

对外经济贸易大学

硕士学位论文

从京剧文化建设看北京文化资本建设

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摘 要

随着经济全球化的快速发展,各国之间的交流与竞争不再仅仅局限于经济实力,文化软实力越来越多地参与到全球对话中;对提升城市在国际上的地位和形象有着举足轻重的作用。

本文旨在探讨北京的城市文化建设及文化资本建设。通过考察北京市民对北京市文化发展现状,包括文化定位、文化形象及发展趋势的理解与评价,衡量政府颁布的文化相关政策是否得到了有效实施。同时,论文还以京剧为个案,关注其发展现状,运用“文化资本”理论,为京剧未来的发展提供一些建议,希望对于国内其他城市文化的发展具有一定的启发性。通过调查问卷和文献调研相结合,便不难发现,北京市政府对城市文化发展的定位非常清晰,与市民心中的定位基本一致。同时,市民心中认同的能够代表北京城市文化形象的特色文化也与政府在文化工作中的重点基本吻合。另外,从京剧的发展现状来看,北京市在文化形象策划、包装、推广等方面仍需进一步加强;其发展需要大力推动才能真正振兴。

简而言之,通过对北京市的实地调研与研究,我们认为,作为北京有特色的城市文化资本之一的京剧,其未来的发展依然任重道远。关于京剧未来的发展,给出的建议有三点。第一,规范、完善与京剧发展相关的政策体系,普及青少年的京剧基础知识;第二,京剧管理要从单纯依赖政府转向以市场化运作为主、政府支持为辅,遵循市场经济原则;第三,京剧的发展需要持续创新,创新才是保证京剧传承和发展的真正动因。

关键词: 城市文化, 文化定位, 文化形象, 文化资本, 京剧

ABSTRACT

Beijing's Cultural Capital Development—the Case of Peking Opera

Liu Haiyan

With the rapid development of economic globalization, the exchanges and competitions among nations are no longer limited to economic strength. Culture as soft power is of vital importance in enhancing a city's comprehensive competitiveness and its international status; moreover, it is now also involved in the global dialogues.

This paper is aimed at analyzing the cultural development strategy and the role cultural capital plays in Beijing. By probing into the status quo of Beijing's cultural development, including cultural positioning, cultural image and cultural capital accumulation through opinion polls, we will examine the effects and efficiencies of the cultural strategies as exhibited in the policies promulgated by the government. To this end, the Peking Opera, the most significant emblem of Beijing's Cultural Capital is closely examined in a bid to reveal the importance of cultural capital and its related policies in shaping the future of such a big metropolitan city as Beijing.

With combination of questionnaires, online documentation and recent investigation, a conclusion is reached. First, the cultural positioning of Beijing is very clear and basically in line with the citizens' expectations, as revealed by the fact that the cultural objectives that embody Cultural Capital in Beijing in the eyes of local citizens strike a common chord with those highlighted by the local government in the

policy-making. Second, as far as Peking Opera is concerned, more efforts should be made to strengthen its planning, polishing and promotion of Beijing's cultural image and cultural capital in general. As one of the typical embodiment of cultural capital in Beijing, the development of Peking Opera should be greatly in part revitalized.

To revitalize Peking Opera and Beijing Cultural Capital in general, three suggestions are made after analyses. In the first place, a new policy should be made in an attempt to regulate development of Peking Opera, such as to popularize it among adolescents and teenagers. Second, the development of Peking Opera should be subjected to the market law, which means the reformation of Peking Opera operation system from the dominant government control to the hands of free market. Last but not least, constant innovations should be made to ensure the sustainable and sound development of the Peking Opera as one of the most significant cultural capital of Beijing.

Key Words: city culture, cultural positioning, cultural image, cultural capital, Peking Opera

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Need for the Study

Nowadays, with rapid popularization of economic globalization around the world, culture as soft power is playing an increasingly important role in the dialogue among great powers. Comprehensive national power is not only compared with regard to economic strength, but also to the culture as capital and soft power. Meanwhile, the importance of developing cultural power is also highlighted in the 2010 National People's Congress (hereafter shortened as NPC) and Chinese People's Political and Consultative Conference (hereafter shortened as CPPCC). Premier Wen Jiabao points out in the government report that culture can change the destiny of a nation (<http://www.showchina.org/zt/2010lh/05/201003/t562521.htm>). Many more representatives support the further improvement of cultural capital accumulation in China. For example, Zhao Shaohua, Associate Minister of the Ministry of Culture, advocates that the special role culture plays in diplomacy should be strengthened. Despite the positive reflections of culture in the public sphere, there are still some incongruous signals that expose the relative inattention to culture in today's China. In the 2010 Spring Festival Eve Live Show broadcast by CCTV, for example, the Peking Opera performance, which is regarded as the national quintessence of Chinese culture, is put on at the right advent of the new lunar year. This program is obviously intended to promote the Peking Opera and make more Chinese people know and understand it. However, the period chosen for Peking Opera seems awkward: it is the moment for firecrackers and a moment when all the people are eager to enjoy sending blessings to each other and celebrating the new lunar year. Such an arrangement is certainly not a sheer coincidence. On the one hand, it seems that the government thinks highly of

cultural exchange and inheritance. On the other hand, in such an important national event, Peking Opera, as the embodiment of cultural capital not only of Beijing but of China in general, can't just simply receive due attention.

In light of the situation, this paper seeks to find out what is the cultural positioning and strategy of Beijing as a metropolis and what has been done in the past years, as well as how it promotes its image in terms of cultural capital that adds more power and enhance its image building efforts in general, with Peking Opera as a case. The city is very rich in cultural resources, but in the process of city promotion, it seems that cultural resources have not been fully operationally capitalized. It is clear that city culture, just like other materials, can also be capitalized and transformed into cultural capital, according to city's cultural capital (Zhang, 2002a). Nevertheless, the concept of city's cultural capital has not been officially written down in the government documents.

Therefore, this paper aims to probe into the issue of city's cultural capital with a case study of Peking Opera, so as to throw some new light on Beijing's cultural capital development and put forward some useful suggestions for Beijing Municipal Government.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The significance of the current study lies in that theoretically speaking, the concept of "city's cultural capital" is proposed to promote building city's overall image. And practically, it helps to give some suggestions about how to transform cultural resources into cultural capital and push forward cultural development of Beijing in general.

A city's image is determined by many elements such as economic and social development and cultural development. As we state in the first paragraph that culture as soft power is quite important for enhancing the city's core competitiveness, it is also an indispensable part of strategic development of city's image as a whole. As far as we are concerned, quite a few cities have had neither idea of the great value behind their own cultural resources, nor cultural meanings of these resources nationwide and across the globe, let alone which cultural resources are peculiar and monopolistic to the city.

Therefore, the advocate of “city’s cultural capital” is to help a city to recognize its cultural resources system as well as their capital attributes so that these resources can be transformed into a “cultural engine” and progress the sustainable development of the city’s image.

Practically speaking, operationalizing city’s cultural capital will be of great assistance for the city’s cultural image promotion. As proposed in the city’s cultural capital, the core value is to transform cultural advantages into unique and monopolistic culture capital, by establishing a set of knowledge system inclusive of cultural image, cultural resources and city’s cultural capital, and shaping cultural brands solely owned by the city.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

The paper will be divided into five parts. Chapter one is a brief introduction to the research background and necessity to make this research. Chapter two tells origin and development of cultural capital, which is first created by Pierre Bourdieu in 1960s, and city’s cultural capital, which is proposed by Zhang Hongyan in 2002 and extended from the previous study of cultural capital. The characteristics of cultural capital, different scholars’ application and expansion of cultural capital, how it can be introduced to develop a city’s image, as well as the idea of capitalization operation of city culture, are explained step by step in this chapter. Chapter three is a general introduction to questions proposed and research methods used to complete this study, as well as the details of research procedures. Chapter four is a case study of Peking Opera based on the analysis of current cultural image of Beijing. It mainly focuses on solving the three research questions put forward in the last chapter. The first part is results and discussion of Beijing’s cultural positioning and image, from the perspectives of both government’s policies and participants’ opinions. It is stated in many government’s documents that Beijing is going to be developed into a well-known cultural city as the national cultural center while keeping its long history and historical sites. And second is the case study of Peking Opera, which is now faced with many challenges for further development, such as audience crisis, a majority shortage of interest in the Peking Opera, and its

decreasing influence and spread range in today's Beijing. To solve these problems, some suggestions are also made, from the perspectives of policy, operation system and ways to keep vitality. The last part is to conclude and summarize the major findings we have throughout the study. The limitations and suggestions for further study are also pointed out.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Basic Concepts

Cultural capital refers to non-financial assets that involve educational, social, and intellectual knowledge provided to children who grow up in non-wealthy but highly-educated and intellectually-sophisticated families. Such children are often the offspring of well-educated artists, writers, teachers, ministers, and college professors, who make little money, comparatively speaking, but are socially and educationally savvy, especially when it comes to obtaining financial aid that will allow their children to attend elite private schools and universities (“Cultural Capital” in Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_capital). This chapter will be started with origin and development of cultural capital, from its first formal usage in Bourdieu’s writings to the expansion of this theory by many scholars into educational and cultural fields. And then extending from foreign studies to researches made in domestic, the paper will mainly focus on the concept of city’s cultural capital proposed by Zhang Hongyan in 2002. It will be concluded with the author’s understanding of these concepts as well as the characteristics of city’s cultural capital applied to this paper.

2.2 Origin and Development of Cultural Capital as a Concept

2.2.1 Bourdieu's concept

The theory of cultural capital is enriched and widely applied in many fields since it has been put forward by Pierre Bourdieu in 1960s, but the concept of culture as capital has an even longer history.

August Comte first comes up with the idea of culture as capital. He mentions that when human being could produce more than they consume, there would be surplus left,

which would be accumulated and passed down from one generation to another as durable capital (Gouldner, 1979, p. 25). With intermingling of political economy and sociology, the concept of cultural capital comes into its early form.

Comte asserts that “culture was capital generalized and capital was culture privatized” (Gouldner, 1979, p. 25), which means culture and capital are closely related and can be transformed into the other when at some specific conditions. For example, when incomes are set aside for possessing culture or certain forms of it, culture is capitalized and becomes capital.

Still, until Bourdieu has used it frequently in his papers and writings to discuss educational reproduction, cultural consumption, taste and social caste, etc., the concept of cultural capital becomes popular among researchers and theorists, especially in humanities and social sciences. For an instance, Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) illustrate the sociologist’s cultural capital as a form of value for cultural taste, consumption patterns, social attributes, skills and evaluation, such as the academic qualifications in the educational field. That’s where Bourdieu starts his research.

The term “cultural capital” is first used by Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1973) attempting to address the different academic achievements of students from different social background in French schools (“Cultural Capital” in Wikipedia). He finds that economic factors are not sufficient to explain disparities in the scholastic achievements of children from different origins, and instead, cultural “habits and dispositions” inherited from the family play a fundamental role in school success (Lareau & Weininger, 2008). Therefore, Bourdieu, together with his various colleagues, develops the concept of cultural capital, which refers to the knowledge, experience and/or connections one has gained through the course of their life that enables them to succeed more than someone from a less experienced background. He argues that the reasons why students from upper-class family have a better academic performance than peers from working-class family is that they inherited from family more and better “cultural habit and disposition”, which “comprise a resource capable of generating ‘profits’” (Lareau and Weininger, 2008).

Moreover, Bourdieu maintains that culture and economic capital shares many

common properties (Lareau & Weininger, 2008). Usually people consider capital in the economic sense and regard it as extremely “material” while ignore that it is possible for capital to appear in the form of non-material cultures. It seems contradictory in nature for culture and capital, for capital has always been directly linked with money and narrowed to money. But Bourdieu holds that culture makes profits in an invisible way despite it will not turn into money directly (ibid). In his theory, academic success is the profit in the academic market made from some monopolized cultural heritages by minor individuals and groups. Therefore, students with more cultural capital will, out of the question, perform a better scholastic achievement than those with less cultural capital.

However, Bourdieu also recognizes that “capital” in the sociological sense differs from the notion of Marxist economics in some aspects. For him, “capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange, and the term is extended ‘to all the goods material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation’” (as cited in Harker, 1990, p. 13).

Therefore, in “The Forms of Capital” (1986), Bourdieu first distinguishes capital into three fundamental types: economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Economic capital, the most generally recognized one in daily life, is the command over economic resources, which can be immediately and directly converted into money. Social capital includes resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support. Bourdieu defines it as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group” (as cited in Halsey, Lauder, Brown, & Wells, 1997, p. 51). Simply put, social capital is the resources one can gain through all connections, depending not only on the size of the network of connections he owns but also on the volume of capital his connections have owned. Cultural capital consists of resources in the forms of knowledge, skills, education, and advantages that a person has, which give them a higher status in society (“Cultural Capital” in Wikipedia). One more thing to be pointed out is that later Bourdieu adds symbolic capital (resources available to an individual on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition) to the list.

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is comprised of three sub-types: embodied, objectified and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47).

in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (as cited in Halsey et al, 1997, p. 47).

The embodied cultural capital, which consists of both the consciously acquired and the passively "inherited" properties of one's self (with "inherit[ance]" here used not in the genetic sense but in the sense of receipt over time, usually from the family through socialization, of culture and traditions)("Cultural Capital" in Wikipedia), is the kind of capital that is embodied in the individual and can not be separated from its holders. Opposed to the actual objects, embodied cultural capital represents itself in the individual's cultural competence and ability. For example, students with French as major can read French and engineers have the ability to operate machines. These competences are acquired consciously by investment of time devoted to learning and training, and highly valued in some institutional settings, so they becomes an embodied form of cultural capital.

The accumulation of embodied cultural capital implies a number of efforts and time which must be invested personally by the investor, "Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand" (as cited in Halsey et al, 1997, p. 48). The measurement of such cultural capital is the length of acquisition, which can not be reduced to length of schooling, for early domestic education should also be included.

According to Bourdieu, accumulation of cultural capital is finished in the means of early domestic education and schooling (as cited in Halsey et al, 1997, p. 48). The distribution of the means of appropriating the accumulated and objectively available

resources determines the volume of cultural capital. Firstly, children receive cultural capital from their family through parents' consciously guidance and inculcation. Under the subtle influence of family environment and background, cultural capital is passed from one generation to the next and offspring gradually forms disposition and taste consistent with their family status, which is the first capital children has gained before schooling. However, the free time the family can provide and economic conditions of the family imply accumulative disparities between children from upper class and lower class. Therefore, students from different social classes are bound to own unequal cultural capital from family and gain unequal educational achievements in the school. For example, scholars have demonstrated that middle-class parents typically talk more to their children than do working-class or poor parents. As a result, middle-class children often have larger vocabularies when they enter school, and subsequently score higher on verbal skills test (Hart and Risley, 1999; Lareau and Weininger, 2008).

This cultural competence is strongly linked to the body and deeply rooted in the individual. It can not be accumulated without the appropriating capacities of an individual, nor transmitted instantaneously by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange, and declines and dies with its holder. Unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility, the embodied capital can not be bought without buying the possessors (as cited in Halsey et al, 1997, p.48). And this point is also the feature that distinguishes it from economic capital.

Cultural capital, in the objectified state, includes cultural goods in physical objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc.. Different from embodied cultural capital, the objectified cultural capital is transmissible in its materiality (as cited in Halsey et al, 1997, p. 50). Cultural goods can be appropriated both materially as economic capital and symbolically as cultural capital. For example, a famous painting is exchanged in the market, then it can be transmitted and preserved as material wealth; but if the owner of the painting has the competence to appreciate and evaluate (embodied cultural capital by definition), then this piece of art can be symbolically consumed, appropriated and enjoyed. Bourdieu holds that cultural goods, as cultural capital in its objectified state, has its own laws, but it should be remembered

that it exists as active and effective capital only insofar as it is appropriated by agents and implemented and invested in the struggles of cultural production (as cited in Halsey et al, 1997, p. 50). Only as a weapon and a stake in the struggles can cultural goods make some profits in material or symbolic sense.

Finally, in societies with a system of formal education, the institutionalized state of cultural capital means institutional recognition of the cultural capital held by individual agents, most often understood as academic credentials or qualifications (“Cultural Capital” in Wikipedia). It is these qualifications that clarify the differences between the cultural capital of self-learners and the capital officially recognized by legally guaranteed qualifications. Therefore, in the labor market, academic credentials confer on its possessors a conventional, constant and legally guaranteed value, making it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them. Furthermore, with these certificates, cultural capital can be formally independent of the person of their bearer, which makes it easier to convert between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value for a certain institutional level of achievement (as cited in Halsey et al, 1997, p. 51). For example, the persons with the same credentials have a roughly equivalent worth in the labor market.

What needs to be pointed out is that the material and symbolic profits resulting from the academic qualifications also depends on its scarcity value. Nowadays, due to “the school explosion and the inflation of qualifications” (ibid), investments into the cultural capital may be less profitable than anticipated.

2.2.2 Expansion of the concept

The concept of cultural capital is the greatest contribution Bourdieu has ever made to cultural and sociological studies. And the theory has been expanded into many areas by a number of scholars (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Emmison & Frow, 1998; Dumais, 2002; Emirbayer & Williams, 2005).

For example, Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995, p. 121) examine how those people with cultural capital in a school transform this capital into social capital with institutional agents who can transmit valuable resources to the person, gaining more

academic success. Emmison and Frow (1998, pp. 41-45) explore the ability of Information Technology and consider it a kind of cultural capital. They hold that “a familiarity with” and “the use of” information technology is an additional form of cultural capital benefiting those families who possess them. This argument is exactly in accordance with Bourdieu’s theory. Based on Bourdieu’s categorization of cultural capital, computers are “machines” (1986, p. 47) which comprise one form of objectified cultural capital and the ability to use them is an embodied type of cultural capital. From their study we can see that Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital can be expanded and updated to include cultural goods and practices both in the school and other fields. Inspired by Bourdieu’s statement (1984, p. 107) that “sexual properties are as inseparable from class properties as the yellowness of lemons is inseparable from its acidity”, Dumais (2002, pp. 44-68) introduces the variable of gender in his article to discuss the role of cultural capital plays in increasing educational achievement. The author illustrates how gender and social class interact to produce different benefits from cultural capital.

Moreover, Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital is widely applied to discuss social inequality and other sociological problems. John Guillory (1993) introduces the concept of cultural capital, a “post-Marxist” thought, to discuss the debate about literary canon formation. He maintains that the debate over canon concentrating on gender and race has been misled from the very beginning, so he proposes that the problem of canon formation “is best understood as a problem in the constitution and distribution of cultural capital, or more specifically, a problem of access to the means of literary production and consumption” (1993, p. ix). The concept of cultural capital gives critics a sociological perspective to evaluate and judge production, transmission and consumption of literary canon.

Hage expands and enriches Bourdieu’s theory into a wider range. When exploring multiculturalism and racism in Australia, he conceptualizes the nation as a circular field and proposed “whiteness” (as cited in Dolby, 2000, p. 49) as a form of cultural capital. He argues that “White” is not a stable, biologically determined trait, but a “shifting set of social practices” (ibid), by which the “others” on the periphery of society exchange

with “white Australians” to move up to the powerful center. This application of Bourdieu’s notion of capital and fields is quite clear to see how people of different origins may try and exchange the cultural capital endowed by their ethnic background to gain a high position in the hierarchy. Similarly, Emirbayer and Williams (2005) employ the concept of fields and capital in an enlightening way to examine the power relations in the field of social service, particularly homeless shelters. In this work, “staff-sanctioned capital” and “client-sanctioned capital” (2005, p. 92) are possessed by homeless people and gathered from a person’s life instead of their family, which shows how Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital can be a valuable theory in analyzing inequality in any social setting.

As we can see in the above analysis, a number of works expand Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital in a beneficial manner and use the term to understand social inequality. Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital expands the meaning of capital in Marxist political economics with emphasis on the individual cultural capital, which is formed in the process of growing up, and its social contribution. Using this theory, Zhang (2002) proposes the concept of “city’s cultural capital”, aiming at stressing that the combination of cultural capital and city’s image, as a cultural factor, can push the development of the whole city.

2.3 Rise of the Concept of City’s Cultural Capital

Zhang (2002a) first brings the concept of city’s cultural capital before us, attempting to present a new mode of cognitive and thinking style in city management to cope with the rapid urbanization in China. However, before him, the concept of city as cultural capital is initially used by Jacquie Burgess (1990, pp. 201-202) to discuss the cultural-historical context of selling places.

As we all know, cities are the concentration of human wealth, the container of human being's spiritual culture and materialistic culture. In any city, there are many traditions, including cultural heritage and customs, as well as political traditions and enduring historical culture, especially those profound and touching spiritual cultures. In other words, the city itself is the concentration of cultural capital, taking in and holding

cultural capitals. In this sense, Zhang (2002a, p. 4) proposes the concept of “city’s cultural capital”, which puts an emphasis on “the capital-like attribute of spiritual, material, systematic culture and wealth that already exist in the city”. Therefore, cultural heritage, historic people, immortal spirit and value, as well as a series of cultural symbols and images, which are created along with the progress of city development and endowed with unique meanings, are featured with capital-like attribute and can be transformed into economic capital, e.g. Summer Palace in Beijing, Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing, Leifeng Spirit, etc.

According to Zhang, his concept of city’s cultural capital is different from Bourdieu’s original idea (2002b, p. 25). Cultural capital is linked to the body in its fundamental states and presupposes kind of embodiment and incorporation. Its accumulation is in the forms of culture, cultivation and bildung, which therefore shows an individual’s growth story full of struggle (Zhang, 2002b, p.25). Zhang argues that, however, city’s cultural capital, in a more important sense, represents the material evolution of human civilization and demonstrates value and nature of accumulation of human spirits. People are the center of a city and the city itself becomes accumulation of culture. What’s more, a city is personified in nature, where exists “long-lasting dispositions” (as in the embodied cultural capital), objectified cultural capital and institutions (ibid). Therefore, we can say that city’s cultural capital is a center of human progress.

Even so, the two concepts are similar in regard to the basis of their existence. Bourdieu underscored the scarcity value of cultural capital, so with the case of city’s cultural capital. Zhang (2002b, p. 26) points out that “...nearly all the cities have their own specific and unique cultural resources, such as the West Lake in Hangzhou and Eiffel Tower in Paris, which can be transformed into the city’s cultural capital”. Simply put, cultural resources are not equal to cultural capitals. Only if the former, through capitalization operation, is transformed into the latter can it be helpful to raise the city’s image.

Zhang proposing the theory of city’s cultural capital is mainly to shape and raise city’s image. What should be pointed out is that “city culture” here, in a broad sense,

refers to the existence and accumulation of city's spiritual and material cultures which are made by human beings there. Such existence and accumulation, in a sense, is the form of social wealth and capital created by human beings (2002a, p. 370). Thus, proposal of this concept is of great significance in that it makes more people understand values of city culture and city image. In addition, Zhang tells us in his book that, in this sense, each city has a large pool of "cultural capital", because those cultural forms, whether historical or existing cultures, or human spirits and material wealth, have a strong cultural capital attribute (2002a, p. 371). But in the previous theory of city management, this attribute is merely be regarded as a "cultural exist". Many people are very familiar with and take delight in talking about this cultural exist without creating and operating it as a capital. Therefore, he presents the meaning and mode of operation of "city's cultural capital". According to Zhang, establishment and dissemination of modern city's image should be started with operation of image-related cultural resources (ibid). We should transform general cultural resources into cultural capital or economic capital to enhance and create a new and valuable image of the city, thus accumulating city's invisible assets and ensuring city's sustainable development with a strong force.

2.4 City's Cultural Capital in the Present Study

From Bourdieu's initiative theory of cultural capital to the later expansion of this theory by quite a few scholars into educational and cultural fields, cultural capital is always featured with "privacy" in nature. Since Gouldner (1997, p. 25) states that "capital was the private appropriation of culture, the private enclosure of the cultural commons", the private nature of cultural capital is self-evident, and therefore all the applications and expansions of this concept, whether in the field of culture or education, are extended from the emphasis on personal accumulation of cultural capital. Even when Zhang advanced the idea of "city's cultural capital", he also maintains that a city's cultural capital is the aggregate of all the citizens' individual cultural capital. Obviously, although Zhang starts his theory on the basis of the whole city's development and, to some extent, expands the meaning coverage of "cultural capital", he does not make a

clear statement of the “public nature” of city’s cultural capital. As it is known that city’s cultural capital is the cultural momentum to push city’s constant development. It can provide entertainment and enjoyment for the public as pure cultural resources; meantime, it can also be transformed, through capitalization operation of cultural capital, into economic capital and social capital to further push social and economic progress and improve people’s life. Hence, we can say that all the citizens in the city, up to government administrators and down to the ordinary people, are entitled to equal access to economic and social benefits brought about by city’s cultural capital. In this sense, city’s cultural capital applied in this paper is different from the one proposed by Zhang in the point that it gets rid of the private nature and truly becomes the public capital of a city. In this paper, we emphasize city’s cultural capital featured with the following properties.

First, it is capital-attribute. Originated from cultural resources, city’s cultural capital is a form of capital which can be capitalized and transformed into economic capital. With property of adding value, it can bring about economic benefits by enhancing city’s image. Also, it can attract capital, technology, talents, tourists, ect. to boost better and harmonious development of and among city’s economy, politics and culture, thus enhancing city’s comprehensive competitiveness. Second, it is unique for each city. City’s cultural capital implies irreplaceable cultural connotations. Because each city is of great diversity in geography, natural landscape and cultural traditions, so the cultural capital of these cities will be quite different from each other and shows their cultural uniqueness. Many cultures, such as garden culture in Suzhou, ancient city culture in Nanjing, modern metropolis culture in Shanghai and inclusiveness of Guangzhou culture, are unique cultural capital to its local cities, and can not be imitated and reconstructed in other cities. Third, as mentioned in the above discussion, city’s cultural capital is public owned by the citizens living in the city, which distinguishes itself from other forms of capital. It has the attribute of capital, but it is a collective capital in nature. Precipitated and crystallized throughout the history, city’s cultural capital is accumulation of city’s civilization, so it is the public wealth belonging to all citizens living in the city. And it also requires the concerted efforts of all to develop and

carry forward city's cultural capital.

Integrating the capital-like, unique and public attributes into one entity, this paper advocates that city's cultural capital employed in the present study is different from the one advocated by Zhang in 2002. Zhang extends his concept from individual cultural capital to city's cultural capital, on basis of transformed cultural capital. However, this paper is started on the basis of city culture which has not been transformed into cultural capital. Zhang focuses on the operational mode of city's cultural capital while ignoring the means and process of how cultural resources of a city are transformed into the city's cultural capital. Great efforts are still needed to realize this transformation before we take capitalized mode to manage and operate the city's cultural capital.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1 Research Questions

According to Zhang, the concept of city's cultural capital is created to solve the question of how to improve and reshape a city's image from a sociological point-view. In this paper, we will try to apply and expand this theory into Beijing's cultural image construction, with Peking Opera as a case study. Therefore, in the following discussion, we will manage to figure out three basic questions as follows:

Q1: What are the differences in cultural positioning in the Eleventh Five-year period (2006-2010) between citizens' expectation and governmental documentations?

Q2: What has been done good or bad in the process of building Peking Opera as Beijing's cultural capital?

Q3: What suggestions can we get from the promotion of Peking Opera as well as Beijing's cultural capital?

3.2 Research Methods

To work out the three questions mentioned above, qualitative analysis is mainly used throughout the study, including online documentation investigation and questionnaire research.

First, online documentation investigation is to analyze Beijing's cultural positioning through a careful study of a series of government documents, such as *Beijing Outline of the Eleventh Five-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development*, *Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020)*, *Beijing's Planning for Cultural Undertaking's Development during the Eleventh Five-year Period*, *Beijing's Planning for Protection of Historical and Cultural City during the Eleventh Five-year Period*,

Beijing's Planning for Cultural and Creative Industries Development during the 11th Five-year Period. These documentations can be classified into two groups. The first three documents are general policies related, from where we can have an overall understanding of Beijing's cultural policies and planning, as well as the importance of cultural development in national economic and social development of Beijing. They're the guiding principles under which all the specific rules and regulations are made. And the next two provisions are detailed policies related to cultural development in regard to how to achieve conservation of historical and cultural city and how to promote cultural and creative industries development.

Second we will have a questionnaire survey. The questionnaire will have a general look at Beijing's cultural establishment and development, consisting of people's overall impression with local cultural image, expectation of cultural positioning and strengths and weaknesses of local culture, with a specific perspective of Peking Opera. As we all know that, each city has a diversity of cultural resources which can be transformed into city's cultural capital and helpful to improve city's image. However, in the paper, we can not make a detail study of all the cultural resources. Therefore, we will choose Peking Opera as a representative culture of Beijing to study the relationship between cultural resources construction and city's image building.

3.2 Research Procedures

In the questionnaire research, a total of 128 people completed the survey to share us with their opinion of Beijing's cultural image and Peking Opera development. Among the sample, 28% (N=36) were male and 47% (N=60) were female, with 25% (N=32) were missing. Subjects ranged in age from 10 to above 40 years old, with 28% (N=27) of them at the age between 10-20 years old, 47% (N=45) at the age between 20 and 30, 17% (N=16) at the age between 30 and 40, and 8% (N=8) at the age above 40 years old. Subjects at school (N=52, 54%) were a little more than subjects at work (employees, N=24, 25%, civil servants, N=7, 7%, managers, N=5, 5%). Among the subjects, most of them (N=44, 46%) have lived in Beijing for 1-3 years and 28% (N=27) for 4-9 years while 22% (N=21) of them have lived here for more than 10 years, which

is in line with the population composition of Beijing in general.

In addition to demographic information, the questionnaire includes two main parts. First is an overall survey of Beijing's culture, focusing on the city's cultural image, cultural positioning and measures to develop, as well as people's understanding of city's cultural capital. The second part is a general study of Peking Opera's development trend, from its influence on people's spare time to its dissemination and benefits to its cultural image building, showing us a simple answer of what needs to do in the future development.

The questionnaires are distributed to subjects mainly through two channels. The one is to release publicly on a professional questionnaire survey website named Sojump to receive answers from all cities and all walks of life. In order to tell whether the responder is living in Beijing or not, one more choice of zero is added in the last question about how long one has lived here. In this way, invalid answers can be deleted. The other is connected by students for their classmates, friends and other contacts. The research materials are prefaced with an introductory explanatory letter emphasizing that participation in the study was anonymous and voluntary. In total, 128 questionnaires are returned via this procedure.

Chapter Four

Results and Discussion

4.1 Significance of Cultural Development

With the expansion of the global economy, many cities are becoming more and more similar due to the similar way they have taken to develop. It is necessary for them to find a new way to develop so that they can be distinguished from one and another. In the governmental papers, such as *“Beijing Outline of the Eleventh Five-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development”*, it is defined that Beijing is “the national capital, international city, cultural city and livable city”. It is indisputable that Beijing is the national capital. However, except this function, the other three features are not unique to Beijing. For example, Shanghai will be referred when it comes to an international city. Particularly, with the success of large-scale international activities, such as APEC and upcoming World Expo 2010, the image of Shanghai as “an international metropolis” is gaining in popularity. While talking about a cultural city, it is easy for us to think of Nanjing, Xi'an, Luoyang, Kaifeng and other cities. Of course, Beijing is one of them, but not irreplaceable. Furthermore, Beijing's pollution has been very serious. During the past few years, particularly driven by the Olympic Games, the city has been working hard to reduce the pollution caused by vehicle exhaust, noise and energy consumption, improving environmental quality. Therefore, great efforts are still needed for Beijing to become a really livable city. Comparatively speaking, some second-tier cities like Hangzhou, Chengdu, and others are more popular in people's choice of “livable city”. Thus, if just judged from the economic strength or living conditions, Beijing has already lost its uniqueness and can not be distinguished from

others. In this case, when the rapid development of economy makes more and more cities similar in the hardware facilities, the best way to make distinguishes among them is to develop a unique cultural power—shape a unique city culture and enhance public cultural literacy to improve the soft power of culture and create a really “cultural city” with a unique spirit.

4.2 The Cultural Positioning of Beijing

4.2.1 Cultural positioning in citizens’ expectation

As stated in the above, Beijing is going to be developed into a famous cultural city according to the outline of 11th five-year program. But what’s the situation of cultural positioning and orientation from the perspective of citizens living in Beijing? Let’s have a look at the questionnaire survey results first. In this questionnaire, twelve questions are asked about participants’ ideas of Beijing’s cultural positioning, cultural image, the concept of city’s cultural capital, and their expectation and suggestions for future cultural development.

Table 1 Beijing's cultural positioning (multiple-choice)

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
international metropolis culture	54	56%
Chinese Culture and Arts Center	57	59%
regional cultural center with local features	18	19%
no idea	2	2%
others	2	2%

When it comes to the cultural positioning of Beijing, the result is very interesting. People’s choice is mainly focused on international metropolis culture and Chinese cultural and arts center, with each accounting for 56% and 59% of total. This expectation is in accordance with the city’s status in the world and nationwide. As we know that, with rapid development of economy, China’s international status is increasingly rising up; besides economic dialogue, cultural exchange is playing more and more important roles in communications between great powers. Therefore, it is certainly that more and more citizens hope it can establish its international cultural

image in the world so that people over the world can have a deeper and better understanding of Chinese culture. In the other hand, because it is the national capital, political center of China, so many people will also hope it can take the lead and set an example for cultural development for other cities.

Besides, as many people argue that Beijing is an ancient city with long history and abundant material and non-material cultural heritages. In the questionnaire, we also have a simple survey of this point. Almost all participants agree that Beijing is famous for its long history and culture.

Table 2 Beijing as a famous historical and cultural city

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
yes	90	94%
no	6	6%

According to above data, we can see that Beijing is a famous historical and cultural city with a long-term goal to be developed as the national cultural and arts center with features of international metropolis. Thus, how to define Beijing’s cultural orientation in policy and how to realize this positioning becomes quite important. Only with correct positioning and orientation can governments at different levels make good and right performance, thus meeting citizens’ ever-growing demand for cultural life.

Furthermore, cultural positioning is also correlated with the city’s overall development, as demonstrated in the following results.

Table 3 Correlation between cultural position and overall development of Beijing

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
closely correlated	24	25%
comparatively correlated	46	48%
correlated	21	22%
not correlated	5	5%

Almost all participants think cultural positioning and overall development of Beijing is correlated, with 25% of them emphasizing the closely relationship between the two and 48% considering that they are comparatively correlated. Nowadays, urban

construction is no longer confined to the expansion of height and width in space or digital growth in economic field. It begins to turn to enhance the city’s cultural connotation and raise its taste. A city’s attractiveness and competitiveness is measured, to a great extent, by its cultural resources, cultural connotations and the degree of cultural development. Just imaging the sea breeze filled with romantics in Dalian, the echo haunting around the thick walls in Xi’an, a quite and peaceful environment with water flowing beneath a little bridge in Zhouzhuang, and the like. All these represent cultural charms of that city and are the external expression of the city’s soft power. Therefore, the construction of city culture is particularly important and urgent, for rich cultures can bring talented people, the exploitation of tourist resources and inflow of foreign capital, thereby promoting the city’s progress.

In the Table 1, the equal choice of international metropolis culture and Chinese cultural and arts center reflects a doubt of the cultural positioning in government’s policy. It seems that citizens are not quite sure about the direction of cultural development in the future. As of this question, we may get some lights from the following research question, namely, how do you think of Beijing’s current cultural positioning? The results are listed as follows.

Table 4 Current cultural positioning

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
very clear	4	4%
clearer	52	54%
clear	33	34%
not clear	7	8%

According to the Table, we can see that most people are clear of the cultural positioning, with people who choose “clearer” and “clear” accounting for 54% and 34% of the total respectively. Therefore, the doubt for unclear positioning can be eliminated from our mind.

4.2.2 Cultural positioning in government documentations

From the above discussion of cultural positioning, we can see that people living in

Beijing are very clear of the future development trends, but what is the policy direction on the part of government? Does the expectation of common people go in line with the objectives made by Beijing Municipal Government? Therefore, we make a careful study of Beijing's culturally related policies and measures, finding supports as follows.

As of cultural development, there're tens of thousands of related polices issued by Beijing Municipal Government and Beijing Municipal Commission of Development and Reform. Here I will select some important and typical ones from those and have a close study of them to see what the cultural positioning and strategy of Beijing is. They are *Beijing Outline of the Eleventh Five-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development*, *Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020)*, *Beijing's Planning for Cultural Undertaking's Development during the Eleventh Five-year Period*, *Beijing's Planning for Protection of Historical and Cultural City during the Eleventh Five-year Period*, *Beijing's Planning for Cultural and Creative Industries Development during 11th Five-year Period*.

Beijing Outline of the Eleventh Five-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development

In this outline, which brings forward the strategic targets, focus and policy orientation of the economic and social development of Beijing during the 11th five-year period (2006-2010), the guidelines and decision intention of the Beijing municipal committee and government are fully reflected. Based on this outline, government departments at all levels perform their duties, draft annual implementation plans and make various policies and measures to work together for the city's progress. In the second development focus, namely, to expand social public service, "To promote flourishing development of cultural and sports undertakings" is listed as one of the four public tasks, making it clear that "focused on the function as a cultural center, non-profit-making public cultural and sports undertakings should be developed proactively". As of how to fulfill this task, the government works out two mainly related items—"create cultural extracts" and "enrich people's cultural activities". To be specifically, in one hand, the government holds that public and creative culture and excellent folk culture should be greatly supported. Better and more cultural extracts will

be conducive to promote international cultural exchange and enhance the city's international influence. In the other hand, through establishing urban and rural cultural activities infrastructure and organizing interesting and diversified activities, the government is diligent to enrich citizen's spare-time life and improve their cultural literacy. In addition, in order to optimize the overall functions maximize the overall efficiency, the government puts forward, in the fifth development focus "to optimize the urban functional configuration", that further steps should be taken to protect "well-known historical sites and culture" from three different layers of "overall pattern, historical and cultural protection areas and cultural relics protection units".

From above discussion we can see that, in the Eleventh Five-year Program, Beijing's overall orientation for cultural development is to shape it as the capital's cultural center with rich historical heritages.

Beijing City Master Plan (2004-2020)

In the overall plan for Beijing's development, one of the guiding ideology and principles is "to respect history and culture owed by the city" and "to protect the historical and cultural values of the ancient capital, promote and cultivate the national spirit, fully showcase Beijing's culture in the all-round way, thus forming the city's style and charm with blending of historical culture and modern culture". While in stating the development goals and main functions of the city, it is mentioned that culture, as an important aspect of the city, is going to be shaped as "a worldwide famous cultural city with high inclusiveness and diversity to improve its international influence".

Beijing's Planning for Cultural Undertaking's Development during the Eleventh Five-year Period

As the overall planning for specific directions of cultural undertakings, this stipulation provides the guiding ideology and overall goals for the cultural undertaking's development during the 11th five-year period. It highlighted "to further play the role of the national cultural center". In addition, eleven work priorities are listed, such as "to strengthen grass-roots cultural construction and enrich the cultural life of citizens", "to strengthen the overall protection of historical and cultural city and

improve the basic work of heritage conservation” and “to value and concern intangible cultural heritages and boost the protection of excellent national and folk culture”.

Beijing’s Planning for Protection of Historical and Cultural City during the Eleventh Five-year Period

Issued in November, 2007, *Beijing’s Planning for Protection of Historical and Cultural City during the Eleventh Five-year Period* also pointed out Beijing’s function as the national cultural center with long history and abundant culture. It stated that Beijing is approved as “a state-level historical and cultural city” by the State Council. According to this Planning, “It is vitally important for Beijing’s overall development to properly handle the relationship between protection of historical and cultural city and urban modernization”, which is also an important component of Beijing’s urban development progress during the 11th five-year period. Thus, the Planning made rules and requested that, during the 11th five-year period, we should “try our best to protect historical and cultural heritages and explore the rich cultural connotation under those heritages, showing distinctive features of the city and eventually achieving the goal of ‘People’s Olympics’”.

Also, in this Planning, two specific objectives are set as guiding principles to follow. First, we should work effectively to strengthen systematic protection of the city’s historical and cultural resources, and improve the conservation of historical and cultural resources and their living environment, as well as “actively explore and protect non-material cultural heritage, city culture and city characteristics, keeping Beijing’s vitality as a national cultural center and its status”. Second, it is emphasized in the Planning that we should step up propaganda of Beijing’s historical and cultural resources to encourage public participation. Furthermore, we should make full use of these resources to enhance the city’s cultural influence and attraction so that excellent cultures can play a greater role in urban development.

Beijing’s Planning for Cultural and Creative Industries Development during 11th Five-year Period

According to *Outline of National Cultural Development during the Eleventh Five-year Period* and *Beijing Outline of the Eleventh Five-Year Program for National*

Economic and Social Development, Beijing Municipal Government formulated an important measure, namely, *Beijing's Planning for Cultural and Creative Industries Development during 11th Five-year Period* (September 2007), to encourage the city's cultural development.

When summarizing the current development situation of the city's cultural and creative industries, it is stated that, as the national cultural center, Beijing is rich in scientific and educational resources and creative talents. We should vigorously develop creative economy to enhance internationalization of city culture and its international competitiveness. The Planning also pointed that Beijing, as the capital city, bears the responsibilities for "disseminating excellent national cultures to national people", so greater efforts are to be made to fully utilize value of creative talents and strengthen cultural productivity.

In this Planning, the concept of "city's cultural capital" is not explicitly stated, but its meaning and implications can be seen from some items. For example, when describing the status quo of the development of cultural and creative industries, it is mentioned that "in Beijing, cultural and creative industries has initially developed a model of government guidance, market-orientation and business operation". Furthermore, the ideas of "integrating high-quality resources to cultivate leading enterprises with independent innovation, intellectual property rights and strong market competitiveness" and "creating a batch of international cultural works and famous cultural brands with Beijing characteristics to promote the city's image" are put forward when the government makes a clear list of development focus. The development model and marketization of cultural extracts, to a certain extent, are in line with the theory of capital operation of city culture.

According to this study, city's cultural capital is accumulated through integration and innovation of various elements of city culture. In this process, disadvantages of city culture can be transformed into advantages, and then all the elements of cultural advantages can be further transformed into monopolist and unique cultural resources, thus establishing mechanism of city's sustainable development. This study plays stress on the point that the transformation from cultural resources into cultural capital needs

more policies and documentations to regulate. In governmental documentations, there is no explicit statement of such a transformation and its related measures.

4.2.3 Current cultural image of Beijing

In the questionnaire, the city’s current cultural image is firstly reflected in some questions. As we predicted that the typical representatives of Beijing culture includes Hutong & Siheyuan, Peking Opera and Forbidden City (as seen in Table 5), which represent Beijing’s ancient building styles and traditional culture respectively. Nearly all the responders (N=87) choose Hutong & Siheyuan as the best representative of Beijing’s cultural image while more than half of them (N=63 and N=51) choose Peking Opera and Forbidden City respectively.

Table 5 Representation of Beijing's cultural image (multiple choice limited to three)

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
Hutong & Siheyuan	87	91%
Peking Opera	63	66%
Beijing Mandarin	19	20%
Forbidden City	51	53%
Summer Palace	13	14%

When we search among the government’s documents during the Eleventh’s Five-year Period (2006-2010), we find that, in the general planning under the *Beijing Outline of the Eleventh Five-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development*, three culturally related provisions are stipulated in order to develop cultural undertakings and protect historical sites and buildings of the city. They are *Beijing’s Planning for Cultural Undertaking’s Development during the Eleventh Five-year Period*, *Beijing’s Planning for Protection of Historical and Cultural City during the Eleventh Five-year Period* and *Beijing’s Planning for Cultural and Creative Industries Development during 11th Five-year Period*. As Forbidden City is historical site and Peking Opera belongs to cultural and creative industries, we can see that in people’s heart, ancient buildings, like Hutong and Siheyuan, and traditional culture, like Peking Opera, are the focus of Beijing’s cultural development and very important for

the city’s cultural image building.

However, great efforts are needed to develop these typical cultural representatives. When asked of how you think of Beijing’s current cultural heritages, many people think that the characteristics of Beijing’s cultural are not very strong. Although there’s no bad evaluation in the characterization development of Beijing’s culture, less than a quarter of people (N=19, 20%) agree that Beijing’s current cultural heritage is strongly characterized while nearly half (N=46, 48%) think that there’s large room for further characterization of culture. What deeply impressed me is that 32% of people think there’s little characteristics in Beijing’s culture, which is a dangerous warning.

Table 6 Beijing's current cultural heritage

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
with strong characteristics	19	20%
with some characteristics	46	48%
little characteristics	31	32%
no characteristics	0	0%

This point is also illustrated when responders are invited to evaluate the government’s performance in the aspect of polishing and promoting cultural image in Beijing. Among all the subjects, more than half people (N=64, 67%) think government’s job is good instead of excellent. What’s unexpected is that 28% of all made bad evaluation in their answers. That’s very worrisome and needs to be paid more attention to.

Table 7 Planning, packaging and promotion of Beijing's culture

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
Excellent	5	5%
Good	64	67%
Bad	27	28%
Very bad	0	0%

4.2.4 City’s cultural capital and cultural development in Beijing

As pointed in analyzing the government’s documents, although the government did

not put forward explicitly the concept of city’s cultural capital in developing cultural and creative industries, there are many implications of this idea. But, what’s the general knowledge of this theory? Research as follows makes some explanation.

Table 8 Understanding of terminologies (multiple-choice)

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
Cultural Capital	31	32%
City’s Cultural Capital	25	26%
Beijing’s Cultural Capital	18	19%
no idea	41	43%
Please write down your understanding of this concept you know	28	

As seen in Table 8, when asked about their understanding of cultural capital, city’s cultural capital and Beijing’s cultural capital, as high as 43% (N=41) of participants have no idea of any of them. Although there are 55 participants think they have a good knowledge of the three concepts, only 28 of them have written down their understanding of the concept, which reflects, to some extent, that actually more than 43% of all don’t know the mentioned concepts. As to the forty participants, maybe they ever heard of these concepts, but in fact only part of them have a general understanding of them. Among all the explanations of these concepts they have given, there are a various kind of understanding, more or less indicating some features of the concepts. In sum, their understandings can be summarized into following points. First, as of cultural capital, there are some different understandings. Two of them think it refers to wealth created on the basis of culture. Someone thinks it is a kind of strong cultural connotation which can enhance soft power. Someone regards it as soft power directly. There’s also someone considering it as cultural deposits and accumulation, economic value brought about by culture. And two more hold that cultural capital is indicative of capital attribute of culture

Second, about city’s cultural capital, there are even more understandings. Someone think it refers to any visible and invisible assets related to the city’s culture and cultural activities. Someone think it refers to city planning and layout where city culture is

considered as the capital for city construction and development. Someone regards it as cultural accumulation. While others argue that, as the soft power of a city, culture is a kind of exploitable capital which can be operated and bring about economic benefits to the city.

And last is their understanding of Beijing’s cultural capital, which is mainly focused on cultural power in the city. Three participants think that it is accumulation of Beijing’s (non-material) culture (during its urban development).

Generally speaking, only a few participants have ideas of these concepts, but their understandings in fact reveal several features of the concepts. For example, as of cultural capital, some of them grasped its capital-like attribute; as of city’s cultural capital, many of them figured out that it is cultural accumulation throughout urban development. In this sense, we can see that most people don’t know the concepts of cultural capital or city’s cultural capital, but when they are proposed, it is comparatively easy for people to understand them, just like that many participants are positive of the capital benefits brought about by characteristic cultures (as seen in Table 9).

Table 9 Capital gains of culture

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
yes	69	72%
no	20	21%
Uncertain	7	7%

According to Table 9, it is very obvious that 72% of participants agree that highly developing characteristic cultures can bring a lot of capital gains while 21% think negative of the capital attribute of characteristic cultures. Maybe many of them don’t have knowledge of the theory of cultural capital and city’s cultural capital, but in their opinion, culture with uniqueness, if put into operation and developed, is can also bring economic benefits.

At last of the first part, citizens’ evaluation and expectation for cultural development in the future is studied. According to these researches, some directions for future cultural development are illustrated.

Table 10 Evaluation of Beijing's culture and cultural capital

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
with rich heritage and quite distinctive	65	68%
with a long history but poor in modern culture	29	30%
It has always been the core strength of the national culture	41	43%
low awareness of branding and no unique cultural products	21	22%

According to Table 10, we can come to conclude that people living in Beijing think highly of the city's culture. When asked of which evaluation of Beijing's culture is reasonable, two positive evaluations are preferred and ranked higher than negative ones. Most people (N=65, 68%) consider it a city with rich cultural heritage which are quite distinctive from other cities. What's more, quite a few of participants (N=41, 43%) regard that it has always been the core strength of the national culture. According to the online documents research mentioned above, we know that to be the national cultural center is just the cultural positioning of Beijing Municipal Government. This data implies, to certain extent, that most people, whether ordinary people or government officials, have placed great hope on Beijing's cultural development. Developing into the national cultural center and undertaking the leading role in nationwide cultural development is highly expected.

However, it still needs a lot of hard working to achieve this goal, because many people expressed their worry in this research. 30% of people affirmed the long history of cultural development, but doubted its current situation, regarding that Beijing's culture is poor in modern forms. Besides, a few people (N=21, 22%) gave negative evaluation to the city's culture. In their opinion, to build up cultural branding is ignored in Beijing and there're not much cultural products with unique features, either. Therefore, when asked of what do you think the most important thing is if to shape Beijing's cultural strengths and create charming culture, nearly all the participants think defining cultural positioning and development trends is the most important thing (as

seen in Table 11).

Table 11 The most important thing to do to shape Beijing's cultural strengths and create charming culture (multiple-choice)

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
To define cultural orientation and development goals	90	94%
To set Peking Opera as the core feature	35	36%
To set Houhai bars as the core feature	9	9%
To enhance cultural exchange at home and abroad	67	70%
To enhance cultural literacy	67	70%
Others	11	11%

When having a close analysis of their answers, it is found that policy related choices rank the top three among others. With 94% (N=90) of people thinking the most important thing is to define cultural orientation and development goals, the other two things with equal importance are “to enhance cultural exchange at home and abroad” (N=67, 70%) and “to enhance cultural literacy” (N=67, 70%). The results, from one side, reflect the importance of policies to guide the city’s cultural development. Without correct and clear policies as guideline, it will be easy for people to get lost in the diversified environment. From policy to specific measures, it is obvious that participants consider policies more important than specific measures as a whole. But why there are so few people to suggest setting Peking Opera or Houhai bars as the core feature of Beijing’s culture? Is it because Peking Opera or Houhai bars can not represent the cultural characteristics of Beijing? Maybe answers of the following question can give some hints for the reasons.

Table 12 The best representation of Beijing's cultural characteristics (select three)

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
Peking Opera	67	70%
Houhai Bars	9	9%
Hutong & Siheyuan	84	88%
Beijing Roast Duck	17	18%
Universities	16	17%
Tianmen Square	45	47%
798 Art District	9	9%
National Stadium (Bird's Nest & Water	32	33

Cube, etc.)		
other	2	2%

When asked of which you think can best represent the cultural characteristics of Beijing, participants' answers rank from the most to the least are: Hutong & Siheyuan, Peking Opera, Tianmen Square, National Stadium (like Bird's Nest & Water Cube, etc.), Beijing Roast Duck and Universities, 798 Art District. Here we only focus on the top three and make some comparison between them. It is found that compared with Peking Opera, which is a typical traditional culture, Hutong & Siheyuan and Tianmen Square can be classified as the historical building and sites of Beijing. That's to say, the most ancient building style and traditional culture with long history can be regarded as the best representatives of the characteristic culture in Beijing.

According to the results, Hutong & Siheyuan comes to the top once again, which is very similar to the case when participants are asked of what can best represent Beijing's cultural image (as seen in Table 5). The similarity between the two answers suggest another point, namely, in most people's mind, what can best represent the cultural characteristics of Beijing can also represent the city's cultural image. In other words, developing culture with characteristics is building up cultural image of the city.

City's culture is one of the basic elements to enhance image. Any city with a higher level of economic development usually has its own unique cultures, such as Jinling culture in Nanjing, kite culture in Weifang, Yin-Shang culture in Zhengzhou, car culture in Detroit of the U.S. and international film culture in Cannes of France. These unique cultures have shaped the image of the city where they are implanted. Meanwhile, they make contributions to the enhancement of their cities' images and tastes, optimization of the cities' investment environment, thus effectively boosting the city's sustained, rapid and sound development.

Based on the above discussion, we can see that Peking Opera is seen as one of the representative of cultural treasures in Beijing. But what's the current development of this typical culture? It is a question to be answered in the following.

4.3 Capitalization Development of Peking Opera

4.3.1 Miserable situation of current development

In the questionnaire, seven questions are designed to make a general study of participants' attitude toward Peking Opera, as well as the dissemination, influence and development trends of Peking Opera in Beijing.

Table 13 Preference for Peking Opera

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
like	35	36%
dislike	3	3%
no idea	44	46%
no interest	14	15%

The first question is to see the popularity of Peking Opera in people's daily life. To my disappointment, when asked of whether like Peking Opera or not, 64% of them gave negative answers (as seen in Table 13). With 3% of them explicitly expressing dislike for Peking Opera and 15% having no interest in it, most of them (N=44, 46%) in fact had no idea of Peking Opera, which is surprisingly shocking. As we all know that, Peking Opera, which gets its name from its original place, is regarded as the national opera, the quintessence of Chinese culture. And we take it for granted that great emphasis will be attached to it in the place of birth. So the result that only 36% (N=35) of participants like it is really shocking. What's worse, among those people, who have preference for it, only a few actually see performances.

Table 14 Frequency to watch Peking Opera

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
once a day	8	8%
once a week	3	3%
once a month	7	7%
once a year	9	9%
basically not	69	73%

As seen in Table 14, when asked of how often they watch the performance of Peking Opera, only 27% (N=27) of all participants sometimes watch it. Of course, those people who dislike or have no idea of or interest in Peking Opera will not go to see the performance. What's alarming is that, among the only 36% (N=35) of participants who

like it, even fewer of them go to see it. The author thinks the main reason is that someone likes it blindly, without true interest in it, just because it is one of national traditional cultures. And the frequency of watching performance is really low. Only 8% insists on watching every day, who was found to be a performer of Peking Opera. As of those who watch once a week are retirees. And most people only watch it once a year. In fact, they almost can be grouped into the last type, who basically pays no attention to Peking Opera.

The miserable situation of Peking Opera in modern Beijing can also be illustrated in the following question. As seen in Table 15, when asked of the communication and popularization of Peking Opera in Beijing, most participants have pessimistic attitude toward it. As high as 59% (N=56) think current popularity of Peking Opera is far from enough. Only 8% (N=8) think it is quite widely accepted while 8% think it has not gained any popularity. The low popularity and future popularization of Peking Opera, on the one hand, explain why there are so few people who show preference for it, and on the other hand, it shows that the work to promote and publicize Peking Opera in Beijing is lagging far behind.

Table 15 Communication and popularization of Peking Opera in Beijing

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
quite widely spread	8	8%
comparatively wide spread	24	25%
restricted spread	56	59%
no spread	8	8%

From the above research and analysis, we can see that Peking Opera is now at a critical juncture. As field study results indicate: Peking Opera is indeed in danger of staging out of history as it is moving gradually away from people’s daily life. If the trend is going as usual, it will go automatically to its own distinction.

As seen in Table 16, when they are asked to compare the current influence of Peking Opera in Beijing now with then, most people think it does not advance as the time is progressing. Only 7% (N=7) think its influence is greater than before. However,

as high as 93% (N=89) participants have pessimistic attitude toward its current situation, among whom 26% (N=25) consider its influence unchanged while 67% (N=64) regard that it has an even smaller influence in Beijing now. This once again demonstrates that Peking Opera is in great dilemma: its audience getting smaller and smaller in number and its influence ever-shrinking. Obviously, it will form a vicious circle if it continues to go this way.

Table 16 Peking Opera's influence in Beijing

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
more influential than before	7	7%
equally influential	25	26%
less influential than before	64	67%

This is really confusing. As we know all of us are familiar with Peking Opera and feel proud of it when talking with foreigners, but why is it lost in such an embarrassing situation? Has it lost its characteristics altogether? Or simply because people don't think it one representative culture of Beijing any more? The answer may be as follows.

Table 17 Peking Opera as one of the typical kinds of Beijing culture

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
yes	79	82%
no	5	5%
uncertain	12	13%

When asked of whether Peking Opera is still one of the typical symbols of Beijing culture, 82% (N=79) give us very a positive answer, proving that Peking Opera has kept its great image since it is extremely loved by royal family. And among those with a negative answer to this question, there are only 5% (N=5) against it while the other 13% (N=12) is just uncertain of its current situation, which, perhaps, is due to the smaller spread of Peking Opera. Compared with the miserable situation of audience and influence, however, it is still considered as the characteristic culture of modern Beijing.

Furthermore, when the participants are asked of whether Peking Opera is of some help to enhance Beijing's cultural image, their answers show a similar pattern. Those

who agree with this idea account for 76% of all participants. By contrast, almost 7% think Peking Opera is of no use to the improvement of the cultural image of Beijing, while uncertain attitude 17% (N=16). The whole situation is quite similar to their answers to the previous one, indicating that most people, who agree that Peking Opera reflects cultural style and characteristic of Beijing, also think it will be in aid to improving the city's cultural image as a whole, and thus promoting the city's overall development. Since Peking Opera plays such an important role in building up and promoting the city's cultural image, then what should we do in the future to further its development? Details can be seen in Table 19.

Table 18 Peking Opera's aid in enhancing Beijing's cultural image

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
yes	73	76%
no	7	7%
no idea	16	17%

Table 19 Development trend of Peking Opera as Beijing's special culture

Choices	Number of responders	Percentage
internationalize	27	28%
characterize	64	67%
gradually eliminated	2	2%
others	3	3%

When people are asked of the development trend of Peking Opera in the future, their choices go into two main directions: internationalization and characterization. Most people (N=64, 67%) think its development should be characterized and make it become the unique culture of China, even the world. Meanwhile, a few of people (N=27, 28%) suggest that its development should first follow the road of internationalization. This result, obviously, has much to do with the cultural positioning of Beijing city. As seen in Table 1, when asked of the cultural positioning of Beijing in current situation, a majority of participants choose either to be international culture with metropolis features or to be Chinese culture and arts center. Although the number of responders of two choices in this question is not as close as that of the question raised in Table 1, it

reflects, from one side, that development of Peking Opera as Beijing's characteristic culture is vitally important for the overall cultural development of the city.

4.3.2 A general introduction to Peking Opera

Peking Opera, which originated in Anhui and Hubei troupes, has a history of more than two hundred years since its first performance in Beijing. It arises in the late 18th century and has been fully developed and recognized by the mid-19th century. The form is extremely popular in the Qing Dynasty court and has come to be regarded as one of the cultural treasures of China. Although it is not the local opera of Beijing, it is actually formed in Beijing, so it is named Peking Opera (or Beijing Opera). Compared with other dramas, the history of Peking Opera is not very long, but it takes in the advantages and essences of others and presents the audience with an encyclopedia of Chinese culture. So it is publicly acknowledged that Peking Opera is the comprehensive expression of traditional Chinese operas, or the most exemplary and representative art in China. With its fascinating and artistic accompanying music, dance, costumes and acrobatics, Peking Opera is also called the national opera, the most influential form of all operas in China.

During the two hundred years, Peking Opera has experienced several development stages, especially after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. From its early stage of prosperity in 1940s and 1950s to banning performance in the Cultural Revolution, then to its rebirth in the eighty's century and plain performance in the current situation, the road to develop Peking Opera is always full of difficulties and hardships. Particularly after its rebirth in the 1980s when the Peking Opera has not been restored to its prime time, the voice of drama crisis becomes prevalent.

It is said that Peking Opera, as the national quintessence, has been reported to the United Nations applying for the World Intangible Cultural Heritage with official applications already being submitted by the Ministry of Culture. The result will be released by United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (hereafter UNESCO) in the second half of this year. This move, on one hand, shows the great significance of Peking Opera as intangible cultural heritage. On the other hand, it also

reminds us of the fact that Peking Opera is in danger of extinct. It is clear that the reason why UNESCO works hard to promote the certification of “intangible cultural heritage” is, proceeding from the urgency of protection, to promote people’s awareness of how important to rescue and protect those endangered cultural heritages is.

Thus, regardless of the outcome of application, the fact that we must attach importance to protection and transmission of Peking Opera can not be changed. However, the behavior of certain cultural workers is worthy of reflection. In the NPC and CPPCC sessions this year, the “2010 Spring Festival Eve Live Show” has become a hot topic among cultural representatives. Mei Baojiu, the well-know inheritor of Mei, makes a speech on the panel and criticized the staff of the Spring Festival Eve Live Show of neglecting Peking Opera. He is very angry to see that Peking Opera show was given at “the transition period”, saying, “Apparently, the program is promoting the national quintessence, but in fact, it is a mere formality. At that time, all the people go to set off firecrackers, or eat dumplings, and even go to sleep. In this case, who can say the show is actually helpful to carry forward the national opera?” (Wu, 2010)

On the one hand, Peking Opera is still treated coldly by most people and needs to be revitalized; on the other hand, as discussed in the introduction part, in the national traditional festivals as Spring Festival Eve Live Show, Peking Opera has not received its due attention. It is really an awkward situation. Certainly, not all the people are looking at its downturn with a cold eye. In recent years, Peking Opera has attempted numerous reforms in response to sagging audience numbers. From the divergent views of the activity of “Peking Opera into the classroom” to the grand feast of “the Fifth China Peking Opera Art Festival” to the hit movie, *Mei Lanfang*, which reflects the legendary life of this great master of Peking Opera, the ancient art of Peking Opera is staggering among the alternative changes between the cold and heat, noise and silence. These reforms, which include improving performance quality, adapting new performance elements, and performing new and original plays, have also met with mixed success.

4.3.3 Suggestions for capitalization transformation of Peking Opera

Based on the discussion and evaluation of Peking Opera, we can see that it should be transformed from a special and valuable cultural resource into cultural capital. We should revitalize it and build up it into cultural brand of Beijing. Although it is not merely performed in Beijing, it is originated, formed and developed here. In addition, as a form of national cultural quintessence, Beijing is the best city which has unique political and systematic advantages for its long-term development and expansion. It is publicly acknowledged that Peking Opera is one of the representatives of Beijing's characteristic cultures. Therefore, according to Zhang's concept of city's cultural capital, we should make efforts to transform this cultural advantage into the monopolist and unique cultural resource of the city, namely, the city's cultural capital, thus enhancing the core competitiveness of Beijing. About how to realize the capitalization transformation of Peking Opera, the author thinks that we should combine the role of government and market. First, government must formulate rules and regulations to value and popularize it and ensure its transmission. Second, we must put the opera into market and follow the laws of market to develop it so that higher value and benefits can be gained from its development. Third, innovations must be kept to boost the constant expansion of Peking Opera and give it momentum for sustainable development. The details are discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.3.3.1 Improvement of the policy system

Firstly, we must make stipulations from the level of policy to regulate its development, e.g. popularize the basic knowledge of Peking Opera among the youth and foster their interest in it, thus ensuring the transmission of Peking Opera. One point should be made is that transmission is to keep the essence of the art and pass it down from one generation to the next, instead of simple acceptance. Nowadays, the coverage of Peking Opera is very limited to some old people. We must start from the moment to value the basic education of the opera among children. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize it in policy and urge the children to learn it.

In the NPC and CPPCC sessions of 2008, the Ministry of Education announces a pilot program to teach students in primary and secondary schools the traditional Peking

Opera. Deemed as one of the nation's unique cultural treasures, the opera is asked to be added into music courses for 200 schools in 10 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout China. Although this move has raised controversy among the public and some people thought the course should not be compulsory as students' choices should be respected, there are still a lot of voices for support. Zhu Shihui, a renowned Peking Opera performer, expresses his wholehearted support for this project. He holds that interest should be fostered since childhood.

With a view to the current miserable situation of Peking Opera, the author thinks this stipulation is quite necessary and reasonable. But the teaching methods in class should be strengthened. Introducing the opera into school is to cultivate children's cognitive competence and comprehensive ability of artistic value of Peking Opera. For one thing, with the form of teaching, students have available access to language, culture, music, dance and other aspects of the opera, by which the media barriers among children and Peking Opera can be eliminated gradually. This provides students with chances to understand and appreciate the charm of Peking Opera, even further love for it. If so, some students with great interest in it can be cultivated into professional performers in the future. Therefore, the earlier they are exposed to Peking Opera, the better for their career development. For another, children are the potential audience. Peking Opera's embarrassing condition today is partly caused by audience shortage of youth. Furthermore, the youth's opinions about Peking Opera can reveal their demand and their aesthetic orientation and value for the opera, which are worthy of attention as reference for plays' writing.

Meanwhile, in May 2005, the Symposium of Disciplinary Construction of Peking Opera Studies is held by the National Academy of Chinese Theatre Arts, focusing on discussing the history, present and future of Peking Opera. In this symposium, it is first and officially put forward that Peking Opera should be constructed as a discipline, which is a great leap for cultural transmission and education of the opera.

These two measures are good examples in policy guiding to promote development of Peking Opera. They can not only solve the audience crisis by training young audience but also develop a batch of professional talents. Introducing Peking Opera into

schools or set it as an independent discipline, the original intention is to carry on and promote the traditional culture and build students' national pride and cultural identity.

4.3.3.2 Market principles to operate

Second, development of Peking Opera should follow market principles, changing from solely relying on the government in the past to market-oriented operation. Similarly, marketization is to win more audience and make the Peking Opera get its impetus to further forward. Compared with slugging in domestic market, Peking Opera is more and more popular in foreign countries. The main reason is that in foreign countries, business performance, instead of cultural exchange, has become the main form of performance. Take China National Peking Opera Company (CNPOC) for example. In recent years, commercial performance enjoys a bigger and bigger proportion in the overseas performance of the company, accounting for more than 80% with an annual average performance of two to three groups (Luo, 2006). Besides, when exploring overseas market, the strategy of market differentiation is highly stressed. Song Guanlin, Associate president of CNPOC, said, ".....we need to produce marketable products in accordance with the different cultural and historical backgrounds and aesthetic tastes of people from different countries, peoples and regions". (Luo, 2006) The spread of Peking Opera in domestic market should also follow this market strategy. We must segment the market and write different scripts for audience in different ages. For example, for the youth, more interesting plays should be unfolded before their eyes, for they do not know much about the opera. We need plays to arouse their interest in the opera. While for those old fans who have seen the opera since their youth, we should pay more attention to adding the aesthetic value and deepening cultural charm of the plays.

If totally depending on supports and funding from the government, Peking Opera will be hampered in development. It is impossible for an opera troupe to move forward and prosper if it can not breed and develop new markets on its own. Over the world, many elegant arts organizations have received support from the state, but they also make rules for their performances. All the inputs and outputs should comply with

laws of the market and be recognized by audience and market to ensure the necessity of government's funding. With the help of government, troupes can gain more audience and market share. Therefore, the shift of Peking Opera performance from cultural exchange to commercial performance, in the sense of cultural capital, is one of means to complete the transformation into city's cultural capital. Only with differences in economic benefits and market shares will the Peking Opera have the momentum of development. Higher market value is also one of the attractive points speeding this transformation.

4.3.3.3 Innovation and reformation to keep its vitality

Finally, constant development of Peking Opera, whether as purely cultural resource or as a kind of cultural capital, is inseparable from innovation and reformation. Innovation on the basis of quintessence is the driving force for its sustainable development. In his article "City Image and City's Cultural Capital: From City Management and Promotion to Operation of 'City's Cultural Capital'", Zhang (2002b) expresses similar idea. He thinks that integration and innovation of cultural elements is the core of the operation of city's cultural capital. However, the author holds that innovation and reformation is equally important in the process of transformation. It will change the embarrassing situation of Peking Opera and keep creating newer and higher values for it so that it attracts eyes of audience and becomes hit topic of market. The so-called innovation should be made not only in contents but also in forms, which is an objective rule for theatrical art development throughout the history (Du et al., 2008). Innovation is endless and here we just provide some enlightening examples which bring forth new ideas in script, music and libretto.

Script: The Perfect Combination of "Form" and "Spirit"

From July 24 to August 4, 2005, invited by Danish government and the committee of "Hamlet Summer Arts Festival", Shanghai Peking Opera Troupe with a team of 41 staff went to Denmark and gave performance of Peking Opera "The Tragedy of Prince Zi Dan", which is based on Shakespeare's tragedy "Hamlet". Due to early meticulous planning and good preparations, their performance received unanimously high praise

from the Danish audience and local media, for the play's techniques with traditional Chinese opera features and its adaptation faithful to the spirit of Shakespeare's original text.

According to statistics, there are sixteen different operas in China having ever interpreted twelve Shakespeare's dramas, with Peking Opera interpreting five (Luo, 2006). But in the new century, Peking Opera "The Tragedy of Prince Zi Dan" can be regarded as the first domestic success to interpret Shakespeare's dramas and get recognition of Western audience. When trying to fully represent the theme of Humanist spirit in the original text, the play replaces drama for Peking Opera, with special treatment of Chinese dramatic aesthetics from the script, direction and performance. For example, a number of well-known monologues in the original text are changed into Peking Opera arias. Furthermore, taking the script's capacity into consideration, the new play removed some secondary characters and compressed into seven scenes from the original complex plot with five acts and twenty showings. Although the showings are reduced, the core contents are kept, fully played by special roles of Peking Opera such as Sheng, Dan, Jing, Chou. In content, the new play retained the original spirit, with the hero's "struggling for fate, personality and society" as the main clues. In form, the new play is purely Peking Opera-oriented, complying strictly with the opera's aesthetic principles of freehand and virtual performance (Li, 2008).

In all, this play is a successful trial of integrating Chinese traditions with Western classics in the aspect of script. It innovates in blending the Peking Opera's techniques into western content, representing the original spirit of western works with Chinese characters. Shi Yukun, the director of this play, explains that the play is in pursuit of such an art realm with Shakespeare's spirit and Peking Opera's form. Many audience and critics in Denmark also comment after watching the showing, "very Oriental and Shakespeare" (Li, 2008). Therefore, it can be inferred that this play is very popular among foreigners because of its innovation in combining Chinese form of Peking Opera with the spirit of Shakespeare's writings.

Music: Blending of Symphony and Peking Opera

In March 2001, in Pennsylvania State University, Sun Ping, a Peking Opera

performing artists, sung the arias of “The Red Lantern” and “Azalea Mountain” to the accompaniment of symphonic music and caused a sensation.

Huqin, a general two-stringed bowed instrument, is the leading instrument of traditional opera. For it is used throughout the development history of Peking Opera, so it becomes the symbolic instrument in traditional opera arts. However, to promote Chinese cultures to foreigners, Peking Opera should be expressed in the forms which are readily acceptable for them. As symphony is the mainstream of western music, it should be applied to the Peking Opera so that foreigners can feel intimate when watching the performance. According to Sun Ping, the perfect combination of Peking Opera, which represents the most Oriental art, and symphony, the most Occidental music, is called symphonic opera. The reason to omit the word accompanying in the name is that this combination is not a simple adding of the two art forms. Both of them have their own advantages and we manage to make such blending deeper. In this way, the symphonic opera will be quite different from the traditional Peking Opera and modern model plays. Its live band will be composed entirely of western instruments and piano will be used to accompany some traditional arias of Peking Opera (<http://bbs.jingju.cc/viewthread.php?tid=19357&extra=page%3D1>).

Using symphony as accompaniment of Peking Opera should not be regarded a simple combination of two, because the rigid “grafting” can only arouse a momentary interest of foreigners. Only when the symphony is really integrated into the Peking Opera and becomes a major feature of Peking Opera, it is possible to grasp the foreigners’ attention. After continuous trial and exploration, the form of “symphonic Peking Opera” is finally discovered. With symphonic instruments and traditional Peking Opera instruments playing their proper roles in the showing, the Peking Opera performance can be more attracting and perfect. Another performance in Berlin, Germany also proves this charm of symphonic Peking Opera. In April 2006, invited by Berlin World Cultural Center, the Beijing Peking Opera Troupe went to Berlin and gave two large-scale symphonic Peking Opera performances “Mei Lanfang”. With cooperation of symphonic orchestral and chorus on the Berlin part, the showings represented the grace and charm of traditional Chinese culture and won prolonged

applause of the audience, which once again illustrates the magic charm of symphonic Peking Opera.

Mr. Hans, director of the German Goethe Institute and the organizer for this activity, highly praised that the cooperation between two parts were wonderful and the performers singing, acting as well as the lighting were very good. And more audience thought that the play's music was very pleasing and touching. Attracted by the performers' costume and clothing, they appreciated that Peking Opera was art in all categories (Zhou, 2006). From the evaluation of audience, it can be seen that the charm of Peking Opera is fully expressed and conveyed to audience although a large number of symphonic elements have been added. Accompanying to different music, the Peking Opera still keeps its tradition in many aspects. The costume, singing style, libretto and arias of traditional opera has not been changed, neither the dominant position of traditional instruments. Therefore, adding symphony to the traditional elements, instead, reflects the charm of Peking Opera in a better way.

Libretto: Popularization and Translation

The audience crisis of Peking Opera is partly contributed by its language. The traditional archaism is difficult to understand and far away from the contemporary language habit, so the language of Peking Opera should also be changed in some ways. For the domestic audience, lines should be popularized so that even the one who has no knowledge of Peking Opera can also understand their performance quickly. Besides, lines close to daily life can shorten the distance between audience and performers. For the foreign audience, language barriers, to a certain extent, will impede them to have a deep understanding of the content. To solve this problem, to provide appropriate translation or interpretation and subtitles is also used in the overseas performance in recent years. For example, in 2005, when Peking Opera "Princess Turandot" was performed in Eastern European countries, various techniques such as interpretation and multilingual subtitles helped the foreigners to eliminate difficulties and obstacles in understanding. Despite the cost was increased, but the effect was greatly improved and helped a lot in promoting the Peking Opera arts. Subsequently, even more European and American commercial companies invited the Troupe to play this script. Therefore,

appropriate adjustment of language to fit with the modern life, or translation and interpretation to get it through to foreigners, will be of great significance to boost the development of Peking Opera at home and abroad.

4.3.4 Summary

In sum, the author advocates in this paper to develop Peking Opera into Beijing's cultural capital. With wide spread of economic globalization, cultural dialogues has played an increasingly important role in exchange of great powers. To develop Peking Opera, enhance its value and realize the transformation from cultural resources to cultural capital, great efforts should be made. First, the concerned government at all levels should formulate and stipulate rules and regulations to guide the overall direction of Peking Opera's development. Compulsory education in the primary and secondary schools is a good policy to popularize the basic knowledge of Peking Opera among the youth. It is also quite necessary for it can not only enhance the cultural literacy of citizens since childhood but also lay a solid foundation for cultivation of professionals in the future. Besides, setting the studies of Peking Opera as an independent discipline in colleges and universities is of great significance for the theoretical building of the art. Second, the management and operation of Peking Opera troupes and theatres should follow the law of the market. The change should be made from merely depending on government's support and funding to market-oriented development. Therefore, whether in domestic market or in overseas market, the performance should shift from purely cultural exchange to combination of commercial performance and cultural exchange. Only influenced and measured by the fluctuation of market value can the staffs of troupes seek to reform and innovate. Third, constant innovations should be made while keeping the quintessence of the traditional Peking Opera. Innovation is the driving force for all development. Peking Opera should be innovated in not only the contents but also forms. For example, writing a new script faithful to the spirit of original text and playing it in the forms of traditional opera, or adding different western music to the original ones and blending them into each other, or applying modern techniques to revising or translating the archaistic lines into contemporary languages. All these

innovations are contributed to make the Peking Opera outstanding and successful. In short, capitalization operation of the Peking Opera should focus on the inheritance, innovation and audience winning. Popularizing the basic education among the youth is to ensure the Peking Opera can be passed down from one generation to the next. Market operation is to help the troupes to get close to audience and win market shares. To innovate is to add new vitality to the traditional quintessence and help it to gain more audience so as to ensure the sustainable development of the Peking Opera.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1 Major Findings of the Study

The paper is started to analyze the cultural positioning and strategy and cultural image building of Beijing with both relevant government documentation investigation and a case study of Peking Opera, which is one of the representatives among Beijing's special cultures. Based on the theory of cultural capital created by Bourdieu and the concept of city's cultural capital proposed by Zhang, this paper gives some suggestions for the capitalization transformation of Peking Opera into the unique city's cultural capital of Beijing. The main findings are presented as follows.

In the first place, according to government's documentations, it is found that Beijing Municipal Government has made a relatively clear positioning in cultural development, which is also, to a great extent, in line with that in the citizens' mind. It is clearly stated in *Beijing Outline of the Eleventh Five-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development* that Beijing is going to be developed into a prestigious cultural city as the national cultural center with a long history. Meanwhile, in the questionnaire research, most participants regard Beijing as Chinese cultural and artistic center instead of regional cultural center. They also hope that its culture can be raised to the international stage and form its features of international metropolis.

Secondly, the focus of cultural undertakings set by concerned governments hits the point of cultural image building. Based on the questionnaire survey, Hutong & Siheyuan, Peking Opera and Forbidden City, which can be categorized into two groups, namely, historical-style buildings and traditional cultures, rank the top three as the best representatives of Beijing's cultural image. This result is quite similar with key points stipulated in the government's documents. It indicates that the direction of cultural

image building work in the city is right and should be followed in the future. However, a lot of efforts should be made to promote Beijing's cultural image. As is seen in the discussion that most participants give a moderate evaluation for the government's current work in planning, polishing and promoting the cultural image. And not a few people think badly of the overall job of building cultural image.

Thirdly, as of people's understanding of cultural capital and city's cultural capital, the result is mingled with hope and fear. What fears is almost half subjects have no ideas of what those concepts are and, among those who think they understand it, in fact only less than half can explain the ideas in words. This implies that these concepts are not popularized among citizens. However, what's delightful is that those knowing these concepts agree that certain special cultures are featured with capital-like attribute and can make profits, which actually is the core value behind these ideas. It indicates that many people have realized the special value of certain unique culture without naming it cultural capital or city's cultural capital. Hereby in this paper, the author suggests that the concept of cultural capital and city's cultural capital may be introduced to build up the cultural image of the city, where different varieties of special cultures should be gathered as a whole and regulated to develop under the guidance of city's cultural capital operation.

Fourthly, the development of Peking Opera as Beijing's special and unique culture is now facing great challenges. It still needs great efforts to transform it into Beijing's cultural capital. Regarded as quintessence of Chinese traditional cultures, Peking Opera is also called national opera and played in many local opera troupes. Despite that it is firstly originated, formed and developed in Beijing, it is quite possible to lose its status here if its current development can not be accentuated, for many provinces also want to submit applications to UNESCO for the World Intangible Cultural Heritage List. As seen in the discussion above, fewer and fewer people living in the city go to watch the performance while more and more people become indifferent to its existence. What's worse, the spread and popularization of Peking Opera is also limited to a small range, thus its influence in the city becomes not so great as before, either. Nevertheless, the importance of Peking Opera can not be ignored at all. It is unanimously recognized that

Peking Opera is a special cultural heritage for Beijing and it will be conducive to promoting the city's cultural image. In this sense, the development of Peking Opera in the future should follow the way of characterization, making it the representative culture with Beijing characteristics and component of Beijing's cultural capital.

In view of the miserable conditions Peking Opera is faced with currently, three suggestions are provided to revitalize and push forward its development. The first one is to improve culturally related policies and measures. For example, popularize the basic knowledge of Peking Opera among children and teenagers. The audience crisis encountered with Peking Opera is partly attributed to severe shortage of interest and knowledge among the ordinary people. The activity of "introducing Peking Opera into music classes" and other regular activities such as symposium and art festival should be greatly encouraged and welcomed. In addition, the management of Peking Opera should comply with the general market principles. With fierce competition of market shares as the incentives, all Peking Opera troupes will strive to win more audience. What's most important is to keep constant changes and innovations in the performance, both for domestic audience and foreigners. Innovations are the core to realize the capitalization transformation of city culture into cultural capital, so it is the case with that of Peking Opera. Innovations can be made in different ways, such as in script, music and libretto, etc. All in all, to carry forward the Chinese traditional culture needs the concerted efforts of all.

5.2 Limitations

Some limitations in this study should be pointed out. First, the number of subjects is limited and not as large enough; hence, it is premature to draw conclusions from this study. It should be considered only as an initial discussion. Second, the theory of city's cultural capital proposed by Zhang is mainly applied to discuss the relationship between operation of city's cultural capital and building up of the city's image while in this study, only cultural image of the city, with Peking Opera as a typical case, is involved. Thus, ideas advocated in this paper may not adapt to other types of cultures' development.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Study

The author will also make some suggestions for further study of this topic.

First, as city's cultural capital is a broad concept and consists of all the cultural capital in the city which can be transformed into economic capital and make profits, the transformation process may change with each type of culture and needs more efforts to study. Therefore, investigation over the general rules of transformation from city's cultural resources into city's cultural capital is also worthy of attention.

Second, Peking Opera, the case studied here, is a type of intangible cultural heritage and belongs to spiritual culture capital of a city. However, the city's cultural capital also includes many other types such as material cultural capital. Hence, historically natural heritage can also be introduced to study the specific relationship of city's cultural capital and its cultural image as well as city image as a whole, for example, Hutong, Siheyuan and Forbidden City mentioned in the paper.

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APPENDIX I ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir or Madam,

This study aims to analyze the current situation of Beijing's cultural positioning and development strategy, as the case study of Peking Opera. Your answers to this questionnaire will be greatly appreciated. We guarantee that this research is totally anonymous and academic-oriented. We will not expose your personal data to anyone without your admission.

If you agree to let us use your responses in our study, please tick ✓ after “agree”.

Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

Thanks again for your time and efforts.

University of International Business and Economics
School of International Studies

Questionnaire for

Beijing's Cultural Capital Development—the Case of Peking Opera

(1) Overall situation

1. Which of the following do you think represents Beijing's cultural image (multiple-choice limited to three)?

- A. Siheyuan & Hutong B. Peking Opera
C. Beijing Mandarin D. Forbidden City E. Summer Palace

2. What do you think is/are Beijing's cultural position (multiple-choice)

- A. international metropolis culture B. Chinese Culture and Arts Center
C. regional cultural center with local features D. no idea
E. Other (please add) _____

3. How do you think of Beijing's current cultural position?

- A. very clear B. clearer C. clear D. not clear

4. What do you think of the correlation between cultural position and overall development of Beijing?

- A. much correlated B. comparatively correlated C. correlated D. not correlated

5. How do you think of Beijing's current cultural heritage ?

- A. with strong characteristics B. with some characteristics
C. little characteristics D. no characteristics

6. Do you think Beijing is now a historical and cultural city?

- A. Yes B. No

7. Do you know the following concepts?

- A. Cultural Capital B. City's Cultural Capital C. Beijing's Cultural Capital
D. have no idea of either

Please explain in simple words your understanding of the concept you know _____

8. Which one of the following evaluation of Beijing's culture do you think is reasonable? (multiple-choice)

- A. with rich heritage and quite distinctive
B. with a long history but poor in modern culture
C. It has always been the core strength of the national culture
D. low awareness of branding and no unique cultural products

9. Which do you think can best represent the cultural characteristics of Beijing? (multiple-choice limited to three)

- A. Peking Opera B. Houhai Bars C. Hutong & Siheyuan
D. Beijing Roast Duck E. universities F. Tianmen Square
G. 798 Art District H. National Stadium (Bird's Nest & Water Cube, etc.)

I. Other (please add) _____

10. How do you think of the planning, polishing and promotion of Beijing's cultural image?

- A. excellent B. good C. bad D. very bad

11. Do you think it is possible that highly developing special cultures can bring good capital gains?

A. Yes B. No C. Uncertain

12. What do you think is the most important thing to do if to shape Beijing's cultural strengths and create charm of culture? (multiple-choice limited to three)

A. define cultural position and development goals

B. set Peking Opera as the core feature

C. set Houhai bars as the core feature

D. enhance cultural exchange at home and abroad

E. enhance cultural literacy

F. Others _____

(2) Case study----Peking Opera

13. Do you like Peking Opera?

A. like B. don't like C. no idea D. no interest

14. How often do you watch the Peking Opera?

A. once a day B. once a week C. once a month

D. once a year E. basically not

15. Do you think Peking Opera is one of the typical representations of Beijing's culture?

A. Yes B. No C. Uncertain

16. How do you think the communication and popularization of Peking Opera in Beijing is?

A. quite widely spread B. a little wide range of spread

C. a small range of spread D. no spread

17. Peking Opera's influence in Beijing is _____ than before

A. greater B. equal to C. smaller

18. Do you think Peking Opera will help to enhance Beijing's cultural image?

A. Yes B. No C. a little D. no idea

19. What do you think is the development trend of Peking Opera as Beijing's special culture?

A. internationalize B. characterize C. gradually eliminated D. others

(3) Background information

1. What's your gender? A. Male B. Female

2. How old are you?

A. 10-20 years B. 20-30 years C. 30-40 years

D. 40-50 years E. more than 50 years old

3. What's your job?

A. students B. employees C. civil servants

D. managers

E. retirees

H. others _____

4. How long have you been living in Beijing?

A. never

B. 1 year or less

C. 1-3 years

D. 4-6 years

E. 7-9 years

F. 10 years or more

APPENDIX II CHINESE QUESTIONNAIRE

亲爱的先生/女士，您好：

本问卷旨在研究北京市文化定位及城市文化发展情况。问卷将采取不记名的方式进行，结果仅供此次学术研究使用，您的认真作答将有助于本研究的顺利进行。

如您同意将所提供的信息用做学术研究，请在“同意”一栏后打√，谢谢合作。

同意 ☐ 不同意 ☐

再次对您表示衷心感谢！

对外经济贸易大学英语学院

从京剧文化建设看北京文化资本建设

调查问卷

(1) 总体方面

1. 您认为以下哪些代表了北京的城市文化形象（限选三项以下）

- A. 四合院&胡同 B. 京剧
C. 北京普通话 D. 故宫 E. 颐和园

2. 您所了解的北京市文化定位是（可多选）

- A. 国际化大都市文化 B. 中国文化艺术中心
C. 发展地方特色文化成为地区文化中心 D. 完全不了解
E. 其他（请补充）_____

3. 您认为北京目前的文化定位是否清晰？

- A. 非常清晰 B. 比较清晰 C. 一般清晰 D. 不清晰

4. 您认为北京市的文化定位和建设是北京整体发展的关联度

- A. 很大 B. 比较大 C. 一般 D. 没什么关系

5. 您认为北京目前整体的文化底蕴/文化氛围

- A. 非常浓烈且有特色 B. 比较浓烈有一般特色 C. 一般 D. 没什么特色

6. 您认为北京目前是一个历史文化名城吗？

- A. 是 B. 不是

7. 您是否了解以下概念？

- A. 文化资本 B. 城市文化资本 C. 北京城市文化资本
D. 都不了解

请您用简单几句话概括下您对所了解的概念的定义_____

8. 您认为下列对北京城市文化的评价哪些是合理的（可多选）

- A. 文化底蕴丰厚，很有特色 B. 虽然历史悠久，但现代文化贫乏
C. 北京文化一直是全国文化的核心力量 D. 文化品牌意识不高，没有什么特色的文化产品

9. 您认为最能体现北京文化特色的是（限选三项）

- A. 北京京剧 B. 后海酒吧 C. 胡同&四合院 D. 北京烤鸭
E. 北京高校 F. 天安门广场 G. 798 艺术区
H. 国家体育馆（鸟巢&水立方等） I. 其他（请补充）_____

10. 您认为北京市目前对其城市文化形象的策划、包装、推广做得

- A. 很好 B. 较好 C. 不太好 D. 很不好

11. 您认为北京大力发展其特色文化能带来很高的资本收益吗

- A. 能 B. 不能 C. 不确定

12. 如果要塑造北京的文化实力，打造魅力文化，您认为最主要要做的事是（可多选）

- A. 明确文化定位及发展目标 B. 树立京剧文化为核心特色

- C. 树立后海酒吧文化为核心特色 D. 加强与国内外的文化交流
E. 提高文化素养 F. 其他_____

(2) 个案研究——京剧文化

1. 您喜欢京剧吗?

A. 喜欢 B. 不喜欢 C. 没感觉 D. 不了解没兴趣
2. 您观看京剧的频率是?

A. 每天一次 B. 每周一次 C. 每月一次 D. 每年一次 E. 基本不看
3. 您认为京剧是北京特色文化的代表之一吗?

A. 是 B. 不是 C. 不确定
4. 您认为京剧在北京的文化传播与普及

A. 范围很广 B. 范围较广 C. 范围较小 D. 没普及
5. 您认为京剧在当代北京的影响力较之以前

A. 更大 B. 差不多 C. 更小
6. 您认为京剧有助于提升北京市的城市文化形象吗?

A. 是 B. 无助于 C. 不清楚
7. 您认为京剧作为北京的文化特色未来的发展应

A. 国际化 B. 特色化 C. 慢慢淘汰 D. 其他

(3) 背景信息

1. 请问您的性别 A. 男 B. 女
2. 请问您的年龄

A. 10-20 岁 B. 20-30 岁 C. 30-40 岁 D. 40-50 岁 E. 50 岁以上
3. 请问您的职业是

A. 在校大学生 B. 公司职员 C. 一般公务员 D. 科教文卫部门人员
G. 企业管理人员 H. 个体经营者 I. 离退休人员 J. 其他_____
4. 请问您在北京已经生活多长时间

A. 0 年 B. 1 年以内 C. 1-3 年
D. 4-6 年 E. 7-9 年 F. 10 年以上