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PLAZA DANCING AND THE AGE-FRIENDLY CITY: RECLAIMING PUBLIC SPACE FOR ACTIVE AGING IN CHINA

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Abstract: Age-friendly city policy tends to judge public space by counting what has already been installed, such as benches, ramps and lighting, and this means it fails to see who can enter a square, at what hour, together with whom, and under whose permission. Across Chinese cities, the most visible way older adults take up public space is plaza dancing, and the same group dancing appears as mass fitness in municipal reports but as noise in complaints filed by residents. The judgement of whether a place is age-friendly sits between those two readings, yet prior work has not used the session, rather than the square, as its unit of analysis. The protocol draws together third-place theory, the competence-press model of Lawton and Nahemow, and Lefebvre's account of the right to the city, and turns them into a three-layer framework covering spatial conditions, social organisation and governance. The framework will be examined through a multiple-case study across three neighbourhood types in Duanzhou District, Zhaoqing City, Guangdong Province, China; full-duration session observation, walking interviews, photovoice and key-informant interviews will be used, and the data will go through reflexive thematic analysis with double coding and negative-case analysis. The study aims to test whether age-friendliness in public space is generated through practice rather than delivered by design. Three mechanisms are specified beforehand and will be compared against the data: temporal reclamation of spare hours, collective repair of the material environment, and the shift from a loose crowd to a care network. Where the data support these mechanisms, age-friendly assessment would need practice indicators on top of provision indicators, and noise governance should be worked out with dancers instead of being applied to them uniformly.
Keywords: Age-friendly cities; Public space; Plaza dancing; Third place; Active aging; Urban governance; Study protocol; China

1 INTRODUCTION

China's population is ageing faster than that of any other large economy in history, and most older people remain in the places where they grew old. The majority of older Chinese live in the neighbourhoods where they raised their children, and the housing there was built before elevators, accessibility ramps and air conditioners became standard fittings. In response, national policy has issued a series of frameworks, from Healthy China 2030 and the National Fitness Plan to the fifteen-minute community life circle and successive rounds of residential renewal; in each, improving the immediate residential environment is treated as the main lever for keeping independent living going. The language these debates use comes largely from the World Health Organization's age-friendly city framework [1], whose first domain covers outdoor spaces and buildings. The order is not arbitrary, since public space is the cheapest, most widely available and most heavily contested resource an ageing neighbourhood holds.

The standard assessment of this resource measures the wrong object. Bench counts, ramp gradients, lighting levels and paving continuity are what audits record, and such audits answer only what has been put in place. Who can occupy the space, at what hour, for how long, and with whose permission, these questions remain unanswered, even though they decide whether a seventy-four-year-old woman with a replaced hip can make use of a square. One neighbourhood may score well on every provision indicator and still be unusable after six in the evening; another may miss every indicator and still draw two hundred people each day. The gap matters for policy: a low audit score points to capital expenditure, whereas an unusable square calls for scheduling, permission and negotiation, which cost less but are far harder to spell out in a funding document.

Plaza dancing, called guangchangwu in Chinese, which literally means square dancing, offers the clearest existing case. In Chinese usage the name covers a range of choreographed dances held in public squares, plaza edges, park clearings, car-park aprons and shopping-centre forecourts. A session usually brings together eight to forty participants, mostly women aged fifty-five to seventy; they arrive at dawn or after dinner, carrying a portable loudspeaker, a memory card of eighty to a hundred tracks that mix revolutionary standards, ethnic folk melodies and current pop hits, and a set of routines the squad leader has picked up from video, a training class, or a squad in another district. No fee, booking or membership is involved, and the group runs without a formal charter. National participation estimates differ a good deal and should be read cautiously, but the practice is plainly visible, and its health footprint can already be measured; in a cohort of 26,584 retired adults, each unit rise in log square-dancing activity was tied to an 11 per cent lower hazard of incident cardiovascular disease [2], against the activity levels recommended for older adults in WHO guidelines [3].

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Official readings of the practice split apart, and the split itself is instructive. Seen through the lens of mass fitness, it counts as a public health asset: it draws in the least sporty segment of the population, costs the state nearly nothing, and can be mobilised for demonstration events, festivals and health campaigns. Seen through the lens of urban order, it counts as a noise source: complaints follow it, it takes shared space at hours other residents also want it, and it has repeatedly drawn local regulation, physical confrontation and proposals that dancers be moved to designated sites. The very same session can therefore appear as a benefit inside one municipal department and a nuisance inside another; older adults navigate this mixed standing day by day, yet they lack the design, planning and legal words needed to make a claim on the space.

Research on the practice has expanded quickly but unevenly. One epidemiological strand treats it as a type of moderate-intensity exercise and asks whether it improves cardiovascular risk, immune markers, cognition, sleep or quality of life; its findings are consistent and mostly positive [4-7], and reviews of physical activity among older Chinese adults reach broadly similar conclusions [8]. Mediation analyses suggest social support and depressive symptoms carry part of the effect on sleep [9], while negative emotions and attitudes toward ageing carry part of the effect on quality of life [10]. A second, sociological strand looks at identity, gender and generational relations. Anglophone urban scholarship has noticed the phenomenon, but mostly describes it as spectacle. All three strands share two gaps: exposure is measured almost always by questionnaire rather than observation, and the space where the activity occurs is treated as a container rather than a condition. Dancers' own accounts of their dancing are known; what they actually do to the square is barely known, and even less is known about the arrangements that allow them to be there in the first place.

This protocol describes a study whose unit of analysis is the session. Three questions run through it. In what time windows do older adults claim and remake public space through plaza dancing, and how do they do so? How does a squad's social organisation turn collective movement into health-related resources that no one could obtain alone? In what ways do local governance arrangements enable or block these practices, and what follows for the age-friendliness of the neighbourhood?

The contribution works on both theoretical and practical levels. Theoretically, age-friendly public space is argued to be produced by practice rather than delivered by design, and two mechanisms current frameworks leave out are named here: temporal reclamation and collective affordance repair. Practically, the design yields instruments a municipal authority could adopt without new capital expenditure, and spells out what an age-friendly audit would need to measure if it took this account seriously. The framework appears in Section 2, the design in Section 3, the analytic strategy in Section 4, and the anticipated contribution together with the design's limits in Sections 5 and 6.

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 From Provision to Practice

The age-friendly framework was developed as a municipal self-assessment tool [1]. Its domains are broad, and its indicators are deliberately concrete; this double feature is both why it has been influential and where its limitation lies: concrete indicators can be counted, what can be counted attracts funding, and what cannot be counted falls out of the report. The framework pictures an older resident who receives the environment. Yet anyone watching a Chinese square at seven in the evening sees an older resident who makes the environment: the person who sweeps the ground before dancing, shifts the bench blocking the corner, talks through the matter with the security guard, and lowers the volume two notches tonight because a resident's grandchild sits an examination tomorrow. Direct on-site observation of how people actually occupy such spaces has a long tradition in public-space research [11-12].

Age-friendliness is therefore understood here as an achievement of practice, not as a property of the built environment: it is something older people and those around them bring about, or fail to bring about, in a particular place at a particular hour. The reframing carries a methodological requirement, namely that the unit analysed must be the session, not the square. It also accounts for why satisfaction-with-provision studies can give high scores to estates from which older residents are plainly excluded, and why use and satisfaction go apart by street type in the megacity studies that keep the two separate [13].

2.2 Third Place, and the Temporality Third-Place Theory Forgot

Oldenburg's third place means a setting that is neither home nor work, one where presence is optional, where status is put aside, and which draws on regulars, conversation and a low profile [14]; this fits plaza dancing remarkably well, except for one decisive feature. Oldenburg's third places carry on continuously, the way a café, a barber shop or a post office does. The square does not. It turns into a third place only when bodies assemble there, and reverts to a paved rectangle once they leave. Its accessibility is temporal before it is spatial, which is why the right to the third place has to be renegotiated on a daily basis.

Three consequences follow, and the analysis will trace each. Occupation, not title, makes the claim on space, yet occupation remains precarious: a festival, a construction permit, a rainstorm or one determined resident can bring it to an end. Most conflict settles on the boundary between our hour and their hour, which is why disputes about the practice so often turn on time rather than place. Because the place itself does not persist, its social content has to be carried by people, and this reciprocity among regulars echoes the informal bonding and mutual aid documented in community studies [15]; it is also why the squad matters more than the square.

2.3 Competence, Press, and the Labour of Affordance Repair

Of why one environment works for one older person and disables another, Lawton and Nahemow's competence-press model offers the clearest account: the environment exerts press, the individual commands competence, and well-being peaks when press sits slightly above competence [16]. Read onto a square, the model predicts that an unmarked drainage channel, a twelve-centimetre step and lighting that fails at dusk will exceed the competence of a seventy-four-year-old woman with a replaced hip, and that she will not return.

The model leaves open what older adults do about such barriers. Early observations indicate that dancers do not wait for the municipality: mats, torches, tape, rearranged choreography and, in one case, a floodlight bought out of pocket are how they correct the hazards themselves. This repair work is called affordance repair, the labour through which users bring the material environment back within reach of their bodily competence. The term draws on the affordance concept, according to which an environment holds out possibilities of action to a particular body rather than carrying abstract properties [17]. Affordance repair is unpaid, invisible to audits, and performed mostly by women in their sixties and seventies; naming it turns a hidden cost of ageing in place into a maintenance question.

2.4 Governance, Noise, and the Negotiated Right to the City

Governance enters through sound. Noise is the medium through which the older dancing body reads to the city as a problem: a decibel reading converts a practice into a violation more decisively than any other feature of that practice. Lefebvre's right to the city supplies the opposing claim, that inhabitants hold a legitimate claim on the spaces they produce through use, and it supplies as well why the claim is hard to press [18]. The claim is collective, informal and time-bounded; the city's available instruments, by contrast, permits, decibel standards, designated sites and property rights are individual, formal and permanent.

The resulting arrangement is termed a spatial contract: an implicit, locally varying agreement over who may occupy which space at which hour, at what volume, and what sanction applies if it is broken. The contract is never written down. Complaint logs, cadre mediation, security-guard discretion, self-imposed curfews and accumulated precedent are its ingredients, and its terms differ from one neighbourhood to the next. Whether these terms, more than paving quality, explain the gaps in use between sites is what the analysis will test.

Table 1 Plaza Dancing as Age-Friendly Infrastructure: A Practice-Based Model

Component	Content
Spatial conditions	Time-shared square; level paving; shade; lighting; power for sound
Social organisation	Squad roles (leader, sound, choreography); attendance norms; mutual aid
Governance arrangements	Fitness promotion versus noise control; permits; complaints; cadre brokerage
Session practice	Choreographed collective movement, 60 to 90 minutes at dawn or dusk, 8 to 40 participants
Mechanisms in play	Temporal reclamation; affordance repair; organised sociability
Outcomes	Physical activity volume; social connection and informal care; place attachment; negotiated right to the city
Feedback	Outcomes feed back: dancers maintain and repair the space, recruit members and renegotiate access with residents and cadres

Note. Conditions are enabling or constraining rather than deterministic, and the relations denote influence rather than causation. The model synthesises the framework set out in Sections 2.1 to 2.4 and anticipates the three-case comparison specified in Section 3.2.

3 METHODS

3.1 Design and Rationale

A qualitative multiple-case study in Stake's tradition will be used, with each neighbourhood a bounded case and cross-case comparison supporting analytical rather than statistical generalisation [19]. The design fits because its object of interest, the informal terms on which space is occupied, appears in no administrative dataset and cannot be recovered from a survey. Fieldwork is planned for eight months, long enough to watch seasonal shifts in attendance and at least one full cycle of regulatory attention.

3.2 Case Selection

Three neighbourhoods will be chosen through maximum variation on the dimensions the framework expects to matter: the age and tenure of the housing stock, the supply of open space, and the property regime governing it. Rather than starting from convenience, selection draws on a city-level inventory of neighbourhood types, and each case will be represented by the neighbourhood that best fits its type in Duanzhou District, Zhaoqing City, Guangdong Province, China; the area holds a sizeable ageing cohort still living in older housing that has not been broadly renovated.

Table 2 gives the selection matrix and the contrast each case is expected to offer.

Table 2 Case Selection Matrix and the Contrast Each Case Is Expected to Supply

Dimension	Case 1: inner district	Case 2: gated new town	Case 3: resettlement area
Housing	1980s work-unit walk-ups, ageing in place	Commodity high-rise completed after 2010	Mid-rise blocks delivered within the last decade

Dimension	Case 1: inner district	Case 2: gated new town	Case 3: resettlement area
Open space	Inherited square, mature trees, uneven surface	Designed plaza, new paving, controlled access	No designed plaza; residual hard surface only
Property regime	Residents' committee with street-office oversight	Private property management company	Transitional: village collective with street-office oversight
Expected contrast	Negotiated tolerance: informal but stable terms	Privatised exclusion: access decided by property rights	Spatial absence: no counterpart to negotiate with
Recorded during fieldwork	Household count, surface area, hours of use, complaints, sound levels at group edge and nearest window	As Case 1, plus the terms of the management agreement	As Case 1, plus the absence of a complaint channel

3.3 Sampling of Participants

Through squad leaders, dancers will be recruited, with deliberate spread across age, years of participation, tenure and employment history. The target is 30 to 35 walking interviews, spread over the three sites and continued until each site has accounts from long-standing members, recent joiners and at least one former member who left. Twelve participants, four per site, will join the photovoice component. Eight to ten key informants will be picked for their formal or informal part in the spatial contract: community cadres, property managers, an urban management officer, residents' committee members and non-dancing residents, including at least one who has filed repeated complaints. Participation is voluntary and unpaid, and every name will be a pseudonym. Table 3 lays out the corpus and the role each component plays in the analysis.

Table 3 Data Corpus and the Part Each Component Plays in the Analysis

Component	Target	Purpose in the analysis
Session observation	At least 36 sessions, 12 per site, full duration	Establishes what is actually done, when, by how many, and what interrupts it
Walking interviews	30 to 35 dancers, 45 to 90 minutes, conducted on the route to the session	Accounts of the claim on space, narrated in the presence of the features that carry it
Photovoice	12 participants, 4 per site, two group discussions	Surfaces material repairs and obstacles that speech under-reports
Key-informant interviews	8 to 10 informants, 40 to 70 minutes	Documents the governance side of the spatial contract and the handling of complaints
Site records	Complaint logs, management notices, activity schedules where they exist	Triangulates informant accounts against the paper trail

3.4 Data Collection

Observation. At least one researcher will stay for the full duration of every session, following a structured protocol that records arrival and departure times, attendance in ten-minute intervals, the group's spatial footprint relative to other users, the choreographic sequence and its intensity, the sound source and its orientation, and every interruption, be it a security guard, a shower, a complaint or a municipal event. With a calibrated application, sound levels will be sampled at the group edge and at the nearest residential window, and reported as indicative readings rather than compliance measurements.

Walking interviews. Along the route participants actually use to go to and from the session, interviews will be carried out, in keeping with mobile methods, where the environment serves as a prompt rather than a backdrop [20]. Participants recount the route as they live it, point out where they slow down or feel watched, and show square features they have altered or worked around. Seated interviews are less suitable here, because the material claims under study are hard to put into words in the abstract but easy to indicate on site.

Photovoice. What makes the square usable or unusable for them will be photographed by participants, and the images will be discussed in two groups around a structured question sequence: what is seen, what is happening, how it connects to their lives, why it matters, and what might change [21]. The method is included because pilot work suggested several of the most consequential repairs are easier to point at than to describe.

Key-informant interviews. Forty- to seventy-minute semi-structured interviews will cover the informant's remit, the site's history, how complaints have been handled, whether any informal agreement exists, and the informant's judgement of what would follow if the dancing stopped. Cadres will also be asked how the practice reads in their upward reporting, and this is where the ambivalence noted in Section 2.4 becomes visible.

3.5 Analysis

Interviews will be transcribed word for word and, with field notes and discussion transcripts, entered into NVivo. Reflexive thematic analysis will proceed in three phases: an inductive phase where two researchers independently code a transcript subset and consolidate a codebook; a second phase applying that codebook across the corpus; and a third phase testing candidate themes against the framework and against negative cases [22-23]. Twenty per cent of the corpus will be double-coded; Cohen's kappa will be reported for coding units and theme assignment, and disagreements will be settled

through discussion rather than mechanical consensus. A summary of findings will be reviewed by two squads, and any correction they offer will count as member reflection, not validation.

Three mechanisms are fixed in advance so the analysis can confirm or contradict them rather than discovering them after the fact. Table 4 lists each mechanism, the data pattern that would support it and the pattern that would count against it, keeping analytic decisions auditable before data exist.

Table 4 Mechanisms, with the Patterns That Would Support or Contradict Each

Mechanism	Pattern that supports it	Pattern that counts against it
Temporal reclamation	Squads choose hours by trial, hours shift after displacement, and attendance responds measurably to loss of the window	Squads dance whenever it is convenient; displacement produces no change in attendance or is absorbed within days by a different group
Affordance repair	User-installed modifications are observed and can be dated, and repairs concentrate on hazards the audit also records	Modifications are absent, or are performed exclusively by formal management, so the user carries no maintenance labour
Organised sociability	Roles are named and differentiated, absence triggers a defined response, and members describe aid they received through the squad	Participation is interchangeable, absence passes unnoticed, and members deny any aid relationship
Institutional ambivalence	The same squad is promoted and sanctioned within a short interval, and no written rule governs the activity	A stable written rule exists, and the terms of access are identical across sites and over time

3.6 Ethics and Positionality

Before fieldwork starts, the study will be reviewed and approved by the university's Research Ethics Committee, and the approval reference will be reported. Because the activity takes place in public, verbal consent will be requested in front of the squad leader at the square, and written consent for interview and photovoice participants will be obtained at a later meeting. Photographs may be used only with the specific permission of those depicted. The first author works in physical education and lives in the same city, and this shapes access both ways: shared institutional networks ease entry, yet dancers may tailor answers to what they think a university researcher can pass on to the authorities. To manage this risk, part of the interviews will be conducted by a research assistant with no institutional affiliation, and all accounts of official permission will be treated with particular caution. Every field-based data collection will take place in residential neighbourhoods of Duanzhou District, Zhaoqing City, Guangdong Province.

3.7 Trustworthiness

Credibility will be pursued via triangulation across four data types, negative-case analysis and member reflection; transferability via thick description and an explicit account of the dimensions along which sites differ; dependability via an audit trail of coding decisions; and confirmability via retention of field notes in their original form [24]. It will not be claimed that these three Duanzhou District neighbourhoods represent cities across China, and Section 6 sets out what this limits.

4 REPORTING PLAN

The Stage 2 report will lay out evidence in four forms, fixed in advance so presentation cannot follow whichever result appears. First, a per-site case description, covering household count, surface area, hours of use, complaint volume, sound levels at the group edge and nearest window, and the property regime, in one common table for reading the three cases side by side. Second, a session log giving attendance in ten-minute intervals for every observed session; displacement effects are then computed as the change between the three sessions before and after an interruption. Third, a thematic account of the four mechanisms, each backed by at least three data types where available, with transcribed extracts tagged by participant code, gender, age and former occupation, and any extract contradicting the theme retained rather than dropped. Fourth, a comparative table placing mechanisms against sites and naming the outcome for each; this is the table the discussion rests on.

Two reporting rules follow from the framework. Quantitative material will be reported as counts and durations observed in fieldwork, not as population estimates, and no significance testing will be applied to session-level counts in a three-case design. Qualitative material will carry its conditions with it: an account of access to a square means little without the hour, the season and the person who granted it.

5 ANTICIPATED CONTRIBUTION

5.1 Infrastructure, Not Behaviour

If the design holds, the main claim will be a change in classification. Treated as behaviour, plaza dancing is a dose of moderate-intensity exercise to be checked against guidelines, and the policy question is how to raise it. Treated as infrastructure, it is a system distributing three goods, physical activity, social connection and a legitimate claim on public space, through the joint working of a material setting, an organisation and a governance arrangement. The infrastructure

reading shifts what counts as failure. A squad that dissolves when its leader moves away is not a behavioural lapse; it is infrastructure that lost its maintenance crew. A plaza left empty after management closed it is not a low-participation area; it is decommissioned infrastructure, and no audit records it as such.

The three mechanisms sit on the three layers of Table 1, and each carries a design implication. Temporal reclamation implies that the allocation unit that matters is an hour, not a plot, and that space policy for older people needs a scheduling instrument. Affordance repair implies maintenance should be framed around what users encounter at the hours they actually use the space, and that users' own repair work should be resourced rather than fined. Organised sociability implies the squad, rather than the individual, is the right delivery unit for programmes; this matters for health services trying to reach isolated older adults, most of whom will skip a class but join a squad.

5.2 From Provision Audits to Practice Audits

Between provision and use, the sharpest contrast the study is meant to expose. If the framework's prediction holds, the best-equipped site will be the least usable one; an audit would then rank the sites in the reverse order of their age-friendliness, because it measures the stock of materials and treats permission, timing and repair as constants, when older users experience these as the decisive variables. Table 5 lists the four practice indicators proposed alongside provision indicators, each with its source and collection cost, so the proposal can be judged as an instrument rather than an argument.

Table 5 Proposed Practice Indicators for Age-Friendly Public Space

Practice indicator	Definition and source	Collection cost
Window occupancy	Number of people present in each two-hour window across one week, by observation	One enumerator, one week per neighbourhood
Sustained use	Duration and group size of the longest continuous use episode	Derived from the same observation
User repair	Count and date of modifications installed by users rather than management	Site walk with the residents' committee, twice a year
Access authority	Existence of a named person or office that can grant or refuse access, and the terms applied	One interview with the committee and the manager

5.3 Noise as Age Politics

Usually the noise dispute is framed as a rights conflict between residents and dancers, settled by a decibel standard. The framework predicts another reading, which the analysis will test. A uniform standard converts a time-bounded collective practice into a permanent individual violation at the moment the practice is most visible; enforcement then favours squads able to negotiate and works against those that cannot. Where this reading holds, three responses follow, and they are not mutually exclusive: time-sharing on a published schedule, so spatial-contract terms are written down and visible to parties with no negotiating power; a standard tied to the site's own acoustic environment, since arterial traffic alone can exceed the residential limit a squad is accused of breaching; and covered, semi-enclosed space for group activity, which removes the acoustic problem rather than regulating it.

The study is set against the most common policy response: moving dancers to designated sites on the urban fringe. Relocation keeps the activity and destroys the infrastructure, cutting the squad off from the residences it watches over, from the short walk that made attendance easy, and from the precedent that made the claim legitimate.

5.4 Implications for Health Services

For health services, the implication is a change in intervention unit. Programmes aimed at isolated older adults recruit individuals into classes they leave after a brief stay; squads, by contrast, keep members for years, notice absence and offer care no clinic provides. Working through squads, via leader training, on-site blood pressure checks at the square, and referral of isolated patients to a named squad rather than a generic community activity, is a plausible low-cost route to the populations current programmes miss. The mediation evidence in the epidemiological literature, that social support carries part of dancing's effect on sleep [9], fits this reading and supplies its mechanism.

5.5 Theoretical Contribution

Two theoretical moves are offered. Third-place theory gains temporality and governance: a third place existing only during certain hours is a different social form from one that persists continuously, and because its access terms must be renegotiated daily, governance belongs inside the concept rather than sitting outside it. The competence-press model gains collective repair: it describes the fit between a body and an environment, but where environments are adjusted by groups, part of the relevant competence is organisational, not individual.

6 LIMITATIONS OF THE DESIGN

Four limits are accepted beforehand. The design applies qualitative methods, and fieldwork will be carried out within Duanzhou District, Zhaoqing City; cases are chosen to vary on governance and space, not to represent the whole country. Health outcomes are not measured, so any claim about health resources will concern access and social connection rather than morbidity, and the study cannot replace the exposure-measurement work wearable studies are better placed to do.

Eight months of fieldwork covers at most three seasons, which understates winter and summer effects on attendance. Recruiting through squad leaders over-represents women in reasonable health who are present at the square; those who never came, and those who stopped, will appear only through leaders' and cadres' accounts, a gap a follow-up study of non-participants should address.

7 CONCLUSION

This protocol reframes plaza dancing not as an isolated fitness behaviour but as the social-spatial infrastructure through which older adults produce an age-friendly public space. Taking the session rather than the square as the unit of analysis, the three-layer framework links spatial conditions, social organisation and governance, and will be examined across three neighbourhood types in Duanzhou District, Zhaoqing City, through session observation, walking interviews, photovoice and key-informant interviews. Should the three fixed mechanisms-temporal reclamation, affordance repair and organised sociability-receive empirical support, the design argues for practice indicators to sit alongside provision indicators in age-friendly audits, and for noise governance worked out with dancers rather than imposed on them. The study cannot settle health outcomes or generalise beyond the chosen sites, but it offers a practice-based account of how older residents secure, maintain and share the public space on which independent ageing in place depends.

COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors have no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.

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