



HAL
open science

Music and Social Hierarchy in Contemporary China A Comparison of Beijing Opera Amateur Sessions and Rock Croups "Parties"

Catherine Capdeville-Zeng

► **To cite this version:**

Catherine Capdeville-Zeng. Music and Social Hierarchy in Contemporary China A Comparison of Beijing Opera Amateur Sessions and Rock Croups "Parties" . *Journal of Ethnology*, 2014, 5 (4), pp.89-103. hal-01310046

HAL Id: hal-01310046

<https://inalco.hal.science/hal-01310046>

Submitted on 3 May 2016

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



“走廊”与“通道”：中国西南区域研究的人类学再构思 / 张原 (1)
当代中国的音乐及社会差序——京剧票友会与摇滚乐队“派对”比较研究 / [法]庄雪婵 (Catherine Capdeville) / 著 赵秀云/译 (8)



社交网络对民族关系的影响及对策 / 张立辉 赵野春 (10)
涉藏网络图像传播特点研究 / 王万宏 (15)
西方涉藏报道中“他者化”框架的文化成因探析 / 刘新慧 (19)



20世纪50年代中叶木里藏区社会演变及民主改革研究 / 秦和平 (24)
宋代四川少数民族分布研究 / 马廷中 (41)
论1910-1912年的十三世达赖喇嘛 / 梁忠翠 (47)



四川民族地区旅游资源开发与生态安全保障机制研究 / 钟洁 覃建雄 蔡新良 (53)
基于经济联系强度和区域断裂点的拉萨-日喀则城市互动发展分析 / 裘丽岚 (59)



2013年中国民族法学研究述评 / 王允武 王杰 (63)
论刑事和解在四川藏区的适用 / 冉翠 (71)



学术动态

“民族学(人类学)视野下的藏族及周边民族研究论坛”在云南民族大学举办 / 赵秀云 (79)
第七届中国民族研究西南论坛“族群流动、空间重构与社会变迁”学术研讨会述要 / 李跃平 (81)

编辑出版发行 《民族学刊》编辑部
地址及邮编 中国四川成都西南民族大学, 610041
电话 86-28-85524958 85524868(传真)
电子邮箱 CN511731@vip.sina.com
网址 http://mzxk.chinajournal.net.cn www.bookan.com.cn

印刷 成都白马印务有限公司
发行范围 公开发行
国外发行 中国出版对外贸易总公司 (北京399信箱)
出版日期 2014年7月15日



The Concepts of “Corridor” and “Channel”: Anthropological Reconstruction of Area Studies in Southwest China / ZHANG Yuan (84)
Music and Social Hierarchy in Contemporary China—A Comparison of Beijing Opera Amateur Sessions and Rock Groups “Parties” / Catherine Capdeville (89)

The Influence of Social Networking on Ethnic Relation and Its Countermeasures / ZHANG Lihui, ZHAO Yechun (104)
A Study on the Characteristics of the Transmission of Images of Tibet on the Internet / WANG Wanhong (106)

An Exploration on the Cultural Causes for the Framework of “The Other” in Western Reports on Tibet / LIU Xinhui (109)

A Study on the Social Evolution and Democratic Reform in the Muli Tibetan Area in the Mid-1950s / QIN Heping (112)
Study on Ethnic Distribution in Sichuan during the Song Dynasty / MA Tingzhong (114)
A Discussion of the 13th Dalai Lama during the Period from 1910 to 1912 / LIANG Zhongcui (115)

A Study on Tourism Resource Development and Institutional Guarantees for Ecological Security in the Ethnic Areas of Sichuan / ZHONG Jie, QIN Jianxiong, CAI Xinliang (118)

An Analysis of Interactive Development between Lhasa and Shigatse from the Perspective of the Intensity of their Economic Contact and Regional Breaking Point / QIU Lilan (120)

A Review of Chinese Ethnic Law Studies in 2013 / WANG Yunwu, WANG Jie (122)
The Application of Criminal Reconciliation in Tibetan Areas of Sichuan Province / RAN Hui (126)

Edited and Published by the Journal Editorial Department of JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY
Address: SWUN, Chengdu, Sichuan, China; Post Code: 610041
Tel: 86-028-85524958, 85524868 (Fax)
E-mail: CN511731@vip.sina.com
Website: http://mzxk.chinajournal.net.cn www.bookan.com.cn

Printed by the Printing House of Baima, Chengdu
Publishing Range: Published Publicly
Distributed Abroad by China Publishing Corporation of Foreign Trade (P.O. Box 782, Beijing, China)
Publishing Date: July 15th, 2014.

DOI: 10.3969/j.issn.1674-9391.2014.04.002

当代中国的音乐及社会差序

——京剧票友会与摇滚乐队“派对”比较研究

[法] 庄雪婵 (Catherine Capdeville) / 著 赵秀云 / 译

作者简介: 庄雪婵 (Catherine Capdeville), 法国国立远东语言文化研究院教授, 曾在巴黎东方语言文化学院学习中文, 后赴新加坡及南京大学学习。先后在中国和法国工作多年, 获得巴黎社会科学高等学院人类学博士学位。

译者简介: 赵秀云, 西南民族大学西南民族研究院副研究员, 研究方向: 纳西文化。四川 成都 610041

中图分类号: C912.14 文献标识码: A 文章编号: 1674-9391(2014)04-0008-02

第五卷

[中文文摘] 本文主要探讨当代中国的两种音乐活动形式——京剧票友会以及摇滚乐队派对。这两种音乐形式虽然在风格上截然不同, 但是两种社团在结构上却存在着一定的相似性。这两种活动形式基本上都具有我们所称之为“为位”(positioning)的行为, 参与者由此在音乐活动中找到他们各自的位置。而且, 两种活动形式都涉及到“外来者的融入”(outsider integration), 即允许陌生人的参与并在活动中找到他们的位置。“为位”是一个主要的问题, 因为其反映了每个成员在他们自己的社区中特殊的地位; 虽然“外来者的融入”是次要的, 但是这同样也可以帮助我们了解成员是如何与外部发生联系的。

北京的票友会场景众多, 有在公园里唱戏的票友, 在茶馆或者小戏院里唱戏的票友, 由工作单位赞助的票友, 没有任何赞助机构的完全独立的票友。本文的研究对象为最后一类, 即没有任何赞助机构的完全独立的票友。独立的票友会由6到10人组成, 他们集体雇用一支乐队, 并有一个供他们每周会面一次的房间。在乐队的伴奏下, 歌手轮流演唱他们喜爱的曲子。他们没有化妆也没有穿戏服, 他们的目的是为了唱歌而不是表演(但是他们可能也会偶

尔组织排练和演出)。

为了解这些票友聚会的内部组织情况, 本文将关注点放在一个当时较有代表性的一个独立的票友会上, 即XX票友会。该票友会创建于2001年, 每星期二下午, 票友们会在北京中部商业区一文化中心活动3小时。在票友会上, 也会有他们的客人、朋友和戏迷参加。XX票友会有6个成员。该会的会员制是大家根据各自的实际情况捐资。资金主要用于雇请乐队以及房租的支付。每个成员对团体的捐资额度直接反映出了其外在的社会等级, 而经济实力是决定成员地位的一个重要层面。虽然成员们认为他们内部以及前来参加活动的客人之间是平等的, 不存在社会差序, 但是从他们之间相互的称呼、对自己的定位, 座位的安排、演唱的顺序等均体现出了一种社会差序。因此, 这种组织也可以被理解成是费孝通笔下的“差序格局”的一个具体表现。

而在有外人参与到活动中的时候, 票友们也会有他们自己的一个内部规则来适应外来者的参与。对于XX票友会或者其他类似的独立的票友会来说, 外来者的参与并不会给他们带来什么冲突。他们所遵循的规则就是每个参与者, 无论他/她来自哪里都要在一个受人尊重

的活动节点给予机会进行演唱。因此，票友会是对外来者开放的实体。票友会的特点是其有一个内在的差序体系，这个体系允许每个人根据各自在团体里的特殊地位来参与其中。

1990年初，北京大概有15个摇滚乐队，成员大多为男性。表面上看，中国的摇滚派对与西方的摇滚乐表演很相似，但实际上却存在着很大的不同：中国摇滚乐表演的高潮不是在节目的最后，而是在中间；而西方摇滚乐表演的高潮则通常是在节目的最后。

我对这些摇滚乐派对的研究与对京剧票友会的研究方法有所不同，因为在此所关注的不是单个乐团内的关系，而是整个摇滚圈以及几个乐队同台演出的规则。尽管如此，我们还是面对同样的问题：这些同台演出的单位，无论其是个体（京剧票友歌手）还是摇滚团队——他们是如何发展他们的演出秩序的？所靠的是什么样的机制和什么样的潜规则？

摇滚派对的目的之一是为了给摇滚乐手一个相互认识、欣赏不同乐队的机会。派对通常每星期或者每两个星期在迪斯科舞厅或者酒吧里举行一次。在派对中有两种观众：摇滚圈的成员，一些住在北京来此跳舞的外国人。几个摇滚乐团（两个到六个，有时更多）在舞台上轮流唱一到三首歌曲。通过“为位”，摇滚乐团可以知道他们在“摇滚圈”里的地位。因此，如京剧票友会一样，摇滚乐手不是单纯地把他们的音乐聚会看作是向观众进行的一次演出。

1991年8月我观察了在迪斯科舞厅举行的一个派对。当晚计划有6个乐团演出。虽然对演出顺序没有事先安排，也没有专人对此负责，但是这些乐团都遵守着某种隐性的潜规则：次要的乐团先演，然后是资深乐团在中间时段演出，由当晚的主乐队引领进入高潮之后，其它不太重要的乐团再接着演。无论是资深的还是次要的乐队均有机会登台。摇滚乐派对与京剧票友会均建构了一种差序体制，这种差序体制是遵循一种特定的内在逻辑而建构起来的。虽然摇滚乐团和京剧票友在安排他们的演出顺序时有所不同，但是两者均有一个相似的逻辑，即每个人或者乐团都能从中找到他们各自的位置。而1992年秋天我所观察到的另一个派对与其他派对有所不同，当晚有一支日

本摇滚乐队参加，日本乐队被安排在了当晚演出的中心时段。这次派对与以往不同，由于这个外来乐队的参与，演出顺序进行了事先安排，而在安排各个乐团的演出顺序时，发生了一些冲突和争议。也就是说在有外来者参与进来的时候，摇滚乐团中原有的差序体系就没有得到认可了。

与京剧票友会相比，摇滚乐派对在对待外来者的融入问题上相对来说不太容易。京剧票友会所依赖的差序体系是无论是他们的内部成员还是外来者，都能在合适的时段里安排表演。而在摇滚圈里，外来者的介入破坏了摇滚乐手们以往的差序体系。在此，我们再反观一下中国传统文化中涉及同样问题的“为位”行为。很多学者都认为空间上的“为位”给每个参与者的位置作了定义。从派对和票友会中，我们已经看到在登台表演时间段安排上的“为位”同时也是对其社区的定义以及对其差序秩序的表达。由于“为位”本身包括了把他者融入进来的可能性，所以尽管其不是理想的，但却是一个可以很好地把未知的外来者融入到一个音乐社区之中的手段。京剧票友会及摇滚派对是组织“为位”和外来者融入的手段，这一事实显示了这两者并不单纯是音乐和艺术活动，而是具有人类学意义下的一些“仪式”（rituals）功能。我们可以说票友会或摇滚派对所进行的庆典本身，如果没有一些希望把自己纳入该群体里的外来者的参与，那么其并不是完整的。在这些音乐活动中，“为位”及外来者的融入作为结构的互补部分是密切联系在一起的，而这个结构组织着参与者之间社会关系的表达。这种关系同时也是一种“仪式”，因为其涉及到了人而非仅仅是音乐。

【关键词】京剧；摇滚乐；中国；社会差序

注：本文系庄雪婵教授《Music and Social Hierarchy in Contemporary China A Comparison of Beijing Opera Amateur Sessions and Rock Groups "Parties"》一文的中文文摘，英文全文参见本期第 页。

收稿日期：2014-02-28 责任编辑：赵秀云

Music and Social Hierarchy in Contemporary China

— A Comparison of Beijing Opera Amateur Sessions and Rock Groups “Parties”

Catherine Capdeville

(Institute National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales)

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY, VOL. 5, NO. 4, 08 – 09, 2014 (CN51 – 1731/C, in Chinese)

DOI: 10.3969/j.issn.1674 – 9391.2014.04.02

Abstract: This article addresses two forms of musical events in contemporary China: the sessions during which Beijing opera amateurs get together, and the “parties” which are organized by rock musicians. Through a comparative analysis of the structure of the two apparently different forms of musical events, the author notes that both events are more than just musical and artistic events in that they both share some of the qualities of being “rituals” in the anthropological sense. The author states that the action of “positioning”, i. e. the way in which participants find their place within the musical series, and “outsider integration”, i. e. the way strangers or outsiders are integrated into the musical event, are deeply linked as complementary parts of the structure that organizes the expression of the social relationships between the participants. This is a relationship that is inclusive, yet at the same time situates everyone within a hierarchy of positions.

Key Words Beijing opera; rock music; China; social hierarchy

This paper addresses two forms of musical events that were the subject of field research conducted in contemporary China: the sessions during which Beijing opera amateurs get together, and the “parties” (parties in English) which are organized by rock musicians. Our interest was aroused by certain similarities in the organization of these two kinds of small-scale events combining several singers or groups on stage. It so seemed worth to look at them more closely, with the following questions in mind: how should we understand their apparent structural similarities despite two very different musical styles? What about the differences between the two events? Can we relate what we witness today to certain pre-existing conditions in Chinese society? And does comparison and analysis of their structure help us understand something of the society that creates them?

Both events basically constitute what can be

called actions of positioning, by which participants find their place within a series that is constructed during the musical session. However, both events may also include actions of outsider integration, which allow strangers to participate and to take their place within the series. Positioning is a major issue, for it reveals the particular status of each of the participants within their own community; although outsider integration is secondary, it also helps the observer understand the communities involved and how they relate to the exterior. The action of positioning serves as the authority that hands the stage from singer to singer or from one rock group to another, with the result of creating an ordered series. Outsider integration causes a transformation in the series that has different consequences in each case. Comparison of the modifications shows to what extent the musicians’ usual playing order is disrupted, and how they adapt to

the change. The study focuses on the relationships between the individuals and groups involved, and how they interact when several of them get together for collective music making. The obvious difference of style and artistic expression between Beijing opera and rock music is an aspect that have been purposely left aside here, for the purpose in this study is to try to understand the organizational factors that might unite these two otherwise very different musical styles.

The two kinds of musical event emerged during the reform period after 1980. The research into the Beijing "opera amateurs" called *piaoyou*, grouped in "amateur groups" *piaofang*, was undertaken over the past decade in the course of several field trips dedicated to general research into contemporary forms of popular Chinese opera¹; research into the "Circle of Rock" *yaogun quanzi*, the informal institution that included all people related to rock music, was made in the late 1980's and the 1990's when preparing a PhD in social anthropology². As opera is older and so more "traditional" than rock music, it is presented first. The slight discrepancy in the dates of the studies, though certainly important in some respects, is considered as secondary for the purpose of the study presented here that aims at comparing the structural forms of musical events, not their historical backgrounds. It is a fact that, after the period of closure that was the cultural revolution, in the beginning of the 1980's and 1990's, some groups of Beijing opera amateurs already recommenced their activities, and rock music made its appearance at roughly the same time, around the mid 1980's, and both styles have been lively since then.

A few words need to be said about the development of Chinese music in modern times. China started to "modernize" its music, which in fact amounted to westernizing it to a certain extent, in the 1920's. This was done, for instance, by changing from silk to metal strings, by using Western instruments, by writing symphonic and

harmonic music, etc. These elements came together during the Cultural Revolution in the "Model Operas" which mixed old Chinese opera with symphonic music, all this being informed by revolutionary ideology. After fifteen years during which only this kind of music was allowed, the reforms started in the 1980's made a return to Chinese musical and other cultural traditions possible. So, the old Chinese operas were played again. At the same time, "popular music" *liuxing yinyue* constituted mostly by popular songs in the "Hong Kong and Taiwan style" *gangtai gequ*, soon followed by "rock music" *yaogun yinyue*, entered the country, two styles that were forbidden on the mainland prior to the reforms. Nowadays in China, music is quite lively and different forms of Chinese opera as well as modern music, rock and pop, exist side by side.

Beijing Opera: the "XX Amateur Group"³

Chinese opera, as a "total art" (Jacques Pimpaneau, 1977: 126) blending theater, song, dance, mime and the martial arts as well as colorful make-up and costumes, was and still is performed throughout China by both "professional actors" *zhuanye yanyuan* and by "amateurs" *piaoyou*. The latter will not have received special childhood training, and will have started to study opera out of personal enthusiasm for this art. Professionally trained actors perform whole theatrical plays, that are either traditional or modern, or several short plays, in city and village theaters, or when there is none, on theatrical stages erected specially for the occasion. In contrast to these professional actors who make a living from their skills, all over China amateurs meet for the pleasure of singing together. In his compilation of stories about amateurs *Jingju Piaoyou* (Beijing Opera Amateurs), Xie Yiren (2008: 31), states that "Amateurs do not play to make a living, so their acts are called "amateur acts" *piaoxi*. When amateurs get together to play, the place where they meet is called a "room of amateurs" *piaofang* (also group of

amateurs) ... These groups of amateurs are a form of organization specific to the world of theater, which has developed into a particular and independent form of Chinese cultural phenomenon."

Chinese opera has been widely analyzed, but there are few studies about amateurs. Isabelle Duchesne (1998) has written in French "*Les cercles d'amateurs de Jingxi à Pékin et à Shanghai (1910-37)*", an historical study of amateurs at the time of the Republic that shows a picture that is very similar to today's amateur practices. Colin Mackerras, in a short opus named *Amateur Theatre in China 1949-1966* published in 1973 and in his *The Rise of Peking Opera (1972)* dedicates a few pages to amateurs. Many Chinese books about opera do mention amateurs, but apparently no special anthropological studies have been dedicated to them.

Between 2001 and 2010, several field trips were made to investigate different forms of opera, mostly in the provinces (the visits lasted from two to four weeks at a time). When passing through Beijing on arrival and departure, some amateur meetings would always be attended; and two stays of three weeks in Beijing in 2001 and in 2004 were specially dedicated to study amateurs.

Different kinds of amateurs share the scene in Beijing: those who sing in parks, those who sing in teahouses or small theaters, those who are sponsored by work units, and those who are completely independent of any kind of supervisory authority. This paper deals with this last category.

Independent groups are made up of between six and ten people who get together and collectively hire an orchestra and a room where they meet every week. While the orchestra plays, the singers take turns to perform their favorite arias. They wear neither make-up nor costumes and their purpose is to sing rather than act (but they may also occasionally organize rehearsals and performances).

To understand how the meetings of these amateur opera singers are organized internally, this study shall concentrate on one group that can be

considered to be fairly representative of the other independent groups researched at that time, the XX Amateur Group, first met in 2001, then closely studied in 2004, and followed up to February 2010, when it split.

Created in early 2001, the XX Amateur Group meets for three hours every Tuesday afternoon in a room dedicated to opera in a cultural center well situated in a commercial area in central Beijing. The room is quite large and bright with windows all along its southern side. A stage at one end is covered with a green carpet and surrounded by a red balustrade. "Make-up faces" *lianpu*, which are plaster sculptures painted with the very colorful make-up of Beijing opera characters, decorate the walls behind the stage. The middle of the room is empty. Chairs for unoccupied singers and visitors are set out at the back near the entrance. The orchestra, not the singer, sits on the stage facing the visitors. To perform, the singer stands in the empty space in the middle, either facing the public or occasionally turning towards the orchestra on the stage.

The amateurs who are temporarily spectators sit in the front rows with their guests and friends, while "opera lovers" *ximi* sit in the rear. Isabelle Duchesne (1994: 239) translates this word as "aficionados (*ximi*, literally 'the theatre fanatics')". These "opera lovers", usually elderly people who like to watch and listen to Beijing opera, do not mix with the amateurs, and form a distinct, quite discreet category. They seem too shy to speak with the amateurs, but like an audience at public performances, they sometimes show their approval by shouting out "good!" *hao* loudly when an aria is particularly well and nicely sung. These different kinds of people-temporarily unoccupied amateurs, friends, and "opera lovers" -constitute the audience. However, no ticket is ever sold to them.

The atmosphere is generally relaxed but becomes quite tense when particularly nice and well-performed songs are heard. Some people arrive

late, others move from chair to chair to talk with their friends. It is not a strict show like those put on in Beijing theaters: people come here to sing, to listen to one another, and to hear the latest Beijing opera news and gossip. More than a show, it is a musical get-together of amateur and professional musicians and actors; the public is in fact secondary, even though by the height of the afternoon, after three o'clock, the audience may have grown to as many as forty people. The "opera lovers" and the friends leave well before the end, so that only some amateurs remain by the time the last song finishes.

The XX Amateur Group is composed of six full members, all singers. However, only five of them were met in 2004: the two "directors", a woman of about sixty, a lady aged 37, and a retired teacher who is in fact the most titled of the group (but he was only met once; since there was no occasion to speak at length with him, the focus is put here on the other members). Another gentleman was presented as "an old friend of the group" and he came to every meeting. These people formed the basic core of regular members during the research in 2004, and the analysis and figures below concentrates on them.

Let's now turn to the group's internal functioning, by analyzing how it is financed, the manner in which its members refer to one another, where they sit, and most importantly how they establish the running order of their arias.

The group's membership system calls for participants to contribute according to their means; the wealthier pay more, the poorer pay less. So the retired teacher and the two directors, being richer, contribute more, the two women give less. This shows that the exterior social ranking of each member is directly reflected within the group on the financial level. Financial power is an important aspect of the members' status, for the aim of the group is to combine resources to pay for the hiring of the orchestra, the biggest expense, and the room rental.

The wealthier and important contributors, the directors, also share the group's management. However, they both refuse to be called "boss" laoban. According to one of them, "Neither of us is boss because we are friends (*pengyou*). " And just afterwards, he specifies that he himself is the "organizer" (*zhuchiren*) while the other is the "person-in-charge" (*fuzeren*). As these few words clearly show, the friendship between the two directors is not conceived as egalitarian, as it is important for one to situate the other in a higher and respectable position. Such a hierarchical friendship however precludes the position of a unique boss; in fact the two managers together perform the job of boss. In conversations with the elderly woman, she referred once to both directors as "the bosses". Because she contributes less money and is situated at a lower position, she feels entitled to use the word "boss".

The elderly gentleman was called "an old friend of the group"; this meant, in this context, that he did not participate in its financing and was not a regular member, even though he was met every time. He was thus situated in an external position, that can be taken to be slightly lower compared to the other members. So, by the way the members present themselves and speak of one another, they situate everyone in a specific position within the hierarchical system of the group, which includes one exterior member such as "the old friend".

This internal ranking can also be seen from the places everyone occupies in the sitting area. "Opera lovers" sit nearest the door, in the space situated furthest from the stage. Guests sit in front of them, and the amateur singers occupy the front rows. The old friend sits near the window, just at the frontier between "opera lovers" and amateurs; the old lady also sits by the window, but nearer the stage; one director sits in the front row of the public, on the other side of the room; the other director is seated next to him, near the aisle, where he can easily converse with other people.

All four sit in pairs on either side of a dividing line that shows the social difference between the group's two levels: that of the directors, and of the others. The subordinate members by the window are further away from the stage whereas the two directors sit nearer to it. So the spatial representation of the social order, where directors are more important and more involved, is quite clear.

Does this hierarchical system also appear in the programming of the series of arias? By "series", it is meant all the arias that are sung one after another during the afternoon in the course of the meeting. The order of the arias is not prepared in advance, but is slowly established in the course of the afternoon. It is flexible and adapted to each particular meeting. However, the program is not left to chance: the "organizer" is responsible for it. As he establishes it step by step, he tries to follow the members' wishes. It is a delicate job, because he must please everyone and hurt nobody. The result of his action, as we shall see, is to program the arias to be sung during the meeting in accordance with the rankings of the members of the group.

The tables below provide an overview of the series of arias that made up the programs of the three meetings attended in 2004. The bottom line (x-axis) represents the order in which each participant sang from the beginning (1) of the series to their end (the performing order). The first column (y-axis) presents the members according to their ranking within the group's social hierarchy, the most subordinate at the bottom, the most elevated at the top. A ranking has been attributed to each member according to the social hierarchy just analyzed. In series #1, the teacher was present as well as a musician who sang once, in series #3 the young lady was present and three lady guests also joined in. So, the top line of table #3 is attributed to the guest singers because the group treats them as superiors-and a line at the bottom of table #1 is attributed to the musician-who is very much treated as a subordinate. The aim of attributing a special rank to everybody is to try to understand

how the social hierarchy can relate to the musical system built through the series.

The bold rectangles in the tables mark the center point of each meeting (see below).

#1. 19/10/2004

teacher							X							
person-in-charge			X						X		X			
organizer				X		X		X						X
old woman			X			X								
old friend		X												
musician												X		
social order														
performing order	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		

#2. 26/10/2004

person-in-charge				X		X		X						
organizer	X						X				X			
old woman		X			X					X		X		
old friend			X											
social order														
performing order	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11			

#3. 02/11/04

three women guests					X	X	X								
person-in-charge			X						X			X			
organizer		X						X						X	
old woman		X						X							
young lady			X				X						X		
old friend											X				
social order															
performing order	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

Close study reveals that six factors are relevant in the building of the series:

1. The number of arias. The friend and the subordinate members sing less, only once or twice. The old woman usually sings twice (but in series #2, her first two songs were very short, allowing her to have two other turns, the last one also being very short). The directors sing more often, three times being a minimum in one series.
2. Starting the series: the opening is usually not performed by one of the directors, except in series #2 because the friend had not yet arrived. The organizer excused himself when he sang first. This place is usually reserved for subordinate members and shows them the respect attributed to the action of opening.
3. The end of the series: the director/person-in-charge never occupies it. The end is often somewhat disorganized with some members often trying to get additional time from the orchestra.
4. One rule is implicit: a singer never sings

twice in a row. Those situated at a subordinate level do not sing again after only one person; two other people at least usually sing between them. However, at the level of the directors, this rule tends to be diluted and intervals of only one person do occur.

5. The series consists of two different sequences: a first calm and ordered moment during which the positions move quietly from one to the other; and a second sequence with bigger fluctuations that swing from the top (person-in-charge) to the bottom (friend) without passing through an intermediary, and phases which stay at the top as, for instance, in series #2. In series #1, the arias are mostly performed by those in lower positions before the teacher, and by those in higher positions after him. The first sequence is the time for constructing the series; the second is the time for its consolidation.

6. There is a center point between these two sequences of a series. In series #1, the teacher occupies this central position. In series #2, the center is held by the person-in-charge singing three times alternating with only one intermediary. In series #3, the center point belongs to the three women guests who sing one after another.

What is meant by "center" or "center point" is not a moment in time situated symmetrically between the beginning and the end. It rather means a special point, or climax, before and after which the series changes slightly. Situated loosely somewhere in the "general middle", it does not occur at any specific, pre-established time, but when the first sequence of the series, the moment of construction or of putting the music in place, is completed. It marks both the completion of the time of construction and the starting point of the second sequence, which is the time of consolidation. The center point is always occupied by high-ranking members or honored guests: the person-in-charge, the teacher, or the three women guests.

Through this presentation, a number of general trends that structure the series in an implicit

and unspoken manner were highlighted. The rules as revealed by this analysis are not rigid, and are always manipulated according to the special context of that day, so each series appears unique. However, we see clearly through these rules that the afternoon's singing order is indeed based on the social ranking of members and guests, and that it shows how the group's members relate to one another through music. The meetings are dynamic systems into which these elements are blended, showing that they all follow a similar logic. For instance, the director/person-in-charge's high rank is based on several related factors: the fact that he sings more frequently, never starts and never finishes, and often occupies the centre. The old woman's slightly lower rank is linked to the fact that she sings less, sometimes starts or ends, and never occupies the centre.

The conclusions drawn through the study of the three meetings are quite general. Each series follow a general pattern, which matches that of other amateur groups regularly studied in the years 2001/2006. The financial situation, the seating arrangements, the discourse regarding their positions all tend to project the same image of the hierarchical ranking that appears through the organisation of the series. The series are thus a way of positioning in which everyone fits into his or her own personal position. Each person's place in time and in space within the series grants the individual a certain status that is also his or hers within the group. So music making is also a way by which everyone is situated alongside the others, and through which a strict hierarchical system is built and expressed.

In this respect, we see that this kind of musical session is a perfect match with some of Chinese society's characteristic ceremonies dating from ancient times. In her article about the position in traditional China, Marianne Bastid-Bruguères (1996: 52) quotes from the Book of Rites on the subject of funeral rituals: "on this occasion, one must wei wei, that is assign to his "position" wei every person in the family, that is his place and

his turn (depending on the kinship degree) to mourn the dead"⁴. Later in the article she mentions that the official ceremonies were always organized around a permanent reference point, which is occupied by the principal performer, the emperor or his deputy. She adds: "The position of assistants to sacrifices and ceremonies strictly obeys to the hierarchical order of ranks and grades of the aristocracy and the mandarins... It shows, in space, the order of human society, which emanates from the imperial power and converges to it. (1996: 59) ... [The use of positions] ... expresses a vision of reality as a whole where elements are interdependent, linked by correlation. (1996: 59-60)". The positioning of the opera amateurs reveals much the same kind of attention given to the right place in time, when the singer is allowed his or her proper position within the series. And these series are organized around a center, which is the place of the principal performer, corresponding to the position of the emperor in traditional official ceremonies. So today's opera amateur sessions recreate in the present the rules governing the traditional notion of *positioning*.

We can add that this matches the internal organization of traditional opera shows.

According to Xu Chengbei in his *Beijing Opera and Chinese Culture* (1999: 96), all Beijing operas include some "important moments" (*zhongdian*) around which the piece is organized. These "important moments" or center points are situated within the piece, and not at the end as in most Western shows. So the fact that the end is not a climax seems to be a special feature of Chinese opera, whether in the official shows or in the series of amateurs.

This organization can be understood as a concrete manifestation of what the famous Chinese anthropologist Fei Xiaotong calls *chaxugeju*, which was translated as a "differential mode of association"⁵, but which would be better translated as a "system of hierarchy" (and opposed to the "system of individualism" [*tuantigeju*] of the West, in Fei Xiaotong's thought). The way by which

the "organizer" situates the "person-in-charge" higher than himself may be called, following the words of professor Yan Yunxiang who is developing the words of Fei Xiaotong, a "hierarchical personality", (*chaxurenge*)⁶. Social hierarchy is intrinsic to the group and the persons, and is a kind of relationships difficult to be understood from an occidental and egalitarian point of view, but however not denied of a profound humanity towards everybody, no matter his or her status within the group.

Let's now see how the internal order can adapt to the introduction of some outsiders.

Outsider Integration

People who are not members of the group frequently attend the meetings. Politeness then requires that they be asked to sing within the series, and that they be included at a respectable place, that is at the center. When there is no outsider present, the teacher or the person-in-charge occupies the center. They keep an honorable spot in the presence of outsiders, but in that case the central place is ceded to the latter. The inclusion of outsiders is accomplished smoothly and the transformation caused by their inclusion remains minimal. So the act of positioning of the amateurs is open to the possibility of outsider integration, and is a means of confirming the general order.

In series #3, the inclusion of the three guests singing consecutively without the interposition of other members gives the impression that they are in fact being treated as if they occupied just a single position. In this case, the series' usual order is slightly changed by this unusual combination of three women guests. However, the change is minimal, because all other members of the group keep their usual positions and this does not profoundly disturb the series' usual setting.

The inclusion of outsiders is never an issue for amateurs of the XX Group or for amateurs of other independent groups, nor does it ever lead to a conflict. The rule is that everybody who attends should be given a place and a time to sing, at a respectable spot, no matter where he or she comes from. So, amateur groups are open entities that

encompass the ability of including outsiders. Amateur groups are characterized by an internal graduated system that allows everybody to participate according to his/her own specific position within the group and that also recognizes the possibility of smooth outsider integration. Thus the groups project their social relationships through the series; these value the whole, outsiders included, and not the individual. They project an image of a graduated and encompassing order where what counts is more the whole series constructed through everybody's singing than the individual singer as a performer.

Let's now turn to rock music to see that it is structured quite in the same ways, with however some important differences in the integration of outsiders.

Beijing Rock Music Parties

At the time of its appearance in the late eighties and early nineties Chinese rock music was widely discussed by Occidental journalists who were mostly interested in its subversive aspects. Unfortunately, few scientific studies have been written about it⁷. Our study published in French (2001) is one of the first anthropological works dedicated to the birth of the rock phenomenon in China. The following analysis is based on facts researched on that occasion.

The parties⁸ of rock musicians follow the same general pattern as the meetings of amateur opera singers. Although some tickets may be sold to the public, parties are not concerts in the strict sense of the term, for the people who attend are mostly musicians belonging to the "Circle of Rock". At the beginning of the 1990's, this totaled about fifteen rock groups, most of them male. In the course of the fieldwork, more than twenty of these parties were attended.

At first glance, a Chinese rock party may appear to be quite similar to Western rock shows. Of course both feature rock music so similarities should be expected. However, there are also some big differences: for instance, in China the center point is not situated at the end, but in the

middle. Even large-scale rock concerts which are organized much less frequently and usually feature a single group are organized around several "important moments" that appear through the concert and not at the end. All the concerts of the rock star Cui Jian attended at this time also featured this organization. Thus, after the last "important moment", the crowd's excitement is allowed to die down slowly, which explains why quite a number of people leave before the end ("opera lovers" adopt the same attitude and also many amateur leave meetings before the end). This feature is a real difference with Western rock shows where the end is always a climax.

The analysis of these parties takes an approach different to that of the amateur opera singers, as it concentrates not on relationships within one group, but focuses on the context of the whole Circle of Rock and on the order in which the several groups perform. It nevertheless deals with the same issue: how do the units that share the stage, constituted either by individuals (the amateurs singers) or rock groups, develop their playing-order and on what system and on which unspoken rules is this based?

Parties are regular events that involve several Beijing rock groups and all the musicians and people who gravitate around them in the Circle of Rock. One of their aims is to give rock musicians the occasion to meet one another and to appreciate the different groups that come to play. Parties are organized every week or two and are usually held in discos or bars of hotels. There are two kinds of public: the members of the Circle of Rock themselves, and some of the foreigners living in Beijing who come to dance. Several rock groups, from two to six, sometimes even more, take the stage in turn to play from one to three songs each. Like the opera amateurs, the rock groups often do not establish a definite list of which group will play that evening or which group will play at what time or in what order. Parties are always surprise events, one never really knows what will happen next. Through positioning, rock groups are able

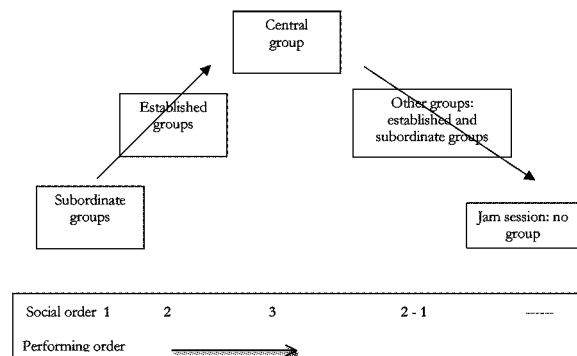
to know how they all fit into the “Circle of Rock” and each group is able to know its own position. So like opera amateur sessions, rock musicians make their musical get-together something more than just a show for the public.

Here is a brief description of a party held in August 1991 at a disco called The Diplomat. Six groups are scheduled to perform that evening. Nobody buys a ticket except a few foreigners. The party is held in a room without windows, psychedelic lamps are hung on the walls, drinks are being sold in a corner, and outsize loudspeakers surround the stage. By ten p. m., few people have shown up and the room is half empty. Some kind of recorded disco music can be heard. The instruments are set up. The first group to play is Women (*Nüzi*), its girl musicians all wear normal street clothes but with a certain chic. Their hair is very short and they wear a lot of jewelry. They start by introducing themselves: “We are the women rockers, our group’s other name is Cobra, we are going to play a new song ...”

They start playing. Their stance is quite static. Some people are gathered in front of the stage, but only a few are dancing. Most of the spectators do not dance; they listen or talk to each other. After playing three songs, Women finish. Few people applaud. More recorded music plays for a while. The following group, Face (*Miankong*), specializes in heavy metal. The music is much louder. The singer has very long hair and swings his head around, showing off his hair to the public. The music is like wild shouting. The spectators watch, most without moving. Some step out into the hall to be able to continue their conversations. After three songs, Face is replaced by more recorded music. Breathing (*Huxi*) then takes the stage. Apart from Women, it is the only group that includes a female singer and it is one of the Circle of Rock’s big groups at this time. At about midnight, it is followed by Ado (in English), a group composed of the musicians that usually play with the rock star Cui Jian. According to the musicians, this is the night’s best and

most famous group. Red Army (*Hongse budui*) follows, a new group whose percussionist also plays for Face and Breathing. At one o’ clock in the morning, the room is almost empty but Self Education (*Ziwo jiaoyu*), also a young group, goes on stage and plays a kind of floating music, a mix of punk, reggae and Chinese music. After it has finished, the members of Face and Breathing get together for a jam session. The public has disappeared, but the musicians continue to play. They will not leave until after three a. m.

As this description shows, in spite of the lack of any previously arranged program and of a person responsible for it, the groups follow certain rules that are implicit and unspoken: subordinate groups always play first. These subordinate groups are the new, young groups, and the only female group, Women. Established groups play next, in the middle of the meeting. After reaching the climax with that night’s leading group, other less important groups, whether established or subordinate, will have their turn. This system slowly became apparent as the different parties attended in the course of the fieldwork in Beijing were compared. The playing order of the groups can be drawn as follows (a distinction is drawn between the performing order that makes a series and the social order composed of “categories of groups”: 1 is for the young groups, 2 is for established groups, 3 for the central group):



The Usual Performing Order for Rock Groups at Parties

The party’s performing order provides us with a snapshot of the rock community. Just like the meetings of amateur opera singers, rock par-

ties include positioning for the groups within the Circle of Rock. Like opera amateur series, rock parties are organized as hierarchical systems that allow one best or central position. Both kinds of events follow a similar logic and are defined by two sequences organized around a center representing the climax. The openings are to be understood in the same way, they are the places for subordinate rock groups and less experienced opera singers. The leading opera singers and leading rock group occupy superior positions. However in rock parties the rise in perceived status is followed by what can be analyzed as a kind of decline. This might come from the fact that rock groups only play once, and other lesser known rock groups come on stage after the night's leading group. Differently, amateurs have several tries, and the directors are more active in the second phase of the series. However, the importance seems in both cases to lie in the construction of a hierarchy, and the recognition of a leader or principal performer positioned at the center.

Another important difference is that the parties have no "organizer". Rock musicians say they prefer to leave it up to their "feelings" (*ganjue*) to compose the performing-order in the course of the evening: the informants said that when a group "feels" ready, it goes on stage to perform. Apart from that, musicians admitted that they neither liked to open the evening nor to conclude it. Thus, they recognized openly that the first and last positions were not very good, and that the best position was the central one. Only after participating in many parties, it was seen that the groups establish their performing-order not only through their spontaneous feelings, but also through discussions. The musicians do not stop to discuss among themselves, but little by little an implicit and collective agreement emerges regarding the order in which they will perform. As a matter of fact, the leading group position is never at stake, and groups which consider themselves as equals do not play at the same party, so as to avoid a possible

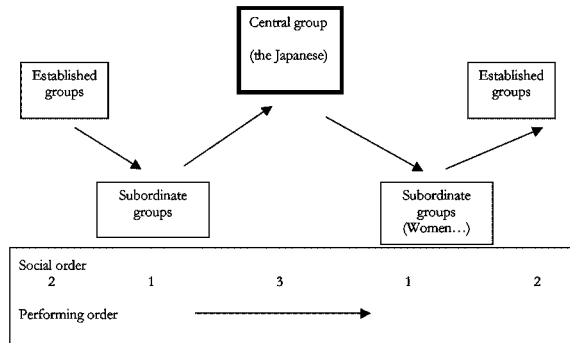
conflict. The two best-known heavy metal groups of that time Tang Dynasty (*Tang chao*) and Black Panther (*Hei bao*) avoided sharing the stage during a same party.

Although rock groups and opera amateurs use a different method for establishing their playing-order, both follow a similar logic that aims to build a graduated system in which each person or group finds his or her place. When compelled to establish their order of performing "on the spot", both use a system that gives everyone a position corresponding to his/her status within the community. The leaders are given the position considered to be the best. However the superiority of this position is only apparent from its comparison with the less favored positions. Thus, both systems are systems of complementary relationships in which the community is valued, not just one unit of it, the individual singer or one rock group. So these events are the heart of the community where relationships are made clear to everyone. We may also believe that, before going on stage, every participant has some knowledge of the order that is going to be built.

Outsider Integration

A party held in the autumn of 1992 was markedly different from others. A visiting Japanese group came to play in Beijing. The Chinese groups of the Circle of Rock had never previously heard this Japanese group play, but because it was foreign and Japanese it was allocated the best, central position. However, the Japanese group's inclusion caused considerable disruption to the Chinese groups' playing-order. On this occasion the groups' playing order was set in advance, with the Japanese group, surrounded by established groups, occupying the central spot. However, the group that was initially scheduled to perform right after the Japanese refused this. Although this would be normally considered a fairly good position, the group feared that its performance would not bear comparison with the Japanese. The musicians discussed the issue and finally de-

cided to put after the Japanese the only female group, Women, which they considered the most subordinate group. Women were furious and tried to change their place, but the male groups insisted on this new order. The evening's meeting can be illustrated as follows:



The Exceptional Order to Perform at the Party including the Japanese

Thus the party became a kind of oscillating system with several ups and downs, very different from the usual Chinese group system with one way up and one way down.

This situation raised an interesting issue. Usually, Women and young groups perform first or last without any complaint, happy to play with other established groups. They do not find starting or finishing dishonorable. This time however, on the one hand, the Chinese musicians believed that, as an experienced, foreign group, the Japanese had the right to have the best central position. On the other hand, they did not want to be compared to it, assuming it to be very superior. This shows that the hierarchical system in use among Chinese groups is no longer accepted when outsiders are involved.

To integrate the foreigners, the best position was given to the Japanese group, as should be done in honoring a superior group, but the usual practice was also disrupted by surrounding it with subordinate groups that should normally have been playing at the beginning and end of the party. It was felt these groups would accept their position as some kind of "buffer" between the established

Chinese groups and the Japanese. However, Women tried to change their newly assigned place, thus showing their disagreement with being put in the worst slot this time. This party shows that the Circle of Rock has two different kinds of behaviors, one internal to their community based on an ascending and descending hierarchy, and one external to it in which the center acquires a different, double-sided value: it is still superior in time and space because it comes in the middle, but it is no longer based on a clear ascending and descending social hierarchy.

The notion of center, which the night's most established group always occupies in the usual case of Chinese rockers playing together, has a character of elevation. It is also the climax of the party, marking the end of the rising phase and announcing the impending decline. The center's quality is that it is both the right moment and the right place for the apex group. In the unusual case of the meeting that included the Japanese group, the center is no longer the evening's clear turning point because the series has become an undulating system with several ups and downs in which the center has lost its dominating superiority. By looking at the center point's surroundings, we understand the series' underlying construction. The party that includes the Japanese group no longer projected an image of order, but one of disorder caused by the confrontation between Chinese and Japanese groups.

Let us take a closer look at this by comparing the situations of the Japanese group in rock parties and that of the three women guests among the amateur opera singers in more detail. The question is to understand why rock musicians disrupted the order of their party. Does the sole quality of being foreign and Japanese explain the disruption? Certainly, Japan as a country is often disliked because of its progressive invasion of China before and during the Second World War, but on an individual basis the Japanese are treated in much the same way as other foreigners. And rock musicians

appeared to be quite open-minded in their general appreciation of foreigners. At the time of the research, several foreigners were playing in rock groups, a Malachi, a Hungarian, and a few others who came and went. They were perfectly integrated into the groups, regardless of their country of origin. So the musicians were accustomed to deal with foreigners on an individual basis, and treated them in much the same way as they did one another; they would never treat the Malachi badly because he was black, and held him in high respect for his musical experience. There was also the long-established group named Ado, which had several foreign members (including the Malachi), and which other musicians considered one of the Circle of Rock's best groups. It took part in the parties system without any problem, exactly like Chinese groups, and it could be granted the central place when it fitted it (as described here). There was no individual Japanese musician playing in the Circle of Rock at this time, so it is difficult to really know how the Chinese musicians might have treated one; but it would appear, from a general point of view, that rock musicians were accustomed to dealing with foreigners either as individual musicians or as groups, and had no problem in integrating them smoothly into the series.

So the question that influenced the organization of this party seems not the special ethnic quality of being Japanese, but, firstly, that the Japanese group was an unknown outsider that had never been heard before, and secondly, it was assumed to be more experienced in rock music and to be better than Chinese rock groups since it came from abroad. We may suppose that a foreign group from another country would have been treated much in the same way.

Comparison with the amateur opera singers shows that the three women's situation is somewhat similar to the Japanese: they were invited to participate in this meeting but, since they came from another southern Chinese province, they were totally unknown to the XX Group which had never

heard them sing before. In both cases, it is the unknown characteristic that transforms the act of positioning into an act of outsider integration. However, the rockers totally changed their usual positioning whereas the amateur opera singers only partially modified their rules by linking the three women guests together and taking them as a single unit.

So rock musicians appear to integrate outsiders less easily than opera amateurs. The first and the last slots in parties are not considered good places, but still they are positions within the series and every rock musician considered them to be the right places for young and inexperienced groups. On the other hand, the place just after the Japanese is considered really bad. This might be an expression of the difficulty Chinese musicians have to position themselves at a lower spot when confronted with supposed more experienced foreigners. The fact that both the established group as well as Women refused the bad place shows their ambivalence when confronted with allegedly superior foreign groups. That comes in total contradiction with the behavior of the "organizer" of the opera amateurs who cares to situate the "person-in-charge" at a higher place than his and who puts the three women guests at the center without disturbing the usual setting of the series. Opera amateurs operate a graduated system that lets everyone play his or her part at the right time, be they habitual members of the group or outsiders. In the Circle of rock, in contrast, the need to integrate an outside group disrupts the rock musicians' usual graduated system. This might show, from a social point of view, that rock musicians reflect the difficulties that modern society faces today in integrating outsiders. Comparatively, opera amateurs have a more communal way of being that encompasses insiders and outsiders. This illustrates the difficulty of thinking and acting hierarchically in some areas of modern society where the ideal of social equality is stronger.

By way of a conclusion, let's go back to the

action of positioning by taking a look at some Chinese traditions that involve the same kind of issues. Several authors analyzing Chinese religious processions have remarked that a certain amount of competition and confrontation arises between different teams or villages, and that one of the functions of the processions is to pacify the tensions. Florence Allio (1998: 17) says about processions in Taiwan that: "Through the intermediary of the processional ritual, each community obtains the reconfirmation of its place on the territory and at this occasion its links towards others are defined and ritually marked". James Watson (1996: 157), when discussing the violence underlying some processions in Hong Kong states that, "In both the masquerade and the *Tianhou* rites great efforts are made by political elites to channel this violent energy into acceptable, manageable forms of political activity". Paul Katz's (2007: 171) conclusion in his description of today's Zhejiang processions mentions that: "The processions also provide an important opportunity to delineate local territory and define relationships between different communities, which are marked by varying degrees of cooperation and competition". All these authors see that positioning in space leads to the definition of the place of each participant, and ends up either in appeasing the tensions between them if things are done well, or in lasting conflicts if things are not done well.

We have seen here that during parties as well as during amateur sessions, positioning in time by taking the stage also leads to the definition of the community and to the expression of its hierarchical order. It can lead to peace for opera amateurs as well as for rock musicians in their usual setting, and to conflict when the latter are required to integrate the Japanese group. However, we can also stress that, because positioning includes in itself the possibility of integrating others, it is a means that, if not ideal, is well able to draw unknown outsiders together within a musical community. The question is to understand to what extent the

disruption caused by the introduction of the foreign group gives rise to a lasting conflict within the Circle of Rock.

The fact that amateurs meetings and rock parties are means that organize positioning and outsider integration shows that they are more than only musical and artistic events in that they both share some of the qualities of also being "rituals" in the anthropological sense. Both fit well what Gerd Baumann (1992) states in his article "Ritual implicates others" which shows that ritual is able to integrate others, and is not only "an act internal to the category or group that celebrates it or celebrate itself through it (1992: 98)". We might say that the celebration of itself through opera meetings or rock parties would not be really complete without the participation of some kind of outsider who cares to be included within the group. In these musical sessions, positioning and outsider integration are deeply linked as complementary parts of the structure that organizes the expression of the social relationships between the participants, a relationship that at the same time includes all and situates all within the hierarchy of positions. This relationship is also deeply "ritual" because it involves people and not only sounds.

Notes:

1. The fieldwork investigations were presented in a book *Le théâtre dans l'espace du peuple-une enquête de terrain en Chine* published in French in 2012. It describes and compares three different styles of opera, including that of the amateurs of Beijing opera.

2. A book was published in French in 2001: *Rites et Rock à Pékin-Tradition et modernité de la musique rock dans la société chinoise*.

3. The real name of the group is not given here, to keep its privacy.

4. Quote from *the Book of Rites (Liji)*, chapter *tangongshang*, translated from Chinese to French by S. Couvreur (1950, tome 1: 133-134).

5. From *the Soil, The Foundations of Chinese Society*, 1992 [1947].

6. Conference at EHESS, Paris, France, 14/05/2012.

7. See Baranovitch (2003).

8. Rock musicians used the English word "party" with a Chinese pronunciation.

References:

Allio, Florence. *Procession et identité : mise en scène rituelle de l'histoire locale*, Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie 1998 (10): pp. 1-18.

Baranovitch, Nimrod. *China's New Voices, Popular Music, Ethnicity, Gender and Politics, 1978-1997*, University of California Press, 2003.

Bastid-Brugière, Marianne. *La 'position' dans le cérémonial d'Etat à la fin de l'Empire.*, Disposer pour dire, Placer pour penser, Situer pour agir, Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident, n°1996 (18): pp. 51-61.

Baumann, Gerd. *Ritual implicates others : rereading Durkheim in a plural society.*, Understanding Rituals, Daniel de Coppet ed., Routledge, London, 1992.

Book of Rites, Li Ki (Liji), Mémoires sur les bienfaits et les cérémonies, translated from Chinese to French by S. Couvreur, Les Belles lettres, 1950.

Capdeville-Zeng, Catherine. *Rites et Rock à Pékin, Tradition et modernité de la musique rock dans la société chinoise*, les Indes Savantes, Paris. 2001.

—*Le théâtre dans l'espace du peuple-une enquête de terrain en Chine*, (to be published), 2012.

Duchesne, Isabelle. *The Chinese Opera*

Star: Roles and Identity, Boundaries in China, J. Hay ed., Reaktion Books, London, 1994: pp. 67-82.

— *Les cercles d'amateurs de Jingxi à Pékin et à Shanghai (1910-37)*, état, Société civile et Sphère publique en Asie de l'est, Sociétés et cultures de l'Asie n°1, Centre d'études de l'Asie de l'est, Université de Montréal, 1998: pp. 217-242.

Fei, Xiaotong. *From the Soil-The Foundations of Chinese Society*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992 [1947]

Katz, Paul. *Festivals and the recreation of Identity in South China: A Case Study of Processions and Expulsion Rites in Pucheng Zhejiang*, Asian Ritual Systems, Syncretisms and Ruptures, Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern ed., Carolina Academic Press, 2007: pp. 153-182.

Mackerras, Colin. *The Rise of Peking Opera 1770-1870: Social Aspects of the Theater in Mandchu China*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1972.

—*Amateur Theatre in China 1949-1966*, Australian National University Press, Canberra. 1973.

Pimpaneau, Jacques. *Poupées à l'ombre- Le théâtre d'ombres et de poupées en Chine*, Université Paris 7, 1977.

Watson, James. *Fighting with Operas: Processionals, Politics, and the Spectre of Violence in Rural Hong Kong*, The Politics of Cultural Performance, Chinese University Press, 1996: pp. 145-159.

Xie Yiren. *jingju piaoyou (Beijing Opera Amateurs)*, Jindun chubanshe, 2008.

Xu Chengbei. *jingju yu zhongguo wenhua (Beijing Opera and Chinese Culture)*, Renmin chubanshe, 1999.

Glossary of Chinese terms

<i>chaxugeju</i>	差序格局	system of hierarchy (Fei Xiaotong)
<i>chaxurenge</i>	差序人格	hierarchical personality (Yan Yunxiang)
<i>Cui Jian</i>	崔健	Cui Jian
<i>fuzeren</i>	负责人	person-in-charge
<i>gangtai gequ</i>	港台歌曲	Hong Kong and Taiwan style
<i>ganjue</i>	感觉	feelings
<i>hao</i>	好!	good!
<i>Heibao</i>	黑豹	Black Panther
<i>Hongse budui</i>	红色部队	Red Army
<i>Huxi</i>	呼吸	Breathing
<i>laoban</i>	老板	boss
<i>lianpu</i>	脸谱	make-up faces
<i>liuxing yinyue</i>	流行音乐	popular music
<i>Miankong</i>	面孔	Face
<i>Nüzi</i>	女子	Women
<i>pengyou</i>	朋友	friends
<i>piaofang</i>	票房	amateur groups (room of amateur)
<i>piaoxi</i>	票戏	amateurs acts
<i>piaoyou</i>	票友	opera amateur
<i>Tangchao</i>	唐朝	Tang Dynasty
<i>tuantigeju</i>	团体格局	system of individualism (Fei Xiaotong)
<i>waijiaorenyuan</i>	外交人员	The Diplomat
<i>wei</i>	位	position
<i>wei wei</i>	为位	to assign a position (from <i>Liji</i>)
<i>ximi</i>	戏迷	opera lovers
<i>Yanjingshe</i>	眼镜蛇	Cobra
<i>yaogun quanzi</i>	摇滚圈子	Circle of rock
<i>yaogun yinyue</i>	摇滚音乐	rock music
<i>zhongdian</i>	重点	important moment
<i>zhuanye yanyuan</i>	专业演员	professional actors
<i>zhuchiren</i>	主持人	organizer
<i>Ziwo jiaoyu</i>	自我教育	Self Education