拦物 no protection from rain; d) 旁观者太多 too many bystanders e) 居民对我们制造的声音很反感 residents complain about noise; f) 没有照明 too dark; g) 到达那个地方要穿过危险的十字路口 dangerous to cross intersections to get there; h) 空间太小 space too small; i) 那里不允许跳舞 we were not allowed to dance there; j) 空气污染 pollution; k) 太吵了 too noisy; l) 其他 (写明) other reason (please specify)_____ m) 不知道 don't know; n) 没有原因 no answer

 - 5) 你们什么时候换到这个场地的? When did you move from this space?

 - 6) 为什么更换地点? What caused the move?

- a) 我们想要换地方 we wanted to move;
- b) 发生了一些事情，我们不得不搬 something happened and we were forced to move
- 7) 具体因为什么原因? What was the specific reason for the move?
- a) 别人要求我们换地方，因为我们太吵了 people told us to move because we were too noisy; b) 我们在路上跳，阻碍其他人通过 people told us to move because we were physically in the way; c) 空间小，不够我们跳舞 there was not enough room for our dancing; d) 空气污染 the pollution was too bad; e) 我们找到了更好的地方 we found out about a better place; f) 新队长住在别的地方，我们也就跟着换地方了 the new leader lived someplace else; g) 照明不好 there was not enough light; h) 其他（写明）other reason (please specify) _____ i) 不知道 don't know j) 没有原因 no answer
- 8) 请对你们第一个跳舞空间作一些补充评论或说出你的感想（例如那里有什么特别的，为什么选择那个地点，你还记得与那里有关的什么事）
Please write any thoughts or comments you would like to add about your first dance space here (what was special about it, why you chose it, what you remember about it):

移动历史补充问卷 (Supplementary Migration History Page)

- 1) 你们第一次跳舞的地点在哪里？（请在地图对应位置上标1）Where was the space that your group first danced? (Please put a number "1" on attached map for the first site)
- 2) 你们哪年开始在那里跳的 What year did your group dance there? _____
- 3) 为什么那个地方比较好？（圈出所有的可能原因）
Was the space good? (circle all that apply)
- a) 平整的地面 flat floor; b) 离家近 close to home; c) 上方有遮挡物 overhead structure; d) 有界的区域（不开放） enclosed area; e) 我们可以任意制造声音 can make lots of noise; f) 周边有绿化 greenery around; g) 那个地方已经有人跳舞了 people dancing there already; h) 照明好 good lighting; i) 空间大，适合跳舞 space was big enough for dancing; j) 其他（写明） other reason (please specify) _____ k) 不知道 don't know l) 没有原因 no answer
- 4) 为什么那个地方不好？（圈出所有的可能原因）
Why was the space bad? (circle all that apply)

a) 地面不平整, 石块已经破碎 floor not flat, paving was broken; b) 离家太远 far away; c) 下雨时没有遮拦物 no protection from rain; d) 旁观者太多 too many bystanders e) 居民对我们制造的声音很反感 residents complain about noise; f) 没有照明 too dark; g) 到达那个地方要穿过危险的十字路口 dangerous to cross intersections to get there; h) 空间太小 space too small; i) 那里不允许跳舞 we were not allowed to dance there; j) 空气污染 pollution; k) 太吵了 too noisy; l) 其他 (写明) other reason (please specify) _____ m) 不知道 don't know; n) 没有原因 no answer

5) 你们什么时候换到这个场地的? When did you move from this space?

6) 为什么更换地点? What caused the move?

a) 我们想要换地方 we wanted to move;

b) 发生了一些事情, 我们不得不搬 something happened and we were forced to move

7) 具体因为什么原因? What was the specific reason for the move?

b) 别人要求我们换地方, 因为我们太吵了 people told us to move because we were too noisy; b) 我们在路上跳, 阻碍其他人通过 people told us to move because we were physically in the way; c) 空间小, 不够我们跳舞 there was not enough room for our dancing; d) 空气污染 the pollution was too bad; e) 我们找到了更好的地方 we found out about a better place; f) 新队长住在别的地方, 我们也就跟着换地方了 the new leader lived someplace else; g) 照明不好 there was not enough light; h) 其他 (写明) other reason (please specify) _____ i) 不知道 don't know j) 没有原因 no answer

8) 请对你们第一个跳舞空间作一些补充评论或说出你的感想 (例如那里有什么特别的, 为什么选择那个地点, 你还记得与那里有关的什么事)
Please write any thoughts or comments you would like to add about your first dance space here (what was special about it, why you chose it, what you remember about it):

定量问卷:

健康, 空间与舞蹈

Health, Space and Dance Survey

您好! 我们是美国柏克里大学博士班学生
Caroline Chen, 和北京大学景观设计学研究院
的研究小组。

每天清晨、傍晚, 我们常能看到您们在欢快地
舞蹈。我们被您们那热闹的舞蹈场面深深吸引,
您为什么热衷于扭秧歌呢? 您觉得现在扭秧歌
的场地怎么样? 我们想了解您的需求, 和您心
中最理想的场地。

希望您能以回答此份问卷的形式配合我们的研
究。万分感谢!

注: 在本份问卷中, “跳舞”即代表“扭秧歌”

填写说明: 请在符合您的实际情况的选项前面
的横线上打勾, 或者在问题后面的横线上填写
答案。

例—1、请选择您的性别: A, 女 B, 男

例—2、您哪年出生? 1950 年

请选择您的性别:

Sex of interviewee

A, female 女 B, male 男

What year were you born? _____ year

您哪年出生? _____ 年

Location of the interview is _____, today's date is: _____.

The time right now (24 hour clock) is: _____.

您现在所处的地点是_____, 今天是__年__月__日, 现在的时间是(请用 24 时制
表示)_____。

以下内容不需要您填写。

Respondent ID number (interviewer's individual
system): _____

Respondent ID number (**DCR Team system**): _____

Location of interview (Place ID number): _____

Place ID number: _____ Place name: _____

Language Interview Conducted in: (1)___ Chinese;
(2)___ English

Activity: _____

Description of place:

(1)___ underneath a bridge; (2)___ parking lot; (3)___
park; (4)___ paved area in front of gate of park or
school; (5)___ space between buildings; (6)___
sidewalk; (7)___ street or driveway; (8)___ plaza;
(9)___ alongside river; (10).other(please
specify: _____)

Estimated number of people at activity:

Drop-off survey? (1)___ yes; (2)___ no;

Module I: Basic Information

第一单元: 基本情况描述

1) What is the name of your dancing place? _____ (place_id) 您跳舞的地点: (填写名称)

2) What is the name of your dance?

您跳的秧歌舞类型?

- 1、 ___ *disantau* (new) *yangge* 第三套扭秧歌
- 2、 ___ *big yangge* 大秧歌
- 3、 其他: ___ other

3) What kind of dance space do you use?

您跳舞的场地情况?

1. ___ underneath a freeway bridge 在高架桥下
2. ___ parking lot 停车场
3. ___ park with no admission fee 不收费的社区公园
4. ___ park with admission fee (monthly or yearly pass)
收取门票的公园 (包括月票、年票)
5. ___ paved area in front of a gate of a park or school 学校或公园门前的平地
6. ___ roadside 路边;
7. ___ sidewalk 街道或行车道
8. ___ plaza 广场
9. ___ alongside a river 沿河地带
10. ___ open space in or near a construction zone 建筑之间的空地
11. 其他: (请填写) _____ other (please specify): _____

4) What kind of music accompanies your dancing?

您跳舞的音乐类型?

1. ___ live music (drum) 现场音乐 (打鼓)
2. ___ CD or cassette tape 磁带播放
3. 其他: (请填写) _____ other (please specify)

5) How many people are dancing here? _____

现在一共有多少人在跳舞?

Urban Activities

第二单元: 城市里人的活动

A. Basic Dance History 跳舞的基本历史

1) How many years have you danced? _____ years

您跳舞多久了?

2) How many years have you lived in Beijing? _____ years 年

您在北京已经居住多久了?

3) Do you dance here in the wintertime?

您冬天的时候也在这里吗?

1. ___ yes
2. ___ no

B. Activity Scheduling and Coordination

活动时间和参与者间的协调联系

1) What would you name this activity? 您怎么称呼您现在参加的这项活动? _____

2) When do you come to dance each day?

一天中, 您来跳舞的时间:

1. __morning 早晨 2. __midday 中午 3. __evening 晚上 4. __varies 时间不定
5. __don't know 不知道; 6. __无答案 no answer.

3) What exact time does this activity start and when does it end? (example: 7pm – 9pm)

这项活动具体何时开始, 何时结束? (例如: 19: 00---21: 00) _____

4) How often do you meet to dance?

您来跳舞的频繁程度:

1. __everyday 每天;
2. __six days out of the week 一周六天
3. __five days out of the week 一周五天
4. __four days out of the week 一周四天
5. __three days out of the week 一周三天
6. __two days out of the week 一周两天
7. __one day out of the week 一周一天
8. __irregular meetings (please specify:____) 时间不定 (请在横线上具体写出多长时间来跳一次舞____) 9. __不知道 don't know 10. __无答案 no answer

5) Which day(s) of the week do you dance? (circle all that apply):

一周中, 您哪几天来跳舞 (多选)?

1. __Monday 周一 2. __Tuesday 周二 3. __Wednesday 周三 4. __Thursday 周四
5. __Friday 周五 6. __Saturday 周六 7. __Sunday 周日

6) Size of Group?

您有多少人一起跳舞?

1. __10 and under 十或十人以下 2. __11-20 dancers 人 3. __21-30 dancers 人
4. __31-40 dancers 人 5. __41-50 dancers 人 6. __51 and more dancers 五
十一 或大 于五十一人 7. __不知道 don't know 8. __无答案 no
answer

7) Length of meetings?

您每次跳多久?

1. __half an hour 半小时 2. __one hour 一小时 3. __one and a half hours 一个半小时
4. __two hours 两小时 5. __over two hours 两小时以上 6. __不知道 don't know
7. __无答案 no answer

8) How many leaders are in your group?

您的队伍中有多少个队长?

1. __ no leader 没有队长 2. __ one leader 一个队长 3. __ two leaders 两个队长
4. __ more than two leaders 队长多于两个人 5. __ 不知道 don't know 6. __ 无答案 no response

9) Group's average age?

队伍平均年龄?

1. __ 30-40 yrs old 岁 2. __ 41-50 yrs old 岁 3. __ 51-65 yrs old 岁 4. __ 66-70 yrs old
5. __ 71-75 yrs old 岁 6. __ 76-80 yrs old 岁 7. __ 大于 over 80 yrs old 岁
8. __ 不知道 don't know; 9. __ 无答案 no answer

10) How did your group first form?

这个队伍怎么成立的?

1. __ There was a leader and the leader formed the group 一个队长挑头, 大家就开始跳了
2. __ A neighborhood association organized us 居委会组织了我們
3. __ There was a space and some people started dancing there 发现这有块空地, 所以一些人开始跳舞了
4. __ The government formed the group 我来的时候队伍已经成立了, 所以我就直接参加了
5. __ 其他 (请写出队伍是怎么成立的_____) other (please specify);
6. __ 不知道 don't know; 7. __ 无答案 no response

11) Have you ever participated in dance competitions before?

你们参加过比赛吗?

1. __ yes 是; 2. __ no 否

12) Has your dancing group ever been interviewed by a newspaper reporter?

你们的秧歌队被媒体报道过吗?

1. __ yes, please tell us the year and the name of the paper.
是, 请告诉我们报道的时间、刊物或节目的名称: ____
2. __ no 否

13) Has the government ever provided support for your group?

政府给你们的秧歌活动提供过帮助吗?

1. __ yes 是; 2. __ no 否

14) How do dance group members contact each other?

你们的队员之间如何联系?

1. __ phone 电话 2. __ e-mail 电子邮件

3. __see each other in person on the street 在街道上碰面联系 4. 其他:
__other

C. 参与历史 Participation History

1. How long have you been participating in this activity?

您参与这项活动多久了?

1. __ less than one year 不到一年
2. __ 1-2years 年
3. __ 3-5years 年
4. __ 6-10years 年
5. __ 11-15years 年
6. __ 16-20years 年
7. __ more than 20years 年以上
8. __ 不知道 don't know 9. __ 无答案 no answer

2. How did you first find out about this activity?

您最初怎么找到这项活动的?

1. __ saw on the street and decided to join 看见有人在街上跳, 于是也加入一起跳舞
2. __ friends or family members told me about it 家人和朋友告诉我的
3. __ this is an activity that my family has been engaged in for years 参加这项活动是我的家族传统
4. __ saw an advertisement for this activity 看到广告里宣传此处的活动
5. __ a radio or TV program promoted this activity 广播或电视宣传此处的活动
6. __ 其他 (请具体写出____) other (please specify) 7. __ 无答案 no answer

3) Have you participated in any of the following activities in the past few years? (please circle all that apply): 您在过去几年中参加过以下哪些活动? (多选)

1. __ ballroom dance 交谊舞
2. __ taichi 太极拳
3. __ mahjong 打麻将
4. __ Chinese chess 下象棋
5. __ kite flying 放风筝
6. __ yoga 瑜伽
7. __ jogging 慢跑
8. __ tennis 网球
9. __ fast walking 快走
10. __ walking with bird 遛鸟
11. __ walking dog 遛狗
12. __ mountain hiking 爬山
13. __ singing 唱歌
14. __ whole body exercise 全身运动
15. __ old person's disco 老年迪斯科
16. __ new yangge 新秧歌
17. __ 其他 (请具体写出_) other (please specify)
18. __ 无答案 no answer

4) Has the dancing moved to different places in the past few years? 您们过去几年中挪过地方跳舞吗?

1. __yes 是
2. __no 没有

5) How many times has it moved? _____times 次 挪了多少次地? (次)

6) Do you participate in other activities besides nui yangge now?

除了扭秧歌，您还参加别的活动吗？

1.__yes 是 2.__no 没有

D. Transit 交通

1) How do you get there? 您是怎么来的？

1.__on foot 走着 2.__ by bike 骑车 3.__ by tricycle 蹬三轮 4.__ by bus 公共汽车
5.__ by subway 地铁 6.__ by taxi 出租车 7.__ by private car 自家小汽车 8.__其他（请具体写出____） by some other method (please specify) 9.__不知道 don't know 10.__无答案 no answer

2) How long does it take you to get to the dance space from your home?

您从家到跳舞地点需要多长时间？

1.__5min 分钟 2.__10min 分钟 3.__1min5 分钟 4.__20min 分钟 5.__half an hour 半小时
6.__45min 分钟 7.__one hour 一小时 8.__over one hour 一小时以上 9.__不知道 don't know 10.__无答案 no answer

3) How many large intersections do you need to cross to get to your dance space?

您得过几条大马路才能从家到跳舞地点？

1.__none 没有 2.__one 一条 3.__two 两条 4.__three 三条 5.__more than four 四条或四条以上 6.__无答案 don't know

4) Are there any parts along the way to the dance space you consider dangerous?

您从家到跳舞地点这一路上，有哪些您觉得走着比较危险的地儿吗？

(如：过马路时有车开得很快的地方)

1.__yes 有 2.__no 没有

5) Where is it dangerous? _____

哪些处比较危险？

City Planning 第三单元：城市规划

1) Which of the following, if any, do you feel threatens your dance space? (多选 check all that apply)

是不是有什么因素对您的跳舞的场地产生了负面影响？如果有，以下情况中有没有对您跳舞的场地产生负面影响？

1. __ There is no threat 没有对我们的场地产生负面影响的因素
2. __ lawn now covers our former dance space and we can no longer access it
跳舞的场地种上了草，不能再跳舞了
3. __ newly constructed parks do not have large enough open spaces inside
新建的公园，其中没有很大的开放空间
4. __ newly constructed high rises (are built on our former dance space)
新建的大楼
5. __ road widening 拓宽道路
6. __ subway construction 新建地铁
7. __ residents living nearby complain about the volume of our music
居民抱怨跳舞时音乐等的噪声
8. __ private companies are renting available open spaces for their own uses (example:
income-generating parking lots)
场地被某些公司占用（如：用此场地新修停车场）
9. __其他（请具体写出_____） other (please specify) 10. __不知道 don't know

2) Which of the following, if any, would you consider to be **the biggest threat** to your dance space? (circle only one) 对您跳舞的场地来说，负面影响最大的是什么？（单选）

1. __ there is no threat 没有对我们的场地产生负面影响的因素
2. __ (the city) has planted lawn and we can no longer access the space
跳舞的场地种上了草，不能再跳舞了
3. __ newly constructed parks do not have large enough open spaces inside
新建的公园，其中没有很大的开放空间
4. __ newly constructed high rises (are built on our former dance space)新建的大楼
5. __ road widening 拓宽道路
6. __ subway construction 新建地铁
7. __ residents living nearby complain about the volume of our music
居民抱怨跳舞时音乐等的噪声
8. __ private companies are renting available open spaces for their own uses (example:
income-generating parking lots)
场地被某些公司占用（如：用此场地新修停车场）
9. __其他（请具体写出） other (please specify) 10. 不知道 don't know

3) The city's new parks are well-suited for which of the following activities?
城市里新建的公园对哪些活动有好处？

1. __ ballroom dance 交谊舞 2. __ taichi 太极拳 3. __ mahjong 打麻将 4. __ Chinese chess
下象棋 5. __ kite flying 放风筝 6. __ yoga 瑜伽 7. __ jogging 慢跑 8. __ tennis 网球 9. __
fast walking 快走 10. __ walking with bird 遛鸟 11. __ walking dog 遛狗 12. __ mountain
hiking 爬山 13. __ singing 唱歌 14. __ whole body exercise 全身运动 15. __ old person's

disco 老年迪斯科 16. __ new type of yangge 新型的秧歌 17. __其他（请具体写出____） other (please specify)

- 4) How much do you think the **greening of the city** is improving the quality of your life?
您认为，城市里进行的绿化正在提高您的生活质量吗？
1. __ Not improving the quality of my life 没有改善
 2. __ Improving only a little 改善了一点
 3. __ Improving quite a bit 改善了一些
 4. __ Improving a great deal 改善了很多
 5. __ Makes the quality of my life worse 不仅没有改善，反而使我的生活质量更差了
 6. __ 无答案 no answer
- 5) Do you think the planning and construction of **new parks** has affected your life in a positive way?
您认为，规划和建设新的公园对您的生活产生了比较好的影响吗？
1. __ Not improving the quality of my life 没有改善
 2. __ Improving only a little 改善了一点
 3. __ Improving quite a bit 改善了一些
 4. __ Improving a great deal 改善了很多
 5. __ Makes the quality of my life worse 不仅没有改善，反而使我的生活质量更差了
 6. __ 无答案 no answer
- 6) Do you think the **Olympics** coming to Beijing is improving the quality of your life?
您认为，北京即将举办的奥运会从某种角度提高了您的生活质量吗？
1. __ Not improving the quality of my life 没有改善
 2. __ Improving only a little 改善了一点
 3. __ Improving quite a bit 改善了一些
 4. __ Improving a great deal 改善了很多
 5. __ Makes the quality of my life worse 不仅没有改善，反而使我的生活质量更差了
 6. __ 无答案 no answer
- 7) The **construction of new housing** has improved the quality of your life?
城市里新建住房提高了您的生活质量吗？
1. __ Not improving the quality of my life 没有改善
 2. __ Improving only a little 改善了一点
 3. __ Improving quite a bit 改善了一些
 4. __ Improving a great deal 改善了很多
 5. __ Makes the quality of my life worse 不仅没有改善，反而使我的生活质量更差了
 6. __ 无答案 no answer
- 8) The **widening of the roads** has improved the quality of your life?

城市中拓宽道路提高了您的生活质量吗?

1. __ Not improving the quality of my life 没有改善;
2. __ Improving only a little 改善了一点;
3. __ Improving quite a bit 改善了一些;
4. __ Improving a great deal 改善了很多;
5. __ Makes the quality of my life worse 不仅没有改善, 反而使我的生活质量更差了;
6. __ 无答案 no answer

Landscape Architecture 第三单元: 景观设计

1) ideal floor material

The floor of your dancing place is 您跳舞的地面是: _____

What is the *ideal* type of floor for a dancing place 什么样的地面最适合您跳舞: _____

1. __ concrete floor 水泥地
2. __ wood floor 木地板
3. __ dirt floor 土地
4. __ tiles 瓷砖地
5. __ glass floor 玻璃纸地面
6. __ 其他材质地面 (请在题目横线上具体写出) some other material (please specify);
7. __ 不知道 don't know; 8. __ 无答案 no answer

2) surroundings of dance space

Your dancing place is surrounded by 您跳舞的场地周围环境: _____

What are the *ideal* surroundings of a dance place 什么样的环境最适合您跳舞: _____

1. __ roads 道路
2. __ tall buildings 高楼
3. __ trees 树木
4. __ shrubs 灌木丛
5. __ lawns 草地
6. __ residential buildings 居民区
7. __ 其他 (请在题目横线上具体写出) other (please specify)
8. __ 不知道 don't know

3) dimensions of dance space

Estimate the dimensions of your dancing place in meters: _____

请估计一下您跳舞的场地的大小尺寸 (用平方米为单位):

What is the *ideal* and most fitting dimensions for a dance space? _____
多大尺寸的场地最适合您跳舞？请给出跳舞的场地的尺寸大小（用平方米为单位）？

4) **overhead structure**

What is directly above your dancing place? _____
您跳舞的场地上空是什么？

What is *ideally* overhead a dancing space? _____
理想的跳舞的场地上空是什么？

1. __ concrete overhead structure (example: a bridge) 水泥的结构（如桥等）
2. __ big trees for shade 树荫
3. __ glass or plastic overhead structure 玻璃质或塑料制的结构（如：棚子）
4. __ nothing – just open sky 直接就是天空
5. __ 不知道 don't know; 6. __ 无答案 no answer

5) **enclosure of space**

What encloses your dancing place? _____
您跳舞的场地的围栏？

What is the *ideal* enclosing structure for a dance space? _____
理想的跳舞的场地的围栏？

1. __ a tall opaque barrier that protects us from public view and physically prevents others from coming into our space 不透明的高大遮挡物围绕此场地，路人不可见，且无法靠近
2. __ A transparent barrier where people can see us, but they cannot enter 透明的栅栏环绕场地，路人可见，但无法靠近
3. __ a low, encircling wall 矮墙环绕
4. __ vertical columns that encircle our space, that prevents others from coming into our space 垂直的柱子等环绕场地，路人无法通过
5. __ no enclosures at all 没有围栏
6. __ 不知道 don't know; 7. __ 无答案 no answer

6) **light source**

Current light source at your dancing place 您跳舞的场地的灯: _____

Ideal lighting at a dancing space 理想的跳舞场地的灯: _____

1. __ Lights that make the floor glow softly at night but that will not shine into your eyes 能照亮场地地面但不会刺眼的光
2. __ Lights that shine at waist level, surrounding the space 齐腰高的灯，围绕场地
3. __ Lights that shine from above, illuminating the dance space 从空中往下照射的灯
4. __ Lights that shine upwards from the floor 地灯，或从脚下往上方照射的灯

5. __ no lights 没有灯
6. __ 不知道 don't know 7. __ 无答案 no answer

7) **sonic environment**

The sonic environment at your dancing place 您跳舞的场地的噪声: _____

The *ideal* sonic environment at your dancing place 理想的场地的声环境: _____

1. __ a quiet place 安静的场地
2. __ a noisy place 噪声大的场地
3. __ not a very quiet place, nor a noisy place 不时特别吵也不是很安静
4. __ does not matter 无所谓
5. __ 不知道 don't know 6. __ 无答案 no answer

8) **degree of exposure to the public**

The degree of public exposure at your dancing place 您跳舞的场地的公开程度: _____

The *ideal* degree of public exposure at your dancing place 理想的场地的公开程度: _____

1. __ out in the open, for everybody to see 在室外, 所有人可见
2. __ out in the open, for community members to see 在室外, 只有社区里的人能看见
3. __ in a semi-private area, for some people who happen to pass by to see
在半私人的地方, 路人偶然经过会看到
4. __ In a very private area, where no one can see me
在隐蔽的私人场地, 没有人能看到我们
5. __ does not matter 无所谓 6. __ 不知道 don't know 7. __ 无答案 no answer

9) **quality of green space**

What is the quality of greenery surrounding your dancing place
您跳舞的场地的绿化程度 _____

What is the *ideal* quality of greenery surrounding a dance space 理想的场地的绿化程度 _____

1. __ very good 很好 2. __ good 好 3. __ bad 不好 4. __ very bad 很不好
5. __ better if there is no greenery around 最好没有绿化 6. __ don't know 无所谓;
7. __ 不知道 don't know 8. __ 无答案 no answer

10) **air quality**

What is the quality of air at your dancing place 您跳舞的场地的污染程度: _____

1. __ This place is very polluted 此处污染很严重
2. __ This air is not very good 空气质量不好
3. __ The air here is good 空气质量很好
4. __ Does not matter to me 无所谓
5. __ don't know 不知道 6. __ 无答案 no answer

11) **Ideal dance space:**

If you could choose from anywhere, what do you think is the most ideal and fitting place for dancing? ____ 如果可以自由选择, 您觉得哪个场地上最适合日常跳舞活动?

12) **zoning**

In what zone of the city is your activity located?
您活动所在地区属于城市中的哪一部分?

1. ____ residential 居住区 2. ____ commercial 商业区 3. ____ industrial 工业区
4. ____ mixed-use area 混合使用地区 5. 其他 other: _____

13) What type of **built environment** surround your activity space? 您活动的地方周围有什么建筑?

1. ____ old houses 老房子 2. ____ market places 市场 3. ____ hutongs 胡同
4. ____ high-rise residential buildings 高层住宅楼 5. 其他 other: _____

14) Has your dance space changed greatly in the past ten years? 您活动这个地区的历史?

1. ____ There has been much construction around the dance site in the past 10 years
在过去的十年内有大量的新建筑出现
2. ____ There has been very little change around the dance site in the past 10 years
地区面貌在近十年内没有大的变化

Basic Demographic Information

第五单元: 基本人员统计信息

1) How much do you earn per month? _____ 您的月收入是多少元?

2) What is the highest level of education you have complete?

您的最高教育水平是?

1. __ none 没有 2. __ elementary 小学 3. __ junior high 初中

4. __ high school 高中 5. __ *dà-zhuān*

¹ 大专 6. __ bachelor's degree 本科 7. __ master's degree 硕士 8. __ PhD 博士 9. __ professional school 职业学校 10. __ military 参军

11. __ *zhōngzhuān*² 中专 12. __ 不知道 don't know 13. __ 无答案 no answer

3) How long do you work everyday? _____

您(目前或退休前)每天工作几个小时?

1. __ less than 5 hrs 5 小时以下

2. __ 5-7 hrs 5 到 7 个小时

3. __ 8-10 hrs 8 到 10 个小时

4. __ above 10 hrs 10 小时以上

5. __ 无答案 no answer

- 4) The work that you are engaged in is primarily:
您从事的工作:
1. __ work that requires physical exertion, requiring lots of movement
主要为体力劳动,且活动量很大
 2. __ work that requires physical exertion, but that does not require lots of movement
主要为体力劳动,但活动量不大
 3. __ work that requires mental exertion
主要为脑力劳动
 4. __无答案 don't know
- 5) Do you have a spouse or family?
您有配偶吗?
1. __yes 是
 2. __ no 否
- 6) How many people do you live with? _____
跟您一块住的家人有多少人?
- 7) Do your family members dance with you?
您跟家人一块来跳舞吗?
1. __yes 是
 2. __no 否
- 8) Do you come here to dance in order to meet new friends?
您来这儿跳舞主要是为了认识新朋友吗?
1. __yes 是
 2. __no 否
- 9) Who is financially responsible in your household? _____
您家经济支出由谁负担?
1. __my spouse 您的配偶
 2. __I am 您自己
 3. __both my spouse and I 您和您的配偶
 4. __children 孩子
 5. __other (please specify)其他 (请具体写出_____)
- [this is question #6 in the 2007-0717 version of the SPSS survey]*
- 10) Do you have grandchildren to take care of?
您需要照顾您的孙子、孙女吗?
1. __yes 是
 2. __no 不是
- 11) Your age? _____
您的年龄是?

Future of Yangge 第六单元: 秧歌的未来

- 1) If one day, there is no more yangge, what do you think will cause it to disappear?

如果有一天，扭秧歌这项活动不再存在了，您觉得是什么导致这项活动消失的呢？
(请您在以下空白处写出)

- 2) What are you most concerned about regarding your yangge practice?
对于您参与的扭秧歌活动，您最关注的是什么？
- 3) Which of the following, if any, do you feel negatively affects your dancing?
以下因素中，是否有哪项对您们跳舞产生负面影响？
1. __Organizational abilities of leaders 队长的组织能力
 2. __Not enough interest in 对改良的新秧歌不如对以前的大秧歌感兴趣
 3. __Not enough leisure time at retirement 休闲的时间不够
 4. __Not enough space for yangge dancing 没有场地让您扭秧歌
 5. __other (please specify)其他 (请在横线上写出_____)
- 4) What would you do *instead* if there is no more yangge in the city?
如果城市中不再有扭秧歌这项活动了，您会改参与什么活动呢？

请您记录现在的时间 (用 24 时制) Present time: _____

谢谢您的支持！

Thank you for your participation!

您是否愿意接受我们的进一步采访？

Would you be willing to participate in future research?

1、_____愿意 yes, I am willing 2、_____不愿意 no, I am not willing.

如果您改变了锻炼的地点，欢迎您跟我们联系，提供新的活动信息。

If you change your exercise location, please contact us with your new information.

我们的邮箱 our email: yangge07@sina.com

我们的电话 our phone number: 15801333478

Sample Open-Ended Interview: Transcript

Date and time: 7:30pm, June 14, 2007

Setting: Taxi-cab, searching for dance sites

Language of interview: Chinese

Duration: 53 minutes

Media: MP3 recorder

Translation of transcript to English: Susan Han

Caroline: Are there more people dancing yangge?

Man (taxi-cab driver): Yes. It has become a necessity in people's life.

C: 扭秧歌越来越多吗?

M: 对, 成为老百姓生活所需。

C: Do you think it is good? Some people complain about their noise.

M: It has different sides. On the one hand, they disturb other residents. The drums and gongs are very noisy. But on the other hand, yangge is a kind of exercise. So people have different judgments from different positions.

C: 你觉得这是件好事吗? 有的人说她们很吵。

M: 这得从不同方面来看。你要从扰民角度来看, 肯定扰民, 锣鼓喧天的。但是它是一种健身活动。不同人用不同的眼光来看, 肯定不一样。

C: How do you like yangge?

M: If I have free time, I will also dance. I think when they dance *jiaoyiwu* (ballroom) under the bridge...

C: 你觉得呢?

M: 我要没有事情, 我也想去跳。我觉得他们在天桥地下跳交谊舞..

C: It seems that people who dance yangge and people who dance *jiaoyiwu* are different.

M: They belong to different groups. You can find that yangge dancers are often over 50 years old while most *jiaoyiwu* dancers are under 50.

C: 好像跳交谊舞和扭秧歌的人不太一样?

M: 这是两个群体。你可以发现, 扭秧歌的都是 50 岁以上的, 跳交谊舞的都是 50 岁以下的。

C: Does that indicate the development or the change of culture? Do you think that Beijing's planning affects the dancers?

M: Yes, because they have no place to dance. They cannot go to the park. If they dance in the street, they will disturb the transportation. So they have to dance under the overpass. If these places are transformed into parking lots, they would have no space to dance. I think there should be spaces for dancing in city parks.

C: 你觉得是不是有一种文化的发展、或者变化? 你觉得城市规划的变化是否影响他们的跳舞呢?

M: 影响。因为他们没有地方可以去。很多公园他们不能去，在马路上又影响交通。所以他们只能在桥下跳了。如果以后都改成停车场了，就没有地方再跳了。其实每个公园应该留出一片地方。

C: But some people said that it would be a waste of space since people can not dance on the lawn. So they do not want..

M: People cannot dance in the neighborhood. As the space in the neighborhood is small, yangge dancing would be more disturbing. Besides, there are a lot of high buildings. The echoing effect will be stronger than in the street. In the evening, many young people want a peaceful environment so that they can read or write. They cannot bear the noise.

C: 可是有的人说，如果公园留出一个地方，有人认为会浪费地方。因为他们不能在绿地上跳舞。所以他们不太。。

M: 这种活动不能放在小区里面跳，因为本来这么大地方，更扰民了，在小区里面。小区里面有很多高楼，有回音，震动比在马路上震动声音更大。尤其晚上的时候，年轻人喜欢安静，读书、写字，他们适应不了这种声音。

C: If they can not dance in the neighborhood, they can also be noisy in the park.

M: It is hard to say.

C: 如果不能在小区里，公园里也会吵人。

M: 这种情况不好说。

C: Do you think that *yangge* dancing is important in Chinese society?

M: In the past, people only danced *yangge* during spring festivals. The village will organize a *Yangge* team and a *Gaoqiao* team (note: *gaoqiao* means walking on the stilts) to visit every family to send new year greetings. They would perform lion and dragon dances. In Lantern Festival (The 15th day of the first month in the lunar calendar), there will be competitions. If you have time in Beijing, you can go to Yanqing County, which is my hometown and near Badaling. When I went back to my hometown, I found many people dancing yangge along the street. Especially on the Lantern Festival, many roads will be closed for yangge dancing competition. It is very interesting.

C: 你觉得他们在中国的社会里，占有重要的位置吗？

M: 这在过去，只有在春节才会有。那时候农村组织一帮秧歌队，高跷队，耍龙的、耍狮子的、给各家各户拜年。到每年正月 15 日，就会组织比赛。如果你有时间，你要长期在北京，我们老家延庆那边，八达岭，我们回去，晚上在马路上转，好多都是扭秧歌的。尤其每年正月 15，好多马路都戒严，分成编号，一路表演，比赛评名次。特别好玩。

C: Do you think Badaling is a rural or a urban area?

M: I think Badaling is not a rural area. It lies in the outer suburbs. As the city of Beijing has villages within it, Badaling area also contains towns (or urbanized areas).

C: 你觉得八达岭是农村还是城市？

M: 八达岭不算农村，算远郊区县。因为北京城市里面也有农村。那边也有城市。

C: Do you think people there dance for the same reason as that of the dancers in the city?

M: No, they have different motives. People in the village dance during Spring Festivals. The atmosphere of the festival is not as heated as before. I grew up in Beijing. When the New Year was approaching, I would be excited and longing to wear new clothes and eat delicious food. But now if you want to have a sense of the atmosphere, you had better go to the temple fair or look for traditional Beijing food. You can experience a real traditional Spring Festival in rural areas. In villages, you can find people stick couplets, let off fire crackers and make dumplings on the New Year's Eve. You will see them visit each other and dance yangge on the first day of the lunar new year.

C: 你觉得在那个地方，他们跳的作用和城市里人一样吗？

M: 不一样。他们跳只是春节活跃一下气氛。现在在中国过年，一点年味也没有。我从小在北京长大。一到块过年就盼着穿新衣服、吃好吃的、那种年味特别浓。现在在北京找年味，你也只能逛逛庙会，找老北京的小吃，其他的你也找不到。你现在只能在农村地区找到年味。农历 30 贴春联，放鞭炮。晚上吃饺子、包饺子，初一拜年，扭秧歌。

C: Is yangge dancing important in the north of Beijing?

M: *Yangge* has different forms. For example, there are Hebei yangge and Dongbei yangge. I think that Beijing does not have its own yangge. Yangge in Beijing comes from other provinces. Dongbei big yangge and Errenzhuan is excellent. Hebei yangge is also good.

C: 扭秧歌在北京的北边，有很重要的位置吗？

M: 秧歌有好多种，比如河北的秧歌，东北的秧歌。我觉得在北京没有本地的秧歌，都是外边传进来的。特别是东北的大秧歌，二人转，扭的特别漂亮。还有河北的，都挺好的。

C: I have heard of Errenzhuan. What relationship does it have with yangge?

M: Errenzhuan means that two people sing on the stage. Some pieces of music used in yangge are from Errenzhuan. For example, the melodies produced by trumpet under the overpass you heard come from Errenzhuan.

C: 我听说二人转，和秧歌有什么关系？

M: 二人转只是两个人在台上唱，现在秧歌的好多曲调都是从二人转来的。天桥底下吹喇叭的，音乐很多都是从二人转来的。

C: What is the traditional function of yangge dancing?

M: It is for spring festival celebration. But now it is for body exercise and entertainment.

C: 扭秧歌的传统作用是什么？

M: 就是春节，现在是健身娱乐。

C: I find *jiaoyiwu* dancers seem to be younger than yangge dancers. If there are fewer places to dance in the city, would people over 50 choose other forms of body exercises, or would they stay at home?

M: I think they would stay at home. It is because the environment for outdoor activity is ...how to say that.. The road makes me feel stressful. No one wants to go outdoors. They prefer to stay in the room.

C: 我看交谊舞，跳的人不是那么老。如果 50 年以上的人，如果城市里跳的地方变少，他们会不会换一种新的活动？或者会呆在家里。

M: 我觉得他们会呆在家里。因为现在在外面，怎么说呢，现在这马路，看着都特别压抑，谁都不愿意出门，想呆在家里。

C: Yeah, it takes me more than half an hour to get to Beida (Peking University).

M: You may be in the same age as me. People in our age are workaholics. They do not have time for exercise. People elder than me, like my father, would go home every evening, have dinner, and play Chinese chess under the tree with a cup of tea. They will choose such activities for leisure.

C: 对，我现在在北大，半个小时多才能到。

M: 咱们这岁数差不多吧，怎么说呢，工作狂，没有时间。如果稍微年岁大些的，像我父亲这样的，每天晚上，他们任务是什么呢，回家，吃完饭，在树底下，摆一盘象棋，然后沏壶茶。他们是这种娱乐方式。

C: Do you think that their entertainment activities change a lot?

M: Their entertainment activities go back to (or translated as: are pretty much like that in) the old times. People like the traditional ways. What new recreational activities do we have? Young people surf the Internet and play computer games. Aging people's entertainment is dancing yangge. Middle-aged people play cards and dance *jiaoyiwu*. People normally have such activities. What else can they do in their leisure time? Consider the middle-aged people born in the 1970s. They are workaholics. After waking up in the morning, they would go to work. When they can return from work is not sure. Back in home, they would go to sleep. For them, work is entertainment.

C: 你觉得他们现在的娱乐方式变化大吗？

M: 他们娱乐方式是返古了。怀念过去那种，你说现在有什么娱乐呢？年轻人就是上网、打游戏。老年人娱乐就是扭秧歌，中年人的娱乐就是打牌、跳交谊舞了，只有这点娱乐。你看中年人、70年代的人，就是工作狂，早晨挣开眼睛就去上班，晚上不知道几点能回来呢，回来就是洗洗刷刷，睡觉，一睁眼有开始工作，他的工作就是娱乐。

C: Yes. There are fewer recreational activities. Cities in America also have problems such as obesity.

M: China also has this problem. Obesity in China is also serious. Take we taxi drivers for example, obesity is a serious health problem. After meals, we always sit still.

C: 对，现在娱乐越来越少。美国的城市有问题。有很大的肥胖病的问题。

M: 中国也有，中国的肥胖也很严重。你就拿我们这行来说，肥胖病也很严重。吃饱了就坐。

C: Yes. We go to everywhere by car. Sometimes I feel sad because there are fewer people riding bikes in China. But riding is good for health.

M: But riding bicycles now is unhealthy because the air is heavily polluted.

C: 对，我们就用我们的车，所有地方都要坐车。有的时候我觉得很难过，中国人以前有很多，现在还有不少人骑自行车，这对身体好。

M: 但现在骑自行车，空气污染很严重。

C: It seems that many Chinese people love singing. A lot of them go to the karaoke. Do you know why?

M: People sing to express their feelings. For example, if they are happy or gloomy, they would like to let off their feelings. But I do not like to go to the karaoke. I prefer to sing alone.

C: 好像很多中国人挺喜欢唱歌的，很多人去卡拉 OK。这是为什么？

M: 我觉得唱歌主要是为了发泄。比如心情高兴或者郁闷，是一种宣泄的手段。这对他们来讲是个好东西，对我来说不是，但我不喜欢去那种地方唱，我喜欢自言自语唱。

C: Do other Beijing residents like yangge?

M: Yes. Most people appreciate this activity.

C: Officials of the park said that yangge is too noisy, which disturbs the normal activities. I want to know what is the “normal” activity?

M: What is the so-called “normal” activity? Park is just for people to play.

C: I found his saying interesting. What is “normal”?

M: I do not think there are any activities tagged “normal” while others “abnormal”.

C: 你觉得其他北京人也喜欢扭秧歌吗？

M: 也喜欢，这种活动多数人是赞同的。

C: 公园管理人员说秧歌会吵正常的活动？我想问下什么是正常的活动？

M: 公园里有什么正常的活动呢？公园就是供人消遣的。

C: 你觉得他的话很有意思，什么叫正常？

M: 没有什么算正常。

¹Dà-zhuān 大专: a degree granted by a three-year college in the People's Republic of China.

²Zhōngzhuān 中专: a degree granted by a technical secondary school in the People's Republic of China.

不可公开发表，未经作者Caroline Chen的同意不得参考
内容保密
2007年7月30日

Interview ID number (DCR Team system): 294

DCR Team page # 3069

健康，空间与舞蹈

您好！我们是美国柏克里大学博士班学生Caroline Chen，和北京大学景观设计学研究院的研究小组。每天清晨、傍晚，我们常能看到您在欢快地舞蹈。我们被您那热闹的舞蹈场面深深吸引，您为什么热衷于扭秧歌呢？您觉得现在扭秧歌的场地怎么样？我们想了解您的需求，和您心中最理想的场地。希望您能以回答此份问卷的形式配合我们的研究。万分感谢！

注：在本份问卷中，“跳舞”即代表“扭秧歌”

填写说明：请在符合您的实际情况的选项前面的横线上打勾，或者在问题后面的横线上填写答案。

例一1、请选择您的性别：A, 女 B, 男

例一2、您哪年出生？ 1950 年

1, 请选择您的性别:

A, 女 B, 男

2, 您哪年出生？ _____ 年

3, 您现在所处的地点是 _____, 今天是 _____ 年 _____ 月 _____ 日, 现在的时间是 (请用 24 时制表示) _____。

基本情况描述

1) 您跳舞的地点: _____ (填写名称)

2) 您跳的秧歌舞类型:

1、 第三套扭秧歌 2、 大秧歌 3、其他: _____

3) 您跳舞的场地情况:

1. 在高架桥下 2. 停车场

3. 不收费的社区公园 4. 收取门票的公园 (包括月票、年票)

5. 学校或公园门前的平地 6. 路边 7. 街道或行车道 8. 广场

9. 沿河地带 10. 建筑之间的空地 11.其他: (请填写) _____

4) 您跳舞的音乐类型: 1. 现场音乐 (打鼓) 2. 磁带播放

3.其他: (请填写) _____

5) 现在一共有多少人在跳舞? _____

以下内容不需要您填写。

Interviewer name: Caroline Chen

Interviewer ID number: 9

Respondent ID number (interviewer's individual system): 303

Respondent ID number (DCR Team system): _____

Location of interview (Place ID number): _____

Place ID number: _____ Place name: _____

Language Interview Conducted in: (1) Chinese;

(2) English

Activity: _____

Description of place:

(1) underneath a bridge; (2) parking lot; (3) park;

(4) paved area in front of gate of park or school; (5) space between buildings; (6) sidewalk;

(7) street or driveway; (8) plaza; (9) alongside river; (10) other (please

specify: _____)

Estimated number of people at

activity: _____

Interview ID number
(DCR Team system):

294

APC
DCR Team page # 3070

下面一页将给您演示如何填写这份问卷。

叙述性问卷

如果一下每道题所留空白不够书写, 请写在背面并标明题号。

致亲爱的您:

我们非常希望了解您的想法。这份问卷里面包含了很多的问题。如果您觉得对哪些问题有较深刻的想法或者比较多的感想, 请尽可能详细地写。请您最好用四个句子表达您的意思。
最后, 还是希望您能够尽可能地告诉我们您对每一个问题的看法, 我们需要了解跳舞的人群的需求, 也将对政府提出一些专业的建议, 您的意见将对我们的研究有很大的帮助。让我们为把北京变成一个适合跳舞的城市而努力! 诚挚的谢谢您!

Caroline Chen
“跳舞的城市”研究小组

A. 有关秧歌舞和开敞空间的故事

1). 北京城市中种植的草坪和树木对您的跳舞活动有影响吗? 如果有, 是什么样的影响?

有; 种植草坪和树木可净化空气, 但避免长出舞者的场地。

2). 北京市正在兴建很多新的公园, 这些公园满足了秧歌舞活动的需求吗?

没有满足需求, 新的公园多在这郊区, 无法前去, 市中心公园离路远, 所以场地问题没解决。

3). 很多地方都不允许大家踩草坪, 如果政府允许公众在草坪上进行活动, 你会这样做吗? 你希望在草坪上进行什么样的活动?

如果允许, 当然想去草坪上跳舞, 打球等 (但可能没有遮阳的地方)

4). 如果你不能继续在现在这个地方跳舞, 你会另外找适合的地方还是换一项运动? 你会去哪里? 为什么? 或者, 你会做什么其它的运动来代替, 为什么?

如果现在这个地方不能跳, 我会另找合适地方跳舞 首先公园, 空气好!

B. 有关秧歌的故事

1). 你最开始在哪里学跳舞的?

从小喜欢舞蹈, 退休后有时间了, 先去跳交谊舞, 后居委会组织参加北京市一套秧歌比赛, 让我参加了。从那开始接触秧歌和民族舞 (广场舞)。

2). 这支舞蹈队是怎么形成和发展的? 您是否能告诉我们舞蹈队的历史, 一年一年地说?

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据我所知, 现在的秧歌队是在参加几次秧歌比赛后(在美国)形成的。

3). 你跳舞更多是为了健康, 还是更多为了能够见到朋友? 为什么这个对你这么重要?

我跳舞, 一是为了爱好。当音乐响起, 起舞时是一种精神享受, 同时也是为了健身。
95年经过肾衰竭肾衰, 身体虚弱, 通过去看医生, 及跳舞锻炼, 使身体得以康复。
现在的我, 精力充沛, 心情舒畅。同时以舞会友, 通过舞蹈结识了许多
好朋友。现在是每天跳一个小时, 已是我的一种习惯。

4). 您对交谊舞是怎么看的? 对于最近出台的中学生学习跳交谊舞的要求, 您是怎么看的?

交谊舞同样是一种健身运动。当然舞看自己活自如, 以舞为中心。
交谊舞可锻炼人的气质, 由于对膝关节磨损不太大, 所以也是适合中老年的一项运动。

5). 您觉得跳大秧歌的人能怎么改善她们这个舞蹈的现状? 中小学更合适跳集体舞。

跳大秧歌关键是人, 应该将它推陈出新。
现在缺乏人材去整理, 革新大秧歌。

6). 您过去跳过大秧歌吗? 您觉得大秧歌怎么样?

我过去跳过大秧歌, 一是觉得动作不够大, 二觉得服装不够美。(含化装)
但锣鼓敲响时还是挺能调动人的情绪的。

7). 您会不会不再跳舞而是以健身代替之?

一切要看身体状况, 当老到跳不动时, 会考虑其它的健身方式的。

8). 为了能够继续跳舞, 你们的队伍是怎么调整改变自己的习惯, 以便适应城市环境的变化?

灵活机动。对于我, 健身第一, 平时是自由组合, 时间地点几个朋友协商。
当还有活动需要参加时, 我就积极响应, 参加。

9). 你们的秧歌队是什么时候开始成立的?

第一套秧歌比赛后开始成立的。

- 10). a). 您为什么选择第三套秧歌, 而不是其他的活动?
b). 为什么这是特别适合您的一项活动?

a. 三套秧歌. 音乐. 舞蹈. 编的都很美. 让人一看就想学. 而且又是比较好学. b. 拍起来. 全身都动起来.

- 11). 您喜欢用磁带伴奏的秧歌还是有鼓声伴奏的? 为什么?

喜欢磁带伴奏. (当然音响要好). 听着音乐起舞. 情景交融. 自我陶醉.

- 12). 在过去几年里, 你们舞蹈队的规模是在扩大还是在减少? 您认为是什么因素导致了这种变化?

扩大. 不断有新成员加入. 是吸引人之处.

- 13). 您是否认为北京人有权在城市里跳舞的权利? 为什么?

有! 任何人都应该有跳舞的权利. 健身. 康心. 这是第一好处.
~~当然舞者~~

- 14). 在北京现代化的过程中, 您认为跳舞的人群面临的最大的问题是什么?

时间与场地是舞者面临最大的问题, 要跳舞健身. 又还有一个环境好的场地. 同时还不能影响其他人的生活和休息. 娱乐. 这是目前最大的问题.

- 15). 你们在正式场合跳过舞吗? 什么时候? 具体是什么场合? 你们是否被挑选去进行表演, 在政府组织的大型庆典上?

参加过街道办事处组织的秧七一活动. 春节联欢. 近期参加了 8月8日奥运倒计时一周年的健身展示. 在中世纪广场跳三套秧歌!

- 16). 您跳舞是不是因为您有比较多的闲暇时间? 什么原因让您开始跳舞的?

出于喜欢和健身的目的开始跳舞的. 现已成习惯. 时间闲多跳会儿. 忙就少跳会儿.

17). 有些人认为秧歌不适合于出现在一个现代化城市, 您是怎么回应这种想法的人?

有这种想法的人也无可厚非, 任何一件事, 任何一个运动, 不可得人人
都喜欢, 人人却接受。只是没有对他人造成影响, 就不至于干涉跳舞!

18). 城市的什么变化影响了日常的跳舞活动或者活动的路线?

交通和城建的变化会影响跳舞活动或活动路线!

19). 跳舞队最近发生了什么变化? 有新成员的加入? 或者有新的锻炼路线? 新的锻炼地点? 新的地方是室内的还是室外的?

无有大大变化。

20). 舞蹈队是否面临着什么挑战? 什么机构给你们制造了障碍?

如何进一步提高。

21). 有没有人现在不来锻炼了? 他为什么不来了? 她们搬走了吗? 搬到哪里了?

不请发

22). 你们的团队是居委会组织的吗? 或者是你们自发组织, 后来才成为居委会活动的一部分? 或者一直都是独立于居委会存在的?

比赛团队是居委会组织的, 平时是自由组合的。

23). 你怎么选择舞蹈队的领头人?

认真, 负责, 肯牺牲个人时间, 又有协调和组织能力。

24). 你们的舞蹈有没有观众? 一般是谁在看你们跳舞?

锻炼时有围观的人。

C. 城市的故事

1). 北京的城市规划怎样影响你们的秧歌舞活动?

城市的发展更增强了人们的精神需求: ~~这使~~和对身体健康的
追求! 这是秧歌舞及其他健身活动不断发展的原因之一!

2). 城市的变化影响了你对邻居的了解程度吗? 怎么影响的? 什么变化对你与邻居和朋友的联系影响最大?

住楼房隔断了和邻居的交往与了解, 但丰富多彩的社区活动, 又拉近了
邻居和朋友之间的关系。

3). 您觉得北京的绿化是因为奥运吗? 城市有什么变化?

可以说奥运让北京变得更美了, 但北京并不只因奥运才绿化。
城市的环境和管理却在向着好的方向发展。通过奥运, 北京将上一个新的台阶。

4). 您觉得什么地方最适合跳秧歌—就算那个地方现在还不允许你们跳秧歌? 为什么那是一个适合的地方?

公园里, 绿荫下, 环境好, 空气好!

5). 你觉得你最喜欢的运动适合什么人? :

- a). 青少年
- ✓ b). 中年人
- ✓ c). 老年人

为什么? 健身运动很多种, 但跳舞从运动量运动幅度都是
最适合中年人的。

6). 您觉得跑步、足球、篮球这些运动怎么样? 对于这些对场地有一定要求的活动, 您是怎么看的?

这些运动都不错, 但对年龄有一定要求, 且对身体健康状况也有
要求, 因为这些都属于比较剧烈的活动。

7). 您觉得城市能够为跳秧歌的人们做些什么?

提供活动空间, 给一些展示的机会。

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8). 请跟我们分享任何您对秧歌舞、活动空间、城市的感想:

休闲时，在绿树环抱的场地上，没有汽车行人嘈杂的声音，
只有音乐，在美妙的音乐中，人们或手持红绸红扇，或高举灯笼
翩跹起舞。
重大庆典场合，千人扇舞秧歌表演，给人们以不仅^{是壮观}的视觉

更是一种美的享受和心灵的震撼！

奥运会的问题:

请您最好用四个橘子表达你的思想!

1). 你很高兴奥运会来北京吗? 为什么?

很高兴奥运会在北京召开! 让世界更了解北京, 更了解中国, 更促进北京的发展。因为通过奥运城市的环境、管理将上更新的台阶。通过人民对奥运准备工作的参与, 人们自身的素质将得到进一步提高。中国人民将以崭新的面貌展示在世人面前。

2). 奥运会来北京怎么影响城市的形式和城市的规划?

北京的奥运会将是一个绿色奥运、人文奥运。这种理念已体现在城市的规划、发展和建设中。

3). 你跳扭秧歌会不会受到奥运会的影响? 你觉得会有什么样的影响?

借助奥运之机, 将北京秧歌展示给世界人民观看, 让人们通过秧歌, 看到北京, 中国人的热情、欢乐、健康、友爱的精神风貌! 如果这样, 秧歌将更加火爆!

4). 第三套扭秧歌跟大秧歌有什么区别? 请解释一下。

线的知识面广, 感觉是: 三套秧歌和大秧歌最大的区别是音乐、节奏。三套秧歌的音乐和动作都要美于大秧歌!

感谢您的支持!

您是否愿意接受我们的进一步采访? 1、 愿意 2、 不愿意

如果您改变了锻炼的地点, 欢迎您跟我们联系, 提供新的活动信息。

我们的邮箱: yangge07@sina.com

我们的电话: 15801333478

Questionnaire ID number 294

Dance City Research 2007 Narrative Survey

Questionnaire page number 3070

Name of dance		di san tao yangge	
Place name <i>(Chinese)</i>	宣武公园, 滨河公园	Place name <i>(English)</i>	Xuanwu Park, Binhe Park
		Music source	CD or cassette
	Description of place		park with fee
		# of people dancing	15
		Questionnaire ID marker placed on Google Maps	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Translator name <i>(Chinese)</i>		王霄	
<i>(English)</i>		Wang Xiao	
	Translator ID number	13	
Date of translation <i>(mm/dd/yyyy)</i>		08/06/2009	

Interviewee personal info		<input type="checkbox"/> DVD gift
Sex	F	Year born
		1949
		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 14 yuan
Date of questionnaire <i>(mm/dd/yyyy)</i>		08/14/2007

A. Stories of Yangge and Open Space

- 1). Is the planting of lawns and trees in Beijing city impacting your dancing? If so, how?

Yes. Trees and lawns help to clean the air. However, the government should also take into account our needs. Dancers need space.

Impact?

- 2). Many new parks are being built in Beijing. Are they serving the needs of yangge?

They have not met our needs. New parks are in remote suburban areas which are unavailable to us. Also street parks are too close to roads. So the space problem has not been solved.

New parks serving Yangge needs?

- 3). There are many places where the public is not allowed to step on the lawn. If the government allowed the public to step on the lawn, would you do so? Which activities would you like to engage in, on top of lawn?

If permitted, I want to step onto lawns to dance or play ball games. It would be better if there are tree shades.

Step on lawn?

- 4). If you could no longer dance where you do right now, would you go someplace else to dance or choose a different activity? Where would you go and why? Or ... what would you do instead and why?

If I am not allowed to dance in this place, I will find other places to dance. My first choice is parks.

Go elsewhere? Different activity? Other activity?

B. Stories of Yangge

- 1). When did you first learn to dance?

I was fond of dance when I was a child. After retirement, I have leisure time to dance jiaoyiwu. Later the community committee organized a group to participate in a competition in the city, and I was enrolled. From then on, I began learning yangge and folk dance both of which are square dance.

What age? What year?

- 2). How did this particular dance group originate? Can you tell me about its history, year by year?

As far as I know, this group was formed after people had participated in many competitions.

- 3). Do you dance more for health or more so you can see your friends? Why is this important to you?

I dance because it is my interest. As the music goes on, it is my pleasure to dance. Also I dance for health. In 1995, I got nephritis, and I was very weak. Through treatment and dance, my body gradually recovered. Now I am dynamic and happy. What's more, I have made new friends through dance. It is my routine to dance for one hour everyday.

Dance for health is . . . more important . . . than dancing to meet with friends.

- 4). How do you feel about *jiaoyiwu*? How do you feel about the requirement for middle school children to waltz?

Jiaoyiwu is also a form of health practice. Of course dancers should resist temptations from their partners. Jiaoyiwu helps to cultivate a person. Since it does little harm to knees, it is also appropriate for middle-aged and elderly people. I think middle school students and elementary school students may perform group dance.

Approve of jiaoyiwu? yes

Approve of middle-school waltz? no

- 5). How do you think the people who dance big yangge (大秧歌) can improve their situation?

The biggest problem for big yangge is the lack of creativity. Someone should organize and document big yangge and create new movements.

Big Yangge dancers can help themselves? yes

- 6). Did you dance big yangge (大秧歌) in the past? What do you think about big yangge?

I have not danced big yangge. The movements of big yangge is too small and the costumes are pale. However, the drumming is cheerful sometimes.

Danced Big Yangge before? no

- 7). Will you stop dancing one day and go to the gym instead?

It depends on my health. If I am too old to dance, I will quit and choose other ways to practice.

Go to the gym instead? unclear response

- 8). How has your group adjusted or changed your habits in response to changes in the city so you can continue your dancing?

It depends. For me health is the priority. Usually we organize dance freely with several friends. When the community committee needs people to participate in competitions, we take an active part.

Dance group has adjusted? yes

- 9). How did your yangge team first form?

The group was formed after the first yangge game.

- 10). a). Why did you choose *disantau yangge* (第三套扭秧歌) instead of another activity?
 b). Why is it an especially suitable activity for you?

On the one hand, disantau yangge is beautiful in terms of music and choreography, which makes people eager to learn it. Also it is simple. On the other hand, the dance involves movements of whole body.

Choose disantau yangge?

yes

- 11). Do you like *yangge* with cassette or with drumming? Why?

I like cassettes. Of course stereos are better. We often immerse ourselves in the euphonious music.

Music preferred is:

CD or cassette

- 12). Has the size of the dance/exercise group grown or diminished in the past few years? What caused this change?

The size has grown. We keep learning and improving, which attracts new members.

Group size grown?

yes

Group size same?

no

Group size smaller?

no

- 13). Do you think Beijing residents have the "right to dance?" Why?

Yes. Everyone has the right to dance. Both mental and physical health are essential to people.

BJ residents have "right to dance?"

yes

- 14). What is the biggest issue that *yangge* dancers face today as Beijing modernizes?

Time and space are our biggest problems. We need a space with quiet environment. Also, we don't want to disturb neighbors when we practice. Places meeting these requirements are few.

Dancers' biggest concern: (keywords)

time and space

- 15). Have you ever performed in front of officials? When and for what occasion? Were you ever chosen to perform in front of officials in government-related ceremonies?

We have participated in the celebration for the Party's Day, which was organized by the street committee. We also took part in the spring festival. Recently, we participated in the one-year countdown celebration for the Olympics at the China Millennium Monument.

Performed for officials?

yes

Performed for gov. ceremonies?

yes

- 16). Have you danced your entire life or are you dancing now because you have more leisure time? What caused you to begin dancing?

I dance because of health and my interest. Now it is my routine. If time permits, I dance more. If not, I dance less.

Dancing - life-long practice

unclear response

Dancing - increased leisure time

yes

- 17). Some people think *yangge* is not appropriate for a "modern city." How do you respond to people who have such opinions?

It is a reasonable view. Everything has two sides, so there must be some opponents. As long as we do not disturb others, they should not interfere with our dance.

Is Yangge appropriate?

- 18). What changes in the city have affected daily dancing and exercise routines?

The city plan will affect traffic and constructions. Thus our routes and activities will be influenced.

Changes affecting dance? (keywords)

- 19). What are some recent changes in the dance/exercise group? Are there new members? New exercise routines? New places to exercise? Are these new places indoors or outdoors?

No big change.

Group changes?

New members?

New exercises?

New dance places?

If yes:

- 20). What are some challenges the dance/exercise groups face? What institutions or group(s) present the group with obstacles?

We try to figure out how to make progress.

Group challenges? (keywords)

Cause of obstacle? (keywords)

- 21). Who has no longer been coming? Why do you think they are no longer coming? Did they move away? To where?

I have no idea.

Missing dancers?

Moved away?

- 22). Is this group part of a recreational association? If so, how is it organized and when did it become associated with the recreational association?

The team for competitions are organized by the community committee. However, we practice by ourselves.

Recreational association involved?

- 23). How do you pick your leader?

He should be careful, devoting, and capable of organizing.

Pick leader?

- 24). Do you like having an audience for your dancing? Who comes to watch?

There is some audience.

Audience?

Enjoy audience?

C. Stories of the City

- 1). How has Beijing's urban planning affected your *yangge* dancing?

The development of the city fosters people's needs for mental and physical health, which boosts the advancement of *yangge* and other health practices.

BJ planning affect dancing? yes

- 2). How have changes in the city affected how well you know your neighbors? What changes have affected how you keep in touch with your friends and neighbors the most?

Living in apartments cuts the relationship between neighbors; however, the community activities help to tie this bond.

BJ planning affect knowing neighbors? yes

Do you know your neighbors? unclear response

- 3). Do you think Beijing's greening is related to the Olympics? What are the changes?

The Olympics make the city more beautiful. However, the greening plan is not only for the Olympics. The management of the city environment has always been improving. Through the Olympics, Beijing will step onto the next level.

BJ greening related to Olympics? yes

BJ greening for other reasons? yes

- 4). Where do you think is the very best place to dance *yangge* - even if you are not allowed to dance there right now? Why is this the perfect place?

Parks with shades. The air is clean.

Currently dancing in best place? yes

- 5). Talking about your favorite activity, it is ideal for (a). youth; (b). middle-aged; (c). elderly? What are the reasons?

B and C. There are many ways to keep health. *Yangge* is appropriate for middle-aged and elderly people in terms of exercise amount and motion range.

Do age-appropriate activities exist? yes

- 6). What do you think of activities like running, football, soccer and basketball? Could you share your feelings about these activities? How do you feel about the specialized spaces required by these activities?

These are good sports. However, they are limited by body conditions. Because they have a large amount of exercises.

Specialized spaces are a good idea? no

- 7). Do you feel the city can do something to help *yangge* dancers? What can the city do?

The city may offer space and opportunities for presentation.

City can help dancers? yes

8). Please share any other comments about *yangge*, open space, and Beijing with us.

When I have leisure time, I lie on the grass surrounded by trees. There is no noise from vehicles and pedestrians but music. With the euphonious music, people use the red handkerchiefs and fans as well as lanterns to dance.
At big celebrations, thousands of people perform yangge with fans. What we present is not only beauty, but also strikes of the heart.

Comment
keywords:

Olympics Questionnaire 081207

Note: some questionnaires may be missing this page

- 1). Are you very happy that the Olympics are coming to Beijing? Why?

I am very glad that Beijing will host the Olympics. It makes the world more familiar with Beijing as well as promotes the city development. Through the Olympics, the city will improve its environment management. In addition, via the preparation of all the nation, peoples's qualities will progress. In a word, China will show its best to the world.

Glad the Olympics are coming?

yes

- 2). How do the Olympics affect Beijing's urban design and planning?

The Beijing Olympics will be a green and humanistic one. This concept has been absorbed in the city planning and construction.

Olympics positive effect on planning?

yes

- 3). Will the Olympics influence your yangge practice?

I would like to show yangge to the world by the Olympics. Through yangge, people all over the world may see the Chinese people's enthusiasm, happiness, friendship and health. If it comes true, yangge will become more popular.

Olympics influence dancing?

yes

- 4). How are *disantau yangge* (第三套扭秧歌) and big *yangge* (大秧歌) different?

I am not very clear about the difference. I guess the biggest difference may be the music and rhythm. The music and movements of disantao yangge are more beautiful than those of big yangge.

Are Disantau and Big Yangge different?

yes

- Interviewee is willing to participate in future research

Module IV: The Future of *Yangge*

Note to translator: This section immediately precedes the Narrative Questionnaire. These questions are on page 7 and 8 of the **SPSS Questionnaire**.

- 1). If one day, there is no more *yangge*, what do you think will cause it to disappear?

Yangge is not the only practice to keep healthy. If it disappeared one day, the reason has to be the lack of creativity in both form and contents. In a word, it is no longer attractive. As a public activity, yangge needs to be appropriate for most people as well as improve itself continually. For example, it may add something to its music and movements, which makes yangge more dynamic.

Yangge will disappear?

yes

- 2). What are you most concerned about regarding your *yangge* practice?

Music, movements and difficulty. As far as difficulty is concerned, I hope that yangge is not too hard for people to learn.

The biggest concern: (keywords)

music, movements and difficulty

- 3). *skip this question*

- 4). What would you do *instead* if there is no more *yangge* in the city?

I will dance jiaoyiwu, folk dance and practice aerobics, walking.

Possible yangge will disappear from the city one day?

yes

- Translator has attached notes to this translation

Interview ID number (DCR Team system): 156

DCR Team page # 1090

定量问卷:

健康, 空间与舞蹈

您好! 我们是美国柏克里大学博士班学生 **Caroline Chen**, 和北京大学景观设计学研究院的研究小组。

每天清晨、傍晚, 我们常能看到您们在欢快地舞蹈。我们被您们那热闹的舞蹈场面深深吸引, 您为什么热衷于扭秧歌呢? 您觉得现在扭秧歌的场地怎么样? 我们想了解您的需求, 和您心中最理想的场地。

希望您能以回答此份问卷的形式配合我们的研究。万分感谢!

注: 在本份问卷中, “跳舞” 即代表 “扭秧歌”

填写说明: 请在符合您的实际情况的选项前面的横线上打勾, 或者在问题后面的横线上填写答案。

例一、请选择您的性别: A, 女 B, 男

例二、您哪年出生? 1950 年

1, 请选择您的性别:

A, 女 B, 男

2, 您哪年出生? 1953 年

3, 您现在所处的地点是 宝翠桥, 今天是 07 年 8 月 7 日, 现在的时间是 (请用 24 时制表示) _____。

第一单元: 基本情况描述

1) 您跳舞的地点: 宝翠桥 (填写名称)

2) 您跳的秧歌舞类型:

1、 第三套扭秧歌 2、 大秧歌 3、其他: _____

3) 您跳舞的场地情况:

1. 在高架桥下 2. 停车场 3. 不收费的社区公园 4. 收取门票的公园 (包括月票、年票) 5. 学校或公园门前的平地 6. 路边 7. 街道或行车道 8. 广场 9. 沿河地带 10. 建筑之间的空地 11. 其他: (请填写) _____

以下内容不需要您填写。

Interviewer name: Susan

Interviewer ID number: 4

Respondent ID number (interviewer's individual system): _____

Respondent ID number (DCR Team system): _____

Location of interview (Place ID number): _____

Place ID number: _____ Place name: _____

Language Interview Conducted in: (1) Chinese; (2) English

Activity: _____

Description of place:

(1) underneath a bridge; (2) parking lot; (3) park; (4) paved area in front of gate of park or school; (5) space between buildings; (6) sidewalk; (7) street or driveway; (8) plaza; (9) alongside river; (10) other (please specify: _____)

Estimated number of people at activity: _____

Drop-off survey? (1) yes; (2) no: _____

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4) 您跳舞的音乐类型: 1. 现场音乐 (打鼓) 2. 磁带播放 3. 其他: (请填写) _____

5) 现在一共有多少人在跳舞? 40-50人

第二单元: 城市里人的活动

A. 跳舞的基本历史

- 1) 您跳舞多久了? 7 年
2) 您在北京已经居住多久了? 37 年
3) 您冬天的时候也在这里吗? 1. 是 2. 不是

B. 活动时间和参与者间的协调联系

1) 您怎么称呼您现在参加的这项活动? _____

2) 一天中, 您来跳舞的时间:

1. 早晨 2. 中午 3. 晚上 4. 时间不定 5. 不知道 6. 无答案

3) 这项活动具体何时开始, 何时结束? (例如: 19:00---21:00)

8-10点

4) 您来跳舞的频繁程度:

1. 每天 2. 一周六天 3. 一周五天 4. 一周四天 5. 一周三天 6. 一周两天 7. 一周一天 8. 时间不定 (请在横线上具体写出多长时间来跳一次舞 _____) 9. 不知道 10. 无答案

5) 一周中, 您哪几天来跳舞 (多选):

1. 周一 2. 周二 3. 周三 4. 周四 5. 周五 6. 周六
7. 周日

6) 您们有多少人一起跳舞:

1. 十或十人以下 2. 11-20 人 3. 21-30 人 4. 31-40 人
5. 41-50 人 6. 五十一或大于五十一人 7. 不知道 8. 无答案

7) 您每次跳多久:

1. 半小时 2. 一小时 3. 一个半小时 4. 两小时 5. 两小时以上 6. 不知道 7. 无答案

8) 您的队伍中有多少个队长:

1. 没有队长 2. 一个队长 3. 两个队长 4. 队长多于两个人 5. 不知道 6. 无答案

9) 队伍平均年龄:

1. 30-40岁 2. 41-50岁 3. 51-65岁 4. 66-70岁
5. 71-75岁 6. 76-80岁 7. 大于80岁 8. 不知道 9. 无答案

10) 这个队伍怎么成立:

1. 一个队长挑头, 大家就开始跳了 2. 居委会组织了我们的 3. 发现这
有块空地, 所以一些人开始跳舞了 4. 我来的时候队伍已经成立了, 所以我
就直接参加了 5. 其他 (请写出队伍是怎么成立的
_____) 6. 不知道
7. 无答案

11) 你们参加过比赛吗? 1. 是 2. 否

12) 你们的秧歌队被媒体报道过吗? 1. 是, 请告诉我们报道的时间、刊物或
节目的名称: 花平 2. 否

13) 政府给你们的秧歌活动提供过帮助吗? 1. 是 2. 否

14) 你们的队员之间如何联系?

1. 电话 2. 电子邮件 3. 在街道上碰面联系 4. 其他: _____

c. 参与历史

1) 您参与这项活动多久了?

1. 不到一年 2. 1-2年 3. 3-5年 4. 6-10年 5. 11-15年 6. 16-20年
7. 20年以上 8. 不知道 9. 无答案

2) 您最初怎么找到这项活动的?

1. 看见有人在街上跳, 于是也加入一起跳舞 2. 家人和朋友告诉我的 3.
参加这项活动是我的家族传统 4. 看到广告里宣传此处的活动 5. 广播或
电视宣传此处的活动 6. 其他 (请具体写出
_____) 7. 无答案

3) 您在过去几年中参加过以下哪些活动? (多选)

1. 交谊舞 2. 太极拳 3. 打麻将 4. 下象棋 5. 放风筝 6. 瑜伽 7.
慢跑 8. 网球 9. 快走 10. 遛鸟 11. 遛狗 12. 爬山 13. 唱歌 14. 全
身运动 15. 老年迪斯科 16. 新秧歌 17. 其他 (请具体写出
_____) 18. 无答案

4) 您们过去几年中挪过地方跳舞吗? 1. 是 2. 没有

5) 挪了多少次地? 13 次

6) 除了扭秧歌, 您还参加别的活动吗? 1. 是 2. 没有

d. 交通

1) 您是怎么来的?

1. 走着 2. 骑车 3. 蹬三轮 4. 公共汽车 5. 地铁 6. 出租车 7. 自家小汽车 8. 其他 (请具体写出 _____) 9. 不知道 10. 无答案

2) 您从家到跳舞地点需要多长时间?

1. 5 分钟 2. 10 分钟 3. 15 分钟 4. 20 分钟 5. 半小时 6. 45 分钟 7. 一小时 8. 一小时以上 9. 不知道 10. 无答案

3) 您得过几条大马路才能从家到跳舞地点?

1. 没有 2. 一条 3. 两条 4. 三条 5. 四条或四条以上 6. 无答案

4) 您从家到跳舞地点这一路上, 有哪些您觉得走着比较危险的地儿吗? (如: 过马路时有车开得很快的地方) 1. 有 2. 没有

5) 哪些处比较危险? 过马路 没有标志

第三单元: 城市规划

1) 是不是有什么因素对您的跳舞的场地产生了负面影响? 如果有, 以下情况中有没有对您跳舞的场地产生负面影响? : (多选)

1. 没有对我们的场地产生负面影响的因素 2. 跳舞的场地种上了草, 不能再跳舞了 3. 新建的公园, 其中没有很大的开放空间 4. 新建的大楼 5. 拓宽道路 6. 新建地铁 7. 居民抱怨跳舞时音乐等的噪声 8. 场地被某些公司占用 (如: 用此场地新修停车场) 9. 其他 (请具体写出 我们没有空间) 10. 不知道 11. 无答案

2) 对您跳舞的场地来说, 负面影响最大的是什么? (单选)

1. 没有对我们的场地产生负面影响的因素 2. 跳舞的场地种上了草, 不能再跳舞了 3. 新建的公园, 其中没有很大的开放空间 4. 新建的大楼 5. 拓宽道路 6. 新建地铁 7. 居民抱怨跳舞时音乐等的噪声 8. 场地被某些公司占用 (如: 用此场地新修停车场) 9. 其他 (请具体写出 没有空间) 10. 不知道 11. 无答案

3) 城市里新建的公园对哪些活动有好处?

1. 交谊舞 2. 太极拳 3. 打麻将 4. 下象棋 5. 放风筝 6. 瑜伽 7. 慢跑 8. 网球 9. 快走 10. 遛鸟 11. 遛狗 12. 爬山 13. 唱歌 14. 全身运动 15. 老年迪斯科 16. 新型的秧歌 17. 其他 (请具体写出 _____) 18. 无答案

4) 您认为, 城市里进行的绿化正在提高您的生活质量吗?

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1. 没有改善 2. 改善了一点 3. 改善了一些 4. 改善了很多
5. 不仅没有改善, 反而使我的生活质量更差了 6. 无答案
- 5) 您认为, 规划和建设新的公园对您的生活产生了比较好的影响吗?
 没有改善 1. 改善了一点 2. 改善了一些 3. 改善了很多
4. 不仅没有改善, 反而使我的生活质量更差了 5. 无答案 6.
- 6) 您认为, 北京即将举办的奥运会从某种角度提高了您的生活质量吗?
1. 没有改善 2. 改善了一点 3. 改善了一些 4. 改善了很多
5. 不仅没有改善, 反而使我的生活质量更差了 6. 无答案
- 7) 城市里新建住房提高了您的生活质量吗?
1. 没有改善 2. 改善了一点 3. 改善了一些 4. 改善了很多
5. 不仅没有改善, 反而使我的生活质量更差了 6. 无答案
- 8) 城市中拓宽道路提高了您的生活质量吗?
1. 没有改善 2. 改善了一点 3. 改善了一些 4. 改善了很多
5. 不仅没有改善, 反而使我的生活质量更差了 6. 无答案

第四单元: 景观设计

- 1) 您跳舞的地面是(填序号) 1. 水泥地; 什么样的地面最适合您跳舞(填序号)
1. 水泥地 2. 木地板 3. 土地 4. 石砖 5. 玻璃地面 6. 其他材质地面(请在题目横线上具体写出) 7. 不知道 8. 无答案
- 2) 您跳舞的场地周围环境(填序号) 1. 空旷; 什么样的环境最适合您跳舞(填序号) 1. 没有噪音和
1. 道路 2. 高楼 3. 树木 4. 灌木丛 5. 草地 6. 居民区 7. 其他(请在题目横线上具体写出) 8. 不知道 9. 无答案
- 3) 请估计一下您跳舞的场地的大小尺寸(例: 5米*5米)
1. 10米*10米; 多大尺寸的场地最适合您跳舞? 请给出跳舞的场地的大小尺寸 1. 10米*10米
- 4) 您跳舞的场地上空是什么(直接填写序号) 1. 树; 理想的跳舞的场地上空是什么(填序号) 1. 树
1. 水泥的结构(如桥等) 2. 树荫 3. 玻璃质或塑料制的结构(如: 棚子) 4. 直接就是天空 5. 不知道 6. 无答案
- 5) 您跳舞的场地的围栏(填序号) 1. 透明; 理想的跳舞的场地的围栏(填序号) 1. 透明
1. 不透明的高大遮挡物围绕此场地, 路人不可见, 且无法靠近 2. 透明的栅

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栏环绕场地，路人可见，但无法靠近 3.矮墙环绕 4.垂直的柱子等环绕
场地，路人无法通过 5.没有围栏 6.不知道 7.无答案

- 6) (填序号) 您跳舞的场地的灯_____；理想的跳舞场地的灯_____
1. 能照亮场地地面但不会刺眼的光 2.齐腰高的灯，围绕场地 3.从空中往下照射的灯 4.地灯，或从脚下往上方照射的灯 5.没有灯 6.不知道 7.无答案
- 7) (填序号) 您跳舞的场地的噪声_____；理想的场地的声环境_____
1. 安静的场地 2.噪声大的场地 3.不时特别吵也不是很安静 4.无所谓 5.不知道 6.无答案
- 8) (填序号) 您跳舞的场地的公开程度_____；理想的场地的公开程度_____
1.在室外，所有人可见 2. 在室外，只有社区里的人能看见 3.在半私人的地方，路人偶然经过会看到 4.在隐蔽的私人场地，没有人能看到我们 5.无所谓 6.不知道 7.无答案
- 9) (填序号) 您跳舞的场地的绿化程度_____；理想的场地的绿化程度_____
1. 很好 2.好 3.不好 4.很不好 5.最好没有绿化 6.无所谓 7.不知道 8.无答案
- 10) 您跳舞的场地的污染程度_____
1. 此处污染很严重 2. 空气质量不好 3. 空气质量很好 4. 无所谓
5. 不知道 6. 无答案 不稳定
- 11) 如果可以自由选择，您觉得哪个场地上最适合日常跳舞活动？
空气清新 (直接填写您的答案)
- 12) 您活动所在地区属于城市中的哪一部分？
1. 居住区 2. 商业区 3. 工业区 4. 混合使用地区
5. 其他: _____
- 13) 您活动的地方周围有什么建筑？
1. 老房子 2. 市场 3. 胡同 4. 高层住宅楼
5. 其他: _____
- 14) 您活动这个地区的历史：
1. 在过去的十年内有大量的新建筑出现 2. 地区面貌在近十年内没有大的变化

第五单元：基本人员统计信息

- 1) 您的月收入是多少元？ 1200
- 2) 您的最高教育水平是？
1. 没有 2. 小学 3. 初中 4. 高中 5. 大专 6. 本科 7. 硕士 8. 博士 9. 职业学校 10. 军校 11. 中专 12. 不知道 13. 无答案

- 3) 您(目前或退休前)每天工作几个小时? 8到10个小时
1. 5小时以下 2. 5到7个小时 3. 8到10个小时 4. 10小时以上 5. 无答案
- 4) 您从事的工作:
1. 主要为体力劳动,且活动量很大 2. 主要为体力劳动,但活动量不大
3. 主要为脑力劳动 4. 无答案
- 5) 您有配偶吗? 1. 是 2. 否
- 6) 跟您一块住的家人有多少人? 6人
- 7) 您跟家人一块来跳舞吗? 1. 是 2. 否
- 8) 您来这儿跳舞主要是为了认识新朋友吗? 1. 是 2. 否
- 9) 您家经济支出由谁负担?
1. 您的配偶 2. 您自己 3. 您和您的配偶 4. 孩子 5. 其他(请具体写出)
- 10) 您需要照顾您的孙子、孙女吗? 1. 是 2. 不是
- 11) 您的年龄是? 55岁

第六单元:秧歌的未来

- 1) 如果有一天,扭秧歌这项活动不再存在了,您觉得是什么导致这项活动消失的呢?(请您在以下空白处写出)

扭秧歌是我们传统.

- 2) 对于您参与的扭秧歌活动,您最关注的是什么?

锻炼身体 认识新朋友

- 3) 以下因素中,是否有哪项对您跳舞产生负面影响?

1. 队长的组织能力 2. 对改良的新秧歌不如对以前的大秧歌感兴趣
3. 休闲的时间不够 4. 没有场地让您扭秧歌 5.其他(请在横线上写出)

- 4) 如果城市中不再有扭秧歌这项活动了,您会改参与什么活动呢?

内容保密
2007年7月30日

Interview ID number
(DCR Team system): 156

DCR Team page # 1097

舞蹈. 太极拳

5)请您记录现在的时间(用24时制) _____

感谢您的支持!

您是否愿意接受我们的进一步采访? 1、 愿意 2、 不愿意

如果您改变了锻炼的地点,欢迎您跟我们联系,提供新的活动信息。

我们的邮箱: yangge07@sina.com

我们的电话: 15801333478

Instructions to Data Entry Assistant

Justin Data Entry Instructions, part II

Thursday, September 10, 2009
10:25 AM

Finding the surveys:

The surveys are now on the web. You can just go there and download the one that you want.

To protect against people downloading and taking away the data, here is a username and a password so you can gain access.

The website is: <http://gongkai.org/>

The username is: christine

Your password is: faft8a

If you have trouble with www.gongkai.org, try: <http://landscape.ced.berkeley.edu/~gongkai/>

Fine-tuning:

Always in the beginning of a workflow, we need to do some adjusting.

I made a few changes on the form:

- Please type in your name and ID in the *green* boxes "Data entry assistant name" and "Data entry ID No."
- Please find the name and ID of my research assistant from 2007 (usually on the page 1 of the survey) and type in her name in the *pink* boxes "RA name" and "RA ID No."

I will check the first few surveys very carefully and provide feedback to make sure everything is OK - it is easier to learn as we go than to try and correct problems after much work has already been done.

- If you would like to try some tonight and send them to me, I will provide you feedback by Saturday.

I meet with one professor on Friday, so it would be helpful if you could try a few, so I can discuss with him whether the form I have designed will capture the analysis I need to do for the project!

Surveys data, conversion from paper surveys into digital PDF form:

(I've pasted the instructions again, for your convenience):

Basically, just pick a pull-down choice when there is a checkmark, marking the option.

The colored blocks, shows that a single question from the scanned, paper survey has been changed into several yes/no questions.

Please see the example below - an orange block surrounds question number 2 and its various choices .

Example:

From the scanned, paper survey:

2) 一天中, 您来跳舞的时间:

1. 早晨 2. 中午 3. 晚上 4. 时间不定 5. 不知道 6. 无答案

The question is transformed into several yes/no questions in the digital PDF form:

2) 1. Do you usually come to dance in the mornings?	1.Mornings: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> yes
2. Do you usually come to dance during the middle of the day?	2.Midday: <input type="checkbox"/> pick one
3. Do you usually come to dance in the evenings?	3.Evenings: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> yes
4. Do you come to dance at irregular times?	4.Irregular: <input type="checkbox"/> pick one
5. Unclear response	5.Unclear: <input type="checkbox"/> pick one

The respondent only chose choices #1 and #3 in the scanned, paper survey, so the only drop-down boxes I chose in the digital PDF form were for choices #1 (Morning), and #3 (Evening). I leave all the other choices alone.

Definitions of Pull-down choices:

"pick one" = the choice was not selected - leave this untouched if the respondent did not pick this choice.

"no" = the respondent provides a response and it is "no."

"yes" = the respondent checks this answer.

"unclear response" = the respondent provides a response, but it is not clear whether the question was answered.

"don't know" = the respondent provides a response and writes that he/she does not know the answer to the question.

"no answer" = the respondent provides a response and the response is "无," or something similar (the respondent actually writes an answer, but the answer is "no answer.")

"not applicable" = the respondent did not fill out the entire page of the survey because they skipped it by accident (the survey was double-sided and they only filled out one side); this choice is for when respondents accidentally fail to fill out entire pages of the survey.

Thanks again and please feel free to send me any questions!!

Caroline

yanggeresearch@gmail.com

- 4) *skip this question*
- 5) *skip this question*

START OF PAGE 2 OF SPSS SURVEY

RA ID no. **4**
 Research Assistant name: **Susan**

Module II: Urban Activities

A. Basic Dance History

- 1) How many years have you danced?
- 2) How many years have you lived in Beijing?
- 3) Do you dance in the wintertime, too?

number years? **7**
 number years? **37**
 winter? **yes**

B. Activity Scheduling and Coordination

- 1) What would you name this activity?
- 2) 1. Do you usually come to dance in the mornings?
- 2. Do you usually come to dance during the middle of the day?
- 3. Do you usually come to dance in the evenings?
- 4. Do you come to dance at irregular times?
- 5. Unclear response

Own words name
 1.Mornings **yes**
 2.Midday **pick one**
 3.Evenings **yes**
 4.Irregular **pick one**
 5.Unclear **pick one**

- 3) 1. If in the morning, what time do you begin?
- 2. If in the morning, what time do you end?
- 3. If in the evening, what time do you begin?
- 4. If in the evening, what time do you end?

Morning start time: **8:00**
 Morning end time: **10:00**
 Evening start time:
 Evening end time:

- 4) 1. Do you dance everyday?
- 2. Do you dance six days out of the week?
- 3. Do you dance five days out of the week?
- 4. Do you dance four days out of the week?
- 5. Do you dance three days out of the week?
- 6. Do you dance two days out of the week?
- 7. Do you dance one days out of the week?
- 8. Do you dance at irregular meeting frequencies (please specify)?

1.Everyday **pick one**
 2.Six days/wk **yes**
 3.Five days/wk **pick one**
 4.Four days/wk **pick one**
 5.Three days/wk **pick one**
 6.Two days/wk **pick one**
 7.One day/wk **pick one**
 8.Irregular times/wk **pick one**

PAGE 2 OF SPSS SURVEY

9. Unclear response	9. Unclear response	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
5) 1. Do you dance on Mondays?	1. Mondays	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
2. Do you dance on Tuesdays?	2. Tuesdays	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
3. Do you dance on Wednesdays?	3. Wed	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
4. Do you dance on Thursdays?	4. Thursdays	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
5. Do you dance on Fridays?	5. Fridays	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
6. Do you dance on Saturdays?	6. Saturdays	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
7. Do you dance on Sundays?	7. Sundays	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
6) 1. Do you dance with fewer than ten people?	1. Fewer than ten	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
2. Do you dance with 11-20 people?	2. 11-20 people	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
3. Do you dance with 21-30 people?	3. 21-30 people	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
4. Do you dance with 31-40 people?	4. 31-40 people	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
5. Do you dance with 41-50 people?	5. 41-50 people	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
6. Do you dance with more than 51 people?	6. more than 51 people	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
7. Unclear response.	7. Unclear	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
7) 1. Are your dance sessions half an hour in duration?	1. half hour	<input type="text" value="yes"/>
2. Are your dance sessions one hour in duration?	2. one hour	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
3. Are your dance sessions one and a half hours in duration?	3. 1.5 hrs	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
4. Are your dance sessions two hours in duration?	4. two hours	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
5. Are your dance sessions over two hours in duration?	5. over 2 hrs	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
6. Unclear response	6. unclear	<input type="text" value="pick one"/>
8). How many leaders are in your group?	# leaders	<input type="text" value="4 more than two lead"/>

<p>9) 1. Is the average age of your group 30-40 years old?</p> <p>2. Is the average age of your group 41-50 years old?</p> <p>3. Is the average age of your group 51-65 years old?</p> <p>4. Is the average age of your group 66-70 years old?</p> <p>5. Is the average age of your group 71-75 years old?</p> <p>6. Is the average age of your group 76-80 years old?</p> <p>7. Is the average age of your group over 80 years old?</p> <p>8. Unclear response</p>	<p>1. 30-40 years old <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>2. 41-50 years old <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>3. 51-65 years old <input type="button" value="yes"/></p> <p>4. 66-70 years old <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>5. 71-75 years old <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>6. 76-80 years old <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>7. over 80 years old <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>8. Unclear <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>10) 1. Did this group first form by one person organizing it?</p> <p>2. Did this group first form because the residents committee organized it?</p> <p>3. Did this group first form because there was an open space and people just started dancing there?</p> <p>4. Was this group already established, so when you arrived, you simply joined them?</p> <p>5. Did this group first form by other reasons (if yes, please specify)?</p> <p><input type="text"/></p> <p>6. Do you not know how the group first formed?</p> <p>7. Unclear response</p>	<p>1. one organizer <input type="button" value="yes"/></p> <p>2. residents committee <input type="button" value="yes"/></p> <p>3. Existing open space - just dance <input type="button" value="yes"/></p> <p>4. Group already established <input type="button" value="yes"/></p> <p>5. Other reasons <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>6. Don't know <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p> <p>7. Unclear <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>11) Have you ever participated in dance competitions before?</p>	<p>Dance compete? <input type="button" value="yes"/></p>
<p>12) 1a+2. Have reporters from the media ever interviewed your dancing group?</p> <p>1b. If yes, what is the name of the paper?</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>1a. Media? <input type="button" value="yes"/></p> <p>1b. Source? <input type="button" value="write-in response"/></p>

13) Has the government ever provided support to your group?

Gov. support?

14) How do dance members contact each other?

Contact method?

C. Participation History

1) 1. Have you participated in this activity for less than one year?

1. Less than one year

2. Have you participated in this activity for 1-2 years?

2. 1-2 years

3. Have you participated in this activity for 3-5 years?

3. 3-5 years

4. Have you participated in this activity for 6-10 years?

4. 6-10 years

5. Have you participated in this activity for 11-15 years?

5. 11-15 years

6. Have you participated in this activity for 16-20 years?

6. 16-20 years

7. Have you participated in this activity for over 20 years?

7. Over 20 years

8. Unclear response

8. Unclear response

2) 1. I first learned about this activity when I saw some people dancing on the street and decided to join.

1. saw/join

2. I first learned about this activity when friends and family told me about it.

2. told about

3. I learned about this activity because it has been an activity that my family participates in for years.

3. family act

4. I first learned about this activity in an advertisement

4. advertise

5. I first learned about this activity when I saw a radio or TV program about it

5. radio/TV

6. I first learned about this activity through other means.

6. other way

3) 1. Have you participated in ballroom dancing in the past few years?

1. ballroom

2. Have you participated in taichi in the past few years?

2. taichi

3. Have you participated in mahjong in the past few years?

3. mahjong

4. Have you participated in Chinese chess in the past few years?

4. Ch chess

5. Have you participated in kite-flying in the past few years?

5. fly kite

6. Have you participated in yoga in the past few years?

6. yoga

7. Have you participated in jogging in the past few years?	7.jogging	yes
8. Have you participated in tennis in the past few years?	8.tennis	pick one
9. Have you participated in fast walking in the past few years?	9.fast walk	yes
10. Have you walked a bird in the past few years?	10. walk bird	pick one
11. Have you walked a dog in the past few years?	11. walk dog	yes
12. Have you participated in mountain climbing in the past few years?	12. mt climb	yes
13. Have you participated in singing in the past few years?	13.singing	pick one
14. Have you participated in whole body exercise in the past few years?	14.whole bod	yes
15. Have you participated in old person's disco in the past few years?	15.old disco	yes
16. Have you participated in new yangge in the past few years?	16.new yang	yes
17. Have you participated in other activities in the past few years? If so, please specify. <input type="text"/>	17.other act	pick one
4) Has the dancing place changed in the past few years?	Dancing place changed?	yes
5) If yes, how many times?	How many times?	many

6) Do you participate in other activities besides *niu yangge* now?

Participate in other activities?

D. Transit

1) 1. Do you get to your dancing space by foot?

1.by foot?

2. Do you get to your dancing space by bike?

2.by bike?

3. Do you get to your dancing space by tricycle?

3.by tricycle?

4. Do you get to your dancing space by bus?

4.by bus?

5. Do you get to your dancing space by subway?

5.by subway?

6. Do you get to your dancing space by taxi?

6.by taxi?

7. Do you get to your dancing space by private car?

7.by car?

8. Do you get to your dancing space by another means of transportation (if yes, please specify)?

8.Other?

9. Unclear response

9.Unclear

2) How long does it take to get to your dancing space from your home?

travel time

3) How many large street intersections do you need to cross in order to get to your dance space?

number of intersections

4) Are there any portions along the path to the dance space that you consider dangerous?

danger spots

5) If yes, where along the path is it dangerous?

where dangerous

Module III: Urban Planning

1) 1. Do you feel there are no threats to your dance space?

1.no threats?

2. Do you feel the planting of lawns poses a threat to your dance space?

2.lawns?

3. Do you feel newly constructed parks with inadequate open spaces inside for dancing pose a threat to your dance space?

3.new parks?

4. Do you feel newly constructed high-rises pose a threat to your dance space?

4.high rises?

5. Do you feel road-widening poses a threat to your dance space?

5.roads?

6. Do you feel subway construction poses a threat to your dance space?

6.subways?

7. Do you feel nearby residents who complain about the volume of your dance music threaten your dance space?

7.residents?

<p>8. Do you feel private companies that are renting available open spaces for their own uses threaten your dance space?</p>	<p>8.private com <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>9. Do you feel other changes in urban design threaten your dance space (if yes, please specify)?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	<p>9.Other? <input type="button" value="write-in response"/></p>
<p>10. Unclear response</p>	<p>10.Unclear <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>2) Which of the following, if any, would you consider to be the biggest threat of all to your dance space? (choose only one)</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	<p>Biggest threat <input type="button" value="write-in response"/></p>
<p>3) 1. The city's new parks are well-suited for ballroom dancing?</p>	<p>1.ballroom <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>2. The city's new parks are well-suited for taichi?</p>	<p>2.taichi <input type="button" value="yes"/></p>
<p>3. The city's new parks are well-suited for mahjong?</p>	<p>3.mahjong <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>4. The city's new parks are well-suited for Chinese chess?</p>	<p>4.Ch chess <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>5. The city's new parks are well-suited for kite-flying?</p>	<p>5.kite-flying <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>6. The city's new parks are well-suited for yoga?</p>	<p>6.yoga <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>7. The city's new parks are well-suited for jogging?</p>	<p>7.jogging <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>8. The city's new parks are well-suited for tennis?</p>	<p>8.tennis <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>9. The city's new parks are well-suited for fast walking?</p>	<p>9.fast walk <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>10. The city's new parks are well-suited for walking birds?</p>	<p>10.walk bird <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>11. The city's new parks are well-suited for walking a dog?</p>	<p>11.walk dog <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>
<p>12. The city's new parks are well-suited for climbing mountains?</p>	<p>12.mountain climbing <input type="button" value="yes"/></p>
<p>13. The city's new parks are well-suited for singing?</p>	<p>13.singing <input type="button" value="yes"/></p>
<p>14. The city's new parks are well-suited for whole body exercise?</p>	<p>14.whole body <input type="button" value="yes"/></p>
<p>15. The city's new parks are well-suited for old person's disco?</p>	<p>15.old disco <input type="button" value="yes"/></p>
<p>16. The city's new parks are well-suited for new yangge?</p>	<p>16.new yangge <input type="button" value="yes"/></p>
<p>17. The city's new parks are well-suited for another activity?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	<p>17.Other? <input type="button" value="pick one"/></p>

- 4) How much is the greening of the city improving the quality of your life?
- 5) Do you think the planning and construction of new parks impacted your life in a positive way?
- 6) Do you think the Olympics coming to Beijing is improving the quality of your life?
- 7) Has the construction of new housing improved the quality of your life?
- 8) Has the widening of roads improved the quality of your life?

How much greening improves life?

positive?

Olympics improving?

new housing improve?

roads improving?

Module IV: Landscape Architecture

1) 1. Of what kind of material is the floor of your current dance space composed?

2. In an ideal dance space, what kind of material would the floor of the dancing area be made of?

2) 1. What is the surrounding environment of your current dance space?

2. In an ideal dance space, by what kind of environment would the dancing area be surrounded?

3) 1. Please estimate the area of your existing dance space in square meters?

2. What is the surrounding environment of your current dance space?

4) 1. What is located directly above (overhead) your dance space?

2. In an ideal dance space, what would be located directly overhead?

5) 1. What encloses the dancing area in your current dance space?

2. In an ideal dance space, what would enclose the dancing area?

1.existing floor

2.ideal floor

real& ideal the same?

1.existing envr

2.ideal envr

real& ideal the same?

1.exist area

2.ideal area

real& ideal the same?

1.exist cover

2.ideal cover

real& ideal the same?

1.exist enclose

2.ideal enclose

real& ideal the same?

6) 1. What kind of light source does your current dance space have?	1.exist light	unclear response
<input type="text"/>		
2. In an ideal dance space, what would the optimal light source be?	2.ideal light	unclear response
<input type="text"/>		
	real& ideal the same?	pick one
7) 1. What is the sonic environment of your current dance space?	1.exist sonic	unclear response
<input type="text"/>		
2. In an ideal dance space, what would the sonic environment be like?	2.ideal sonic	unclear response
<input type="text"/>		
	real& ideal the same?	pick one
8) 1. What is the degree of openness to the public of your current dance space?	1. existing openness	unclear response
<input type="text"/>		
2. In an ideal dance space, what would be the degree of openness to the public?	2.ideal openness	unclear response
<input type="text"/>		
	real& ideal the same?	pick one
9) 1. What is the quality of greenery that surrounds your current dancing area?	1.existing green	no answer
<input type="text"/>		
2. In an ideal dance space, what would be the quality of greenery that surrounds the dancing area?	2.ideal green	no answer
<input type="text"/>		
	real& ideal the same?	pick one
10) How is the air quality at your current dance space?	air quality	write-in response
<input type="text"/>		
11) If you could choose, where would you dance?	chosen dance place	write-in response
<input type="text"/>		
12) In what zone of the city is your activity located?	zoneTD	no answer
<input type="text"/>		
13) 1. Do old houses surround your dance space?	1.old house	pick one
2. Do market places surround your dance space?	2.markets?	yes
3. Do hutongs surround your dance space?	3.hutongs?	pick one
4. Do high-rise residential buildings surround your dance space?	4.roads?	pick one
5. Do other kinds of buildings surround your dance space (please specify)?	5.Other?	pick one
<input type="text"/>		
14) Has your dance space changed greatly in the past ten years?	big change?	2.very little change

Module V: Basic Demographic Information

1) How much do you earn per month?

month salary? 1400

2) What is the highest level of education you have completed?

highest edu 4.high school

END OF PAGE 6 OF SPSS SURVEY

3) How long do you work each day or how long did you work each day before retiring?

hrs work/day 3. 8-10 hrs/day

4) What kind of work are you primarily engaged in?

work type 1.physical labor, mu

5) Do you have a spouse or family?

spouse/fam yes

6) How many people do you live with?

household size 6

7) Do your family members dance together with you?

family dance, toe? yes

8) Do you come here in order to meet new friends?

meet friends no

9) 1. My spouse is responsible for the household.

1.resp.spouse pick one

2. I, myself, am responsible for the household.

2.I am responsible pick one

3. Both my spouse and I are responsible for the household.

3.spouse & I yes

4. My children are responsible for the household.

4.children? pick one

5. Someone else/others are responsible for the household.

others responsible for househ pick one

10) Do you have grandchildren to take care of?

grandchild no

11) How old are you?

Age? 55

PAGE 7 OF SPSS SURVEY

Module VI: The Future of Yangge

1). *skip this question*

2). *skip this question*

3) 1. Do you feel the lack of fan-dancing leaders threatens the future of your dancing?

1.no more leaders

2. Do you feel a general lack of interest in fan-dancing threatens the future of your dancing?

2.no interest

3. Do you think inadequate leisure time threatens the future of your dancing?

3.no time

4. Do you think lack of dancing spaces threatens the future of your dancing?

4.lack space

5. Do you think other factors threaten the future of your dancing (please specify)?

5.other?

END OF PAGE 7 OF SPSS SURVEY

4). *skip this question*

5) What time is it now (using a 24 hour clock)?

No. of hours

END OF PAGE 8 OF SPSS SURVEY

Interviewee is willing to participate in future research

