

COMMUNITY ECLIPSE AND SHANGHAI'S LILONG

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by
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Public Abstract

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With the rapid growth in the Shanghai (PRC) economy in recent years, many traditional residences, known as lilong, have been torn down in favor of modern buildings. The structure, long-term residency patterns, and alley-based culture of lilong led to the creation of a strong sense of community for residents. Many former lilong residents have relocated to newly built high-rise structures, as neighborhoods are destroyed. This paper assesses sense of community attached to two types of neighborhoods commonly inhabited by residents in Shanghai, using a combination of open-ended interviews and a metric of sense of community quantitatively derived from surveys. While results indicate this displacement does generate a sense of community loss this loss is largely mitigated because new residences offer superior facilities and greater quality of life.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Lilong are a form of traditional housing located in Shanghai, People's Republic of China. With the rapid growth in the Chinese economy in recent years a great deal of historical and traditional buildings have been torn down in favor of modern buildings. The structure, long-term residency patterns, and alley based culture of lilong led to the creation of a strong sense of community for residents. Many of these residents have relocated to newly built high-rise structures since the economic restructuring of China starting in 1978. As the city modernizes it is in danger of losing the societal benefits provided by lilong, casting a shadow on sense of community. This research examines the social impacts the loss of lilong has had on former lilong residents and to measure whether their destruction has caused community eclipse.

History of Shanghai Lilong

Shanghai existed long before Western influence reached its shores. The origins of the city are largely unknown, but Shanghai was most likely founded as a fishing town about 2,000 years ago which became a regionally important commercial port by 1200 A.D. The ancient city was built in a similar fashion to other water-towns located along the middle coast of China (Ged 1992). Today there are a handful of remarkably well-preserved water-towns on the outskirts of Shanghai, such as Zhouzhuang and Xitang, which indicate what early Shanghai might have looked like. The Chinese long realized

the geographic advantages of the location of the city for a port, but the effort to turn it into a major port was hampered due to nearly constant attacks by Japanese pirates (Jesus 1909).

By the 1850's Shanghai had managed to stave off piracy and made slight gains in population and wealth, serving as a port city for the inland city of Suzhou (Hook 1998). At this time Shanghai was one of the world's major ports with a volume of shipping comparable to that of London in the same period (Olds 2001). In the mid-nineteenth century Shanghai was viewed by the West as an indistinct part of the Chinese empire until the British pinpointed the city in their search for additional ports of entry into China other than Canton (Guangzhou). Following the Opium War and subsequent signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, Shanghai became a treaty port open to Western trade and settlement.

Shanghai quickly became home to large populations of foreigners eventually including British, Americans, Russians, Germans, French, Indians, Japanese, Canadians, Dutch, Sephardic and European Jews. The British established their Concession in 1842, the French in 1849, and the Americans in 1854 (Pott 1973). The American and British Concessions merged in 1863 to form the International Settlement, while the French Concession remained autonomous (Figure 1.1).

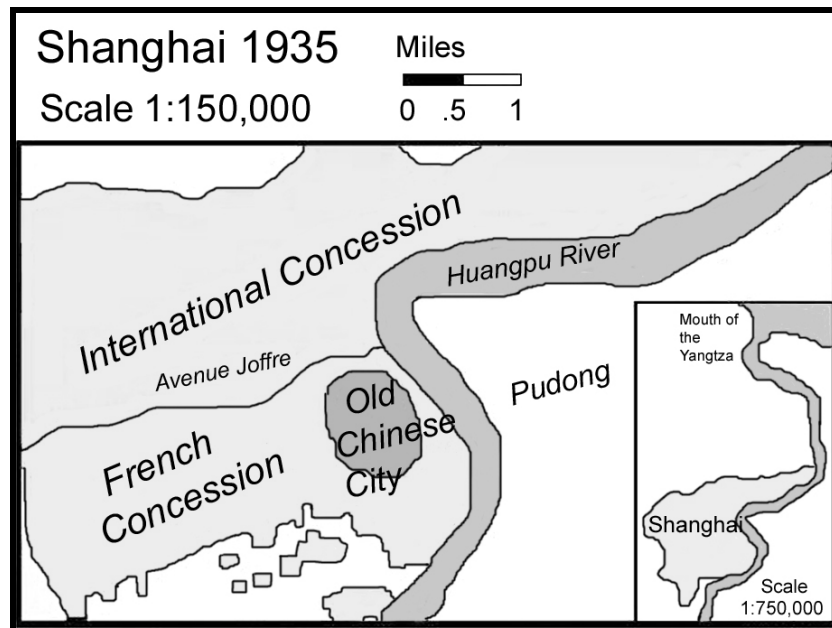


Figure 1.1 – Map of the Shanghai Concessions (Modified from Hermann 1935). Avenue Joffre , present day Huaihai Lu, marked the dividing line of the two concessions.

These concessions were outside of the Shanghai city walls and displaced a small number of Chinese farmers. These land grants started small and gradually became larger and larger during the following decades (Zhao 2004). Early concessions were located so expatriate populations would have an advantageous situation for defense and access to the waterfront, to send Chinese goods overseas and bring Western goods to Chinese markets.

Westerners and their business interests within the concessions operated independent of any local Chinese authorities. Early on, Western and Chinese merchants primarily traded silk, cotton, tea, silver and opium. By the First World War enterprises in Shanghai had expanded to include mining, textiles, shipping, and banking (Hook 1998). The foreign settlements quickly began constructing a world around themselves very similar to their urban experience from Europe or America. Roads suited for automobiles, trams, factories, hotels and mansions quickly sprang up within the concessions (Zhao

2004). Much of this was built using Chinese petty criminals unfairly sentenced to forced labor in the courts of the concessions (Ye 2003). Many of the larger structures built at this time are still standing and concentrations of them are well preserved along Shanghai's historic waterfront known as the Bund (Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.2 – The Bund at night. Photo by author.

The location of the city in relation to the fertile, prosperous and heavily populated Yangtze River plain (Figure 1.3) led to quick growth and allowed Shanghai to outpace the other port cities in importance, including Canton, the traditional Chinese entrepot for things Western (Hook 1998).



Figure 1.3 – The location of Shanghai in the People’s Republic of China.

Concessions were initially granted with the explicit desire from both the Chinese and European negotiators for racial segregation. This might have remained the case had it not been for the 1853 uprising of the Small Dagger Society, also known as the Small Sword Society or Xiaodaohui, and the concurrent Taiping Rebellion. The main goal of these uprisings was the overthrow of the ruling Manchu Dynasty. Residents of the international settlements were unable to avoid the effects of the conflicts and soon became involved. Western powers assisted Chinese authorities against the rebellions to preserve the Manchu government and the status quo that had so richly rewarded them. As large numbers of Chinese fled into the relative security of the international settlements, segregation in the city largely came to an end. Between 1853 and 1854, the Chinese population of the foreign settlements increased from 500 to 20,000 (Lu 1995).

By 1865 the number of Chinese refugees living in the foreign concessions had jumped to 110,000 (Zhao 2004). In 1900, it was estimated that 345,276 Chinese lived in the settlements dwarfing the foreign population of 6,774. Shanghai was not only a refuge from insurrection, many Chinese migrated to the concessions fleeing natural disasters, economic woes, or their own criminal background (Ye 2003). This influx of Chinese brought the desperate, but they were accompanied by many wealthy Chinese from the hinterland whose investments helped to fuel Shanghai's boom. The element of "separateness" from the rest of China made the concessions a hearth for anti-Manchu and later anti-Nationalist political thought.

The influx of Chinese into the foreign settlements allowed many Westerners to expand their business interests in Shanghai from trade to include local real estate speculation. Entrepreneurs in the concessions found real estate more stable and financially rewarding than foreign trade. During the uprisings, foreigners sold hastily built housing to the Chinese refugees fleeing the conflicts engulfing Shanghai. This early housing, while ramshackle in its initial design and construction, is the forerunner to the lilong style housing that would later be built throughout large portions of Shanghai (Zhao 2004).

Lilong style housing soon became the dominant style of residences in the Shanghai concessions. The massive construction boom associated with the lilong marks the true beginning of modern real estate in China. Housing was mass produced on speculation rather than for immediate needs (Lu 1999). By the time construction of lilong ended in 1949 they comprised three-fourths of the housing within the city (Lu 1995).

Colonial influences in Shanghai continued to be strong and by the turn of the 19th Century the city had earned many nicknames among Westerners ranging from “the Pearl of the East” to the “Whore of the Orient”. By the 1930s, the city was an economic juggernaut accounting for 50 percent of China’s industrial output (Olds 2001). Shanghai was a popular destination for Westerners looking to make a quick fortune and was also popular among the more adventurous types because of its “anything goes” attitude. Many Chinese scholars and government officials viewed the port cities as parasites whose only function was to exploit mainland China. They believed the fruits of this exploitation lined only the pockets of foreigners and was robbing China of resources vital to its return to prominence (Buck 1978).

To many Chinese living outside Shanghai, the city embodied political volatility, cultural restlessness, boredom, violence, and cruelty (Gandelsonas 2002). Shanghai also illustrated the inequalities that follow imperialism. Foreigners were granted the right of extraterritoriality and foreign police, often Sikhs, patrolled the concessions. Many areas of Shanghai were off limits to Chinese, such as the cities Public Garden with its infamous “No dogs or Chinese” sign. Despite the inequalities, there were few major race based clashes in the Shanghai concessions, unlike the other treaty ports (Ye 2003). This can be partially attributed to the fact that so many of the Chinese in Shanghai had migrated from other provinces after the arrival of Europeans and were themselves newcomers to the city. The Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1932 ended the era of the city as a truly international port. Many Shanghainese fled to the interior of China and the population of the Chinese portions of the city decreased. Within the concessions the population

increased to an estimated 2.5 million Chinese and the foreign residents were placed in internment camps for the duration of the war (Hook 1998).

Lilong housing represents not only the broad sense of history in Shanghai, but was also important in housing people and events of import. Chen Duxui, the first leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), was a lilong resident. The First and Second National Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party were held in lilong buildings (Figure 1.4) that had been renovated into a school and are well preserved to this day (Lu 1999).



Figure 1.4 – Lilong alley near the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. Photo by author.

The consolidation of power by the CCP in 1949 marked the end of foreign dominance in Shanghai and in the same year all houses larger than 150 square meters were socialized and subdivided to provide housing for the poor. A structure formerly housing a single family might now contain up to seven households, although many of the former residents were allowed to continue occupying their homes alongside many new housemates (Morris 1994). Upon taking control of the nation, the CCP viewed Shanghai as a modern day Babylon and did very little to develop infrastructure within the city during the next thirty years. While Shanghai remained an important industrial city in China, it is estimated that 87 percent of its revenues went to the central budget with only 13 percent remaining locally (Hook 1998). Many believed that this period of being ignored was the penance that Shanghai deserved because of its service at the hands of colonial oppressors (Gandelsonas 2002).

The Communist Party initially imported concepts of urban planning from Soviet theory, but in practice cities themselves were largely ignored until 1978. Under Mao Zedong most of the development in China was focused on the countryside. When development did take place in Shanghai and other major Chinese cities, it developed in a hodgepodge fashion and was concentrated in suburban rings that formed on the outskirts of the city (Dwyer 1986). Inner city Shanghai remained largely unchanged except for the construction of factories built in close proximity to residential areas. The central government strove to keep rents low in urban areas, but this strategy coupled with a lack of state funding led to little upkeep of most of the housing stock (Lee 1988). The vast majority of the lilong in Shanghai fell into disrepair.

In 1978 the Communist Party shifted more towards a free market economy. With this change came a shift in the governmental view of the role of the city and the fortune of Shanghai changed dramatically. The government decided to make Shanghai the metaphorical “head of the dragon” as China sought to reemerge as an international economic force (Huang 2004). By the following year, there were abundant housing projects in the city and the five to six story apartment buildings that are now common throughout urban China began springing up (Dwyer 1986).

Shanghai has embraced this new role given to it by the national planners in Beijing and has quickly expanded in size. By 2004, Shanghai boasted 1/5 of the world’s construction cranes and follows the slogan “development is the irrefutable truth” (Figure 1.5).



Figure 1.5 - Lilong, cranes and skyscrapers near Nanjing Xie Lu. Photo by author.

Those who believe in the phrase “Rome was not built in a day” are given cause to rethink this axiom upon witnessing the current rate of development in Shanghai (Huang 2004). The most noticeable area of development has been that of Pudong, across the Huangpu River from central Shanghai (Figure 1.1). In less than ten years Pudong has been transformed from an area containing a handful of farms to one of the most developed areas in China. This development has also affected central Shanghai and the historic lilong located there.

All land in China, including lilong, is technically owned by the government. Inner city Shanghai has been slated for massive redevelopment and lilong housing has been torn down at a rapid pace, replaced by massive skyscrapers and other modern buildings. Transnational corporations have embraced Shanghai’s new role in the world economy and have leased massive tracts of land. This land is often centrally located in Shanghai and companies pay for the relocation of thousands of Shanghainese to suburban apartments. In 1992 alone, some 30,000 households were relocated to the outskirts of the city (Morris 1994). Today lilong housing is in danger of disappearing entirely due to the massive efforts geared towards modernizing Shanghai.

Lilong Housing

Lilong housing has dominated downtown Shanghai since the late 1870’s. The term lilong (里弄) can be divided into its two core parts “Li” and “Long”. *Li* (里) has traditionally been associated with human settlement. The top portion of the character is a pictograph representing farm, ground, or dust. The traditional layout of crops can easily be visualized within the top portion of the character. *Li* can indicate where people live

such as a hometown, the dwellings in a neighborhood, or an organizational unit representing a number of households ranging from 25 to 110 depending on the historical period. It can also represent an ancient measurement about 500 meters in length (Zhao 2004). *Long* (弄) simply means alleyway. *Long* is also a pictograph and road patterns are apparent. To Shanghainese, the term represents both the housing form and the unique culture that has evolved around it.

In 1949, the Shanghai Housing and Land Bureau defined *lilong* as a housing form that includes five subtypes: the early *shikumen*, late *shikumen*, new style *lilong*, garden *lilong* and apartment *lilong* (Zhao 2004). The various subtypes evolved to meet the needs of the time, as well as the perceived future residents. The early *shikumen* were spaciouly built, while the late *shikumen*, built after 1911, make more efficient use of space due to the increasing spatial constraints in a rapidly growing Shanghai. The garden *lilong* were built after 1930, but were not subject to space-saving measures because their intended residents were wealthy Chinese or foreigners (Guan 1996). The styles also differed on the levels of facilities available. While each of these housing subtypes differs to some degree, they all have a shared neighborhood structure that is organized along alleys (Figure 1.6).

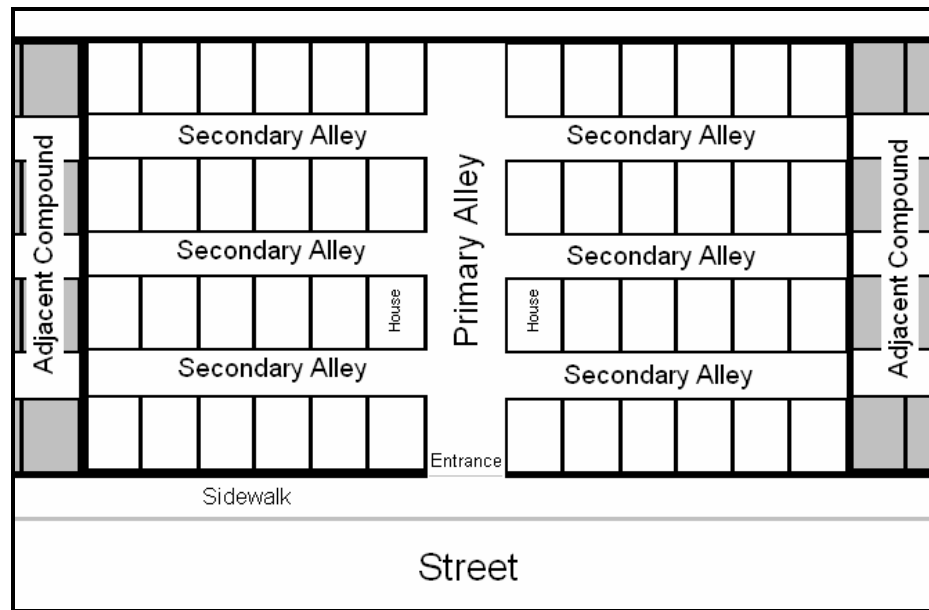


Figure 1.6 – The layout of a lilong. (Modified from Lu 1995).

The individual houses that make up a lilong neighborhood are similar in nature to traditional Chinese housing (Knapp 1990), but what sets them apart is the fact that they are clustered. This use of space is influenced by the housing forms originally developed in an industrializing Europe to maximize the efficiency of space in residential areas. Lilong housing thus represents Shanghai in being both foreign and Chinese at the same time.

The housing units are built in rows and the rows in turn form a compound (Lu 1995). Within the complex there is usually a primary lane and several smaller secondary lanes. Each lilong complex is closed off from the street and is independent of other nearby lilong. This enclosed space provides sanctuary from the busy city life outside of its walls. Lilong complexes vary in size with the average being between .5 hectares and 1.5 hectares with the largest reaching 5 hectares (Ged 1992). The limited entry points to the complex allow for an extra sense of security creating a self contained neighborhood. The unique structure of the lilong complex creates an environment providing social

stability, community cohesion, and economic viability. Often the lilong, in rows forming the outside of the compound, were converted to storefronts (Figure 1.7).



Figure 1.7 – Stores within a lilong complex. Notice the six story “modern apartment” in the near background and the truly modern office building in the far background. Photo by author.

The street facing lilong are only nominally more expensive than those on the interior of the compound because the owner has to deal with increased levels of street noise and crime. The commercial component of the lilong complements Shanghai’s economic focus and adds commercial value to residential space. This unique situation evolved to maximize the business potential of the valuable and limited lands in downtown Shanghai. These stores provided the needs of those living inside the lilong and residents rarely have to travel very far past their own front doors to gain access to all of their purchasing needs (Lu 1995). Historically, stores commonly found here were laundries, teahouses,

bathhouses and grocery stores. Most often the residents in lilong on the border of the living space would build their store on the first floor of the unit and make their homes on the second floor. The shops provide a buffer zone between the open city and the residential areas.

The housing situation in central Shanghai remained virtually untouched from 1949 to 1978 (Morris 1994). This has been both a blessing and a curse for lilong. It is a blessing because they were not demolished in favor of more modern housing types and a curse because very little upkeep has been done to the structures, leaving many lilong in a dilapidated state. The Chinese government prides itself in its ability to keep rent low. In 1994, it was estimated that the average rent paid in lilong along Wan Zhu Jie Street at 5.8 Yuan per month per household, the equivalent of less than one US dollar (Ged 1992). The low rent paid to the government has worked to disadvantage the lilong because the government allocates very little money into maintenance and upkeep.

Many lilong also lack modern conveniences, depending on the time they were built, and many lack toilets, running water, and natural gas hookups (Morris 1994). Ged (1992) found that while lilong are densely populated, the average person having a living area of less than 8 meters square, interviews from his case study revealed that the lack of comfort was viewed as more of a burden than the lack of space. Housing reforms in 1986 allowed Shanghainese to purchase their apartments, but not the actual land, although this has done little to aid the lilong dweller because they are typically economically disadvantaged (Morris 1994). Lilong residents also complained about the disputes that arise in units where there are shared spaces, such as communal kitchens (Morris 1994).

A 1987 survey of lilong residents found that 68.3% did not want to move, even if it meant more living space and modern conveniences (Morris 1994). One of the most obvious advantages of living in lilong is their central location in downtown Shanghai. Lilong are generally close to downtown hospitals, schools, and the transportation network. The vast majority of the replacement housing is far from the city center, usually located in the more remote suburbs. A good deal of the concern about moving is rooted in losing the informal networks and friendships that develop when people reside in one area for a long time. Among Shanghainese, lilong have an alternate name, long-tang which means alley as the living hall (Zhao 2004). While the actual living area of each apartment can be quite small, a large portion of everyday life spills out into the secondary lanes of the lilong complex. These side lanes serve the purpose of playground for children, visiting space for seniors, park space for outdoor dining in pleasant weather, and other more utilitarian functions for tasks such as laundry drying and food preparation (Figures 1.8, 1.9, 1.10). The unique culture of lilong inspired a number of writers, directors, and other artists. Titles of works such as “The Seventy-two Tenets”, “Light in Thousands of Families”, and “Under the Eaves of Shanghai” illustrate the crowded, yet often interesting living conditions (Lu 1999). The famed artist Feng Zikai captured many of the elements of alley life in his sketches of 20th century Shanghai (Figure 1.11).



Figure 1.8 – Lilong alleyway with public sink. Photo by author.



Figure 1.9 – Lilong alleyway with hanging clothes. Photo by author.



Figure 1.10 - Lilong that is in relatively good conditions and has some improved facilities such as air conditioning. Photo by author.



Figure 1.11 – Cartoon by Feng Zikai in a lilong setting (Zikai 1928 from the Huntington Collection of Buddhist and Related Art).

Residents of lilong have a strong community bond because the vast majority are long term residents. An informal system of cooperation exists in which residents depend on each other, for example it is common for one of the residents to offer baby-sitting services (Morris 1994). Residents of lilong are proud of their living space and like to proclaim “this is my lilong” (Ged 1992). Lilong are often named and one name that is particularly popular for lilong is Ping An Li meaning safe and secure (Huang 2004). The name of the compound was often displayed above the main entrance (Figure 1.12). These names allowed residents a sense of belonging to each compound and were quite useful to the postal service (Lu 1999).



Figure 1.12 – Lilong entrance on which the name of the lilong was covered over during the Cultural Revolution because it contained “feudal” elements. Photo by author.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

It is essential to first examine past research in geography in order to determine whether community eclipse has occurred with the demolition of lilong in Shanghai. When researching geographic issues it is essential to examine and understand previous work that has been done, borrowing thoughts where useful and disregarding those that have nothing to offer the current study. To determine whether the destruction of Shanghai's lilong has caused community eclipse a number of different elements within geography must be addressed. Humanistic geography and its concepts of community eclipse, sense of place and sense of community must be explored. It will also be useful to leave the realm of geography for a glimpse into psychological literature since it has usefully provided the metric that will be employed in this study. Urbanization and the morphologic changes occurring in Chinese cities must also be examined and applied where necessary to understand the current situation affecting lilong and the city of Shanghai.

Humanistic Geography

Modern humanistic geography emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in the writings of Tuan, Relph, Buttimer, and many others (Johnston 1997). Humanism was a direct reaction to positivism, which had previously dominated geographic thought. Positivism lauded objectivity, predictability, and determinism, all ideas which were rejected by

humanists (Entriken 1976). Humanists turned away from positivism because its premise was seen as being incompatible with freedom of choice and other prominent features of being human. Positivist approaches often miss out on the true meaning behind phenomena. A humanist approach can increase the depth of geographic understanding.

Humanistic geography treats people as something more than resource consuming automatons, it allows for them to be complex and unpredictable (Buttimer 1990). It explores the social and cultural aspects of geography, in which man's place is merely as part of the biosphere and neither above nor below nature (Relph 1977). Humanistic geography examines how people interact with geographic concepts. The goal of humanistic geographers is to understand people's relationships with nature, space, and place (Tuan 1976). Prediction and explanation are not essential, the focus instead lies in understanding how people relate and feel about their environment.

Many geographers who subscribe to the positivist perspective question the usefulness of the humanist geographer. The humanist perspective is viewed by many as overly subjective and having weak methodologies (Smith 1984). The role of the humanist geographer is to interpret the human experience, how a place can be a shared feeling, and to probe the consciousness of a culture to discover meaning (Tuan 1976). Humanistic geography can be compared to quantum theory, which is rooted in physics. This comparison suggests that meanings are temporary, can only be found in specific situations, and can change with time. The ideas, subjects, and objects of humanistic geography can meaningfully interact with each other, but not always in a statistical sense, much like electrons in physics (Peterman 1994). Humanistic geography does not necessarily utilize the scientific method, it builds upon it to establish meanings, values,

and goals. Humanistic geography does not need complex methodology because it uses pragmatic methods to answer difficult questions (Smith 1984).

Sense of Place

With the humanistic turn in geography came an added interest in the concept of sense of place (Oakes 1997). Sense of place can be a difficult concept to measure, because unlike space or landscape, it is part of memory and feelings (Relph 1985). Place is the idea in which individuals gain a meaningful sense of spatial identity (Oakes 1997). Sense of place encompasses the feelings attached to that identity. These feelings are unique and specific to the people associated with them (Young 2001). Sense of place can have negative or positive connotation, although the vast majority of the work done by geographers examines the positive side of the spectrum.

Sense of place plays a key role in geographic understanding. One of the key goals of geographers is to understand the dynamics of a place (Tuan 1976). Without examining the feelings associated with a place, a major component of that understanding is lost. Sense of place not only explains the dynamics of a place, it also plays a key role in determining human interactions, and it is the basis for community (Entriken 1991). Sense of place is also an important factor in determining the personal identity of an individual. The scale at which geographers can study sense of place can range from the home to the homeland, so it can be applied to innumerable situations (Cuba 1993). To examine sense of place it is often useful to look at the names that have been assigned to a place. These names can reveal how people feel or felt about a place (Tuan 1991). The Cape of Good Hope carries a strong message about how the people who named that

feature must have felt and there are many similar examples across the map. Place names such as those of an apartment complex can carry similar levels of meaning. There is a great deal of concern that sense of place is disappearing as modernization occurs. In the urban world, with its densely settled areas, the individuality of a place can be lost, which can lead to a loss of community (Wirth 1964).

Sense of Community

To examine sense of community, it is important to establish a definition of community. Community can be defined quite simply as a group of individuals and their relationships (Butz 1997). It can also be defined as groups of people that have the following characteristics: interaction, a common bond, and occupation of a common geographic area (Bell 1971). Community is also a form of social integration. It comprises a group of people having something in common. There are communities of interest in which members have something in common such as an idea or goal.

Communities of place share a common geographic setting and may simultaneously be a community of interest. Neighborhoods are the glue that makes unrelated neighbors into a community. Communities can be both a collection of individuals and a place. Social ties develop because of the individual human actors, their shared background, languages, socioeconomic status, and their needs (Kuo 1998). These ties also develop as factors of residential architecture, building layout, and public and semipublic spaces (Altman 1975). Crowded, dangerous, and noisy settings inhibit the formation of community. These conditions can also lead to increased crime, mental fatigue, stress, poor mood, and an increased feeling of vulnerability, especially in regards to crime (Kuo 1998). The

lilong of Shanghai have many of the requisites for community formation, and many of these social ties and physical factors are nonexistent in the new apartments.

Sense of community differs from community because it focuses on factors of social relationships, rather than geographic location or social networks (Wilson-Doenges 2000). Sense of community is site specific, although there are some common elements shared by most communities (Hughey 1999). Both lilong housing and modern apartments in Shanghai meet the requisites set forth in these definitions of community. Both styles of housing offer community, but it is expected that they will differ in their sense of community.

Sense of place can often evolve into a sense of community. The various symbols, psychological and physical, that are associated with a place, give a sense of belonging and identity to that area. People feel like they belong to a place and that place belongs to them because they share values with others. The place then becomes associated with those values. The shared values become the sense of community attached to that place (Butz 1997). Sense of community is an interesting phenomenon because individuals instinctively know when it exists and when it does not exist, but it is difficult to quantify. Sense of community is an important factor in determining the quality of a living space, especially when weighed against other factors, such as privacy and convenience.

Proponents of new urbanism seek ways to artificially create a sense of community (Talen 1999). It is debatable whether or not this task is possible, but in their quest they have established ways in which to measure sense of community. New urbanism usually employs six indicators which have been borrowed from psychology. These indicators are shared emotional connection, neighborhood or place attachment, membership, influence,

reinforcement, and sense of place (Talen 1999). Shared emotional connection is based on the shared histories and interactions of residents. Place attachment is based on the social bonding and physical structure of a neighborhood. Influence is measured by the influence one has on the neighborhood, and the influence the neighborhood has on the individual. Reinforcement is how mutual needs are met and the positive interactions that occur between residents. Membership involves psychological boundaries, emotional safety, personal safety, belonging, personal investment and a common symbolic system. Finally sense of place is measured in the perceived physical boundaries of a neighborhood by its residents. New urbanists have used these indices in an effort to determine if sense of community can be created, so many of their methods can be applied to determine if community has been lost. Critics question the claims of new urbanists because much of what they claim creates community resides only in the physical environment (Talen 1999). The new residents of these neighborhoods are also predisposed to creating community. They move into areas in which the formation of “community” is seen as a drawing point, so it is only natural that residents feel a stronger sense of community exists there. Critics also believe that the claims of new urbanists are too grandiose. They should lower their claims from creating sense of community to creating an environment in which the probability of community is increased. The quantification of sense of community arose within the field of psychology, so it is important to turn to the literature in that field to find stronger and more well defined tools with which to measure sense of community.

Psychological Sense of Community

Sense of community is subjective and can be difficult to measure empirically (Sarason 1974). Psychological sense of community “is a desirable feeling, difficult to describe in an operational manner, but associated with the presence or development of a common bond with other people” (Glynn 1981). This is the feeling of comfort individuals have when they are at “home” within a community. It is easily apparent when there is a good sense of community and just as obvious when there is a poor sense of community, the difficulty comes in how to measure such a fluid concept.

Urban Approaches and Community Eclipse

Urban geography seeks to further the understanding of city dynamics from a geographic perspective. The countless issues of the city are rarely studied under the banner of urban geography alone, they are examined using radical, economic, cultural or other geographic perspectives (Johnston 2000). The diversity of methods, approaches, and literature used produces an identity crisis among urban geographers. Traditionally urban geography has roots in the political-economic tradition, and was heavily dependant on quantitative and applied research (Lees 2002).

The “cultural turn” in urban geography is a relatively recent event and it is struggling to incorporate the immaterial aspects of the city into the literature. There are two dominant schools of thought in modern urban geography, the “Chicago” School and the “LA” school. The older “Chicago” school is modern in its approach, for example, using concentric rings of industry and settlement patterns to explain the functions of the city. The LA school uses post-modern thought and believes that the city, with Los

Angeles as their prime example, is becoming an unpredictable decentralized entity, which is still subject to the rules of capitalism (Dear 1998). There is room within urban geography for a wide array of approaches and methods, especially if they encourage discourse and further understanding of the geography of the city.

Adherents to the Chicago school of thought introduced the idea of community eclipse. Community eclipse occurs as urban renewal disrupts pre-existent communities and fails to create new ones. Residents of these communities experience psychological alienation and isolation due to increasing urbanization and economic modernization. A common example of community eclipse occurred in Hong Kong in the 1960s and 1970s. Traditional, densely settled, low-rise patterns of the city facilitated mutual help and support networks among its residents. These structures were swept away by modernization and economic streamlining, eroding cultural values and sense of community. After eclipse occurs the social capital generated by the original neighborhood disappears. The social capital lost is made up of the interconnectedness between people, social networks, trust, and civility, all factors that make for strong community (Chui 2003). The situation in present day Shanghai indicates that there is a strong possibility that community eclipse is occurring, but the historical sense of community in lilong needs to be measured and compared to that of the new places of residence.

Decline in community interaction often leads to an increase in emotional stress on individuals (Wilson-Doenges 2000). The loss of community is consequently “associated with numerous deficits, e.g., sustained feelings of anomie, alienation, isolation, and loneliness, the loss of local autonomy and personal involvement in one’s community and,

perhaps most importantly, a growing inability to maintain a readily available, mutually supportive network of relationships” (Glynn 1981). Housing renewal and urban redevelopment projects are usually profit motivated and have little concern for community dynamics, furthering the effects of community eclipse (Ha 2001). Research on community eclipse in Hong Kong and elsewhere can lend itself to helping understand the situation in Shanghai today.

Chinese Urban Geography

China is a unique nation in terms of urban geography because of the system of controls and planning the central government has instituted (Ebanks 1990). Despite the fact that China is mainly a rural nation and urban areas have relatively slow population growth rates, the overall numbers still paint an impressive picture due to China’s enormous total population. As early as 1985, the urban population had reached 384.5 million and accounted for 20% of the world’s total urban population. By 1987, the urban population had surpassed 500 million (Ebanks 1990). While in the 20th Century the growth of cities in third world countries was exponential, China has been successful in controlling the growth of its cities and has avoided the creation of “monster” cities that plague many of the world’s poorer nations.

Buch (1981) divided urbanization in modern, post-Revolution China into six stages (Table 2.1).

| Stage | Years |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Rehabilitation | 1949-1952 |
| First Five-Year Plan | 1953-1957 |
| Great Leap Forward | 1958-1960 |
| Third Five-Year Plan | 1961-1966 |
| Cultural Revolution | 1966-1976 |
| Economic Reform | 1976-Present Day |

Table 2.1 Buch's Stages of Modern Chinese Urban Development

During the first three stages urban populations grew rapidly as non-agricultural enterprises increased. From 1961-1976 the population of the cities decreased due to government policies of forced dislocation and the Cultural Revolution.

Starting in the late 1970s and continuing to the present, urban populations began increasing. This growth was due, in part, to the return of millions of urbanites who had been relocated in the previous periods as well as the need for laborers caused by the economic reforms (Ebanks 1990). The structure of Chinese cities is undergoing massive changes as the country continues to modernize and assert itself in the global economy. Lilong were built in the urbanization phase prior to the first of Buch's six phases and are being demolished as part of the sixth and final stage.

The economic shift of the late 1970s has been strongly felt in China's largest city, Shanghai (Wu 2003). The value of foreign trade in the city increased from \$2.89 billion in 1978 to \$13.24 billion in 1996 and has continued to increase. The economic value of Shanghai transcends cheap labor, developers also benefit from undervalued land prices, throughout the city, which has led to property speculation (Wu 2003). The ideal properties for foreign and domestic developers is downtown Shanghai, which has led to the destruction of many lilong.

Lilong and the Loss of Community

Exploring issues associated with lilong housing incorporates many geographic concepts. Humanistic geography provides a mechanism to define and examine the loss of sense of community caused by the destruction of lilong. Applying the Sense of Community Index merges the ideas of geography with the measures of psychology. Urban geography has had difficulty examining the immaterial aspects of the city. This research enriches the field geography by documenting a disappearing housing form, and more importantly, the feelings residents have about lilong. While the specific style of housing referred to as lilong are only found in one city in China “the implication is that intensive studies of events and relationships within small areas can illuminate issues that transcend the parochial and ostensibly unique concerns of each situation” (Smith 1984). This research provides a context with which other communities experiencing similar situations can document their circumstances.

Chapter 3

Research Design

The driving question of this research is to determine if community eclipse has occurred in Shanghai as large numbers of people move from lilong into more modern living arrangements. Community eclipse, by definition, occurs when residents move from traditional, densely settled, low-rise neighborhoods into modern environs. Lilong, as previously discussed, provide strong social stability and community cohesion. Given these patterns of movement it seems likely that Shanghai has experienced community eclipse. To prove that community eclipse has occurred the sense of community in both lilong and the new apartments must be measured.

A series of surveys were distributed and interviews conducted to determine whether the destruction of Shanghai's lilong has caused community eclipse. A combination of open-ended interviews and an existing metric of sense of community were used. The surveys employed the Sense of Community Index (SCI), which quantitatively measures sense of community and will be discussed in detail in the following sections. The interviews qualitatively assessed the sense of community with the goal of gaining further information in areas the survey is limited. The information gathered from the surveys and the interviews reveals if community eclipse has occurred and should give further information as to why. The researcher traveled to Shanghai in June of 2005 and administered the interviews and surveys with the assistance of a

translator. The living conditions in the remaining lilong and the new apartments that have replaced the lilong were also viewed during this time.

Sense of Community Index

The vast majority of psychological sense of community measures were constructed for use in specific contexts and there is considerable difficulty in applying them across communities (Obst 2004). One theory of measuring Psychological Sense of Community (PSOC) that has proven to be valid across a range of communities was developed by McMillan and Chavis (1986). Their indices measure levels of membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and the shared emotional context that the members of a community experience (McMillan 1986). To measure the four dimensions of PSOC, a twelve item form was developed by Perkins to measure community in neighborhoods in New York City (Chavis 1999).

The Sense of Community Index (SCI) developed by Chavis (1999) is based upon sound psychological theory and has been supported empirically (Obst 2004). The SCI has been successful in determining PSOC across a range of community types, age groups, and cultures (Chavis 1999). The SCI has been broadly accepted within psychology as a reliable means to measure community (Chipuer 1999). While the SCI has not been previously applied in a Chinese context, it has proven robust in a number of different cultural settings. The SCI can be adopted by geographers as a way in which to measure sense of community.

There are four subscales measured in the SCI: Reinforcement of Needs, Membership, Influence, and Emotional Connection (Chipuer 1999). These subscales

distinguish what people need to have positive relationships in their community (Pretty 1990). Membership is the feeling of belonging that an individual has because they have a vested interest in the community. Membership is boundary driven and can be used to include and exclude individuals. Influence involves the perceived influence an individual has over their community as well as the influence the community has on an individual. Fulfillment of needs deals with behavioral reinforcement. A community that is rewarding for its members to be a part of is successful and contributes positive feelings towards membership. Shared emotional connection is based upon shared histories. Members participate in the failures and successes of their neighbors which can break or build community cohesion. When all four subscales are taken into consideration the sense of community within a group is revealed.

Applying the SCI

A version of the Sense of Community Index (SCI) developed by Perkins (1990) was applied to quantitatively measure the sense of community in the participant's lilong as well as in their current apartments. The researcher identified a few known acquaintances that are former residents of lilong and contacted them to see if they were interested in completing the SCI form (Appendix 3-4). Initial participants were administered the survey in the presence of the researcher and were asked if they knew anyone else who fit the criteria, being a former lilong resident. Those people were then contacted to determine if they were interested in participating. This "snowball" technique was used to gather the remaining participants. The surveys and interviews were conducted in the home of the participant, although a few took place in public spaces

such as restaurants or local parks. Residents first filled out a survey focusing on their current apartment followed by an identical survey focused on their Lilong, the order of the surveys remained consistent throughout the data gathering process. The questionnaires took an average of ten minutes each to complete. Thirty-four of the questionnaires were completed in my presence, while the remaining were distributed by the translator and completed in her presence after the primary researcher had returned to the United States. The initial target of fifty interviews was not reached due to time constraints as well as running out of contact with people who were willing to participate.

The twelve questions of the SCI were presented in a True/False format. There were a series of other questions added to the survey by the researcher. These questions included the age and sex of the participant, a ranking from one to five of the facilities, questions involving the age of the structure as well as length of tenure (Appendix 3-4). The survey questions were presented in both Mandarin Chinese and English.

The results of the SCI were tabulated for an individual SCI score for their lilong as well as for their current apartment, these were then averaged to determine an overall SCI for lilong and current apartments (Appendix 5). The scores given for the individual questions as well as totals in the four subscales were also totaled (Appendix 7). Facility rankings, lengths of tenure, age, sex and other relevant information were also tabulated (Appendix 8). These numbers can be used to gain perspective as to where sense of community is strong or weak in both of the settings.

Open-ended Interviews

Upon completion of the SCI questionnaire all participants were asked if they would be willing to participate in an extended interview. Twenty-five individuals participated in a total of twenty extended interviews, with some being interviewed as a couple or as a family. Many participants felt more comfortable being interviewed as a pair rather than individually. In most of these cases one of the participants tended to dominate the interview process with little participation by the secondary participant. Most of the dual interviews comprised married couples, with the wife dominating the interview. The women may have dominated the interviews, but they did not coerce answers from their partners. The men were in agreement with the women on the majority of the points and seemed comfortable letting their partners lead the conversation. Interviews were completed in the participant's home, with a small number occurring in public spaces. Those interviewed in a public space were met at a restaurant or park. They chose this option due to time constraints in their daily routines. The driving questions of the interviews (Appendix 9) were aimed at uncovering aspects and details of sense of community that could not be uncovered with the SCI. These questions sought to find detail on neighborhood relations, cost/benefit analysis, personal stories from time spent in the lilong, the advantages and disadvantages of raising children or growing up in a lilong, and many other questions. The questions were used to steer each interview, although participants were allowed and encouraged to discuss any tangential aspects of community they chose. The interviews ranged in duration from ten to sixty minutes with the average interview lasting twenty-four minutes.

After the interviews were transcribed, NVIVO 2.0 was used to link various themes encountered in the interview process. This software was used to code commonly recurring themes so they could be viewed in the body of the interview or in the various coding categories such as the benefits of living in a lilong as well as the participant's thoughts on the future of lilong. NVIVO helped to frame and focus both the questions and responses given during the interview enhancing the analysis process.

Institutional Review Board

The Campus Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviews human subject research applications conducted in association with the University of Missouri. IRB seeks to protect the rights and welfare of the human subjects involved. All of the interview questions and surveys were reviewed by the IRB through their online submission process and approved before any research was conducted. To conduct this research IRB recommended a consent form (Appendix 1) written in both English and Chinese to be read by participants prior to the interview. All forms were translated into Chinese at this time. The consent form explained the nature of the study, that the study is completely voluntary, the approximate amount of time needed to participate, and that the participants would remain anonymous. IRB also recommended a form be left with each interviewee upon completion of the interview (Appendix 2). This form included contact information and encouraged participants to make contact if they had any further questions or comments. All recommended changes and instructions from IRB were rigorously followed.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Discussion

Data gathering was completed by the end of June 2005 and then compiled and analyzed in the following months. Thirty-seven people completed the SCI surveys and twenty-five individuals participated in a total of twenty in-depth, open-ended interviews. The driving questions of these interviews (Appendix 9) were designed to help further the interpretation of the SCI results, although they were only used to spur discussion in the rare case that a participant needed guidance. Thirty-six participants are former lilong residents, while one splits time between a lilong and an apartment. The results were then divided into the four subscales of the SCI index. The following sections contain the demographic makeup of the participants, the overall SCI results, and the results of each of the four SCI subscales coupled with the qualitative data from the interviews.

Participants

Thirty-seven people completed the Sense of Community Index (SCI) survey and demographic information on the sex, age, and residency patterns of the participants were compiled (Table 4.1).

| | | | |
|---|-------|--|--------------------|
| Male | 13 | | |
| Female | 24 | | |
| Total Number of Surveys | 37 | | |
| | | | Standard Deviation |
| Average Age of Participant | 43.41 | | 15.55 |
| Average year current apartment was built | 1993 | | 5.97 |
| Average year participant moved into current apartment | 1996 | | 4.89 |
| Number of Participants that own their current apartment | 34 | | |
| Average lilong tenure | 24.92 | | 15.04 |
| Average monthly lilong rent (in RMB) | 7.87 | | 10.86 |
| Average year moved out of lilong | 1988 | | 8.86 |

Table 4.1 - Demographic Data of SCI Participants

Many residents lived in temporary apartments between the lilong and their current apartments, which explains the difference between average year moved out of the lilong and the average year they moved into their current apartment. Participants represent a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, ranging from university professor to factory worker. The dominance of the number of female participants was not intentional, and is not believed to be a significant source of potential error. The names of the lilong and apartment complexes were also collected, but have been disregarded for the purposes of this study. No other demographic data was collected to protect the privacy of participants in accordance with IRB recommendations.

SCI Results

Participants answered the SCI questions for their current apartment in a favorable manner 44% of the time, while they answered in a favorable manner 57% of the time in regards to their lilong. Twenty-four participants ranked their lilong higher in the SCI, nine ranked their current apartments higher, while four registered no change. These

results show that community eclipse has occurred in Shanghai as the sense of community is lower in the new apartments than it was in lilong.

Further analysis of the SCI and open-ended interviews provides closer insight into what aspects of community changed during the transition between lilong and the new apartments. The SCI has twelve questions which are subdivided into four subscales: Membership, Influence, Fulfillment of Needs, and Shared Emotional Connection. Questions one through three measure the Fulfillment of Needs, four through six measure Membership, seven through nine measure Influence and numbers ten through twelve measure the Shared Emotional Connection. The responses were broken down into each of the subscales (Table 4.2).

| Current Apartment Subscales | TOTAL POSITIVE RESPONSES | TOTAL NEGATIVE RESPONSES | PERCENT POSITIVE | PERCENT NEGATIVE |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Membership | 34 | 74 | 31% | 68% |
| Influence | 30 | 77 | 28% | 71% |
| Fulfillment of needs | 65 | 43 | 60% | 39% |
| Shared Emotional Connection | 67 | 40 | 62% | 37% |
| | | | | |
| Lilong Subscales | TOTAL POSITIVE RESPONSES | TOTAL NEGATIVE RESPONSES | PERCENT POSITIVE | PERCENT NEGATIVE |
| Membership | 90 | 18 | 83% | 16% |
| Influence | 51 | 59 | 46% | 53% |
| Fulfillment of needs | 49 | 61 | 44% | 55% |
| Shared Emotional Connection | 60 | 48 | 55% | 44% |

Table 4.2 – SCI Subscales

In the following sections the SCI is further broken down from its subscales into individual questions and data from the qualitative interviews is interjected to provide a

clearer picture of the difference between sense of community in lilong and the new apartments.

It is possible that the results may be slightly skewed due to a “nostalgia affect”, but this does not appear to be a major factor. Within the interviews participants were able to objectively discuss the positives and negatives of both settings. Each participant surely has a slightly different take on their tenure in the lilong depending on where they were at that point in their life. The age of the participant when they left the lilong and their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with government policies, their jobs, and a number of other factors play a role in how people perceive community. Another concern regarding the accuracy of results is raised by the idea of *rootedness*. Sense of place is concerned with knowing the history of a place, so newcomers can become familiar with this aspect. People can only become rooted to a place after residing there for long periods of time. Rootedness is related to sense of place, but on a deeper, more meaningful level (Terkenli 1980). Participants lived in lilong for an average of 25 years, while the average year they moved into their new apartments was 1996. While nine years amounts to a considerable amount of time spent in their new settings it is unlikely that residents had time to become truly rooted in their new environment. Issues concerning rootedness are imbedded in any research concerning place and should be taken into consideration when analyzing these results.

Membership: SCI

Membership is the feeling of belonging that an individual has because of a vested interest in the community. The response to this subscale represented the largest variance

of the four subscales with 31% of these questions being answered in a favorable manner and 68% in a negative manner towards their current apartment. In regards to their lilong, 83% of these questions were answered in a favorable manner and 16% in a negative manner. The Membership subscale is made up of the three questions (Figure 4.1).

- | |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. I can recognize most of the people in my neighborhood.2. I feel at home in this neighborhood.3. Very few of my neighbors know me. |
|--|

Figure 4.1 Membership Subscale Questions

Residents' familiarity and comfort levels were strikingly different between the two settings. 16% of participants stated that they could recognize most people in their current neighborhood, while 89% stated that they could recognize most of the people in their lilong. 50% felt at home in their current apartments compared to 70% in the lilong. 70% of participants felt that few of their neighbors knew them in the current apartments, compared with only 11% in the lilong. The Membership subscale has one false positive question in which positive responses reflect poor community and were counted as such in the final tabulations (Table 4.3).

| Membership: Lilong | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
|---|------|-------|----|
| 1. I can recognize most of the people in my neighborhood. | 33 | 4 | 0 |
| 2. I feel at home in this neighborhood. | 24 | 10 | 3 |
| 3. Very few of my neighbors know me. (FP) | 4 | 33 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 90 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 18 | | |
| | | | |
| Membership: Current Apartment | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
| 1. I can recognize most of the people in my neighborhood. | 6 | 31 | 0 |
| 2. I feel at home in this neighborhood. | 17 | 17 | 3 |
| 3. Very few of my neighbors know me. (FP) | 26 | 11 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 34 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 74 | | |

Table 4.3 SCI Membership Results

Membership: Interviews

The data from the SCI are reinforced by the results of the open-ended interviews. Within these interviews neighbor relations was a common theme brought up when interviewees discussed the largest perceived benefits of living in a lilong. Lilong relationships were very close, leading more than one individual to bring up a Shanghainese saying which roughly translates to “Far away relatives are not as good as close neighbors”. Due to the shared space, many residents commented that their neighbors felt much more like family since their lives were so intertwined. Upon entering their compound many lilong residents stated that they felt safe and at home because they knew everyone.

The close relationships in lilong are further evidenced by a number of recurring stories during the interviews. Residents felt that they could ask their neighbors for help whenever they were in need. If someone in the lilong was ill, they could depend on neighbors to take them to the hospital. If a parent needed to work overtime or could not be home for some other reason, they could easily ask a neighbor to feed or watch over their children until they could get home. The most common example of the close relationship between neighbors in the lilong was through shared food. Whenever a family cooked too much food, dumplings being a common example, they would offer the leftovers to their neighbors. One woman, who believed she was especially good at cooking dumplings, stated that she would buy three kilos of dumpling peels to prepare, even though her family would eat less than one kilo worth. Relationships among neighbors in lilong are illustrated by the following statement from an interviewee “the best part (of living in a lilong) is that we are very familiar with our neighbors. We have a very good relationship and when my family meets with some difficulties, they will help us.”

When interviewees spoke of their relationships within their new apartments, many said it was the exact opposite of the relationships from the lilong. Relationships, while cordial, were superficial and distant. They tend not to know their neighbors names, but recognize only a few faces. Residents greet the few neighbors they recognize, but have no time to get to know their neighbors or even their names. Many reported they would never ask for help from a neighbor unless it was an emergency. Neighbors who get into arguments do not *have* to work it out, they can just shut their apartment doors and limit or eliminate contact with their opponent. In cases where laundry, which had been hung out

to dry, had fallen onto the living space of a neighbor they felt awkward asking for it. They stated that their neighbors became very impatient when they knocked on their door to retrieve it.

The idea of sharing food with neighbors appears to be nonexistent in the new apartments, one interviewee commented that she would never even ask a neighbor for soy sauce, as she would have in her lilong. When asked why, she stated that her neighbors were strangers. Even when residents believe they have a good relationship with their neighbors, they only speak to them once or twice a month or on special occasions like the birth of a child and during the Chinese New Year. The ability to shut your door and the gate on your door was given as an explanation for the change in relationships by more than one interviewee. There is also some consensus that people now work too hard and too many hours, leaving little time to get to know or care about your neighbors. These changes in relationships did not seem to bother many interviewees because they felt that the positives of the new apartment outweigh the negatives.

Influence: SCI

Influence involves the perceived influence an individual has over their community, as well as the influence the community has on an individual. The Influence subscale is also made up of three questions (Figure 4.2).

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. I care about what my neighbors think of my actions.2. I have no influence over what this neighborhood is like.3. If there is a problem in this neighborhood, people who live here can get it solved. |
|---|

Figure 4.2 Influence Subscale Questions

28% of the questions were answered favorably for the current apartments, while 46% responded in a favorable manner for their lilong. 20% of participants cared about what their neighbors thought of their actions in their current apartment, compared to 58% that cared what their neighbors thought about their actions in their lilong. Residents' beliefs that they could influence their neighborhoods showed little difference. 86% believed they had no influence over their current apartment, while 76% believed they had no influence within their lilong. 50% of participants believed that residents of their current apartment could solve neighborhood problems, compared to 57% who believed lilong residents could solve their problems. The Influence subscale has one false positive question and was counted as reflecting negative community (Table 4.4).

| Influence: Lilong | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
|--|------|-------|----|
| 1. I care about what my neighbors think of my actions. | 21 | 15 | 1 |
| 2. I have no influence over what this neighborhood is like. | 28 | 9 | 0 |
| 3. If there is a problem in this neighborhood, people who live here can get it solved. | 21 | 16 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 51 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 59 | | |
| | | | |
| Influence: Current Apartment | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
| 1. I care about what my neighbors think of my actions. | 7 | 27 | 3 |
| 2. I have no influence over what this neighborhood is like. | 32 | 5 | 0 |
| 3. If there is a problem in this neighborhood, people who live here can get it solved. | 18 | 18 | 1 |
| | | | |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 30 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 77 | | |

Table 4.4 SCI Influence Results

Influence: Interviews

The data from the SCI regarding influence is also reinforced by the qualitative findings. The differences here are easily attributed to the differing relationships between neighbors in the two settings, as reflected in the Membership subscale. Neighbors do not know each other as well as in the current apartments as they did in the lilong, which will have an obvious correlation with their perception of the level of influence they have in a neighborhood. While the general feelings towards neighbors in a lilong were positive, a few people mentioned that this closeness could be overwhelming. The lilong atmosphere

was very conducive for those who chose to indulge themselves in neighborhood gossip. The relations between neighbors in lilong were much closer, so it is only natural that neighbors cared more about what their neighbors thought. Many interviewees found the increased privacy of the new apartments limited gossip and allowed them more time to privately do the things they enjoy.

One of the ways in which residents of both lilong and the new apartments can influence their community is through neighborhood committees. In both settings most interviewees were apathetic towards the dealings of the committees. In lilong most people knew the members of their committee and would deal directly with them, while in the new apartments many had never met or dealt with any members of their committee. In the new apartments the committees post signs informing the residents of events and policies instead of meeting the residents directly as they had in the lilong. The lilong committees would help resolve disputes, and inform and help enforce government policies, and organize days where people would get together and clean their lilong. Much of the day to day maintenance of the new apartment complexes seems to have become the duty of apartment managers rather than the committees. The new committees focus on organizing activities for the elderly, unemployed, or children. In both cases residents felt that the committees had little to do with their lives and had few benefits to offer them personally.

Fulfillment of Needs: SCI

Fulfillment of Needs describes how the neighborhood is perceived to benefit the resident. The Fulfillment of Needs subscale is made up of three questions (Figure 4.3).

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. I think my neighborhood is a good place for me to live.2. People in my neighborhood do not share the same values as me.3. My neighbors and I want the same thing from this neighborhood. |
|---|

Figure 4.3 Fulfillment of Needs Subscale Questions

60% of the questions were answered favorably for the current apartments, while 49% responded in a favorable manner for their lilong. 80% of participants believe that their current neighborhood is a good place to live, compared with only 24% who thought that of their lilong. In the current apartments, 57% believed that they shared similar values as their neighbors, while 50% believed their neighbors shared similar values in the lilong. In regards to neighbors wanting the same things from the neighborhood, 56% believe this is true in their current apartment compared to 59% in the lilong. The Fulfillment of Needs subscale has one false positive question and this was taken to account in the final tabulations (Table 4.5).

| Fulfillment of Needs: Lilong | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
|---|------|-------|----|
| 1. I think my neighborhood is a good place for me to live. | 9 | 28 | 0 |
| 2. People in my neighborhood do not share the same Values as me. | 18 | 18 | 1 |
| 3. My neighbors and I want the same thing from this neighborhood. | 22 | 15 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 49 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 61 | | |
| | | | |
| Fulfillment of Needs: Current Apartment | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
| 1. I think my neighborhood is a good place for me to live. | 29 | 7 | 1 |
| 2. People in my neighborhood do not share the same Values as me. | 20 | 15 | 2 |
| 3. My neighbors and I want the same thing from this neighborhood. | 21 | 16 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 65 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 43 | | |

Table 4.5 SCI Fulfillment of Needs Results

Facilities

The differences in Fulfillment of Needs can be partially attributed to the lack of facilities in the lilong. On the SCI form participants were asked to rank the facilities of their lilong and their current apartments on a scale of 1 to 5 with one being the least satisfactory and five as superior. Facilities quality was defined as availability and caliber of living space and area, electricity, natural gas, bathroom and kitchen facilities. The average score given to lilong facilities was 1.48 with twenty-three participants selecting

the lowest ranking available. Only four participants gave the lilong an average score and no participants gave it an above average score. Within the qualitative interviews, 90% responded with some aspect of facilities being the worst part of living in a lilong. The cramped conditions, bathroom facilities, and general lack of privacy are common themes among the negative aspects of the lilong.

Fulfillment of Needs: Interviews

The qualitative interviews helped highlight a number of the issues regarding the fulfillment of needs in both settings. Living space was the most common problem brought up. The conditions were cramped and living space was limited. Public spaces within the lilong, such as kitchens, were also deemed too small and were considered dirty. One interviewee estimated that they had only nine square meters for three people. Lilong rarely had toilets connected to the sewer system within the housing unit. Residents used chamber pots or public toilets within the compound. This was considered a great inconvenience when residents had guests over. Normally a corner of the lilong was curtained off to provide privacy for the user of a bedpan. Availability of electricity and other utilities varied highly between respondents based on when they moved out of the lilong. In order to take a hot shower in a lilong, residents would go to a public shower area and wait in queue for up to three hours. Those who left the lilong in the early 1980s primarily used coal as a means for cooking, they had not experienced electricity and natural gas, which were added to the lilong after they had left. Many believe that negative issues related to the quality of lilong facilities led to quarrels and increased gossip. In many lilong, water was supplied from a central tap and brought back

to the living area, which many residents considered a great inconvenience. The age and upkeep of the lilong was also a concern, especially during the rainy season, leading more than one participant to make comments similar to “when it rains outside, it rains inside”.

The facilities for current apartments fared much better with an average score of 3.4. Thirty-five participants gave their apartments a ranking of average or better. 85% of participants mentioned facilities in the qualitative interviews when naming the best things in their new apartments. The new apartments often have air conditioning, private bathrooms, gas, electricity, and other trappings of “modern life”. One family mentioned that the ability to take a shower in their own home was one of the things that made them most happy and recalled their wonderment when they first moved into their new apartment at the ease with which they were able to shower everyday. Privacy and comfort were recurring themes when residents spoke of the facilities in their current apartments. When interviewees were asked which of the two situations was a better place to grow up or to raise children, most believed that the lilong was better. They believed that children growing up in a lilong have better communication skills and are happier than those growing up in an apartment, where they are isolated from many aspects of society. Yet, for many of the interviewees, the privacy and increased living space outweighs any benefits the lilong offered.

Shared Emotional Connection: SCI

Shared Emotional Connection is how members identify themselves as a member of the community. The Shared Emotional Connection subscale is made up of three questions (Table 4.4).

1. It is very important for me to live in this neighborhood.
2. People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with one another.
3. I expect to live in this neighborhood for a long time.

Figure 4.4 Shared Emotional Connection Subscale Questions

67% of the questions were answered favorably for the current apartments while 60% responded in a favorable manner for their lilong. 60% of participants believed that living in their current apartment is important compared to 42% who believed the same about living in their lilong. The Shared Emotional Connection subscale has one false positive question and was counted as such in the final tabulations (Table 4.6).

| Shared Emotional Connection: Lilong | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
|--|------|-------|----|
| 1. It is very important for me to live in this neighborhood. | 15 | 21 | 1 |
| 2. People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with one another. | 2 | 33 | 2 |
| 3. I expect to live in this neighborhood for a long time. | 12 | 25 | 0 |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 60 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 48 | | |
| Shared Emotional Connection: Current Apartment | TRUE | FALSE | NA |
| 1. It is very important for me to live in this neighborhood. | 21 | 14 | 2 |
| 2. People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with one another. | 10 | 26 | 1 |
| 3. I expect to live in this neighborhood for a long time. | 20 | 16 | 1 |
| Total Positive Responses (Including False Positives) | 67 | | |
| Total Negative Responses | 40 | | |

Table 4.6 - SCI Shared Emotional Connection Results

Shared Emotional Connection: Interviews

The data from the SCI are reinforced with the results from the open-ended interviews. When residents were asked if they would rather live in a lilong or their new apartment, they overwhelmingly responded with the new apartment. When asked the same question, with the exception that the facilities in the lilong had been updated and they would have increased privacy, in eleven of the twenty extended interviews some interest was expressed in moving back into the lilong. The relationship with their neighbors in the lilong was the primary reason they would be willing to move back, while the lack of privacy and inconvenience of moving were reasons given for not wanting to move back. 38% believed that people do not get along in the current apartments, compared with a strikingly small 5% in the lilong. The difference here is remarkable, given the lack of communication, positive or negative, in the new apartments. 55% of residents expect to live in their current neighborhoods for a long time, compared to 32% who believed they would live in their lilong an extended period. Many interviewees commented that during their time in the lilong they were highly concerned, to the level of obsession, with getting out of the lilong and into a new apartment.

When asked about the future of lilong, most interviewees believed that some should be kept as a sign of historical Shanghai, although a handful believed that this was not their business and the government should decide what is best for China. Most interviewees felt that people should continue living in lilong, but that the living standards for those that remain should be improved and if the conditions of the lilong are too low, they should be torn down. One interviewee offered an interesting scenario in which

newlyweds should be forced to live in a lilong in its original condition for a number of years so that they can truly appreciate the luxury of their new apartments.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

Lilong are a traditional housing form located in Shanghai, China and have been an integral part of the lives of generations of Shanghainese. The structure, long-term residency patterns, and alley-based culture of lilong historically engendered a strong sense of community among residents. Since the economic restructuring of China began in the late 1970s the lilong of Shanghai have rapidly been cleared from the landscape. Today central Shanghai boasts numerous skyscrapers, overcrowded superhighways, brightly lit shopping centers and other indicators of a thoroughly modern city. Not all is modern though, “Beyond the Neon Lights”, as Hanchao Lu so accurately titled his wonderful book, the distinct buildings and alley patterns of lilong still exist, although in dwindling numbers. Often, next to these remnants of the old city there are large, empty lots, where lilong once existed. It is as if the lilong have been clear-cut like trees in a forest. These lots are eventually filled with buildings that have a higher economic value than lilong. This thesis set out to measure the changes in sense of community that took place as residents moved from lilong into the “modern life”.

To determine whether sense of community diminished and community eclipse occurred in Shanghai the former residents of lilong were interviewed and surveyed. The Sense of Community Index (SCI) and open-ended interviews were used and both indicate that community eclipse has occurred in Shanghai. Results show that sense of community was clearly higher in the lilong than current apartments. Results indicated 57% of all SCI

questions regarding lilong were answered in a favorable manner towards community compared with 44% regarding their current apartments. The open-ended interviews strongly support the findings of the SCI. Sense of community has diminished during the massive migration of millions of Shanghainese out of lilong. Loss of community results in numerous negative effects on individuals and society as a whole. Community eclipse can lead to individuals feeling isolated and lonely. There are indications that paranoia regarding crime and real crime can increase with community loss, but this does not appear to be the case in Shanghai. Loss of community weakens the basic social fabric of society. The repercussions of community loss were not measured in this study and may not manifest themselves in a noticeable fashion for generations (Coulton 1995; Moren-Cross 2005). The loss of such a valuable commodity as sense of community is a negative, but the overall transition of Shanghai in the last twenty-seven years has been a positive development. Living standards have been increased but at the cost of neighborhood interaction. Former residents of lilong yearn for the sense of community that was lost, but they are not willing to return to the poor living conditions of lilong unless they are allowed to keep the improvements that the modern apartments gave to their quality of life.

Results show that community has decreased as people have left their lilong. There were nine people whose results showed that they believed that community had increased in their new setting. Three of these people also participated in the in-depth interviews and showed many of the same patterns as the other participants. They recognized that relationships were better in the lilong, but also dwelt longer on the poor facilities. They believed the best thing the lilong offered was location and reveled in the

privacy that their new apartment affords them. The rankings tend to be more a result of increased satisfaction in their new apartments, than lower scores in their lilong. There are certainly pockets of modern Shanghai in which sense of community has increased since residents have moved out of their lilong, but the overall trend is strongly in favor of stronger community in the lilong.

A strong sense of community can develop due to a large number of factors including the personal needs of residents as well as neighborhood structure. The change in housing stock has had a forceful impact on the sense of community in Shanghai, however there are most likely other forces causing community eclipse. These other factors could encompass larger societal changes ranging from trends in work culture to the effects of globalization. The change in housing stock is the most proximate driving force behind the loss of community, but the extent to which outside events factor into this loss is unknowable without further data.

Lilong provide an interesting and vivacious living arrangement, but it is unrealistic to expect such valuable land to be used in this manner in a rapidly modernizing Shanghai. The skyrocketing value of real estate in downtown Shanghai is continuing to change the landscape with lilong primarily being viewed as disruptive to development. Many lilong are too dilapidated to save and some of those that are in good condition will be gentrified and the original residents will likely be priced out of their homes.

There have been many geographic studies of modern China which document the massive changes that have occurred in China since economic restructuring began (e.g. Gaubatz 1999; Lin 2001). Many studies examine governmental policy restructuring

urban areas and the sheer numbers of people affected. This study also looks at policy, but with emphasis on how it has affected the neighborhood and the individual.

The implementation of the SCI is particularly useful for geographers examining “new urbanism”. Capturing and recreating the strong sense of community that exists in settings such as lilong is something that many people desire. This research documents two settings, one with a strong and one with a weak sense of community. The differences between these two settings should prove useful to those trying to create environs with a strong sense of community. The changes in Shanghai occurred with little regard paid to their impact on community. This was not an experiment conducted by new urbanists, yet many of the beliefs of new urbanism are supported by the findings. This is especially true in regard to the relationship between the built environment and sense of community. These findings diverge from the beliefs of new urbanism because it is difficult to pinpoint the exact elements of the environment enhancing sense of community, something new urbanists insist can be intentional. Attempts at enhancing community in the current apartment show that it is difficult to prescribe certain elements to improve sense of community, rather sense of community must grow in an organic fashion.

This research shows the built environment had a significant impact on the sense of community of neighborhood residents. There is still strong attachment to lilong even though most residents left these environs an average of fifteen years ago and despite their inadequacies still think of these neighborhoods in positive terms. This confirms that sense of community is a result of social relationships as much as physical location. This is especially important in the case of cities, such as Shanghai where the pace of change is

unprecedented. Issues of modernization and development lead to community eclipse and the related psychological and social impacts.

Future Research

During this study several opportunities for future research regarding lilong came to light. There are numerous ways to examine the relationship people have with their surroundings, especially in urban environments. Sense of community is only one of these variables. Mapping the loss of lilong in downtown Shanghai would provide valuable information on how much the city has been transformed. In three decades Shanghai has transitioned from a city lost in a developmental time warp into a modern megalopolis.

The future of those lilong slated to be saved will be an interesting story that is ongoing. These lilong may serve only as museums displaying an outdated housing form. Some lilong will remain residential in nature, but the facilities will be brought up to current standards. Foreigners and Shanghainese yuppies are the likely residents for revamped lilong, which will alter community dynamics. Further studies involving community in gentrified lilong is an area ripe for research involving rent patterns, demographics and sense of community. Early indications of the gentrification process show that while some lilong will be preserved, they will be drastically altered as evidenced by the rebuilt lilong of Xintiandi. This neighborhood experienced an unusual transformation as dilapidated lilong were torn down and replicas were built in their stead. The lilong there no longer house the citizens of Shanghai, instead they accommodate the modern consumer in a shopping district, complete with a Starbucks and an upscale restaurant built in the shell of a lilong (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Other shops provide the

complete international shopping experience. Former residents of this neighborhood must find it unusual to see these shops located in a facsimile of their former neighborhood on the same piece of land. The sense of place regarding the new Xintiandi would prove fascinating.



Figure 5.1 – Starbucks in Xintiandi. Photo by author.



Figure 5.2 – The Shikumen Bistro an upscale restaurant named after one of the five subtypes of lilong. Photo by author.

The sense of community in modern apartment communities of suburban Shanghai also holds interesting research possibilities. As evidenced in this research the residents of Shanghai clearly desire a strong sense of community, but have been unable to achieve this in their current settings. The opening of doors physically and metaphorically is important to the Shanghainese psyche. Only future research can indicate if the sense of community in modern Shanghainese apartments can increase.

This research has only scratched the surface of the possibilities the study of sense of community in rapidly changing urban environments provides. Similar studies could be carried out using populations of current lilong residents and their contemporaries living in modern apartments. The infrastructure of lilong that will not be destroyed will have to be brought up to the standards most Shanghainese now expect and demand. As these conditions are raised the sense of community in lilong will be in a state of flux.

Community dynamics will change as new families move into increasingly attractive conditions. It is likely that families will be able to complete their daily activities within their own unit, eliminating the use of the shared spaces that facilitated neighborhood interactions. China is also a ripe field for other studies of community in traditional housing. A comparative study of the sense of community in the hutong of Beijing, a unique housing style in its own right, with sense of community in Shanghai lilong would provide many interesting juxtapositions concerning China's two predominant cities. The hutong are undergoing changes similar to that of lilong due to the preparations for the 2008 Olympics, which has boosted development. There are many other traditional dwellings in large Chinese urban areas could provide useful insight into the realm of sense of community if thoroughly researched. The changes that occurred and are occurring in this massive transfer of residencies will affect the future of Shanghai and has endless research possibilities for practitioners of geography.

APPENDIX 1 – Consent Form

Consent Script for Lilong Interviews

接受采访同意书

Paul Hammond

何保罗

Hello,

你好：

My name is Paul Hammond and I am a graduate student at the University of Missouri in the United States. For my masters thesis I am looking at the role of community in lilong housing as well as community in your current neighborhood. If you choose to participate I will need approximately one hour of your time. During that time you will fill out two surveys which will take less than ten minutes each. Once the surveys are completed I will ask you a series of questions about lilong. Your participation will be anonymous and any personal information I collect will not be linked back to you. Your participation in this interview is voluntary and if at any time you wish to conclude the interview you may do so.

我的名字叫何保罗。

我是美国密苏里大学的一名研究生。我的研究生论文是关于旧式里弄人际关系与现代社区的人际关系。如果你愿意接受采访，我大概需要占用你一个小时的时间。在采访过程中，你需要完成2份问卷调查，每一份问卷最多占用十分钟时间。当你完成了问卷以后，我将问你一系列关于里弄的问题。你将以匿名的方式接受采访，我将保密一切关于你的私人信息。你的参与与否是完全自愿的，在任何时候你都可以终止接受采访。

APPENDIX 2 – Post Interview Information

If you have any questions after our interview is completed you can contact me at...

I can be reached locally at 138-1779-6516 until June 27.

如果采访完成以后，你有任何问题，你可以随时与我联系。在6月27日前，你可以拨打：138177965126。

After June 27 I can be reached at 001-573-356-5616 or you can email me at

phh6wc@mizzou.edu

在6月27日以后，你可以拨打 001-573-356-5616 或者电子邮件phh6wc@mizzou.edu

Thanks,

谢谢

Paul Hammond

何保罗

APPENDIX 3 – Current Apartment Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FORMER LILONG RESIDENTS

旧式里弄居民的问卷调查

INTERVIEW 序号 # _____

_____ Age 年龄

_____ Sex 性别

PART I: CURRENT APARTMENT

第一部分: 目前的住所

In what year was your current apartment built? If not known, please estimate.

你现在住的房子是什么时候造的?如果不知道,请估计一下

What is the name of your apartment complex?

你居住的小区的名字是什么?

In what year did you move into your current apartment?

你是几几年搬到现在住的房子?

How much do you pay in rent per month?

你每个月房子的租金是多少?

How would you rank the facilities (bathroom, water, electricity, natural gas) in your current apartment?

你对房子的设施(卫生间,水电煤)如何评价

| | | | | |
|--------------|---------|------------|------------------|---------|
| 5. Very good | 4. Good | 3. Average | 2. Below Average | 1. Poor |
| 5分 : 非常好 | 4分 : 好 | 3分 : 一般 | 2分 : 低于一般 | 1分 : 差 |

1. I think my neighborhood is a good place for me to live.

我觉得我的小区很适合我居住

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

2. People in my neighborhood do not share the same values as me.

住在小区里的其他居民跟我的价值观不同

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

3. My neighbors and I want the same thing from this neighborhood.

我和我的邻居对于小区的要求相同

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

4. I can recognize most of the people in my neighborhood.

住在小区的人我大部分都认识

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

5. I feel at home in this neighborhood.
我在小区里感到宾至如归
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
6. Very few of my neighbors know me.
小区里很少有人认识我
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
7. I care about what my neighbors think of my actions.
我在意小区里的邻居对我的看法
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
8. I have no influence over what this neighborhood is like.
我对于小区的状况没有任何影响力
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
9. If there is a problem in this neighborhood, people who live here can get it solved.
如果在小区里发生了问题，居民们可以自己解决
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
10. It is very important for me to live in this neighborhood.
住在这个小区对我来说很重要
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
11. People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with one another.
小区的居民通常跟邻居的关系太亲近
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
12. I expect to live in this neighborhood for a long time.
我希望在这个小区住很长的时间
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对

APPENDIX 4 – Lilong Questionnaire

PART II: LILONG

第二部分：里弄/弄堂

How long did you live in your lilong? If you were born there, how long did your family live in the lilong?

你在弄堂住了多久？如果你出生在弄堂，那你的祖父辈们在弄堂住了多久？

What was the name of your lilong?

你住的弄堂叫什么名字？

How much did you pay in rent when you lived in your lilong?

你住在弄堂里的时候，你每月的租金是多少？

In what year did you last live in a lilong?

你最后住在弄堂是几几年？

How would you rank the facilities (bathroom, water, electricity, natural gas) in your lilong?

你对弄堂房子的设施(卫生间,水电煤)如何评价

| | | | | |
|--------------|---------|------------|------------------|---------|
| 5. Very good | 4. Good | 3. Average | 2. Below Average | 1. Poor |
| 5分：非常好 | 4分：好 | 3分：一般 | 2分：低于一般 | 1分：差 |

1. I think my lilong was a good place for me to live.

我认为弄堂很适合我居住

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

2. People in my lilong did not share the same values as me.

住在弄堂里的居民与我的价值观不同

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

3. My neighbors in the lilong and I wanted the same thing from the neighborhood.

我和邻居对于弄堂的要求相同

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

4. I could recognize most of the people in my lilong.

住在弄堂里的大部分人我都认识

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

5. I felt at home in my lilong.

我在弄堂里感到宾至如归

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

6. In my lilong very few of my neighbors knew me.

在弄堂里很少有人认识我

TRUE 对

FALSE 不对

7. In my lilong I cared about what my neighbors thought of my actions.
我在意弄堂里的邻居对我的看法
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
8. I had no influence over what my lilong was like.
我对于弄堂的状况没有任何影响力
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
9. If there was a problem in my lilong, people who lived there got it solved.
如果弄堂里发生了问题，居民们可以自己解决
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
10. It was very important for me to live in my lilong.
住在弄堂里对于我来说很重要
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
11. People in my lilong generally didn't get along with one another.
弄堂里的居民通常跟邻居的关系不太亲近
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对
12. I expected to live in my lilong for a long time.
我希望在弄堂里住很长的时间
TRUE 对 FALSE 不对

APPENDIX 5 – Current Apartment SCI Results

Questions in gray are false positive.

| | QUESTION 1 | QUESTION 2 | QUESTION 3 |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| TRUE | 29 | 20 | 21 |
| FALSE | 7 | 15 | 16 |
| NO ANSWER | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| | QUESTION 4 | QUESTION 5 | QUESTION 6 |
| TRUE | 6 | 17 | 26 |
| FALSE | 31 | 17 | 11 |
| NO ANSWER | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| | QUESTION 7 | QUESTION 8 | QUESTION 9 |
| TRUE | 7 | 32 | 18 |
| FALSE | 27 | 5 | 18 |
| NO ANSWER | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| | QUESTION 10 | QUESTION 11 | QUESTION 12 |
| TRUE | 21 | 10 | 20 |
| FALSE | 14 | 26 | 16 |
| NO ANSWER | 2 | 1 | 1 |

APPENDIX 6 – Lilong SCI Results

Questions in gray are false positive.

| | QUESTION 1 | QUESTION 2 | QUESTION 3 |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| TRUE | 9 | 18 | 22 |
| FALSE | 28 | 18 | 15 |
| NO ANSWER | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | QUESTION 4 | QUESTION 5 | QUESTION 6 |
| TRUE | 33 | 24 | 4 |
| FALSE | 4 | 10 | 33 |
| NO ANSWER | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| | QUESTION 7 | QUESTION 8 | QUESTION 9 |
| TRUE | 21 | 28 | 21 |
| FALSE | 15 | 9 | 16 |
| NO ANSWER | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | QUESTION 10 | QUESTION 11 | QUESTION 12 |
| TRUE | 15 | 2 | 12 |
| FALSE | 21 | 33 | 25 |
| NO ANSWER | 1 | 2 | 0 |

APPENDIX 7 – Current Apartment and Lilong SCI Subscales

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Table 4.2 | | | | |
| SCI Subscales | | | | |
| Current Apartment Subscales | TOTAL POSITIVE RESPONSES | TOTAL NEGATIVE RESPONSES | PERCENT POSITIVE | PERCENT NEGATIVE |
| Membership | 34 | 74 | 31% | 68% |
| Influence | 30 | 77 | 28% | 71% |
| Fulfillment of needs | 65 | 43 | 60% | 39% |
| Shared Emotional Connection | 67 | 40 | 62% | 37% |
| | | | | |
| Lilong Subscales | TOTAL POSITIVE RESPONSES | TOTAL NEGATIVE RESPONSES | PERCENT POSITIVE | PERCENT NEGATIVE |
| Membership | 90 | 18 | 83% | 16% |
| Influence | 51 | 59 | 46% | 53% |
| Fulfillment of needs | 49 | 61 | 44% | 55% |
| Shared Emotional Connection | 60 | 48 | 55% | 44% |

APPENDIX 8 – Demographic Data of SCI Participants

| | | | |
|--|---------|--|-------------------------------|
| | | | |
| Demographic Data of SCI Participants | | | |
| | | | |
| Male | 13 | | |
| Female | 24 | | |
| Total Number of Surveys | 37 | | |
| | | | Standard Deviation |
| Average Age of Participant | 43.41 | | 15.55 |
| Average year current apartment was built | 1993.11 | | 5.97 |
| Average year participant moved into current apartment | 1996.51 | | 4.89 |
| Number of Participants that own their current apartment | 34 | | |
| Average lilong tenure | 24.92 | | 15.04 |
| Average monthly lilong rent (in RMB) | 7.87 | | 10.86 |
| Average year moved out of lilong | 1988.74 | | 8.86 |

APPENDIX 9 – Open Ended Questions

OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS

开放式问题

What were the largest benefits of living in the lilong?

住在弄堂里最大的好处是什么？

What were the largest costs of living in the lilong?

住在弄堂里最大的缺点是什么？

What are the largest benefits of your current apartment?

住在现在小区里的最大的好处是什么？

What are the largest negatives of your current apartment?

住在现在小区里的最大的缺点是什么？

Compare your relationships with your neighbors in the lilong with the relationships you have with your current neighbors.

比较一下你住在弄堂里的邻里关系和现在小区的邻里关系

Are the neighborhood committees stronger in your current apartment or in your lilong?

里弄居委会与现在的小区居委会相比，哪个更有用？

Did you own your lilong?

你是不是买了弄堂房子？

Do you own your current apartment?

你是不是买了现在的房子？

Would you rather live in your lilong or your current apartment?

你更喜欢住在弄堂里还是现在的小区里？

APPENDIX 10 – Interview Transcripts

Interview #1

Language - English

Age – 27

Sex – Female

NOTE: She lived in a lilong for ten years and moved out in 1985.

What were the largest benefits of living in a lilong?

1 - I think that the most important thing is the relationship between the neighborhood. Very good and always when I was very young played with neighborhood kids. And in the morning when people would wake up and ask each other hello and where did you buy your vegetables? Is it cheaper this morning? I think this is most important. But maybe we can talk later about the bad things. (Laughing)

You said people talk to each other when they were about to go to work. Does this happen in your current apartment?

1 - Yes.

Would you say it happens more in your current apartment? Less? Or no difference?

1 - No difference.

What were the worst things about living in a lilong?

1 - The facilities are really bad. My dad has plus he, himself, all together ten brothers and sisters together. At that time I remember we only had two rooms and all the people lived together. At night we would just put some beds together and lie on the floor.

How big were the rooms?

1 - Each one was like twenty square meters. Forty to fifty all together.

For ten people?

1 - Yes. Plus some kids. Because at that time I also had some cousins. My elder brother and elder sister. And my grandparents. So more than ten people. Fifteen or sixteen.

So very crowded?

1 - Yes very crowded.

What else would you say about those facilities that are bad?

1 - No private bathroom, we had a public one. In the morning we often get out of the room and have a small water tap and even the kitchen we shared with other neighbors.

How many people would you say shared the kitchen?

1 - We had, in my lilong, five to six families together.

Were they all fifteen to sixteen person families?

1 - Yeah. But maybe only five to six people.

Anything else with things that weren't good?

1 - So many things. Maybe since I was a kid I didn't think too much about the costs. Maybe because it is so crowded people quarreled with each other for more space. You put some bags out of my window and people quarreled and fought with each other.

Did a lot of people fight over the kitchen?

1 - Chinese, especially Shanghainese, don't fight, they only quarrel. They don't fight much.

Were there many quarrels in the kitchens? In the shared spaces?

1 - Some.

In your new apartment are there very many quarrels between people that you know of?

1 - No, no, no.

What would you say the largest benefits are of your new apartment?

1 - I think the (unintelligible, maybe freedom?) is so good. I have a private bathroom and I have my very good space and when I get home I can do what I want to do. Because I have a good apartment.

Are you the only person that lives in your apartment?

1 - Me and my husband, we have an apartment. Like one hundred and seven square meters. Three bedrooms and two others. One is the kitchen and one is the living room.

Sounds nice. Are there any bad things in your new apartment?

1 - I think we don't talk to neighbors much. Not like when I was in the lilong. I live such a long way away from this office to my apartment. We arrive home at seven o'clock in the evening and when I reach my home, when I get in my apartment, then I close the door. Only on weekends am I home and talk something with my neighbors, but not so much. The relationship in these apartments seems so cool. Not so warm like it used to be.

So your apartment is out in the suburbs? Far away from downtown?

1 - Yes.

And your lilong was downtown, obviously.

1 - Yes. True. Actually the lilong I used to live in is very near this office. Actually you know I think my apartment is such a long ways farther away from the downtown that it costs, the transportation costs much, and the time and money.

Would it be a fair statement to say that your relationships were better with your neighbors in the lilong? And now they are not as good?

1 - I think that when I was living in a lilong the relationship was too close. To me, I think I want more private time. I don't want to talk too much to my neighborhood. I don't want them to know more things about myself and especially when I am tired. Like when I am off duty and return home maybe I just want to sit there and listen to some music and not have my neighbors ask me "Ah what did you cook tonight?" and "How are your kids? Did she get a good grade in the school?" Maybe I don't like it. In my new apartment it is good. I talk to my neighbors when I need to talk to them. I want to talk. If I don't want to talk I can just stay in my apartment. If I have some problem with my home that I cannot solve myself, I can call the management office. I don't need to talk to my neighbors.

OK.

1 - Things always have two sides. The young generation like me, maybe it's good to have my new apartment, maybe I don't need to talk too much. My parents or grandparents maybe they do like that time with the neighborhood. They always get together and play cards or sit down and talk about kids.

So you are saying that living in a lilong is better for old people?

1 - Yeah.

And that the young generation needs the new ones? We talked a little bit about neighborhood committees. Is there a difference between the committees in the new apartments and the committees in the lilong?

1 - In my new apartment the neighborhood committee has more power. They talk directly to the developer. In my apartment at first when I moved to the new apartment they had the shuttle bus to the subway and the driver later said it cost too much and they wanted to cancel the shuttle bus, but our neighborhood committee talked a lot and negotiated with the developer. And they succeeded and we still have the shuttle bus now. The committee now has more power, not like the lilong committee. The lilong committee just talked about neighborhood quarrels "this is not good for you to quarrel in the neighborhood". And they negotiate with the other side, but maybe often that doesn't work. The neighborhood committee just concentrated on birth control, especially in the period in which I was born. I was born in the 1980's. That was a very strict year to have babies. You could only have one kid. The neighborhood committee concentrated on these kind of issues. Not like my new apartment.

Would you say the current apartment is more focused on bigger things and that the lilong was more for quarrels.

1 - Yes. Living conditions, the noise in our community (new apartments). If some new factory was going to be built near our apartment, they would negotiate these things. They care more about people's lives.

Would you rather live in your lilong or your current apartment?

1 - Definitely my current apartment.

That's what I thought you would say. Did your lilong have electricity?

1 - Yes.

And we talked about running water. Did it have gas?

1 - Yes. At that time we didn't use the gas much. It was really expensive. Like we used coal.

Many of the lilong in Shanghai are being torn down. Do you think it is important to keep lilong around? Or should they tear them down and build new apartments?

1 - I think maybe we should keep some old lilong, just like to show others especially our new generations or foreigners it was the old Shanghai. Just leave several; we don't need to leave much. 99% should be knocked down and build new apartments. That's good for people's homes.

And if you leave them should people live in the 1% that they leave or should they just be like a museum?

1 - Yeah. Maybe just like a museum. I think Shanghai should still have several lilong like on Shimen Road. Just like a museum to teach others. The only people who choose to stay in lilong do it because it is convenient to downtown. It's like my old lilong, you could just walk to Huaihai Road or Nanjing Road.

So the location of lilong is the best thing. Are there any other good things about lilong besides where they are located?

1 - I just think a lot of people...when the government is going to knock down the lilong, they just keep the most important the location nothing else. They also want to have a good apartment with a grass court everywhere with beautiful facilities and the guests could get in directly. Nothing better than the new apartment. Only the location and convenience of transportation of the lilong.

One more. In your new apartment, on your level there are just two apartments?

1 - Yes.

Do you talk to the person who lives directly across from you? Do you know the person directly across from you?

1 - Yes. We only have two on each floor. I talk to my neighbor. The neighbors just had a new baby. So I sent my regards to them and talked to them. They are very happy. But not too much talking to them. Always every night I go to their rooms and talk to them - not so much. Only on weekends and on special days like this.

Ok. Is there anything else you would like to say about lilong?

1 - I was just reminded of the good memories because I was a, such a small kid. I just wanted to play with my neighborhood kids. I think maybe in my new apartment if I were to have a kid they couldn't have so much fun like we used to have. Maybe they could only get to know each other in the school and other school related activities. They couldn't be like we used to be everyday all the kids would get together and share with each other.

Very good. Anything else?

1 - Nope.

Thank you very much.

1 - You are welcome.

Interview #2

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age – 60

Sex – Female

NOTE: She lived in a lilong for twenty years and moved out in 1971.

What were the largest benefits of living in a lilong?

2 - It's a very good relationship with the neighbors. If anyone has any problems in life everyone will help them.

Anything else?

2 - Very convenient for shopping. The transportation is very convenient and also the facilities were fully built up, like kindergartens, so it was very easy to live.

And the worst part?

2 - The facilities are too old and way too bad. The square meters are way too small, the equipment is way too bad. The houses or apartments were very old and they lack of good maintenance. The main part is just too small.

Why does she think there is a lack of maintenance?

2 - Mainly because it has been there for too long. More rain makes the roof get holes, the taps are getting worse. Too many people live in a very small area so they are very worn. The worst time for her was that three generations share one room of nine square meters.

How many people were in those three generations?

2 - Four people. In nine square meters.

Anything else?

2 - The basic facilities are very bad. No gas, no standards. There were a lot of difficulties to daily life.

Did they have electricity?

2 - Yes. Always had electricity. The four people in the apartment and when the kid was doing homework everyone else was doing something so they might be bothering each other a lot. They had the shared kitchen, even if you lived on the second floor or the third floor, you had to go downstairs to use the kitchen. It was very inconvenient.

Ask her if there were a lot of arguments between people using the kitchen.

2 - A lot of arguments because they each wanted a little piece of the space. They have the shared water tap. Then the bill was the big problem. Someone would say "you used too much" then they would say "no, you used too much"

So how did they divide the bill?

2 - Evenly. But someone would think "I used less than you, why am I paying the same amount?"

How many households were there in their lilong?

2 - Over ten families in one building.

What are the largest benefits in their new apartment?

2 - It is very comfortable, and easy to get up here with elevators. The bathrooms are very complete. The interior design is all according to you and can match your personality and taste. It shows the willingness of the owners.

When they lived in the lilong, how did they decide on how to decorate?

2 - It all belongs to them all, but very easy (little) decorations. The money spent on decoration is not too much, very little. By comparison now they spend more money on decoration and shows their personality. It is all up to you on how much you want to spend on decorations. You can spend more. When they were choosing apartments, the thing they considered is one closer to work. It's closer to their apartment, so it's easier to take care of each other.

Talking about location, would she say this is a good location or is the location of their lilong better?

2 - The old apartment was a better location. Here is not bad, but the old one was better.

Are there any negatives to your current apartment?

2 - It's not as easy, shopping is not as convenient. The facilities of this complex are not complete (it was still partially under construction) yet. But it is on the way to be better.

Compare the relationships with the neighbors between the two.

2 - The difference is very big. Used to be like everyone shared their bathrooms and kitchens so people have a lot of communication and if someone is in trouble or had problems they would help each other out. Here everyone has their own territory so they don't communicate or contact each other as much.

Which would she prefer, the relationships in the lilong or the ones from her current apartment?

2 - She very misses the old relationships with neighbors.

What are the differences in costs between the two?

2 - The maintenance fee here for a month is more than it costs in a lilong for the entire year.

Ask her to compare the neighborhood committees.

2 - The old committee is in charge of a very small area because people lived so close the relationship was very close. Now the committee is in charge of a big area. If you move to a new complex you don't even know where the committee is, much less contact with them.

So were they more effective in the lilong?

2 - In the big area it takes a long time to go to each apartment.

What did the committees do in the lilong?

2 - They only helped with arguments.

Nothing bigger?

2 - Their responsibility is very detailed. They had to cover birth control, the environment, whether it was clean or not, and they have to take care of arguments. They also have to take care of those people who are already retired.

Are the responsibilities the same now?

2 - The requirement for a new committee is higher. Now they take care of activities of people who live there.

Activities?

2 - They will gather people to have a competition or a dance. For old people.

Do you think the committees are trying to create what happened in the lilongs on their own?

2 - The space of the old complex was very small - no space to hang out together. That's why the committee didn't pay a lot of attention to it. Now the complex is bigger. There

are many spaces to do things. People would get together to play tai chi on their own, but the committee gives you a convenient place to do it. The committee will arrange the training for the activities - get a teacher. Playing tai chi, playing the drum.

Did they own their lilong?

2 - In most lilong you had to rent the lilong. Nowadays, since living quality is getting better and they have more money, so they want to have their own place.

Would you rather live in your lilong or your current apartment?

2 - Of course here.

Do you know the people that live on this floor?

2 - Yes. We know the people on this floor.

Are they just on a say hello basis or do they interact more?

2 - It all depends. If they are different status in society and different habits. Some people they would like to hang with, then they will. Some people, they won't, so they don't.

Was the lilong a good place to raise a child? How would this apartment compare?

2 - She thinks it is better to raise a kid in the new complex. Because the facility is better and it is better for his studies because no one will annoy or bother him during his studies. More space for the kid to play around. It's better for the kid to grow up.

What should Shanghai do with its lilong?

2 - It depends on if it is too bad for people to live in, just leave it there for showing, like a museum. If they can be redone, people should still live there. If they can improve the facilities.

Anything else you would like to share about living in a lilong?

2 - Not really.

Thank you.

Interview #3

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age – 60

Sex – Male

NOTE: He lived in a lilong for sixteen years and moved out in 1962.

What were the biggest benefits of living in a lilong?

3 - People were very familiar with each other. Very close contacts.

Can he give an example?

3 - There was a very small space with many people, that's why it was close contacts. It has something to do with small space and many people.

Any other benefits?

3 - Shopping is easy. Living there is easy. He compares it to the new airport. The new airport is very nice and very big, but you have to walk a long ways to get out. The old one is small, but very convenient, but also very close to the city.

Interesting example. What was the worst part about living in a lilong?

3 - It's the opposite of the good part. It's too close. If you don't get along with each other, well, it would be a disaster. The possibility of arguments is very high.

And what would people argue about?

3 - In shared areas, they want to argue for more space. The other part is the difference in salary, the money they have it is different levels.

I don't understand.

3 - They made different amounts of money, not all the same. Very few made more money than others and they looked down upon the others.

And that was a problem.

3 - Yeah. The people with the high social status, they don't live in the lilong. Being rich and having social status are different things. You can be rich and live in a lilong.

Any other bad parts of living in a lilong?

3 - Basic facilities were not good.

I don't know how the kitchens worked. Would you leave your food in the kitchen area? Would you store things in the shared space?

3 - There is a closet in the kitchen. If you have a good relationship, you don't lock your food up, but if you have a bad relationship you would. People would pay a lot of attention to communication, like sharing the food with others. If you have good dishes you would share the food with others.

What are the largest benefits of the current apartment?

3 - The word to describe the current apartment is "modern life". Elevator, internet, AC, cable TV, it's all the modern life. Only in the new apartments. And the wide, bigger space. You have more privacy.

What is the worst thing about your current apartment?

3 - The other side of the good part. It is not convenient for shopping and people are getting in less contact. Too much privacy, so it makes people stay away from each other. By comparison the shopping is not as convenient. Of course you could call, or on the internet order food, but Shanghai is not on that level yet. The personal contact is way down. You can call each other, but no more face to face. In the old apartments you would always invite people over for tea or to talk, but here, no.

Do you have anything else to say about the relationship between neighbors?

3 - There is an old saying "neighbors relationships is like a boat to bowl". The boat will rise for food. They are very close. When I was little when my parents made some food like dumplings, they would give them to the neighbors.

And they don't do that here?

3 - No. For relatives it is like place to place. Neighbors are closer than relatives. Now they don't share food anymore. Of course you can ask people to do dinner with you, but when you cook something, you don't take food to other people. Sharing food, in another word, is like communication. Relationship communication.

Could you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

3 - It used to be like the management was very tight. They ask you to do something and you would have to do it. Nowadays it is more they (management) listen to the people, what they want. They used to not listen to people, they would just decide.

What would they tell you to do?

3 - Before people used to live very close and if you did something it would affect other people's lives. Like the committee would come and tell you "no you can't do this". But nowadays it is up to you, however you want to live your life. Another example, if a foreigner went to an old apartment at that time it would be a big thing in the complex, in the lilong, for the committee. Maybe they would make some rules, or welcome you, or make you register. Nowadays it is very common to have a foreigner visit you, in the old times, it would be big news. At that time, maybe foreigners would not even be allowed to live there. Nowadays in this complex, there are many foreigners living here.

What do you think Shanghai should do with its remaining lilong?

3 - They should keep some of the old lilong. My opinion is that people should live there. Without people, it is not vivid. Without the humans being there, the lilong would be dead.

But the land is very valuable.

3 - That is up to the government, not to me.

Is it more important to have a lively area downtown, or to have money?

3 - It needs balance. You can't tear everything down.

Do you think they will (find balance)?

3 - It is the same as with a person. Some habits you have to give up and some have to remain. Also you need to find your own balance.

Do you know the neighbors on this floor?

3 - I am familiar with their faces. Mostly I only say "hi". Sometimes they will ask you to come over, but very seldom. Everything is changing. Some things are old, some things are new. All according to an equal relationship.

What is an equal relationship?

3 - It is similar to foreign policy. If the neighbors say "hi", of course he will say "hi". If the neighbors ask me over, of course, he will ask the neighbors to come visit him. On this floor there are four apartments and one is vacant. The three others, they only talk during Chinese New Year. Maybe they will give gifts or something. An example is that maybe their kids are out of school, but forgot their keys. They would ask the kids to come over and have a rest and call their parents and let them know that the kids forgot their keys.

Does he feel like their quality of life has diminished because they don't talk to their neighbors as much?

3 - There is a very old saying that says “far away relatives is not as good as close neighbors”. That means that the old saying is very wise.

Compare the lilong and the new apartment for raising children.

3 - The lilong is better. The problem is that the kid will feel very lonely. Three reasons why kids feel so lonely. One is the family is getting smaller. Two is space is getting bigger. Three the neighborhood relationships are getting looser.

Is there anything else about lilong that you would like to share?

3 - This is the process of societies. It has things to do with your producing power and the thoughts and ideas of people.

So he thinks this is natural, that it is evolution?

3 - Yes. It is very natural. For example, in old society everything is hand made so people of course, they get together and do things together. Now you just sit in front of a computer and talk on the internet. Then, of course, the relationships are going to be loose.

Anything else?

3 - The lives have things to do with the culture.

So is he saying the culture has changed?

3 - The culture is changing. Not changed, is changing. If you travel to an ancient town, they still live the way we did many, many years ago.

Thanks.

Interview #4

Language - English

Age – 35

Sex – Male

NOTE: He lived in a lilong for fifteen years and moved out in 1988.

What would you say are the largest benefits of living in a lilong?

4 - Relationships with other people, your neighbors. Also, how the neighborhood knows you. Everyone in a lilong knows you.

Why do you think that is?

4 - Maybe in lilong you haven't your own bathroom, kitchen, perhaps then you interact more with others.

Would you say that it is a good thing that everyone knew each other?

4 - Yeah. Sometimes you need help and everyone will help you. But in the new building you don't know. "Who is he or she?" And you cannot get help from them.

Are there any other benefits?

4 - I'm not sure; I was very young when I lived in a lilong. So I remember having many friends with which to play. Now children do not play with each other as much. I do not think it is a good thing.

Would you say it is better to grow up in a lilong?

4. Yes.

Any other benefits?

4 - I can't think of any.

That brings us to the next question. What were the bad parts about living in a lilong?

4 - The living conditions are dirty.

Any other disadvantages?

4. You don't have your own place. Everyone knows what you are doing.

No privacy?

4 - Yes.

Any other disadvantages?

4 - No.

What are the best things about your current apartment?

4 - It has a higher living condition. The disadvantage is the living conditions are not as high as some of the others (apartments).

Any other disadvantages.

4 - I don't think so.

Is your new apartment in the suburbs?

4 – No, it is near downtown. It is convenient and the environment is good. Maybe for younger age, under thirty-five or forty, would like living in a building or apartment, but the people aged higher, fifty or sixty, would prefer to live in a lilong.

And why do you think this?

4 - When people are old they want to have the friends who have the same backgrounds and they can find them easily. In the new apartment they cannot find them easily, maybe it's hard.

What will your generation do when you get old?

4 - When I am old I will find my friends and maybe we can live together.

Are there any disadvantages to your current apartment?

4 - I don't think so.

Could you compare your relationships with your neighbors in your lilong and now?

4 - In a lilong it is close, but now we are apart. Maybe I know four people well. I know all of their faces.

So if you see them, you would know they are your neighbors, but you wouldn't know their names?

4 - I don't know names, or anything about them.

Do you know the people who live on the same floor as you?

4 - No (laughs)

Do you ever talk to them?

4 - One. Just one. One person, two talks.

So you are not friends with them.

4 - No.

Could you compare neighborhood committees between the two?

4 - The committees, the lilong committee, the members of them are all familiar. Now I don't know who people are.

Do you think the goals of the committees have changed?

4 - I don't think the goals have changed. They haven't got the manner to deal with the problems of others. Now they will talk with the older people, but in lilong they would talk with everyone. Young to older people. Now they just talk to older people because they are home. For example, I will (see them) in the evening, I will not talk to them. In the lilong they live with you so they will see you in the evening. Now it is just work and they do not work in the evening.

Did your parents own the lilong you lived in or did they rent.

4 - No (they did not own).

They are going to tear down most of the lilong. Do you think they should leave some?

4 - I hope they can keep part of them. Because when I have a child we can go there and we can remember my childhood. Lilong are maybe only two or three floors. They aren't high and Shanghai people need to save the space to build other buildings. I don't think it's a correct way, but maybe the government has no choice.

The government loses something either way? Would you rather live in your lilong or your current apartment?

4 - Maybe you know the answer (new apartment).

What if the lilong was redone so it was nice with modern facilities?

4 - I think the living conditions would be tough. I need privacy.

You grew up in a lilong was it a good place to be a child?

4 - I think children need to play with the others, but now too many children don't have a chance to play outside. I don't think it's a good thing. After class we could play with our classmates. I think that is good for children.

Is there anything else about lilong you would like to share?

4 - I think lilong, the building style is unique and the living conditions are horrible, but the relationships are good. Not like now. You could make more friends. You lived with your parents, grandparents, and sisters and brothers. Friendships are not like now. When I lived in lilong I still had relationships with my childhood friends. Today's children, I don't think they will keep their friendships for so long.

Anything else?

4 - No.

Thank you very much.

4 - You're welcome.

Interview #5

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age - 23

Sex - Female

NOTE: Interviewee was skeptical about the interview. She lived in a lilong for thirteen years and moved out in 1995.

What do you think the best part of living in a lilong was?

5 - The good part is that due to the structure of the house it is cool in summer and warm in the winter. The relationship is more harmonious between neighbors and people will help each other out. Nowadays you just live your own life and don't know anyone out of your apartment.

Were the relationships always harmonious?

5 - Sometimes arguments of course, but sometimes harmony, but to her it was like a big family life. Everyone opened their doors to everyone. In the new apartments, people don't know what is going on with their next door neighbor.

Any other benefits?

5 - The largest benefit is the harmony between neighbors.

What was the worst part?

5 - Four things. The bathroom facilities, the second worst part is that some lilong are made of wood and that made a lot of noise, walking around. There were many mice and roaches. The opposite of the big family lifestyle. There is no privacy, women gossiped a lot. Everyone knows what is happening in your home.

In your new apartment, what is the best part?

5 - Very good housing structure and you have more privacy. She wants to buy a bigger apartment, so she cannot think of any other benefits.

Besides being small are there any other negatives to your current apartment?

5 - So housing structure - one part is better and one part is worse. The height of the apartment (ceiling) is getting lower and lower. The ceilings are lower than in the old apartments. In new apartments are pretty low.

So in a lilong, how high was the ceiling?

5 - In the new apartment, the designer doesn't think or care about making the apartment cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter.

So the people who built the lilong understood how to build the house better?

5 - In the old apartments many people lived in one apartment and they built a half floor. That's why the ceiling has to be higher. One point five (1.5) floors. The designer didn't think about making it higher. For kids, in a lilong you have more people to hang out with, more friends. But in the new apartment you are alone. Due to the one child policy, you are always home alone. Very lonely for the kids.

Would you compare relationships between neighbors in a lilong and your current apartment?

5 - In the new apartments, every floor has two to four apartments, maybe up to six. That's all the neighbors you know. In the old lilong, the community is bigger, you know many neighbors.

In her new apartment does she know the names of the people who live on her floor? Does she talk to them?

5 - She knows them, but doesn't talk to them. When her family first moved into the apartments they had an argument with the neighbor and since then they don't talk.

Would you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

5 - One thing is the age difference. In the lilong, the committee members were old ladies. Fifties and sixties (Their age). In the new apartments, they are a little younger. Thirty-ish younger than the ones in lilong. In lilong, they took care of many detailed things, even like as small as what you cook with. In the new neighborhood, they take charge of bigger stuff.

An example of a bigger thing?

5 - She is a member of the party (CCP) and the new committee will ask her to have meetings. To get them very informed about what is going on with the party. In the new neighborhoods the committees are not responsible for what is going on in the party. They take care more of if you lack of something, if you have problems.

Did your family own the lilong you lived in?

5 - She is not sure. Maybe they owned the apartment. It was built in her grandmothers' mothers' period and we lived there since. She's not sure. She thinks so.

What year do you think (it was built)?

5 - The thirties.

Would you rather live in a lilong or the new apartment?

5 - When she was young she wanted to live in new apartments, but now she wants to live in old apartments.

You grew up in a lilong, was that a good place to be a child?

5 - Yes. I think so.

Are the new apartments as good a place to raise a child?

5 - The old one is better for kids.

Why?

5 - For a kid it is better because there are more friends to hang out with. In the new apartments kids may turn out to be self-centered.

Lilong are being torn down. Should Shanghai keep any lilong?

5 - Yes.

Why?

5 - It is historical. They are a sign for Shanghai.

Should people still live there?

5 - If they can move some families out and have less people there so people have more space, than that is good. If they have to still have the small space, they had better not. Just keep very few lilong as a museum. Leave them naturally. Don't build fences around them or make them nice. Just leave them there.

Do you have anything else to share about lilong?

5 - The water system is not very good. So when it rained hard, it would flood very easily. For kids, they loved it. They could play motor boats. We had big bowls for showers and kids would sit in there and play around. Kids loved it when it flooded.

Anything else?

5 - Nothing now.

Well, thank you.

Interview #6

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age - 23

Sex - Female

NOTE: She lived in a lilong for six years and moved out in 1987.

What were the largest benefits of living in a lilong?

6 - It has a very close connection between neighbors. People shared the same values. The difference is not great, the salary difference.

Is that important? To make the same amount of money as your neighbors?

6 - People are more friendly, because most of them made the same amount of money or very close to the same amount of money. The reason why they make friends with you is not because of money, pure relationship. Pure friendship.

Does that happen a lot that people are only friends with someone because they make a lot of money?

6 – Nowadays, yes. More and more people make friends with you because they want something.

Any other benefits?

6 - When she was in the lilong she was very young, very little. For a kid she had more friends.

Is living in a lilong a good place to raise a child?

6 - She thinks it is better than the new apartment.

Any other reasons besides having more kids to play with?

6 – Nowadays, kids are pretty closed. When she grew up she had to deal with other kids, so now she knows how to communicate. The kids nowadays, they are blocked in their own apartment.

What were the bad parts of living in a lilong?

6 - The space is too small, too many people. The average space everyone has is too small. The bathroom facilities were very bad. At that time we didn't feel that way because everyone is the same, nobody had better facilities. Because people are too close to each other, too much gossip and rumors were caused. No privacy. Whatever happens

in your apartment everyone in the lilong knows. The social circle is pretty small because all your friends and classmates are from the same lilong.

What is the best part about your current apartment?

6 - The facilities are better, bigger space. They are more human oriented. More privacy.

Any other benefits?

6 - No.

Any negatives in your current apartment?

6 - Her parents know the neighbors, but she doesn't know any of the neighbors and she doesn't want to know the neighbors.

Why don't you want to know the neighbors?

6 - She only says "hi" to them if she knows their faces. To Chinese saying "hi" is nothing. It is not a big deal. Close friends you tell your problems to, "hi" friends it's almost like you don't know them. Her apartment is very close to downtown.

Can you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

6 - In the old times, the committee is in charge of many detailed things like when arguments arise in the apartment and if you are going to get married. Nowadays if you don't go to them for something, they won't come to you to ask if you need help.

Is that good?

6 - To younger people it is better. To older people it is worse. For young people they want to do things themselves, in their own way. They don't want to listen to others. Older people, they need help.

Do you own your lilong?

6 - Rent.

Do you own your current apartment?

6 - Yes.

Would you rather live in a lilong or your current apartment?

6 - If the facilities are improved and more space, she would rather live in the lilong.

Why?

6 - She misses the old times. Her childhood was there and the people were pure - the relationships.

With the lilong being torn down, what should be done with the lilong that remain?

6 - We should keep some old apartments and move some families out. Keep two families in a two story house, so that each family has their own floor. It is a good idea to have people live there.

Even if they can build high buildings?

6 - If she had the chance, she would prefer to live in an old apartment.

Do you have anything else to share about lilong?

6 - Her sweetest memory was when it was summer they would get out of the apartment, in the space in the lilong, to sit together and talk and cool down with the breeze. At that time it was not that hot and no AC. It would be very fancy if you had a fan, so many people after dinner get out of the apartment and sit together. Kids would play around and adults can have conversations. It was very nice.

Do people in the new apartments ever do that?

6 - She doesn't think so. Nowadays it is getting hotter and hotter and everyone has AC, so why bother to go out of the apartment and sit in the hot weather? In the old times, when other families cooked good dishes, they would share them. If your family has happy things happening, they would share with the neighbors.

In your new apartment have you ever shared food with your neighbors?

6 - Impossible.

Why impossible?

6 - In the old times we lacked of food so we didn't have many nice foods. So when you had a nice food you wanted to share it. Now you can get anything you want at any time. No one cares what you do because they can get their own. All activities happen in lilong. Mahjong, people had more outdoor activities in lilong. Everyone knows everyone's background. That's it.

Thanks.

Interview #7

Language – English

Age – 24

Sex – Male

NOTE: He lived in a lilong for twenty years and moved out in 1999.

What do you think the largest benefits of living in a lilong were?

7 - A quite good relationship with my neighbors. We lived together, it's not like the modern building where the neighbors don't know each other. We lived there from when we are kids. Every person has a really good relationship. If anyone has any problems, the neighbor is going to help you.

What kind of problems?

7 - Maybe um. Let me see. One of their children gets sick and the parents are working. In a lilong other homes grandmother or grandparents, they would take the little kids to the hospital. If this kid lives in a modern building and they are home alone, no one is going to know he is sick unless the parents are coming home a little bit later. Being sick or ill is really tough. For example the people help each other in this kind of environment (lilong), from my experience, I lived in a lilong for twenty years. All the neighbors are just, you see them everyday and you have a very good relationship.

Would you say that a lilong was a good place to grow up?

7 - I think it is a good place for a kid. When I go home from school I could play with friends who were the same age. We played football or something just in the lilong. Don't worry, the adults in the lilong will take care of all the children. That's it. Lilong for growing up for little kids, it's a good place. They can know the social life, not just keep the door in the home. The children living in the modern apartments, his social circle is very small, just his parents, his relatives. In lilong you can have a lot of friends. The friendship for a child is very important to have some good friends at this age. And now I still have a relationship with my friends from the lilong.

Any other benefits?

7 - In the lilong I liked the environment. Although now I live in a new apartment, I miss my lilong, the time I spent in lilong. My situation, I lived in a lilong apartment, my grandma and grandpa lived downstairs. Me, my father and mother lived in the upstairs. It's a really good feeling of a family. Just coming downstairs to see my grandparents and also just beside we had my neighbors. This neighbor is good friends with my grandma and grandpa. They know my grandpa about fifty years. Very good relationship, one you could not imagine in the modern apartments. That is going to be the biggest benefit. Coming to the older facilities, which are not as good as in the modern apartment. They

don't have the AC until about 1995. Before 1995, no AC. Also other facilities not so good. The water, you have to use the public WC, no private WC in your home. You will use the public WC. There are some not so good parts about living in a lilong. Also in a lilong you could get influenced by your neighbors much more than you could in the modern apartments. Modern apartments have one stairs and two apartments. Everyday you just meet and smile, no talking. In lilong it is quite different because today your parents go and play Mahjong. In lilong there were some not very good guys who don't work, just stay home and spend the money from their parents, no job. They are in my opinion, they are wasting their life. This kind of person in my opinion are going to influence some kind of little kids. Some kids will follow them, maybe go there and play video games everyday. They quit the class. They learn to smoke, this is not the path the kid should do. The kid should focus more on their studies, but in lilong from my experience some of my friends they just went another way into another door in their life. They are the same age as me, but now they don't have jobs. They stay at home. I have no idea how can they keep on if they cannot rely on their parents. The people in lilong get more influenced by their neighbors.

Are there any other disadvantages to living in a lilong?

7 - The facilities are not very good. The living conditions are not very good. In Shanghai they are called shikumen. This kind of building, not like you see in Xintiandi, which is quite beautiful, it's actually not beautiful. It's warm in the summer and cold in the winter. The disadvantages are the space is limited not that large. I remember my grandpa and grandma had only one room. And people are easily influenced. This kind of influence is that your neighbors play mahjong until midnight and make a lot of noise. The noise can spread to your home and is really high and loud and you cannot sleep.

What are the advantages of your new apartment?

7 - The new apartment complex, we have a guy there who calls the management, who manages the real estate. The guy guards the front door so it is more safe for the people. In lilong it wasn't that safe. People get robbed by thieves at midnight because they don't have very good walls. They aren't very high and the door is easy to open and the thieves take advantage of that. In the new apartments these kind of things can be avoided. I think most of these situations can be avoided. There is a large garden in the middle of the complex. It has some physical equipment to do exercises for the morning. They also have the swimming pool in this complex. The condition is good. I have my own room and my parents have their own room and my grandma has her own room. Because we live on the sixth floor, the highest floor of this apartment, we have a very good view. My apartment is beside the Huangpu River, so we have a good view. It is just opposite to the Lujiazui, it is a good view. Now in the new apartment I saw everyday I come back home. I can have a good rest compared to the old apartment. My feelings are also good in the new apartment. People in my garden they are all the same level as I am. In Shanghai the real estate is now high. Basically living in my garden, the people are almost all the same level as my parents, same money. People are polite to each other. When I come home to my garden I saw someone, but I don't know who he is, I just smile and we go our own

way, it is this kind of relation. I really don't know my neighbors in my new apartment because we don't have a lot of chances to get together and I only know two to three people. The traffic is also good. The destination station is below that. So you can take the bus to People's Square, Huaihai Road, Nanjing Road it's convenient.

Would you say it is more convenient than your lilong?

7 - It is more convenient because in Shanghai's lilong it takes some time to get to the main road. The main road may not have a station and you had to walk five to ten minutes. And that station has a lot of buses. Just in my experience, the traffic is more convenient than the lilong. Now my lilong has disappeared. They built a high building. I think in my old lilong the location in Shanghai is quite good. Just opposite to the Oriental TV Tower. Now they are going to build some high buildings. I think there is going to be a new rail station.

Are there any disadvantages to your new apartment?

7 - At this stage I cannot say much about the disadvantages because I don't really meet any disadvantages. Because life is just average. I like my new apartment even though I don't have so many friends. They are just the same age as me, but at this stage I'm a college graduate and working every day so I don't have much time to play like a child. Everyday I work from nine to six. I leave my apartment at about seven and get back at about eight o'clock. Most of the time I spend at work. When I get home I meet my parents and have dinner and take a shower and do some work and have a rest and then go to bed. That's my life from Monday to Friday. On Saturday and Sunday I may go dating with my girlfriend one day and the other day go do some research for my work and also spend some time doing other things. I really can't say too many disadvantages to my new apartment. I think it is good because people in Shanghai, people's living conditions are improving and improving. The whole thing is about, lilong has its advantages, a good environment. Shanghai is becoming modern, it is one of the biggest cities in the world, most people should move into a new apartment. This is for the social security, for the benefit of the people. Lilong do not have good facilities or good conditions for the people now in Shanghai. If we want to remember this kind of building, just go to Xintiandi. They rebuilt the old buildings of Shanghai from the 1930s and 1940s, this kind of building is really good. My lilong was built in the fifties in the twentieth (I think he meant 19th) century. It is quite old.

Should we leave any lilong for people to live in or should they turn them into shopping areas or museums like in Xintiandi?

7 - I think it depends on if you want to keep the lilong for amusement; we don't need so many museums or so much Xintiandi. Xintiandi is only once, you only need one or two old lilong museums. It is enough for the people to remember Shanghai, we had this kind of building. We don't need to put down all the lilong. Maybe we can keep some lilong and redecorate them to let them have better living conditions. To my lilong was quite old, there was no need to let people stay there their whole life. It is unfair, I think people

need the good living conditions. As you see in Shanghai, on Huaihai Road, and such fancy streets. You cannot imagine the people of Shanghai living in this one room with three or four people. It is very low. The government should consider the citizens of Shanghai to improve their living conditions. Now in Shanghai, more and more people live in the new apartments.

Would you be willing to move into a lilong if it was remodeled?

7 - I think if it is remodeled. It depends on how it is remodeled. In Xintiandi they have a "Xintiandi 88" it is even more expensive than Grand Hyatt. It is not for you to live; they only rent like a hotel. About five US dollars for one night. That is not the price that average people can afford. I don't want to move to this kind of place. In lilong that they are redecorating and doing like the average apartment or real estate. They have too good security, I think I would move back to a lilong, they are a good place. Gives me a lot of memories. I don't really know how to say it in English, it is just a feeling in my mind and in my heart. I like this kind of feeling and this kind of environment. When I was a child I spend fifteen to twenty years, you are damn going to remember this place.

Do you have anything else to share about lilong?

7 - A lot of Shanghainese have the same experience as me. They were born in lilong and grew up in lilong and now they live in the new apartment. They really like the lilong before, it was part of their life they will never forget about. For them if you want them to move back to the lilong, they never would. They are used to the good living conditions and large space. This is going to be a part of the Shanghainese my age.

Thanks.

Interview #8

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Couple

Age – 61/56

Sex – Male/Female

NOTE: They both lived in lilong for forty-five years and moved out in 1994. During the interview the husband could barely get a word in over his wife.

What were the largest benefits of living in a lilong?

8 - People take care of themselves, each other a lot. If they get off work late and their kids are still at school, they can ask their neighbors to pick the kids up at school or even send the kid to school in the morning.

Any other benefits?

8 - There are many old people living there, and when their kids go to work in the morning they get up and buy food for the day. After your regular time, if you didn't show up they would go to your apartment and see if you are ok. If someone is sick, the neighbor will take you to the hospital. People didn't make much money, but if you have problems they will help you out. They don't care about money. If you don't have time to take care of your kids, you can send them to their apartment and they will feed your kid. The living conditions are very bad, but they have very good relationships. They have a very easy, happy life. They use stove in the old times, not gas. You have to keep the stove warm so use the things to burn inside the stove.

Coal bricks?

8 - Yes. If it is cold then it takes longer to get ready to cook, and she always got off work earlier than others, so she would try and help them keep their stove warm. So it's easier for them to cook when they get back from work. If their stove is already cold she would loan her stove to them when they get back. If there are leftover cooking materials like soy sauce or oil they would say "here just borrow some". In new neighborhood you just have to buy it for yourself, but in the old apartments you can borrow anything from your neighbor.

Do they ever borrow anything from their neighbors now?

8 - Not in the new neighborhood. Only when they have a big problem they cannot overcome, they will go to a neighbor. When they just moved in there was no gas in the apartment. They used electricity to cook rice and one night the electricity was out and she was home alone, so she went to a neighbor to ask for help. That's a problem you cannot overcome. In old times in the lilong with any little problem you would go to others for help.

Any other benefits?

8 - The best benefit is that people take care of each other.

What were the negatives of living in a lilong?

8 - Small. Three people share ten square meters and there is no kitchen. There is no privacy in lilong. At that time people were not rich so if you bought a fish or a chicken, it's a big thing and everyone knows you bought it. If you didn't go shopping for food they would be like "oh you saved a lot of money today, you didn't go shopping for food." Many, many gossips. If you had really good relations with your neighbors that would be good, but if you don't, it would be a big disaster. You open up your door and you face them every day. You share a tap. Your stove is next to each other. You just have to face them. In the new neighborhood if you don't like someone you won't see them. In the old times you had to face them and compromise and to hold your temper.

Can you go into detail on the facilities?

8 - The big problem is when it rains hard outside, it rains small inside. You have to put a lot of containers because the roof is dripping water. For showers, since they only had one room, when they want to shower they use a container and take an "easy bath or shower" and all the family has to leave to the room, the whole family, and they have nowhere to go.

Could you talk about the water tap?

8 - The tap is at the front of the lilong. In the old times there were rules that every several families can have one tap. So one or two families have a tap, but the rest do not have or cannot use a tap if they moved in later. At first it was one or two families in each house, then up to twenty to thirty. They didn't have a tap and all of them had to go to the front to use the tap.

So there would be some units in the lilong that have a tap, but some people might live in that lilong and not be able to use that tap?

8 - Yes. The government wouldn't let you have your own tap. Up to several families could share one tap. For example there could be ten families in a house, but eight of them share one tap. That leaves two families that have to go to the front. In the beginning, twenty to thirty families would share one tap, but then later on the government changed the rule so more and more families could have a tap, but the rest, they still didn't have a tap and would have to go to the front. They went to the front for several decades.

Anything else about facilities or other negatives?

8 - They used to have to buy sticks or papers for one thing. You would pay one mao (Unit of Chinese currency equal to .1 Yuan) to buy forty sticks and whenever you need water you would put one stick in the box on the tap. That's how they would share the bill. Like eight families would share the bill. One family would be in charge of the bill and they would decide 1 RMB (Yuan) or .1 RMB.

So each stick was different? They would have a family name on them?

8 - No. You bought the stick before you used the water. You buy forty sticks for a mao and you would get one mao's worth of water.

So you would buy the sticks from the family in charge of the tap?

8 - They decide how much water you get for each stick. If the bill is bigger than the sticks (money earned from) they would have to pay themselves. If they lost money, the month before, they would maybe charge one mao for thirty-five sticks. If they earned more money they would sell you forty-five sticks for a mao.

Did they ever cheat?

8 - In the old times they didn't cheat. They just trusted each other. Everyone took turns for who was in charge of the money. For example, they would take notes and do a financial report. They would write down how much money each family paid each month. Ten families and the bill is 1.8 RMB. One family paid 2 mao and so on and it added up to 1.8. There is .2 RMB left. They would keep the money for later on, so in one month if they go over or if something is wrong with the tap, they can use the remaining money to repair it.

And control over billing of the tap would rotate? So one family would be in charge for a year, and then another?

8 - Yes. That's right. If in three months they keep going over, the sticks would cost more. Later on more and more families had their own tap, so they decided they wouldn't do the stick thing anymore. They would divide the bill by individuals. If your family has three people and my family has four, so they would divide it up according to how many people you have in your family.

When did that change?

8 - In the 1990's. In the last couple of years her mom was in charge of selling the sticks because older people who were too old to take care of anything, and the young people go to work and don't have time to sell anyone the sticks. So her mom was in charge. Some people have their own tap, so fewer people needed the sticks, so mom was in charge. Up to the 1990's there were only five families left sharing the tap, and it used to be fifty families doing the stick thing. So there used to be a big queue in front of the tap, because

there was only one tap. When there was only five left they decided to share by the persons. It was busy in the morning, but during the day it was ok.

Any other negatives?

8 - The toilet thing was a big, big problem. For guys they would ask them to go outside to use the bathroom. At that time there was no public bathrooms in the lilong. They had to go into town to use the bathroom. About ten minutes walk. For girls you cannot ask them to go out to use the bathroom. If you have people come and visit you, in ten square meters, you cannot ask them to go out "you have to all go out so the girl can use the restroom" (you cannot ask this) so they ask to borrow a neighbor's container and go to the neighbors to use the container. Usually with the container it was kept under the bed. So when there is guests there they take out the container and use it. When people come to visit, you cannot ask others to leave so you can use it, you go to neighbors to use it. These stories are too hard to imagine (laughing). You cannot understand how we lived in these hard times. At that time people did not feel that it was awful to live there, but after they moved to a new apartment, if you asked them to move back to the lilong, to those old hard times, they can't. In the old times it was okay and they were happy and they just wished that one day they could move to a new apartment and have their own facilities. When they first moved into the new apartment they were so damn happy. Three people sharing ten square meters, now they have three rooms and individual bathroom, they just feel so happy.

What is the best part of this apartment?

8 - It's easy to get to work. When it rains hard it's still easy. You don't have to get your water. In the lilong, you had to get your water and also when you are done, you had to go to the front of the lilong to get rid of the water. You had to go back and forth, back and forth. Now it's so easy to open the tap and the sink is there to.

Anything else good?

8 - The shower is the most happy thing now. They can shower every day. They have their own water heater. In the old times you would shower every half year. They had to go to a public shower room and wait in a queue for three hours to get into it. It used to be we didn't have bathrooms. So we had a container for water and that's the only water you would have for your shower. Even the dirty water would get into it and you would still have to use it. Nowadays you can have warm water or cool water, it is all up to you.

Are there any negative things in the new apartment?

8 - The lack of communication. They don't have a good relationship with their other neighbors. Everyone just closes their door. In the old times, the only time they closed their door is when they went to sleep. Everyone would come in and have a talk. After they bought food, people would come in and ask them how it is. Very easy and lots of communication and you feel at home, very at ease with the people. Nowadays you are

very nice, but you are distant. In the old times, it was like family or very old friends. Now all the bad things from lilong are taken care of, but they lost the good things from the lilong like communication and taking care of each other. Now you don't talk to each other.

Would you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

8 - The old committee was less educated than the new ones. But the old ones weren't concerned with how much money they earned or how much time they consumed in their work. Every Thursday they would lead the people in the lilong to clean to ground and the water systems and pipes.

Everyone would work together to clean the neighborhood?

8 - Yes. There would be a day each week where the committee would tell the people "today is the day of cleaning" and those who stay at home would help. Sometimes they would they would bring in mouse killing pills (poison). And they would give the pills to any family who needs it or wants it and teach them how to use it. They would never ignore any family.

What do the committees do now?

8 - They are still in charge, but one committee is in charge of several different complexes. So it is impossible for them to go to every family and say tomorrow is cleaning day. They will put a post saying "someday we will do something" and nowadays they made new rules where there is one man or one woman to be the leader of each building. Every building has their leader and when they want something to be applied to every family, they will meet with the leader of the building, and they will tell the other families.

When were the committees more effective?

8 - They liked the old committee better. Because they went to every family. It's different when you know someone, you want to talk to them, it's easier. Nowadays the committee doesn't know each family. So it's hard for them to implement things. Now the management service company is more in charge than the neighborhood committee. They talk to management service more than the committee whenever something happens.

Would they rather live in a lilong or their current apartment?

8 - In the new apartment. There are more benefits in the new apartment.

How well do they know their neighbors?

8 - They know most of the people besides the new married couple. In this building people moved from the same area. We moved from the same lilong to here. The two families who were not from the same lilong, they do not know them. The other families

they will say “hi” when they walk by. It is not easy in the new apartment to say “hi” to people, it is not common.

Is it pretty common, when people moved out of a lilong, did all of them move into the same apartment complex?

8 - Yes. The government wanted the land in their old lilong, so they built up several areas of new apartments and they give you a new apartment by the amount of people that lived in the old apartment, by the square meters. The old, big lilongs were divided into several areas. Our complex, most of them moved from the same lilong. Not every new apartment had this same policy.

Would they say the relationships changed with their neighbors after the move?

8 - Now they don't go to other people's apartments much. Some people have nice decorations and you have to take off your shoes and they feel bad if they would always go there, like they would ruin the nice decorations. In old times they were open all the time. Because they would go out the door so many times. The kitchen is outside, the water is outside. You just have to go out so many times each day. The doors were always open. Now they don't. In most cases, in casual time, they don't go to others apartments to have a talk.

Was the lilong a good place to raise a child?

8 - In old apartments they hung out a lot with friends. Even within one family, relatives lived together so the kids would know how to talk to each other, how to talk to people, communicate. In the new apartments they feel very lonely because of the one-child policy and they don't talk to neighbors. So for kids, it is very lonely in the apartments. In new apartments the kid can have his own room for studying, so the parents can go in another room and talk and do whatever they want. In the old times there was only one room, so you could not watch TV, neighbors would always come into your room to talk. You cannot tell neighbors to go away because the kid wants to study. They have only one table in the room, no desk. They eat on the table, study on the table, they do a lot of things.

So which is a better place to raise a kid?

8 - They think the new apartment is better, by comparison, for the kid. In the old times people used many bad words around the neighborhood (cursing). The kids didn't know, but they will learn it. When they learn it is bad, it is too late for them not to say it. In the old apartments you are affected by the people living around you. In the new apartments you have your own space so you won't get affected too much.

What should Shanghai do with its remaining lilong?

8 - Depends on the value. If the old housing has value, that's the only style, construction style, architectural style, of course, keep it. Or if some celebrities stayed there, keep it.

Like Mao in Xintiandi?

8 - Yes. If it is old and it is nothing, just not good looking, tear it down.

Make them into museums or should people still live in them?

8 - It is not suitable for people to live there anymore because of the bad facilities.

Anything else to say?

8 - No.

Thank you.

Interview #9

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age – 78

Sex – Female

NOTE: She lived in a lilong for forty-seven years and moved out in 1997. The translator seemed hesitant to push for more information, due to the age of the interviewee.

What were the biggest advantages of living in a lilong?

9 - Very easy to catch a bus and the hospital was nearby. The food market was close. Very easy to live there.

Any other advantages?

9 - She lived there many years and was used to the lifestyle, neighbors being nice to each other.

Anything else?

9 - Not really.

What were the worst parts of living in a lilong?

9 - No gas, no bathroom facility. Just those two points.

What are the best parts of this apartment?

9 - There is gas, individual bathrooms, more space. But it is inconvenient for old people to go to the hospital.

Any other benefits?

9 - Individual apartments are way better, but going out is worse. The transportation is bad, hospitals are far away, the food market is far away. When she first moved in there were many thieves, but now it is getting better.

Compare the relationships between neighbors between the lilong and this apartment.

9 - It is similar. In the old apartment they were young and always went to work, not much time to talk. Now that we are getting old and are retired, they go to the park and the green land in the neighborhood to talk.

Would you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

9 - Old committees she knew them, but not all that well, she knew them though. In the eight years she has lived here she has never met the new committee.

Did your family own the lilong you lived in?

9 - No. The lilong belongs to China.

Do you own your current apartment?

9 - Yes.

Would you rather live here or in a lilong?

9 - She is used to living here. Even if she wanted to move back to the old lilong, there is no way, so here is okay.

Do you know the people who live across the hall?

9 - Most of them, who live in this building. Those who rent out apartments, she doesn't know them.

Can you tell me a little bit about the facilities in the lilong?

9 - She had a tap. No bathroom, no gas, and she had to use coal in the stove.

Was it a good place to raise children?

9 - She doesn't know how to answer, because she never raised a kid in the new apartments. Her son grew up in the lilong and he was pretty good boy and didn't cause many troubles.

Can you guess?

9 - It's easier in the old apartment because the school is very close. Nowadays in a new apartment the school is very far away and parents always have to take their children on their motorbike to school. The old apartments are easier.

What should Shanghai do with the lilongs?

9 - It is China's business, she doesn't know.

Do you have anything to share about lilong that we didn't cover?

9 - It's pretty easy to live there and she had a happy life there.

Interview #10

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age – 51

Sex – Female

NOTE: She lived in a lilong for over thirty years and moved out in 1994.

What were the largest benefits of living in a lilong?

10 - A very good relationship with your neighbors, it's like your own family members, even closer. They would come over to any other persons place to visit. It's a very family feeling.

Any other benefits?

10 - If anyone cooked some good food, they would invite people over to have the good dish. A very good relationship.

And do they do that now?

10 - If there is no emergency you wouldn't knock on someone else's door.

Any other benefits?

10 - Whenever you have problems you could ask anyone for help. The only difficulty is the bathroom facilities and small space.

Were there other negatives?

10 - At that time people earned the same amount of money. Maybe some of them earned a little bit more, but not much more. The friendships were very pure.

Does she think that people who make different amounts of money can't get along or be good friends?

10 - Only the friends she had since primary school. Now they are getting very rich and they still hang out, but if you just meet someone who is rich, than you cannot get along.

What is the best part in your new apartment?

10 - She likes to be alone sometimes so it is nice that she has her own apartment. She won't bother others and others won't bother her.

Did it bother her when she lived in a lilong, did people not give her the space she needed?

10 - Not physically, but the environment did not give her the space to be alone.

What was it about the environment that she didn't like, noise?

10 - She says the life is pretty routine. You went to school and after you graduate the school would tell you where to work. Most people earned 36 RMB a month as a salary. If someone had a good job they would earn 38 RMB, only a two RMB difference, so no big deal. People had very pure relationships and friendships.

Are there any bad things about your current apartment?

10 - She thinks it is ok how much she pays for the management fee and how the management works. She wishes the human quality could be higher, there are too many dogs.

What do you mean by human quality?

10 - It's like a national problem. People don't cross each other, people don't clean there apartments or (keep) their environment clean.

Could you compare the relationships between the neighbors in the lilong and now?

10 - The difference is from the root. In the old lilong people watch you growing up. When you deal with them it is very direct, direct interaction. Now it feels like there is something between the people when they communicate. You won't tell them what you think, it's not as direct.

Could you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

10 - It's not a big difference to her. She has been to school and to work and now she is retired, but still she has a job, so she doesn't deal with the committee. If you want to learn something you see the poster that the new committee has that has classes and things. If she has a problem she can still go to the committee.

Where was the committee stronger?

10 - In the old apartment she was pretty young and didn't need the committee. Only old people need the committee. She just retired so she doesn't really deal with the committee.

Did you own your lilong?

10 - Rented from the government.

Your current apartment?

10 - When she first moved here she still rented from the government. Then the government had a policy to give you a low rate to buy your apartment.

So she owns it now?

10 – Yes.

Where would you rather live?

10 - The facilities are better here, she doesn't want to move back.

Could you go into detail on the facilities in the lilong?

10 - There were four kids in her family. The older brother went to (place name unintelligible) in the north of China. They had two rooms. A head room and a back room and they made their own half-floor where they slept. No toilet, just a bedpan.

Anything else about the facilities?

10 - Three families shared about ten square meters for the kitchen with three stoves. If you owned a black and white TV set it would be awesome. You would feel so happy.

Would your neighbors come and watch if you owned one?

10 - Yes. People would come and watch TV with you, but nowadays you see every room in an apartment has a big TV set. She went to visit her colleague and their apartment used to be better than her old one, but they still live in the old one. Their old one was better than her old one. Now she went there to visit and she cannot imagine how they can live there, even though it was better than her old one.

When she lived in a lilong her friend had a really nice apartment?

10 - Yes. She cannot imagine how they survive.

Does she know her neighbors here? Does she interact with them?

10 - No.

Not at all?

10 - Not at all.

Was the lilong a good place to grow up?

10 - She thinks that society is changing, of course it is better in the new apartments. The way of teaching is better, the teachers are more educated. You cannot go back to old times.

So it is impossible to compare? What should they do with the lilong that still exist?

10 - She says only if it has architectural value, if not they should just tear it down. Her old lilong had no architectural value and it was horrible for people to live there, so just tear it down.

Does she think lilong have architectural value?

10 - Yes there is. There is a lilong very close to her former one that is still there. Yes, it is valuable.

What should they do with the lilong? Should they make them museums?

10 - It is better to have people live there because then there are human feelings, if no people than it would be dead. If you have more money, of course, you can buy a new apartment, but if old people want to live there, they can stay.

Anything else to share about lilong?

10 - Not really.

Thanks.

Interview #11

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Couple

Age – 57/54

Sex – Male/Female

NOTE: They both lived in lilongs for forty years and moved out in the 1990's.

What was the best part of living in a lilong?

11 - It's very convenient. You know each other; the friendship between neighbors is very harmonious. If you need anything you can borrow from others. "Far away relatives are not as good as close neighbors". Whenever you need something you can ask any neighbors to help you and they will. It's very easy to shop and close to the workplace. It's easy to travel to work, saves time.

Can you talk about the kind of shops that were in and around the lilong?

11 - It's not in the lilong, but once you step out of the lilong, it was a street full of shops.

What was the worst part of living in a lilong?

11 - No gas, no bathroom facility. The environment was not good. If this problem could be solved than everyone would be willing to live in a lilong, because it is very close to downtown.

If it had modern conveniences would they be willing to move back to the lilong?

11 - Yes. In new complexes they are far away from the hospital. It's not easy to get to the hospital.

Is there anything else they would want to be close to?

11 - The things you need. They want those things close, like shopping.

What are the best things about where they live now?

11 - It is very quiet, the environment is better. The living conditions are improved. The environment is improved.

What is the worst part?

11 - The transportation is not good and the shopping area is too far away. It is inconvenient. Lack of communication with the neighbors. You just shut your door. People are too busy with work, no time to communicate.

Why do they think they don't talk to their neighbors?

11 - People are busy and it is far from work, so that takes up their time.

Anything else to add about the relationship with their neighbors?

11 - In a word, the communication. In the old lilong more communication and now, no communication.

Are there any reasons for this besides they are so far from work?

11 - The only communication is from the leader of the building. If the committee has something they want the civilians in this area to know then the leader of the building will come over to tell them. This is the only chance they have or time they speak to neighbors.

Could they compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

11 - The new committees arrange more off-work activities for people. Yesterday they just arranged an outside movie where they set up a screen. This is the kind of thing the new committee does. They put up some ads for people in the neighborhood.

Are these types of things popular?

11 - Those people who are retired or don't work, kids they will go to these things. Those who work don't have any energy to do these kinds of activities.

Would the committees in the lilong plan anything like this?

11 - At that time they were very young and busy at work. They didn't know if there were these kinds of activities and they didn't care. They didn't have the energy.

What sort of things did the lilong committee do?

11 - New policies and regulations, they would implement them and let everyone know through the committee. Also if there were robbers or thieves in the neighborhood, they would let people know to watch out their doors and windows.

Policies for the neighborhood, all the way to policies for the national government?

11 - Anything.

Did they own their lilong?

11 - Her family owned the lilong, but his family rented.

Do they own their current apartment?

11 - Yes. Their companies give them the ability to rent this apartment and they can buy it for a very low rate. They have a special phrase for this kind of thing.

Translator - I don't know what this special term is (regarding the term for purchasing the apartment)

Earlier they said they would be willing to move back into their lilong. Could they tell us why they would be willing to?

11 - Two reasons. One is it is easier for life. It is closer to downtown and easier for shopping, it's just easy. The second reason is that the relationship between neighbors is very harmonious.

So those two reasons are more important than having all this space?

11 - No, that is the condition. They would want more space and a bathroom.

So they wouldn't move back without these conditions being met?

11 - Yes. There has to be more space. The old area they used to live was the Xujiahui area and it is now very advanced.

Could they go into a little more detail on the facilities inside the lilong?

11 - There was no toilet. For the tap, many families shared one tap, but later each family had their own.

There aren't many lilong left, what should Shanghai do with the remaining lilong?

11 - They should keep some of the old lilong. And of course they should have people living there. It is a sign of Shanghai.

There is a quote I found "without lilong there would be no Shanghai".

11 - You cannot say that, but without lilong it would be a big loss for Shanghai.

Do they know their neighbors across the hall?

11 - It's just a say "hi" basis.

Do they know their names?

11 – No, they don't know. They leave home at 7am and get back late. There is no time to care about their names.

Do they think that lilong are a good place to raise a child?

11 - They think the lilong is better than the new apartments because kids can hang out with other kids. They learn how to adjust to environment changes. Now kids living in a new apartment only know themselves. They don't know how to communicate and they might have problems when the environment changes.

Do they have anything else about lilong they would like to share?

11 - One thing. They really miss the life in lilong.

Thanks.

Interview #12

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age – 23

Sex – Female

NOTE: She splits her time staying in a lilong owned by her grandmother and her parents' modern apartment.

What was the best part of living in a lilong?

12 - The communication between neighbors is easier. Whenever you have problems it is easier to solve.

Anything else?

12 - It's easier to hang out with neighbors because people are close together. The old apartment she lived in was very close to downtown, so everything is easier for her. Shopping, hanging out, transportation to work, to study, to school. Everything, just convenient for life. The location is a golden area of Shanghai.

And the worst part?

12 - Shared bathroom and no toilet, only a bedpan. No kitchen. The place they cooked it is the lobby between rooms. There were safety problems. What if there was a fire? There was a fire alarm that happened very close to her old apartment, a fire.

Was there a lot of damage?

12 - The fire began on the ground floor and up to the third floor. So basically everything in the apartment is damaged. The outside house is still there. They had to rebuild everything inside. No people died in the fire.

Anything else?

12 - Small space. A room of twenty square meters held grandparents, two sets of grandparents, and four kids, because kids grew up together. The parents all had their own apartments somewhere in Shanghai, but all the grandchildren stayed with the grandparents.

Why?

12 - One reason is that the parents were very busy at work and they didn't have time to take care of the kids. The second reason is four kids growing up together would have buddies to grow up with. They wouldn't be lonely. The grandparents like to be with the kids.

Is that common?

12 - In Shanghai, yes it should be very common. She thinks that maybe it is different now.

What are the best parts of the new apartments?

12 - One thing is that the bathroom and kitchen all belong to one family. The second thing is there is more privacy. The space is bigger, but the neighborhood environment is not too big of a difference. Where she stays now is built in 1985, so it is a pretty old style. There is not a big difference.

What does she mean by neighborhood environment?

12 - The complex. It's like the conditions of the neighborhood condition. No trees, no activity equipment or club. It's an older neighborhood. That's it.

How do the facilities compare with a lilong?

Translator - I made a mistake earlier. There was a toilet in their lilong, but it was a shared one.

12 - Several families shared. In their new apartment they have their own.

Can she estimate how many people shared?

12 - Three families. Eleven people within the three families. In her old lilong they also had a bathtub, but nobody really used it. If they needed to shower they would put a container in the bathtub that is smaller and looks like a bathtub. Because too many people shared it so they didn't want to really use it. There is no water heater. They would boil the water on the stove. In the new apartment they have a water heater so it is very easy for a shower.

Any negatives in the new apartment?

12 - The ceiling is too low. In the old apartments it was very high.

Why is it low?

12 - She thinks maybe they just want to save building costs. In the lilong the house was designed by foreigners and maybe they think it is better to have high ceilings.

Any other negatives?

12 - Now transportation is not bad, but twenty years ago this location would have been "middle town" to Shanghai. But nowadays the city is growing, so it is pretty close to downtown.

Could you talk about the relationships between neighbors in the lilong and the new apartment?

12 - The relationship between neighbors is pretty good. Whenever something happens in one family, the other families will be very willing to help in the lilong.

And what about the new apartment?

12 - People are very friendly, distance nice, only on a say "hi" basis. They don't really care what happens in other families.

Why does she think there is a difference?

12 - The communication is different. When they share the bathroom and the kitchen they have many chances to communicate and they become very close and care about each other. In the new apartment they have their own facilities and they don't have a chance to talk. When they see each other it's just to say "hi" or a couple of sentences, not like a deep talk.

Which relationship does she prefer?

12 - They both have negatives and positives. For lilong, people exchange hearts and feelings. Whenever you have difficulties you just ask for help. In the new apartments you don't easily go to other apartments and knock on their doors for small problems, you just don't do it. In lilong people are too close, there is no privacy. In the new apartments you have more privacy.

If she had to choose one?

12 - It's hard to pick.

Could you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

12 - She doesn't pay attention to the committees.

Does her family own the lilong?

12 - They have several rooms. They own one, but the other they have to pay rent.

The current apartment?

12 - Yes.

If she had to choose one of the two to live in which would she choose?

12 - If they could own a whole floor of a lilong she would prefer living there, but if they still had to share a bathroom and a kitchen, she would prefer not to.

With the lilong being torn down so fast what should they do with those that remain?

12 - At least the lilong she used to live in is preserved.

It is preserved and people will continue living in it?

12 - Unless they buy their own apartment, the government will not ask them to leave.

How did the government choose their lilong for preservation?

12 - She says there are two reasons. One is that the richest person in Hong Kong was thinking about buying it, but there were too many people living there, so he didn't buy it.

Because he would have to pay for their relocation?

12 - Yes. He would pay to move them. He was thinking about buying it, but there were too many financial problems. That lilong used to belong to very rich people. It is the villa style. It was built up very early. It is in the very downtown area the core of Shanghai.

By Jing An Temple?

12 - Even closer to downtown, by People's Square. It is closer to People's Square. It is a good area with old villa style architecture.

Has the government put more money into it recently since they know they are going to keep it?

12 - Yes, the government did. Six months ago the government paid for them to replace all the electricity wiring. They also redid the water system. Not to get rid of rain, but the things to get rid of tap water. They also put in auto sensors for fire, a sprinkler system.

Are there many neighborhoods like that being preserved?

12 - There should be.

Has the rent in the lilong stayed the same?

12 - She doesn't know.

Does she know everybody in the lilong by name?

12 - The majority of faces she will talk to.

In her new apartment is there a flat right across the hall?

12 - Four flats on one floor.

Does she know the names of the people in those flats?

12 - Not every family member in every family, but she knows some from each family.

Was the lilong a good place to grow up?

12 - Yes.

Which is a better place for children?

12 - The lilong.

Why?

12 - There are more kids to hang out with.

Why don't kids hang out in the new apartments?

12 - She doesn't know. She didn't live there when she was young.

Do you have anything else to share about lilong or the new style of apartments?

12 - She would like to share something about the bathroom facilities in the old lilong. The lilong she stayed in when she was young was pretty new compared to other lilongs because it belonged to rich people, so it was new compared to other lilong. Where her parents lived was an old lilong so she knows about their bathroom facilities. Where her parents lived was a two floor apartment. The first floor was a sitting room and there stove was there. They didn't have a toilet, they used a bedpan. The first thing when people got up was to make the stove warmer to use it to cook. The bedpan was on the second floor and they put it in a small corner of the house so you couldn't see it. There are no doors to cover the area, but you couldn't see it. It was kind of a hidden area, so two floors belonged to one family. Twenty square meters for one family. The tap was also in the sitting room. It all belonged to one family.

Does she know which particular style of lilong it was?

12 - You can only put it in as an old style architectural house.

Anything else?

12 - No.

Thanks.

Interview #13

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Couple

Age – 54/52

Sex – Male/Female

Note: He lived in a lilong for almost forty years and moved out in 1988. She lived in a lilong for thirty and moved out in 1984.

What was the best part about living in a lilong?

13 - Neighbors took care of each other and whatever happens they will take care of others. If you are sick, they will take you to a hospital. If there is an emergency they will help you out. The relationship is very harmonious.

Anything else?

13 - Transportation is very easy and the security is pretty good. If an unfamiliar face comes to the lilong, people will care about it and ask "who are you looking for?" so security is very high. It is close to the hospital. That's it.

And the worst part?

13 - Bad bathrooms. The shared areas made it easy for people to have arguments. If the kids had arguments, then the adults would have arguments as well. The water is very small. Tap water is very small.

Small? So they could only get a little bit of water out?

13 – Yes and no bathroom facilities. The shared area is pretty dirty. When it rains, lilong easily get water into them. There are also electricity problems, the cords are everywhere, it is not well organized, it is easy to catch on fire. If the people are less educated or had less money, then there are more arguments. If they are well educated and have more money, there were less arguments.

So the people who were more educated, they wouldn't fight as much?

13 - Yes. When they live on the top floor it is very hot outside and inside. It was not a lilong apartment (they are talking about the apartment they lived in after the lilong and before their current apartment - this is cleared up later in the interview), but not a modern apartment. Something in between. It was even hotter than outside.

What is the best part about their current apartment?

13 - They have their own bathroom facilities and kitchen. Here is also the very downtown, so it's very easy for them to go out.

Is this location better than the location of their lilong?

13 - It is the same location.

The exact same?

13 - Yes.

Where did they move while they were building?

13 - The old apartment was not a lilong. It was the old style of six-floor buildings and they lived there for a couple of years. The people who lived in the apartment are all from not good economy, problems. Either they get laid off, or are retired; they have no economy to move out.

Anything else good about their current apartment?

13 - The shopping and the hospital are close. Easy to go to school. The bad part is that it is still very small. There are six flats on the same floor, so it is still very small. This apartment also faces north, so there is no sunshine during the day. There is no elevator. The water coming from the tap is very little. The management doesn't do anything to improve it. There are no green plants in this neighborhood.

Did they have plants in the lilong?

13 - No. There is a restaurant very close to here and you can smell the oils and food all the time.

Can they compare the relationship between neighbors between the lilong and this apartment?

13 - There is no communication between neighbors in the new apartments. In the old lilongs many communications and you greet everyone in the morning and night. If you hang out some laundry in the shared balcony when it rains or gets dark other people will take it down for you.

Any other examples from the lilong of people working together?

13 - Once their neighbor who was a very old man had a stroke and they helped send him to the hospital and contacted his kids.

Would something like that happen here?

13 - You close your door and don't know what is happening, so no. When kids are off school, the neighbors will take care of your kids and feed them. You didn't have to ask them to do it, they just would.

Do they know their neighbors here?

13 - Yes. They are from the same lilong.

Have their relationships changed since they left the lilong?

13 - They are now on a say "hi" basis. It is not like the same complex moved into the same building. If they see the old neighbors they will say "hi", but that is it.

When they lived in the lilong, what would they talk about with their neighbors?

13 - In old lilong people shared everything like where the food is cheaper and how is the weather. Just casual talking. They will share knowledge about how to cook food. They also share the news. The facilities are just too bad in lilong, otherwise they would prefer to live in the lilong.

Can they compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

13 - The function of the committee is getting smaller. Now they have a management office that takes care of maintenance for the apartments. The arguments still belong to the committee and to arrange activities for old people. Also they help the poor people in the area to apply for government money. But basically the same.

Did you own your lilong?

13 - No, they rented.

Do they own their current apartment?

13 - Yes.

They already mentioned they would like to live in a lilong if it had better facilities. Can you ask them why?

13 - The relationship between neighbors is good. They watched each other grow up so they know a lot about their habits, personalities, and interests. It is easier to communicate and get along. You won't feel lonely.

Do they feel lonely here?

13 - For them, not yet, because they still have jobs. But for the old people they feel very lonely, that's why they sometimes sit downstairs in front of the entrance to the building.

The majority of the old people feel lonely, but for the very social old people they still hang out and play mahjong.

Do they have anything else to say about the facilities in a lilong?

13 - Four square meter kitchen, three families shared it. They only had one sink and one water tap and no bathroom. If they needed water they had to use the tap in the kitchen. If they don't feel good that day and want to go to sleep early they cannot use the water because another family is cooking. They would have to wait until they finished. On every floor they had a place; there is no bathroom, so no toilet, so every family used a bedpan. Every floor had a place where you could get rid of your poop. From your container to the big thing, but there is no tap water, so it is very stinky.

Could they talk about the process in emptying the containers? Who came to pick them up and how did that work?

13 - The big thing goes underground. The thing on each floor all led to the one underground. The company would then pick up the big one.

Did street vendors come into the lilong to sell food?

13 - There were street vendors who would carry dumplings and snacks into the lilong and they even carried a cow into the lilong for milk in the 1950's. They would also carry sheep and lamb if you wanted that milk. Lots of stuff to eat when they were young. In the early 50's and 60's they also had a vendor who would carry something that you put your clothes in and they would dye it other colors. Also they have people who sharpen scissors and knives for you.

So they would come into the lilong?

13 - And yell. We also have children's songs for those.

What were the songs?

13 - Just songs about the guys. Kids play around and sing those songs.

What should be done with the lilong that remain in Shanghai?

13 - Tear down the ones with no value, but keep the ones with architectural value. Let people stay living there, but redo something about them, they can't stay the way they are. The government has started putting some improvements into the ones to keep.

Was the lilong a good place to raise children?

13 - It depends. In the lilong if your neighbors are well educated, than it is better. Old lilong can also be away from downtown, then the schools aren't as good, so it's bad for

kids. In new apartments kids won't get influenced. If in the lilong the neighbors are educated, it is close to downtown, and the facilities are better than the lilong is good.

Anything else to say about lilong?

13 - No.

Thanks.

Interview #14

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Couple

Age – 53/53

Sex – Male/Female

NOTE: They both lived in lilong between thirty and forty years and moved out in the 1980's.

What was the best part of living in a lilong?

14 - Neighbors are very close. If someone gets sick next door they just have to knock on the door and they would help them. The relationship is very good. In lilong, if they lack of something when they are cooking, they can just borrow it from their neighbors. In the new apartment, you would never knock on someone's door and ask for soy sauce.

Why does she think that is?

14 - In the old neighborhood they grew up together. In the new apartments they moved in after they grew up, so the neighbors are strangers.

Anything else good about living in a lilong?

14 - They think that is the only good thing from a lilong is that people cared about each other. If you need something just say it out and people will help you.

What were the bad things about living in a lilong?

14 - No bathroom facilities and no tap water. They would have to carry a container to the front of the lilong to get water. Over ten families shared one tap. No toilet and no gas. You had to use coal and you have to clean the bedpan yourself. You had to carry it out to a place to put it in a bigger container.

Anything else?

14 - Their house only had one apartment. When it rained, water would come in and lots of noise.

And what are the benefits of their current apartment?

14 - They have their own bathroom and kitchen and no matter how bad the weather is, they don't have to go out.

What are the bad parts in your current apartment?

14 - The space is still too small. This faces west, so no shade in the afternoon. No sunshine in the winter at all. When they built the building they didn't think about the distance between the buildings. They are too close to each other and block the sunshine.

Could you compare the relationships between the neighbors in a lilong and their current apartment?

14 - In the old apartments they would go to their neighbors for small things. Nowadays, no matter what happens, they would not go to their neighbors for help. At most they will say "hi" to each other.

Were they better friends with people in the lilong?

14 - You cannot say it is friends or family. It is just people you are very familiar with. You are used to being around them and asking for help with them.

Do they know the names of their neighbors?

14 - They only know their family names.

How often do they talk to their neighbors?

14 - No communication because people are very busy. They get up early and get home late. As soon as they get off work, they are preparing for dinner. They are so busy there is no time to talk.

Can they compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

14 - Their work center has been moving from dealing with arguments in the lilong to nowadays people don't share space, so there are less arguments so their work centers on taking care of those people who are old and retired. Nowadays they also have to take care of twenty-ish and thirty-ish people who don't have work.

What do they do for those people?

14 - They will try and arrange job opportunities and training for them.

Did they own their lilong?

14 - Yes. One did, one did not.

Do they own their current apartment?

14 - Yes.

Would they rather live in their current apartment or the lilong?

14 - (Strong reaction - no) they would prefer living in the new apartment, even if they redid the facilities.

Can they talk a little bit about the facilities in the lilong?

14 - The stove used coal. The coal store was not very close and they had to carry it home themselves because they didn't want to pay people to carry it for them and you needed special tools. For water you needed a container to take water from the front of the lilong. If the adults aren't home then two kids had to carry it themselves using a stick.

Translator - I asked them how they split the water bill.

14 - They divided it by how many members are in each family, individual persons. That's why they had many arguments. "You stay at home; you use more water than me" For electricity they had a big measuring meter and each family had a small meter. If the small bills don't match the big meter, than the rest they split by family.

Can they talk about the street vendors that would come into the lilong?

14 - They had candy vendors, and there were people who would gather trash they can sell for money. There are also people who sharpened scissors and knives. There were wood containers used to put water in for shower and things and there were people who would make those.

Are there any vendors that come in here?

14 - No. There are guards in the complex who would not let them in.

What should be done with the lilong that remain?

14 - It is not our business. It is a government thing.

Was raising children in the lilong better than it would be here.

14 - They don't have kids, they don't care.

They grew up in a lilong - do they feel it was a good place to grow up?

14 - They think they know how to deal with people better than those who grew up alone. Being the only kid in the family makes people very self-centered and mean. They don't know how to deal with people.

So even people from their generation, they know how to deal with people better?

14 - Yes.

Do they have anything else to share about living in a lilong?

14 - Their old lilong was torn down in 1984 and they moved back (to the city) 1989, they don't really remember.

Translator - Should I ask where they lived in those five years?

Sure.

14 - They rented a one floor apartment in the southwest of Shanghai.

Thanks.

Interview #15

Language – English

Age – 23

Sex – Female

NOTE: She lived in a lilong for six years as a child. She moved out in 1988.

What is the best part of living in a lilong?

15 - The best part is that we were very familiar with our neighbors. We have a very good relationship and when my family meets with some difficulties they will help us. Because I lived in a lilong very, very small, only about only five years old.

What was the worst part of living in a lilong?

15 - The facilities are quite poor. I can still remember when it was raining hard outside and it was raining small inside. We used a coal stove and we shared the kitchen and the toilet. I remember that my father, mother, and I lived in a five square meter room with rats. We were very careful because there was an old lady who lived below us. At night at 9:00 we should keep silent, if not, we would disturb her.

What is the best part in your new apartment?

15 - I can do everything in the room. The facilities are better. I have my room. Even my parents can't affect me.

Any bad parts in the new apartment?

15 - The relationship between the neighbors is not very good. It is easy to be angry with each other.

Why do you get angry?

15 - Maybe there is a lack of communication. I remember that we will drop something into the garden of the first floor apartment and we want to knock on their door to get it back. Maybe they will be impatient.

Can you compare the relationships between neighbors?

15 - In the lilong the relationships are better. People are closer to each other. People are ready to help others. In the apartment maybe we don't care about what happens in other peoples apartments and there is a big quarrel in a house that is not ours and we were indifferent.

Why do you think people are closer in a lilong?

15 - When people live in the apartments they lose a lot of chances to get to know each other. They maybe just walk up the stairs and close their doors. They don't have the opportunities to know the people who live next to you.

Can you compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

15 – No, I don't remember.

Did your family own the lilong?

15 – No, I can't remember that.

Do they own their current apartment?

15 - Yes.

Would you rather live in a lilong or your current apartment?

15 - I think that if I can have a whole house in a lilong, I would like to live there. Just like in Beijing, the hutong. Beijing has a house old style that has four sides that are apartments and the center is a big yard. The house is in all directions.

Would you need the facilities to be modern?

15 - Yes.

Would you move there if they weren't modern?

15 - I could do anything I want to it. Make it modern. I think it would be perfect.

Why do you want to live in a lilong?

15 - I want the facilities to be good because you can live more comfortably. I also want to live in a place that is a home, where everybody will care about each other. Maybe they will give me some space, my own space, but I also want to connect and communicate with other people.

There aren't very many lilong left; what should Shanghai do with the remaining?

15 - I think the Shanghai government should repair them, rebuild them. I think it is a kind of scenery. It is a part of the history. Maybe the Shanghai government should keep some part of the place and never do the tear them down, demolish.

Should people live in the lilong or should they be like a museum?

15 - It's hard to answer this question. Maybe a lot of people don't want to live there and we cannot force them to. If we keep this like a museum, it is a waste of land.

In your new apartment, do you know the neighbors on the same floor as you?

15 - We know each other.

Do you know their names?

15 – No, I just know their faces.

Do you ever say more than hello?

15 - No. I think my parents will spend some time outside the building and talk with the old people, but I will never do that.

When you lived in a lilong, was it a good place to be a child?

15 - People like us only have one child. So if the child lives in the lilong, they will have a very memorable childhood because they will play with children who are the same age and have beautiful memories. After I moved out of the lilong, when I was in childhood, I felt lonely. My parents would lock me in the house and not let me out. I think it was very dangerous and I had little time to play with my friends.

Do you remember the street vendors coming into the lilong?

15 - Yes. When I was a child I was very interested in that. They would do some crafts. They had small figures, clay toys. People also used sugar to make shapes. I would buy it and eat it.

Do street vendors ever come into the new apartments?

15- Just outside of the neighborhood.

Is there anything else you would like to share about living in a lilong?

15 - I can't remember a lot of things. In the year when I was three or four it was raining very hard outside. It was flooding inside my apartment. The old lady I mentioned before, the water was over her knees. I just sat on the stairs and watched the adults pouring water out in containers. I found it very interesting at that time. I don't think of it as poor facilities, just thought it was interesting.

Anything else?

15 - Nothing else.

Thanks.

Interview #16

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Couple

Age – 62/57

Sex – Male/Female

NOTE: He lived in a lilong for over fifty years and moved out in 1994. She replied that she lived in a lilong for only two years, which seems improbable since they were probably married earlier than that.

What was the best part of living in a lilong?

16 - The good relationship with the neighbors. When he was on a business trip and she was sick, the neighbor would come over and say "do you want to go to the hospital? I can accompany you there" and they will ask if she had eaten yet and they would cook her food. When they were not at home, the neighbors would watch over it for them. Very good relationships. If neighbors cooked good dishes they would share with you. If you have an emergency happen, the neighbors are willing to come over to help you out.

What was the worst part?

16 - No bathroom facilities. The noise, it was very noisy. When it rains outside, it rains inside.

Would they say it is noisy here?

16 - It (their lilong) was built in the 1920's and 1930's so it was hard to maintain.

What is the best part of their new apartment?

16 - Their own toilet, and kitchen, and the roof doesn't leak. The direction (the apartment faces) is better.

What is the worst part?

16 - If something happens, nobody will help.

Anything else?

16 - That's all.

Can they compare the relationships between neighbors here and in the lilong?

16 - In old lilong, direct communication, here there is no communication because people are very busy with work, a lack of communication. The metal gate isolates people.

The metal gate? On the front door?

16 - Yes.

Do you know your neighbors from this floor?

16 - Yes they do. Just like on a say "hi" basis. No chatting.

Do they know their family name?

16 - No. They just say old lady or old man.

Would they know the family names of people living in their lilong?

16 - Yes. Family name and given name. Because they call each others name in lilong.

Can they compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

16 - They think it is the same. They take you out to clean the neighborhood or the lilong, plant trees, deal with arguments.

So there is no difference?

16 - Yes.

Did they own their lilong?

16 - He rented the apartment from a person and she rented it from the government.

The person he rented from, did he own it?

16 - Yes.

Do they own their current apartment?

16 - Yes.

Where would they rather live, in a lilong or their current apartment and why?

16 - If the facilities are improved, they would rather live in the lilong. Because of the good relationship with neighbors. Easy to communicate with others and they are all equal.

Just because of this relationship?

16 - Yes.

Could you talk about the facilities of the lilong in more detail?

16 - Twelve families shared one kitchen of fifteen square meters.

Were there many fights in the kitchen?

16 - Not too many. They made a schedule. Who stays at home, they cook earlier, who works, they cook later. They don't use the kitchen at the same time, avoiding arguments.

So the families just sorted out a schedule?

16 - Their schedule is pretty set, after a while everyone just knows everyone's schedule.

Anything else to mention?

16 - Every family had their own water tap, so it is like a bunch of water taps in one big sink. If the first couple of taps are on then the rest would be out of water. Then they would say "could you please shut your tap for a while?" and they would do it. Compromise. For electricity they had their own meter, so no big problem.

How did their shopping work in the lilong. Did they have to go far?

16 - It was very easy because they lived downtown. Every direction had shops. Everything is very easy.

What were the street vendors like?

16 - They sold snacks. They carried a horse and lamb into the lilong.

Why a horse?

16 - For milk.

Really?

16 - Yes. Very delicious. Chinese doctors think that cow milk makes your body hot and horse milk makes your body cool.

Anything else with the street vendors? Was the horse a common thing?

16 - Very seldom. They only had one person who sold horse milk.

How often did they sell milk?

16 - Everyday.

Did the horse live in the complex?

16 - They had a field in the lilong where the horse lived.

Was it a big field?

16 - Four or five horses and fifty square meters. The horse field is indoors.

What did people do for entertainment?

16 - They played poker and chess. Soccer.

Is there anything people would do for fun in a lilong that they don't do now?

16 - They don't play cards, poker, or chess in the complex now. There is an activity center and they will go there now.

Were there ever any vendors who would do shows?

16 - The entertainment people carry a monkey, so inside a lilong is too small for them.

Was the lilong a good place to raise children?

16 - Communication is better in the lilong; the children learn how to communicate. For education, the new apartments are better. They won't be affected much. In the lilong if one child finished his homework early he would say "let's go out and play" and then the rest would not be interested in homework anymore.

So they both have advantages?

16 - Yes.

What should we do with the remaining lilong?

16 - Some should remain. People should live there. A big problem in Shanghai. It is a waste if you leave somewhere empty. All facilities have to be improved and redecorated.

Is there anything else they would like to share about living in a lilong?

16 - They think that kids get used to real life in a lilong. It is like a small society so kids get to know how to do things, adjust to life. Those who live in the new apartments, when they step out, they don't know what to do. They are not brave at all. Lilong kids are more brave than apartment kids.

Anything else?

16 - No.

Thank you for your time.

Interview #17

Language – English

Age – 31

Sex – Male

NOTE: He only lived in a lilong for the first six years of his life and left in 1980.

What would you say was the best part of living in a lilong?

17 - In Shanghai it started out with lilong. I can't visit each one.

What about your lilong?

17 - The lilong I lived in was not very good, poor conditions. Very crowded and many people compacted in a small area.

Was there anything good about living there?

17 - I think two points were good. The first one was the very close relationship with the neighbors. Everyone knew each other. In some cases many people can help you if there is an emergency. The second one is lilong have very good conditions to protect you from beggars. If a stranger comes into a lilong everyone will ask him or her "who are you looking for". I think these are the good things.

What about bad things?

17 - So many bad things. Too crowded. No private space in lilong. I think about personal privacy is very easy to disclose. Another important point is the bad bath conditions, washroom conditions.

What is the best part in your new apartment?

17 - I think there is more privacy in the new apartments, but a weak relationship with your neighbors.

In your new apartment do you know your neighbors names?

17 - I just know the neighbors name on the same floor, but I don't know the neighbors on the other floors.

How often do you talk to your neighbors?

17 - About two times a month.

Are there any bad things in your new apartment besides weak relations with your neighbors?

17 - Weak relationships and it's easy for beggars (thieves) to go into your home. Now they are (unintelligible)...

Can you compare the neighborhood committees between the lilong and your new apartment?

17 - The neighborhood committees are very close, but less personal private space. Lilongs committee focused on collective benefits, on the other hand the new apartment committee focuses on personal benefits.

Can you give specific examples?

17 - In the new apartments they always establish an owners committee. The committee focuses on the owners benefits. The owner of each room is a member of this committee. So each owner can express his idea to the committee and than the committee discusses all the problems and questions to the service company about this area. But you know the lilong, it is an old style committee from fifty years ago. The lilong committee always represents the government's willings. The personal idea maybe cannot submit to the higher level.

Did you own your lilong?

17 - Yes.

And do you own your new apartment?

17 - Yes.

Would you rather live in your lilong or your new apartment?

17 - As to this question, of course I prefer the new apartment.

Why?

17 - It's obvious the new apartment is better condition. The room space, the bath condition, the washroom condition, better sunlight. All these.

If they could make the facilities in the lilong new, would you want to live in a lilong then?

17 - Lilong is usually located in the city center. One advantage of the lilong is good transportation locations. If they can be improved, their hardware, I would probably go

back to lilong. The new apartment I live in now is located in the suburbs of Shanghai. It is far away; I have to take one and a half hours to work.

With the lilong being torn down what should Shanghai do with them?

17 - Typical lilong should be kept.

Should people live in them or should they be like a museum?

17 - I think it depends on the people living in these lilongs. If people want to move out and this area can be rebuilt, then they should move.

Was the lilong a good place to grow up?

17 - Yes.

Do you have any examples of why?

17 - Lilong has very close relationships with neighbors especially among children. Children don't have any other ideas like adults. So children from that period (have) communication with each other, they like to play together. Lilong is fit for children.

Do you think that children growing up in a new apartment are missing something by not living in a lilong?

17 - Yes. I think so.

What do you think it is?

17 - The communication skills, the communication experience. I think this kind of experience will influence the child in the future. When they start to work they will find communicating with colleagues very difficult.

Did street vendors often come into the lilong to sell you food?

17 - I think yes, but only on the street outside. They would sell food and vegetables and noodles.

But nobody would come into the lilong.

17 - No.

Is there anything else you would like to share about lilong?

17 - Lilong is a historical symbol of Shanghai. So we have to keep a part of them, not all. A part of them. Do you know Xintiandi? It's rebuilt lilong for commercial purposes. I think maybe it is another successful way to develop lilongs commercial value.

Anything else?

17 - Not yet.

Thank you.

Interview #18

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Woman and her son

Age – 51/21

Sex – Female/Male

NOTE: She lived in a lilong for twenty-nine years while her son lived there for six years. They left the lilong in 1983.

What is the best part of living in a lilong?

18 - Good relationship with neighbors, people helped each other out. When he was young he could hang out with his other little buddies.

Anything else?

18 - Whenever you needed something you could just go ask for help. In the new neighborhood you don't go ask for help easily.

What was the worst part of living in a lilong?

18 - No bathroom facilities. The room is very small and no gas. For water they had to use a container to take water home.

They never had gas?

18 - No. They used metal to make their own kitchen, a small one, just outside of their apartment.

So it was corrugated metal.

18 - Yes. There were many mosquitoes. They had to live in a half floor that they made themselves. They used wood stairs to climb to their apartment. He almost fell down once. Only nine square meters for three people, very small.

What is the best part about this apartment?

18 - The space is bigger. You have your own gas, toilet, bathroom. You don't have to climb up the poor stairs. It's easier because they have their own bathroom facilities. Everything is easier.

What is the worst thing about this apartment?

18 - It's pretty noisy because it is next to the street. The rooms still aren't big enough. Three people with a dog is too small.

Do they know their neighbors across the hallway?

18 - Yes. He doesn't know them though.

How well does she know them?

18 - On a say "hi" basis.

Does she know their family name?

18 - They don't know too much about them.

Can they compare the relationships between neighbors in the lilong and this apartment?

18 - In old lilong it was very harmonious. In lilong you greet people and talk to people every day when you open your door. Here you don't get a chance to. He says in the new apartment there are no kids his age.

Can they compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

18 - They don't care about the committees.

Did they own their lilong?

18 - They rented.

Do they own their current apartment?

18 - They do.

If they had a choice would they rather live here or in a lilong?

18 - Definitely in the new apartment.

And if the lilong had new facilities?

18 - With the same facilities they would prefer living in a lilong because the neighborhood relations are way better.

With the bad facilities is there anything else they would like to say about them?

18 - Dangerous stairs, the kitchen was very dark, he didn't want to go in there at all. Forty to fifty families shared one tap. They had to carry the water home with a container.

The tap is three minutes walk away from their apartment. They used bedpans and had to clean it by themselves.

Did street vendors ever enter the lilong?

18 - They would sell crabs.

Would they cook the crabs or did they have to be cooked in your home?

18 - Already cooked, salted crabs. They would sell food like veggies, ice cream.

Would anyone else come into the lilong to sell things?

18 - They would also sell brushes, not like a toothbrush, but like a laundry brush.

With the lilong disappearing so fast, what should Shanghai do with them?

18 - If they are valuable, keep them. If there is architectural value or famous people stayed in them, keep them. Tear down the bad ones.

Was the lilong a good place to raise children?

18 - Kids were happier in lilong.

Why?

18 - They had many buddies to hang out with and they lived close to each other.

Does she feel like it was a good place to raise children?

18 - Kids learn how to communicate in lilong.

Do they have anything else they would like to share about lilong?

18 - The kids could play many games in lilong like hide and seek and cops and criminals. He loved digging holes in the mud.

Anything else?

18 - In summer they can catch bugs and also she says they can sit in the lilong on a cool summer night just to chat.

Do people do that here?

18 - No. Unless the AC is broken.

Do children play games here?

18 - Neighbors kids don't hang out any more, only with your classmates.

Anything else?

18 - No.

Thank you.

Interview #19

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age – 58

Sex – Male

NOTE: He lived in a lilong for thirty-four years and left in 1992.

What was the best part of living in a lilong?

19 - Good relationship with neighbors and people help each other out.

Anything else?

19 - Some neighbors you feel like they are closer than your relatives.

Why?

19 - The apartments are very close to each other. You shared space. You feel like you are walking into your own place and they are around. That's why they feel like family members. They are in your own place.

Was there anything else that was good?

19 - He cannot remember anything.

What was the worst part?

19 - Bad facilities. Cooking, the restroom, sleeping is all in one room.

Can he go into details on the facilities?

19 - In a sixteen square meter room, the four brothers lived there. They had a bedpan in the middle of the room and if they wanted to use it they would hang up a cloth to make it like a curtain so other people wouldn't see.

Anything else about the facilities.

19 - No gas. Used a coal stove. Very inconvenient. No AC. When he was young they even didn't have a fan. Not an electric fan, had to use a hand fan. In summer at night in the evening they had to go out to get some breeze. Because it was so hot in the room.

Anything else?

19 - Where they kept the water tap the space was very small and many families used the tap. They always had to fight for who could use it first.

How many people shared the water tap?

19 - Two sinks for ten families. When he was young they had to go out of the apartment to carry the water home. It was ten meters away. When he was young he had to use a thing to put it on his shoulder to carry it home. He used a bedpan and it had to be carried to ten meters away to be poured into a big public container, then carry the container home to wash it.

What is the best part of living in this apartment?

19 - Easier to use water and the bathroom facilities are better.

Anything else better?

19 - Gas. Easier to shower. In old times men took showers in the lilong in the public area. They would wear little undies then shower in the public under the water tap. Using a tube to make the water go up.

Any other benefits?

19 - More home appliances, telephone. Easy to contact people.

Were there no telephones in the lilong?

19 - Very few.

How would you contact someone if you wanted to call them?

19 - Write letters, public phones. There are people who work for the public phones who each live in a little area. Each has a public phone station and the people working there, if there was someone looking for you, they would go to your apartment and tell you and you could call back.

Did they not have phones even up to when you moved out of the lilong?

19 - No.

What is the worst part of this apartment?

19 - Bad traffic and transportation. Loose relationship with your neighbors.

Does he know the neighbors across the hall?

19 - On a say "hi" basis.

Does he know their family name?

19 - No.

Why do you think the relationship is loose?

19 - The people are busy at work. Once you get into your own room there is no chance to talk. You close the door and then it is blocked, everything is blocked. The most thing is you will meet them on the stairs and say hi.

Does he think there is loss with that? Is this a bad thing?

19 - Not really. The living conditions are better. The positives are more than the negatives.

Can he compare the neighborhood committees between the two?

19 - In the old committees you could always see the old committees. They are very close, they are always around, you see them frequently. Here in the new apartments you barely see them. You don't go to them for things.

What kind of things did the committees in the lilong do?

19 - Mainly deal with arguments among the neighbors.

What about here?

19 - Arrange people who are laid off work, arrange job opportunities, and activities for the old people and collect money for cable TV.

Which one was more valuable?

19 - It is almost the same. Living conditions are different, social conditions are different. You can't ask them to do the same thing. They are both pretty valuable.

Did he own his lilong?

19 - No.

Does he own his current apartment?

19 - Yes.

Where would he rather live?

19 - Definitely the new apartment.

What if the facilities in the lilong were redone?

19 - In the lilong.

Why?

19 - People are getting older and he is getting older. It is more important for old people to communicate with neighbors.

Does he think the lilong was a good place for a young man to live?

19 - Not really. Because he seldom sees young people living in lilong.

What about when he was a young man?

19 - When he was young they always think about how to get new apartments because the facilities were so bad.

Does he think it was a good place for a young man? Looking back now?

19 - For little kids it is better because neighbors will help take care of the kids.

Does he remember street vendors ever coming in?

19 - Ice cream. Fruit. Little goods.

What kind of goods?

19 - Hair comb, things for hair. The containers you use for daily life. Like the ones for water. The things you would use to clean rice. The hose and the bowl. Daily life stuff.

Do vendors ever come into this complex?

19 - Not really. The guard will stop them.

Was shopping more convenient here or in the lilong?

19 - In the lilong.

What did people in the lilong do for entertainment?

19 - Watch TV. In the summer evenings people go to the public area in the lilong and get cool with the breeze.

Do people do that here?

19 - No. Some old people do.

Is there anything else that people would do in the lilong that they don't do here?

19 - He doesn't remember anything. In the new complex, the committee will set up a time for people to dance and things like that.

Do many people do this?

19 - Only old people and those who are retired sign up.

With the lilong being torn down what should we do with those that remain?

19 - Keep those with historic value.

Should people live in them or should they be treated like museums?

19 - Some make into museums, with historic value, but others people should live in them.

Was the lilong a good place to raise children?

19 - Yes.

Why?

19 - It feels closer to society, real society. You know your neighbors and learn how to communicate.

Does he feel that children in the new apartments are missing something?

19 - They lack of the big group activities. When he was young the kids from the lilong would all hang out together. But nowadays kids don't have that chance.

Is there anything else he would like to share about lilong?

19 - When he was young neighbors always went to other peoples apartments and now that doesn't happen.

Thanks.

Interview #20

Language – Mandarin Chinese

Age – 57

Sex - Female

Note: She lived in a lilong for thirty-seven years.

What was the best part of living in a lilong?

20 - Good relationship with their neighbors. Very close to each other.

Can you give an example?

20 - If the adults were not home and the kids didn't have stuff to eat, the neighbors will ask you to go over there and eat with them.

Any other examples?

20 - In summer when you want to shower but you don't have enough strength to carry a whole bucket of water home the neighbors will help you out. If you don't feel good the neighbor will take you to the hospital.

Do neighbors help each other here?

20 - Never. It never happens.

Why does she think there is a difference?

20 - In the new complex the door is closed and no one goes to your apartment.

Were there any other good parts of living in a lilong?

20 - Not really. Just the relationship is very good.

What was the worst part?

20 - Small space. Bad air flow. When people come to visit, the bathroom is the worst part.

Why?

20 - Because you only have one room. The bedpan is in that room. It's not divided enough, not closed so it's very inconvenient.

Is there anything else with the facilities?

20 - The worst part is in the old times. There were people who would come into the lilong who would tell everybody it is the time for every family to take out their bedpan and they take it out. It only happens at two or three o'clock in the morning.

Why did it occur at that strange hour?

20 - Because the guy has to take care of a big area, so he has to start very early in the morning. During the daytime they don't do it. And she guesses that the poop will finally go to a ferry and maybe the boat will be gone. It's not there during the day. So they have to finish before it.

I guess the poop makes valuable fertilizer. I read that families got rich, who owned the poop containers, got rich because they sold it to farmers before the revolution.

20 - Yes. They were wealthier than normal people. You can see that they have more jewelries than other people.

Did she have to wake up at two or three o'clock in the morning?

20 - She didn't have to wake up. The last one who used it takes it out before they went to bed. In her family they had two containers so they could switch. They would take one out before they went to sleep and leave the other one for the night. Those families who only owned one container had to wake up when they heard someone yell "it's time" so they had to get up.

Did anyone else come into the lilong to sell things or provide services?

20 - Snacks. Sell rice soup, green bean rice soup. Life is very easy and convenient because small shops are at the beginning of the lilong.

Is shopping easier now or in the lilong even with the Metro (supermarket).

20 - Earlier. Because the old apartment, the shops, all kinds of different shops surrounded it.

How often would they shop for food?

20 - For food you eat everyday they would shop everyday because they didn't have a fridge. For snacks they didn't shop often because they were too poor.

What is the best part of this apartment?

20 - She says the best part is the doors close and you don't share any space with your neighbors, so no arguments.

Were there a lot of arguments in the lilong?

20 - Her family didn't fight with others much, but there were other families who argued about every single profit, argue about everything. Then there were a lot. In old lilong when it was in good relationships or you are not grumpy you will be very good to each other, but when you are mad and grumpy there were many arguments.

Any other benefits from living in this apartment?

20 - Everyone has their own facilities. Bathroom, kitchen. She says because everyone has their own facilities, so it is cleaner. It used to be that everyone would use others stuff, eat their food. People didn't care if it was clean enough. Now there is no problem.

Are there any negatives about living in this apartment?

20 - People don't help each other much. She isn't finished with good parts. Here kids can have their room and parents have their room. It is way better than old times. In the lilong you feel like the space is so small. When you go to sleep everyone is touching each others head, everyone's feet, because it is too small.

Any other good parts?

20 - Better air flow. The bad part is that people don't care about what is going on with the neighbors. If there is an old person living alone, what if something happens? Nobody would know. It is true that sometimes an old person dies in an apartment and nobody knows. They didn't find out until a couple of days later.

Could you talk a little bit about the relationships with the neighbors? Compare them?

20 - In the old apartments, the lilong, if she had any difficulties she could just speak it out and everyone would be willing to help. Here she doesn't know the neighbors, the next door neighbors. How could she go to them for help? She says that in the old lilong when she made dumplings, which were better than normal food, she had to prepare lots of food because she would give dumplings out to many neighbors. She would buy like three kilos of the peels for the dumplings because she has so many to give out. Her own family would eat less than one kilo. The rest she gave out.

Is having the new apartment worth not having those relationships?

20 - Yes. People are in a better mood because the space is bigger. When you see a small space you get grumpy.

So she thinks people on the street are now friendlier to each other? At work?

20 - Yes. She thinks so.

Is there anything else about neighbors she would like to talk about?

20 - Since she moved to this new apartment she doesn't go for help at all.

Does she know the people across the hall?

20 - Only knows their face. She doesn't know how many people live there.

Does she know their family name?

20 - No.

Can she compare the two neighborhood committees?

20 - In the old times the committee deals with many arguments. Nowadays there are fewer arguments so the committee doesn't have much responsibility with that. She doesn't know what they do in the new apartments and doesn't know how many people are in the committee.

Did she own her lilong?

20 - She rented from another person who owned the apartment in the lilong. The big landlord would buy the house and junior landlords would rent like three apartments in the house and they own three rooms and they only need two so they would rent one out. Like sublet. There could be many landlords. They could sublet many, many times. The more they sublet, the more pricey it goes.

So people could sublet two rooms and then they sublet one room.

20 - Yes.

Does she own her current apartment?

20 - Yes.

Would she rather live in the lilong or here?

20 - Here.

If there were modern facilities in the lilong would she want to live there?

20 - Besides better facilities, she would also like bigger space, than she would like to live there.

What does she think we should do with the lilong that remain?

20 - Keep some so you can show young people so they can get to know their culture. Keep some better lilong. The ones that are very bad housing, just tear them down, like dripping water apartments.

Should people keep living in lilong or should they move to modern apartments?

20 - They should let people live there. Without people living there, the house would be broken very fast. Without people living in the apartments, it is meaningless. Because you can only hear the stories of the experience from those who lived there. The new marriage couples should have to live in the old lilong for a while and then they can have their new apartments. This way they can treasure their nice apartment life better.

What does she think about Xintiandi? Has she been there?

20 - No.

Was a lilong a good place to raise a child?

20 - Yes. Your mind is more broad.

Why?

20 - Because the kids get to play around and have many buddies. They know how to deal with people. This way you can learn from each other. Nowadays if you were brought up in the new apartments your parents and grandparents won't let you out.

Does she have anything else to share about lilong?

20 - No.

Thanks.

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