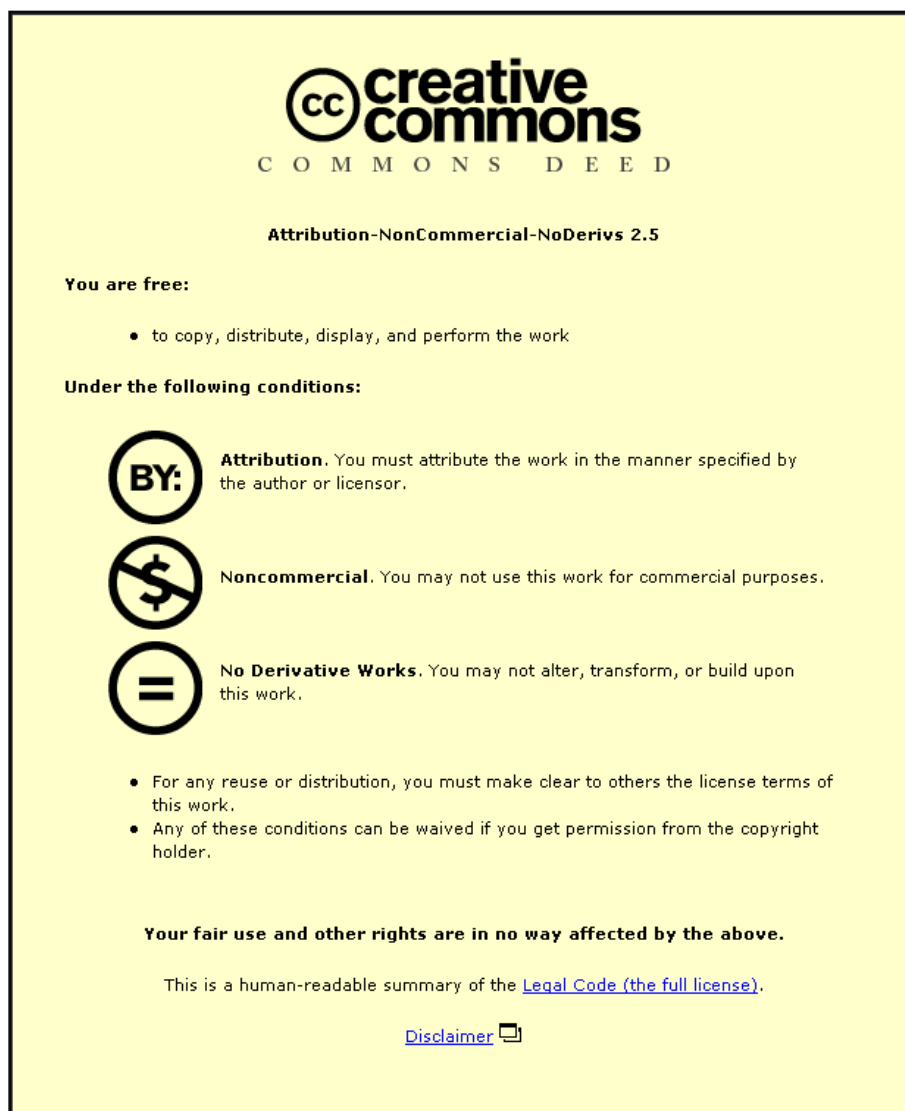


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# **Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in 'C' Major (1879 to 2010)**

By

Mengyu Luo

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## Abstract

Shanghai Symphony Orchestra is a fascinating institution. It was first founded in 1879 under the name of 'Shanghai Public Band' and was later, in 1907, developed into an orchestra with 33 members under the baton of German conductor Rudolf Buck. Since Mario Paci—an Italian pianist—became its conductor in 1919, the Orchestra developed swiftly and was crowned 'the best in the Far East' 远东第一 by a Japanese musician Tanabe Hisao 田边尚雄 in 1923. At that time, Shanghai was semi-colonized by the International Settlement and the French Concession controlled by the Shanghai Municipal Council and the French Council respectively. They were both exempt from local Chinese authority. The Orchestra was an affiliated organization of the former: the Shanghai Municipal Council. When the Chinese Communist Party took over mainland China in 1949, the Orchestra underwent dramatic transformations. It was applied as a political propaganda tool performing music by composers from the socialist camp and adapting folk Chinese songs to Western classical instruments in order to serve the masses. This egalitarian ideology went to extremes in the notorious 10-year Cultural Revolution. Surprisingly, the SSO was not disbanded; rather it was appropriated by the CCP to create background music for revolutionary modern operas such as *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* 《智取威虎山》. The end of Cultural Revolution after Mao's death in 1976 ushered in a brand new Reform-and-Opening-up era marked by Deng Xiaoping's public claim: 'Getting rich is glorious!' Unlike previous decades when the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra together with music it performed was made to entertain the general masses, elitism came back under a social entourage characterized by Chinese-style socialism. The concept of elite, however, is worth a further thought. Shanghai is not only home to a large number of Chinese middle class but also constitutes a promising paradise for millions of nouveau riches which resembles, to a great extent, the venture land for those Shanghailanders a century ago.

This thesis, as the title indicates, puts the historical development of the Shanghai

Symphony Orchestra from 1879 to 2010 in C major applying Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital theory so as to understand how this extraordinary musical 'currency' is produced, represented, appropriated and received by different groups of people in Shanghai across five distinct historical stages. Cultural appropriation tactics and other relevant theories such as cultural imperialism and post colonialism are also combined to make sense of particular social environment in due course. To put the SSO in 'C' major does not infer that this musical institution and music it performed through all these years are reduced to economic analysis. Nonetheless, the inner value of music itself is highlighted in each historical period. A psychological concept—affordance, first applied by Tia DeNora in music sociology, is also integrated to help comprehend how and what Chinese people or the whole nation latched on to certain pieces of music performed at the SSO in different historical phases. Moreover, musicological analysis is carried out in due course to elaborate on the feasibility of, for example, adopting Chinese folk songs to Western classical instruments and creating a hybrid music type during Cultural Revolution. Aesthetic value of music is thus realized in the meantime. Archival research is mostly used in this thesis supplemented by one focus group and one in-depth interview with retired players at the SSO. Fieldwork of this research is mainly based in the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive; although materials from Shanghai Library and Shanghai Municipal Archive are also collected and made use of.

**Key Words: Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, Archival Research, Cultural Capital, Cultural Appropriation, Affordance, Music Sociology.**

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I would also like to say thank you to Professor Tang Yating from Shanghai Music

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I am very lucky to receive suggestion from Mike Gane, Emeritus Professor from my department. He generously lent me his doctoral thesis: 'Social Changes in English Music and Music Making 1800-1970, with Special Reference to the Symphony Orchestra' (Gane, 1973) when he heard about my project. My ideas got developed from talks with him as well. I am also fortunate to get in contact with Professor Robert Bickers from Bristol University after I read his article on the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and emailed him. He showed me a number of funding sources on China related studies and suggested Professor Tang Yating from Shanghai Music Conservatory and Dr Thoralf Klein from Loughborough University to me. Dr Thoralf Klein is also an expert on Chinese history who helped me further my understanding on historical study. His insight into Chinese music also shed light on my research greatly.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Thesis Background and Structure

To understand Western classical music in China, or symphonic music to be specific, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra should never be neglect. It dates back to 1879 boasting 133 years' history by now, even older than some of the best-known symphony orchestras in Western Europe. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra—a 'cultural calling card' of Shanghai—is the earliest and the best-known ensemble of its kind in Asia, through which the Chinese symphonic music develops. Originally known as the Shanghai Public Band, it developed into an orchestra in 1907, and was renamed the Shanghai Municipal Council Symphony Orchestra in 1922. During 1942 and 1945 it was known as the Shanghai Philharmonic Orchestra. And from 1945 to 1949 it was called the Shanghai Municipal Symphony Orchestra. Notably under the baton of the Italian conductor Mario Paci, the orchestra promoted Western music and trained Chinese young talents very early in China, and introduced the first Chinese orchestral work to the audience, hence reputed as the "the best in the Far East." Practically, the history of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra may be referred as the history of China's symphonic music development' (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra).

This thesis is not a detailed historical study of this unique musical organization in China; rather, as the title 'Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in 'C' Major' indicates, it examines the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra from a sociological perspective and related to broader cultural and social context through the SSO's historical development from 1879 to 2010. The letter 'C' has several connotations here. It first stands for cultural capital, a concept articulated by Pierre Bourdieu in the early 1960s. Bourdieu (1986) later points out three states of cultural capital which accords to the situation of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in China (see Chapter 2). By regarding Western classical music and the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as cultural capital, a macroscopic understanding is better achieved as how this artistic currency had been

appropriated by different groups of people. The second connotation of the letter 'C'—cultural appropriation is combined to supplement and make cultural capital more applicable. There are several forms of cultural appropriation and different tactics within each form. They will all be analysed in regard to the particular social environment in Shanghai and materials collected from the author's fieldwork at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive. For example, different classes of local Chinese people adopted various forms of cultural appropriation and tactics to cope with and to understand the dominant Western culture and the subordinate position of native one as well. The third connotation of the letter 'C' is culture in action or as DeNora (2000; 2003b; Acord and DeNora, 2008) put it the 'affordance' of culture. This connotation provides a microscopic angle, compared with the first two, to examine the inside of cultural capital; rather than merely focusing on the symbolic and exchange values. There will be a more detailed exegesis in Chapter 2, the theory chapter. The 'major' here does not only refer to the key of a music piece, rather; it serves as a pun. On the one hand, it is a key originated in Western music and mainly used in today's music field as the study is based on Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. However, the whole thesis does not seem to be a C major piece of music. On the other hand, 'C major' suggests that the historical development of the SSO is put to cultural analysis to a great extent. 'Major' here implies the key theories applied.

As mentioned above, this thesis is a further development of my master's dissertation (2010) which focused on comparison between audiences attending Western classical music concerts in Birmingham, UK and in Shanghai, China. By conducting quantitative questionnaires and qualitative interviews in both cities, I had found several interesting similarities and differences. Bourdieu's theory in his work *Distinction* together with modernity and postmodern theories was applied to analyse those similarities and differences. It has won the 2009/10 Social Sciences Postgraduate Dissertation Prizes at Loughborough University. I, myself, have learnt to play the cello from the age of 10 and was a cello player at a music group in my previous university—Civil Aviation University of China from 2006 to 2009 which

continued in the Strings that Sing string orchestra at Loughborough University till now. My interest in Western classical music and relevant cultural studies is beyond explanation. They have contributed a lot to my PhD research.

Also, I would like to point out some of the abbreviations I am going to use in later chapters, although there will be a more detailed list of abbreviations and Chinese characters in the Appendix: the SMC for Shanghai Municipal Council, the SSO and the Orchestra for the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, the CCP and the Party for the Chinese Communist Party. Moreover, Chinese names for both persons and places will apply Mandarin *pinyin* 拼音 annotation system as opposed to Wade-Giles romanization which some Western scholars and Cantonese-speaking scholars often adopt such as Nanjing (Mandarin) instead of Nanking (Wade-Giles). Commonly used ones or the ones in quotation will remain as they were for example, Sun Yat-sen 孙中山 (Wade-Giles) instead of Sun Zhongshan (Mandarin) and Chiang Kai-shek 蒋介石 instead of Jiang Jieshi in Mandarin *pinyin*. Moreover, to avoid confusion, all Chinese names mentioned in this thesis, celebrities or ordinary people, will be displayed with their surnames in front such as Mao Zedong 毛泽东 instead of Zedong Mao. Furthermore, Chinese words, quotations, sayings, ancient poems and other set phrases will be shown in *pinyin* first followed by the original Chinese characters and later translated by the author in square brackets for example: *aiguohuo* 爱国货 [patriotic goods]. Again, commonly accepted translations of them will remain as they were such as Deng Xiaoping's claim 'Getting rich is glorious!'

There are altogether eight chapters in this thesis. **Chapter 1** serves as a general introduction and reviewed existing research on the same subject. Research questions, methodology and fieldwork are also explained in this part. The next chapter, **Chapter 2** attempts to form a theoretical framework by introducing and arguing theories such as cultural capital, cultural appropriation, cultural imperialism, and affordance. Moreover, other theoretical approaches to music related studies are also briefly introduced so as to understand the unique perspective of this thesis within a broader picture especially music sociology. The historical development of the Shanghai

Symphony Orchestra is divided into five distinct parts according to salient historical, cultural and social contexts in the city of Shanghai and the SSO's own development as well.

**Chapter 3** 'Foreigners in Shanghai and the Beginning of the SSO (1879 to 1919)' is the first historical stage of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. It first gives a historical background of China after the First Opium War and the forced opening of Shanghai as a treaty port. Tremendous transformations were thus brought to this small coastal city upon the arrival of those Western settlers. The Shanghai Public Band was established by them. Under that particular social context, the Band served as cultural capital to show off those Shanghailanders' superior cultural identity by excluding local Shanghai people and performing the latest classical music in Western music world. It was also appropriated to the display political stance of the Shanghai Municipal Council ruled by Britain and the U.S. against Germany and Austria during the First World War. **Chapter 4** 'Carving up Shanghai and the Bitter Sweet SSO (1919 to 1949)' is the next historical phase. There were four major political forces in Shanghai at that time: the West, the Japanese, the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party. The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra then suffered from interruptions by constant warfare. However, in the meantime, it also entered its first prime—Paci's era—winning the well-known crown 'the best in the far east'. The rise of Chinese nationalism was evident among the earnest request to learn from the West and the Japanese so as to build a strong and modern China. Chinese audiences, musicians and works by Chinese composers were gradually accepted by the Orchestra yet reasons behind this were worth a further thought. Moreover, the concept of affordance is also applied here to analyse Chinese audiences' response to some particular music the Orchestra performed and the music chosen to perform for the Nanjing Government.

**Chapter 5** 'Communist Shanghai and the Reform of the SSO (1949 to 1966)' is the historical stage when the CCP took over China after years of struggle for power ever since 1840. China's close relation to the Soviet Union and membership in

socialist camp had a great influence on almost all aspects of the new country's development. Due to the 'imperialist' background of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra it was very lucky to survive in that newly established socialist country. Nonetheless, huge transformations followed up both in administrative terms and in repertoire so as to implement the CCP's ideology. **Chapter 6** 'The Cultural Revolution and the "Hybrid" SSO (1966 to 1976)' raised the curtain of the notorious ten-year Cultural Revolution. Shanghai Symphony Orchestra was amazingly not wiped out like other Western things; on the contrary it was appropriated to work with traditional Peking Opera to create a hybrid revolutionary opera since the initial intention of Cultural Revolution was to make modern culture in China. This hybrid music mingled elements from 'feudalist' Chinese culture and 'decadent' bourgeois culture which were both severely criticized in their original forms respectively. **Chapter 7** 'Cosmopolitan Shanghai and the Modern SSO (1976 to 2010)' is the last historical period of this thesis. After the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, China opened its door to the West again. This time, it was not made to do so by military force. As a result, under the context of 'Chinese-style' socialism Shanghai rapidly developed due to its advantageous geographical location and strong economic background giving birth to millions of nouveau riches almost overnight. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra is favoured once again by performing classic Western classical music such as Beethoven and Mahler. It is interesting to note the emotions local Shanghai people latched onto Beethoven's music and how these differ from those of previous historical stages. The thesis followed a structure from **Chapter 3** to **Chapter 7** where historical backgrounds are briefly introduced in the first part of each chapter. Attention is later shifted to dominant ideologies and social events of that particular period together with the ideological transformation of local Chinese people which are all related to the following part. The third part of each chapter draws on materials collected from the author's fieldwork at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive. **Chapter 2** is the theory chapter where relevant ideas and concepts are introduced, compared and argued. Theories argued in **Chapter 2** are also combined to analyse those data gathered within a broader cultural and social environment

introduced in the first two parts. **Chapter 8** is the concluding chapter where a general summary of this thesis is presented. Different understandings of the word ‘modern’ through each historical phase are also argued by examining the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as cultural capital and the affordance of music it had performed. Responses of Chinese people from those five historical stages are also summarized.

## **1.2 Previous Studies on the SSO**

The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra is not an entirely new research area. Notwithstanding the majority of existing works are concerned with the predecessors of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra: the Shanghai Public Band (1879 to 1922), the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (1922 to 1942), the Shanghai Philharmonic Orchestra (1942 to 1945) and the Shanghai Municipal Symphony Orchestra (1945 to 1949). And moreover, none of them looked at this unique institution from a sociological perspective. Besides, there is only one non-academic book (Melvin and Cai, 2004) that has mentioned the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra after 1949 (the founding of PRC). A large vacuum was thus created in need for study after 1949 which is a very interesting and valuable historical period of time. I would like to take leave and assume some reasons for that vacuum. Most of the materials on the SSO before 1949 are written in English making the Western scholars’ work feasible. And as will be listed below, all but one work were published outside mainland China and only two are in Chinese. Documents kept from 1949 to 1978 were mostly written in Chinese. The censorship of publications in China has always been strict, especially for art and the Communist Party related issues. The Cultural Revolution in particular is a very sensitive area of research making it very difficult for both Chinese and Western scholars to carry out their studies. As a result, due to my bi-lingual advantage and focus on the SSO Archive, I believe my thesis is unique and novel in several aspects which will be pointed out later in 1.5 part of this chapter. Based on information from Professor Tang Yating’s 汤亚汀 lecture (2012b), I am going to list all the relevant studies below:

The first research on the SSO is an essay written in Chinese by Han Kuo-Huang 韩国璜 in 1999, now Emeritus Professor at School of Music, Northern Illinois University. It is called 'Shanghai gongbuju yuedui yanjiu' 上海工部局乐队研究 [A Study on the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra] and was included in his works on music published in Taiwan. This essay provides basic historic information (institutional issues, players, money problems and so on) of Shanghai Municipal Band from 1879 to 1942, especially from 1919 onwards when Paci became the conductor and the whole research can be categorized into music history discipline.

The next work is also an essay: 'The Greatest Cultural Asset East of Suez: the History and Politics of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Public Band, 1881-1946' written by Robert Bickers in 2001. He is Professor of History at University of Bristol and the work was published as a chapter in the book *Ershiyi shiji de Zhongguo yu shijie: lunwen xuanji* 《二十一世纪的中国与世界：论文选集》 [China and the World in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Selected Essays]. It focuses on historical and political aspects of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and the identity of Shanghai, as a semi-colony ruled by three and later four (including Japan) powers in China.

The third one is a non-academic book in English published in 2004, *Rhapsody in Red: How Western Classical Music Became Chinese*. It introduces how classical music is developed in China from the 1910s to around the year 2000. Its authors are Sheila Melvin, a writer and journalist in the U.S. and her husband Cai Jindong 蔡金东, a music director and conductor. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra (or the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra) is mentioned in this book several times. A vivid story is presented concerning how Western classical music became Chinese through all these years, as the title indicates.

The fourth work is a book, *Xifang yinyuejia de Shanghai meng: Gongbuju yuedui chuanqi* 《西方音乐家的上海梦：工部局乐队传奇》 [Western musicians' Shanghai Dream: Legend of Shanghai Municipal Orchestra], written by Yasuko Enomoto 榎本泰子, a Japanese Professor at Faculty of Literature, Chuo University, Japan. It was

translated to Chinese by Peng Jin in 2009. The book considers the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra as a form of public service to its citizens from 1879 to 1945 and Japanese participation during the process. Professor Tang (2012b) informed me that the author collected all the materials to complete her book in Japan.

Last but not least, is a Chinese book *Diguo feisan bianzouqu: Shanghai gongbuju yuedui shi* 《帝国飞散变奏曲：上海工部局乐队史》 [Variations on Imperial Diaspora: the History of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra] written by Tang Yating who is a professor based at the Shanghai Music Conservatory and this book is in Chinese. Professor Tang offered me much help during my fieldwork in Shanghai. The whole book is yet to be published. Part of it—‘Japanese Musicians in the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (1942-1945)’ was published in special issue of *The World of Music* journal in 2012 (Tang, 2012a). Professor Tang is also kind enough to tell me a lot about the focus of his research. He applies the idea of cultural diaspora in terms of the development of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra from the 1860s to 1949. The role of Shanghai in the post-colonial period is also examined. The theory of public sphere is applied to regard both Shanghai and the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra as public sphere where interactions between foreign musicians and local Chinese context were realized.

Besides research on the SSO, other works relating to music studies in China also inspired me to a large extent. Richard Curt Kraus’s book *Pianos and Politics in China* (1989) applies Max Weber’s (1958: 124) thoughts on the sociology of music to see the piano as ‘a significant piece of middle-class furniture’. He (1989: 30-31) also mentions Adorno’s and Bourdieu’s ideas when pointing out music’s role as metaphor and commodity. He points out the existence cultural imperialism in China when he (1989: 35) said that ‘the inability of Westerners even to begin to understand Chinese music underscores the act that the allegedly international language of music speaks only with European accent’. In later chapters he focuses on the lives of four important Chinese musicians trying to find out how they carried in themselves the contradictions of Western culture and Chinese politics through their musical careers.

These four musicians are Xian Xinghai 冼星海, Fou Ts'ong 傅聪, Yin Chengzhong 殷承宗 and Liu Shikun 刘诗昆. However, there are several inaccuracies in his work as he himself (1989: xiii) admits: 'I have done the best I can, but the Chinese government often treats its policies on the arts as if they are military secrets; this has forced me to rely more than I would have wished on gossip and sometimes-speculative Hongkong sources.' The situation is much better now though restrictions for publication are still tight; academic research has gained much freedom.

Another book is *Yinyue de wenhua zhengzhi yu biao'yan* 《音乐的文化政治与表演》 [Music: Culture, Politics and Performance] published in 2010 in Taiwan and is written in traditional Chinese (in contrast to simplified Chinese used in mainland China). The author is Huang Junming 黄俊铭 from the Applied Music Department at Tainan National University of the Arts in Taiwan. There are two distinct parts of his book. The first one is named 'cultural practice and the emergence of its publicness' and it focused on National Symphony Orchestra (NSO) in Taiwan to see how it relates to the whole society of Taiwan. The other is called 'democratising the classical music?' and it focused on public participation on the internet by emphasizing on YouTube Symphony Orchestra. His major theoretical framework for the first part of his book is 'habitus' and 'field' provided by Bourdieu (1984); structure, action and reflexivity argued by Giddens (1987); and the idea of putting policy into cultural studies by Bennett (1992). He uses discourse analysis method to analyse data he collected. For the second part, the author focuses on Pateman's (1972) Participation and Democratic Theory and argues the access, participation and interactivity during the online activities and performances of the YouTube Symphony Orchestra. Interesting as the two parts are, however, I do wish the author could concentrate on one of them in order to make a more in-depth research.

Other books also shed some light on the situation of Western or Chinese music in Shanghai or in China as a whole. To name but a few: *The Party and the Arty in China: the new politics of culture* (Kraus, 2004); *Yellow Music: Media Culture and*

*Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Jones, 2001) and *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai* (Stock, 2003).

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This thesis sets out to understand how Western classical music, this bourgeois high art, got developed and earned popularity in China where the native traditional music differs greatly. To apply the idea of cultural capital, scope was later narrowed down to focus on the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and the city of Shanghai as a social context. An attempt is made to reveal the picture of how symphonic music has been produced, represented and received by examining the SSO in distinct historical stages. In order to go beyond Bourdieu's theory and make sure that the inner value of music itself is not reduced, the concept of affordance is combined to explain the emotional and aesthetic elements latched on to music the SSO performed in different historical phases as DeNora applies in her research. Moreover, musical analysis is also made in due course. To be specific, here are some major research questions requiring to be answered in this thesis:

1. How is Western symphonic music created, represented, appropriated and received via the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra by different groups of people through different periods of historical times from 1879 to 2010 in Shanghai?
2. What are the roles or functions of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as institutional cultural capital in different historical stages in Shanghai and how are they different from each other?
3. How are those wider pictures such as political, economic and cultural issues during different historical phases in Shanghai relating to and affecting the development of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra?
4. How is the concept of affordance, beyond the idea of cultural capital, realized along the process?

5. How is traditional Chinese music or Chinese folk songs regarded, reformed and incorporated in regard to Western symphonic music in each historical phase of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra?
6. What does the high-frequency word 'modern' indicate in different historical periods of the SSO's development as it is always the initial goal of each period?
7. What are the different responses of Chinese people to Western symphonic music and the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in each historical stage?

#### **1.4 Methodology and Fieldwork**

The methodology of this research is basically archival research focusing on materials at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive from 1879 to 2010. This method is applied primarily due to the initial purpose of my research as discussed earlier: to understand how Western classical or symphonic music has been appropriated and received by different groups of people in each historical period of time in Shanghai by focusing on the SSO. It also tries to fill the vacuum of the SSO's development from 1949 to 2010 as much as possible, which requires a large amount of historical materials from the archive.

As mentioned above, this thesis can be regarded as a further development of my master's dissertation (2010). Based on my previous study and a brief research on history of Western classical music in China, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra gradually became the research focus. I contacted the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra using the telephone number shown on their official website around November, 2010. I was then given the e-mail address of archivist Mr Yang Ning 杨宁 after I explained who I am and the research project. Mr Yang gave a general introduction to materials they keep at the SSO Archive after I sent him an e-mail introducing myself and my research. He also welcomed me to conduct my fieldwork there. After a whole year's literature study and success of the first year panel, I went back home to celebrate

Chinese New Year. As soon as the New Year holiday was over, I went to Shanghai and arranged a meeting with Mr Yang to start my fieldwork. It lasted for five months from February, 1<sup>st</sup> to the end of June, 2012. Shanghai is not my hometown but as a Mandarin-speaking Chinese, I was quick to settle down and started working efficiently. I have found most of the important materials I need at the archive of the SSO and Mr Yang was kind enough to offer me a desk space in his office where I could read and take notes. His colleagues Miss Hu Minda 胡敏达 and Miss Hu Yanqiong 胡燕琼 also helped and supported my research in various ways. They took me to the SSO's dining hall where I had lunch with them during my fieldwork there. Thanks to them, I almost waste no time during my stay in Shanghai. Mr Yang arranged a focus group for me on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2012, involving 9 retired players from the SSO. The focus group lasted for two hours and a half under Mr Yang's supervision and was recorded with their permission. Two weeks later on 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2012, I invited Mr Wen Tan 温潭, one of the 9 retired players who once worked at the SSO Archive as a translator, to the administrative building of the SSO and conducted an in-depth interview with him. The interview lasted for an hour and was recorded with his permission as well. Both the focus group and interview contributed to making information from 1949 onwards, vivid and complete especially during the Cultural Revolution. It is a catastrophic time in China's history and a great number of materials were destroyed in the SSO as well. Here is a list of the documents I gathered from the archive of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra: 1. 1879-1942, Conductor's Report of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Public Band from Annual Report of the Municipal Council; 2. 1946-2010, excerpts from newspapers; 3. 1923-2010, excerpts from magazines; 3. Articles on the history of the SSO; 4. Books on the SSO; 5. Materials provided by related persons; 6. 1949-2010, lists of annual big events (digitalized); 7. 1954-2010, lists of the SSO's cultural communications and welcoming performances; 8. 1911-2010, original music programmes (pictures of some programmes were taken by the author (2012c) with permission of archivists); 9. 1911-2010, lists of concerts and music performed (digitalized); 10. 1912-2010, names and photos of players at the SSO; 11. Other documents and reports; 12. Other

photographs (digitalized).



Figure 1 Desk space Mr Yang offered at their office in the SSO (Luo, 2012b)

Also, to supplement those materials listed above; I spent quite some time at Shanghai Library and Shanghai Municipal Archive gathering more information for my research. In Shanghai Library, they keep every issue of the photographed *Shen Bao* (also known as the *Shun Pao*) [Shanghai Newspaper] from April 1872 to May 1949 which was published by Shanghai Bookstore. There are altogether 400 large books each with about 700 pages and. *Shen Bao Index (1919-1949)* was published by Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House in 2008 making detailed lists of every subject, article titles and pages of them. They contribute to understanding how the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Western classical music were represented in China and the general social context of Shanghai during that period of time as well. Each of the Shanghai Statistical Year Book from 1984 to 2011 can be found at Shanghai Library too showing how social changes took place over time. I have also read a considerable number of Chinese books on the history of Shanghai. In Shanghai Municipal Archive, they keep relevant materials which are lacking at the SSO Archive like some of the official documents from 1938 to 1974 and Minutes of Town Hall Committee from

1881 to 1941. They also keep the full volume of *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council* (1878 to 1943) which are published by the Shanghai Municipal Archive.

With the help of Professor Tang Yating at Shanghai Music Conservatory, I applied and became a visiting scholar there for a term from February to June. It happened to be the length of my fieldwork. I attended Professor Tang's lecture with his pupils once a week on ethnomusicology and his own research areas as well. Also, I had three other lectures a week at Shanghai Music Conservatory on ideologies of music in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe, modern history of Chinese music and music creativity. Fortunately, these lectures were held in the evenings so that I was able to continue my fieldwork at the SSO Archive and other places during daytime. They broadened my horizon and furthered my understanding of the 'affordance' theory to a great extent since I was never exposed to musicology or ethnomusicology before.

To analyse data I collected from my fieldwork in Shanghai, several basic analysing methods are used, for example, content analysis (making sense of the excerpts from newspapers and magazines); semiotic analysis (understanding the design and usage of certain images from programmes) and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences – SPSS (creating charts to illustrate the frequency of some music or composers in each historical time). Since the major contribution of my research is not confined by methods applied and reasons that I went for them are quite explicit, I shall not spend too much time introducing and arguing them.

Content analysis is a method that makes replicable relation to data gathered from text or images (Riffe et al. 1998). As a result, to analyse excerpts from newspapers and magazines collected by archivists at the SSO and words from programmes, content analysis is an ideal research method. The newspapers and magazines from which articles are collected are all mainstream ones in Shanghai. As a result, they contained lots of bureaucratic tones and official jargons which put much emphasis on the CCP when talking about certain musical event especially after 1949. It will be discussed in later chapters with greater details. Semiotics has its roots

in the structural linguistic principles of Saussure (1916) and developed into a formal mode of analysis to identify how signs convey meanings in a particular social system (Eco, 1979). Semiotic analysis is carried out in due stage, since there are a large number of pictures and photos gathered from the archive of the SSO. However, in order not to reduce the role of Western classical music into simple semiotic analysis, the music they played during each historical period will also be highlighted using the idea of affordance and musicological analysis. SPSS is applied to better understand relation of certain pieces of music and composers within certain social context. SPSS is a computer-based analysing method. Modern technology helps us access more methodological options as well as broaden our academic horizons (Deacon et al, 2007). SPSS analysis is an innovative method in this respect. It is computer based software that helps people carry out social research more efficiently and productively. It also allows different angles of researching an issue. Nonetheless, the choice of variables is quite subjective and numbers we count also have a chance of being mistaken. In the case with the SSO, however, repertoire has already been digitalized into Microsoft excels by archivists there making SPSS analysis easier and more accurate.

Also, it would be appropriate to talk a bit about the ethnographic ideologies involved in that I have conducted a focus group with nine retired players at the SSO and a one-to-one interview during my fieldwork. These two interviews contribute to the archival materials and make historical events more vivid. Moreover, the personal experience and emotions towards the Cultural Revolution and more recent musical development are thus realized. The 'richness and vividness of the material' in the interview is 'the overpoweringly positive feature' of it for it 'enables you to see and to understand what is reflected rather more abstractly in other kinds of data (statistical summaries, for example)' (Gillham, 2000: 10). However, doing interview is time consuming. The major methodology applied in this thesis is archival research so I only did two interviews. And thanks to Mr Yang, they did not cost me much time to arrange, especially the first one with nine retired players. Although I only did two

interviews, they contributed a lot to complementing the archival documents found at the SSO Archive, Shanghai Library and Shanghai Municipal Archive especially in the historical stage of Cultural Revolution. The nine retired players involved are quite frank and straight-forward in describing their experiences and thoughts towards the Cultural Revolution and commenting on more recent transformations of music in China. Several questions were designed beforehand for the focus group and interview but they are more like informal chats with friends allowing for spontaneous discussions. Although the choice of question is more or less subjective, the content of their expressions are relatively objective (Gillham, 2000: 68). Bourdieu (1996: 18) advocates a 'reflex reflexivity', which is 'based on a sociological 'feel' or 'eye', [that] enables one to perceive and monitor on the spot, as the interview is actually being carried out, the effects of the social structure within which it is taking place'. In doing so, we could better understand the role of Western classical music along the each player's career and how people's tastes in Western classical music relate to broader economic, political and social issues. Materials collected from the focus group and the interview are analysed with regard to different historical contexts. And moreover, data gathered from the focus group and interview is examined aiming to solve research questions listed above. Archival research is limited in that the data collected is restricted to documents. For example, the archival material of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, repertoire and reports, during the Cultural Revolution is not able to provide the how whole picture. Due to political pressure and ideology, there were only official representations of the SSO in Chinese society. By doing interviews, it is found out that the official representations of the SSO were one side of the story.

## **1.5 Original Contribution**

As introduced above, there is several existing research on Shanghai Symphony Orchestra before 1949. Moreover they are mainly historical ones. Nevertheless, my thesis is the only one filling the vacuum of the SSO's development after 1949. My thesis is also the first one so far to look at this subject in sociological perspective; the

first one to focus on Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and its archive in great depth making connection with social context in Shanghai from 1879 to 2010; and last but not least, the first one to combine Bourdieu's theory, the concept of 'affordance' and musicological analysis together to make sense of this amazing musical organization in different historical stages. In a word, my thesis is the first and only one so far to put Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in 'C' major but also bearing variations beyond this major 'C' to highlight the inner values of both the Orchestra and music it performed. The theoretical originality will be further discussed in theory chapter.

Music does not exist in vacuum; influenced by a great number of issues in society, it is never as pure as it seems. This thesis looks at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and Western symphonic music socially within the context of Shanghai and combines the long history of Western influence and complicated political issues as well. A chance is thus given to explore and understand this form of Western cultural practice in Chinese society, especially in communist China. The role of Western symphonic music in Shanghai and in China as a whole is beyond its aesthetic value to a great extent. I would presumably argue that it embodies political approaches and symbolic meanings such as modernization. I have pointed out in my master's dissertation (2010) that China is developing fast in its process of becoming modern and westernized while the UK, after a long period of industrialization, has moved towards postmodern society if not already entered. It is understandable that in terms of Western classical music and its relation to society, China, especially Shanghai, is a place worthy of studying. And, moreover, by looking at the SSO's historical process, a clear picture is presented as how these changes took place and what contributed to make Western symphonic music as it is in today's Shanghai.

## Chapter 2: Theory

In this chapter, I am going to introduce the theoretical framework applied in this research. The key theory is cultural capital developed by Pierre Bourdieu. The idea of cultural capital first came from the study of inequality in education resources and has been widely applied in different fields including education and culture in general. This is a concept generated in French society and may not fit perfectly even in Western world (Ostrower, 1998). Nonetheless, the key point of 'cultural capital' is to provide a macro scope when examining social stratification and its relation to cultural assets. In recent years, the theory of cultural capital is still widely applied in other parts of the world including East Asia (Yamamoto and Brinton, 2010; Byun et al., 2012). Although China is a socialist country far away from France, the concept is applicable especially in the case of Shanghai. Shanghai is a Chinese city whose Western influence is profound. As a result, the understanding of Western classical music or Western culture in general resembles the one in Western society. However, the cultural heritage and social tradition in China are vastly different. For example, one of the sources of cultural capital—family may not be analysed the same way as Bourdieu did in French society. Moreover, the degree of artistic knowledge among Chinese middle and upper class may not be as high as that in French context. And the emphasis on political resources and economic power in terms of social stratification is a different story in socialist China especially in contemporary times. These arguments will continue in the following part and recapitulate in the conclusion part as well. The development of this idea—cultural capital and reason for applying it in this research are provided. The weakness of the cultural capital theory is also argued to some extent. Theories of cultural appropriation are then introduced to see how the SSO or Western classical music, this cultural capital, is appropriated by different authorities in each historical stage. Cultural imperialism and globalization as theories to outline social and cultural background in Shanghai are also brought along in due course. Similar concepts such as cultural dominance and cultural imperialism are also compared and argued when appropriate.

Bourdieu's argument between taste and social class is later pointed out to make sense of how cultural capital in Chinese society contributes to social stratification. The inclusion and exclusion process are made possible by appreciation and possession of cultural capital. Last but not least, to compensate Bourdieu's simplification of 'cultural capital' per se, the idea of affordance is combined. It seeks to attach more emphasis to the inside of music as the aesthetic and emotional preparation is highlighted when it comes to 'what music caused'. The acceptance of the SSO by local Chinese people is also better realized using the concept of affordance. The concept of affordance is only an aspirin to the aesthetic loss of cultural capital, yet there does not seem to have a perfect framework enabling sociological analysis while realising artistic value of music at the same time. The major contribution of 'affordance' is, however, the ideological shift in music sociology as pointed out above. In the following part of this chapter, how and the extent to which 'affordance' compensates 'cultural capital' will be argued.

Other theoretical approaches to music related studies are briefly introduced as a broader background to understand the standpoint of the theoretical approach in this thesis. The last part of this chapter serves as a conclusion which also argues the general situation of musical analysis in sociology.

## **2.1 Cultural Capital**

The concept of cultural capital is relatively a new one, 'rather than a re-working of an inherited theoretical lexicon' (Bennett and Silva, 2011: 429) as compared to the concepts of 'field' and 'habitus'. It first emerged when Bourdieu adopted economic knowledge into cultural studies. Bourdieu is much influenced by Marx concerning theories of economic capital and he attached great emphasis on the exchange as well as circulating value within labour powers of broader capitalist markets. The conversion process between economic capital and labour powers is captured and thus Bourdieu comes up with the idea of cultural capital to comprehend the stratification of a hierarchical social market. This ideology was first witnessed in his

research on unequal distribution of education resources. Bourdieu later goes on to state that cultural capital not only provided exegesis to participation and perception of arts related activities, but also contributed to the formation of class reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984; Rössel and Beckert-Ziegelschmid, 2002; Wildhagen, 2009). He also contends that in modern societies, it is not only the economic capital that determines reproduction of a capitalist class but also, more importantly, the cultural capital. As a result, cultural capital contributes, to a great extent, to the unequal social structure within today's world. Bourdieu also 'argued that without the reproductive function of cultural capital, the formation of pure and completed bourgeois society is unthinkable' (Kim and Kim, 2009: 297).

The concept of 'cultural capital' was first introduced in the sociology of education. Research was conducted in the early 1960s and published by Bourdieu in collaboration with Jean-Claude Passeron in *Les étudiants et leurs études* (1964a) and *Les héritiers. Les étudiants et la culture* (1964b). The research involves surveys among students, mainly Sociology and Philosophy students at University of Lille from 1961-1963 and states that: 'The simple statistics of gaining entry to higher education in relation to categories of social origin shows clearly that the scholastic system continually eliminates a high proportion of children originating from the most disadvantaged classes' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1964a: 13). Cultural capital is thus introduced to explain social differences formed through the development of society and personal experiences as well. The latter is rather a continued process. This very concept coming from the study of education not only outlines the importance of cultivated disposition of individuals but also, as I have mentioned above, makes the unequal distribution of cultural capital obvious and the dominance of one power possible. Although Bourdieu focuses much on the division of society by cultural capital, 'he consistently and forcefully argued the need for education and cultural policies to work together so as to unclasp both the schooling system and cultural institutions from their current role in the selective production and transmission of cultural capital that binds both to the dynamics of class reproduction...[yet] he also

remained stoutly pessimistic regarding the extent to which such policies might seriously disturb the class dynamics of advanced capitalist societies given the subordination of the educational and cultural fields to the economic and political fields' (Bennett and Silva, 2011: 431-432).

Much as Bourdieu's cultural capital concept resembles the actual economic capital and its relation between labour powers, these two ideas are totally different. Economic capital is a relatively objective existence and can be 'easily accumulated and swiftly transferable' (Kim and Kim, 2009: 297) as 'the long-term cycles of capital accumulation that Marx had in mind' (Bennett and Silva, 2011: 429). However, cultural capital is more subjective and cannot be measured easily making the accumulation and transferring process subtle and obscure. Of course, culture cannot be equivalent to money capital and what Bourdieu highlighted here is the symbolic connotation that culture obtains. By viewing culture as a symbolic capital, the value or function of it is thus intensified for it helps to explain the interrelationship between economic, cultural as well as social capital and the consequent division of social classes. Bourdieu himself also identifies divergence between economic and cultural capital: 'Two individuals endowed with an equivalent overall capital, can differ in their position as well as in their stances ('position takings'), in that one holds much economic capital and little cultural capital while the other has little economic capital and large cultural assets' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 99). Moreover, what Bourdieu is really concerned with is the 'trans-generational mechanisms for the transmission of unequal inheritances whose source is not rooted exclusively in the capital/labour relation' (Bennett and Silva, 2011: 429). Economic capital works under a mechanism that capital is accumulated by expropriation of labour surplus. Cultural capital, on the other hand, is 'concerned with the convertibility of different capitals (economic, social, cultural) into one another as aspects of segmented, but interconnected, processes of stratification which operate across dispersed fields whose contours, [and it is] defined by relations of competitive striving' (ibid). Bourdieu thus, as Bennett and Silva (ibid) put it, is 'more Weberian than Marxist',

whereas I would like to argue that the idea of cultural capital goes 'beyond Marxist's idea and combines Weber's'. This will be further analysed in the following part with reference to the sociology of music.

Western classical music, in particular, is a form of cultural capital that implies much more symbolic meanings than the music per se. And it is a form of art defined as 'legitimate' by Bourdieu in that it cannot be decoded using ordinary understanding of cultural capital. Moreover its close relation with a certain social group, the distinguished one, is evident. It is also the consumption of those legitimate works of art that can best classify consumers' social status (Bourdieu, 1984: 16). Within different cultural backgrounds and distinct historical periods, issues relating to Western classical music give deep and sophisticated resonances, just like the early history of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra when Chinese people were forbidden to attend classical music concerts held by the Orchestra in the International Settlement. Later when there were more interactions between Western settlers and local Shanghai people, a few scholars who were familiar with Western culture and students from Shanghai Music Conservatory were allowed to attend the concerts. However, the involvement of Chinese audiences was never a nation-wide thing until 1949 when PRC was established. Applying theory of cultural capital, the unequal distribution of Western classical music in Shanghai society is thus obvious. The dominant position of those Shanghailanders is also clearly exposed. Bourdieu conceptualizes culture as a form of capital of accumulation, exchange and exercise which has to be acquired within society. It is like a currency as Betensky (2000: 208) contends: 'an important aspect of Bourdieu's symbolic capital is that it is by definition convertible into material, 'economic' (in the most common sense of the term) capital, and his symbolic capitalist necessarily makes good in some extrasymbolic way'. When we say cultural 'capital', the value of culture as in the value of commodity is identified. It is an accumulated power like other economic capital and can be invested according to individuals aiming to derive 'profits'. Bourdieu (1986:254, 1987:131), nonetheless, admits that cultural capital is not a stable or

universal currency as economic capital in that its accumulation can be undermined by criticism and suspicion. Throsby (1999) has made a detailed analysis indicating certain investment appraisal and sustainability in regard to comparison and connection between cultural capital with three other forms of capital in economic terms, i.e. physical capital, human capital and natural capital. What Bourdieu (1980: 209) tries to do is construct a 'science of practices' that will analyse 'all practices' as 'oriented towards the maximization of material or symbolic profit'.

Bourdieu (1968:603–607) notes three sources of cultural capital when talking about the aesthetic competence. The first is constant exposure to and contact with particular forms of art. This first source of cultural capital is relatively superficial but contains greater perceptive understanding of related forms of art. It can be found in several historical stages of the SSO's development, especially the first few when local Shanghai people lacking Western classical music background were exposed to the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra. The situation of those *nouveaux riches* in Shanghai in the present day is also a case in point. Unlike the first source, the second one, more of an aesthetic competence, is acquired through education. This source of cultural capital provides a more complete understanding and knowledge of relevant art forms. Moreover, cultural capital acquired through education could generate a perspective that serves as a base to all forms of art making cultural capital convertible through each category of art. However, as I have pointed out above, the unequal distribution of education resources contributes to the division of social classes by different amount of cultural capital acquired. The third source of cultural capital is from parents. Just like the second source, this source of cultural capital is also able to provide an aesthetic competence towards art or cultural forms. The difference lies in the cultural atmosphere from home which starts earlier and casts a stronger influence over offspring than that obtained through education. And it is witnessed in the last historical stage of this thesis for children from middle class families in Shanghai and China as a whole are made to learn Western musical instruments such as piano and violin.

Besides the above three sources of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) later contends three different states for cultural capital to exist. First, it is the ensemble of cultivated dispositions that are possessed by individual through socialization. This first state of cultural capital also constitutes schemes of appreciation and understanding for cultural goods as they have to be apprehended and understood in order to appreciate or consume them. Second, cultural capital can exist in objectified forms referring to objects, such as books, works of art, and scientific instruments, which demand specialized cultural abilities for their use. Third, cultural capital exists in an institutionalized form, like educational credential system. Take research of the SSO as an example; the first type of cultural capital as possessed by individuals existed among Western classical music lovers in Shanghai. Those that understand and appreciate Western classical music, as I have found out in my master's dissertation (2010) on audiences' comparison between Shanghai's and Birmingham's classical music concerts, belong to a relatively higher class in society with better education and stronger consuming powers. The relation between taste and social differences will be analysed in greater detail later in this chapter. The second and third forms of cultural capital can be found in objectified cultural goods and institutions. Again, they demand certain abilities of individual.

The concept of cultural capital is welcomed in cultural studies from almost all fields for its clear structure provided to analyse relation between different capitals in society. A large number of research have applied the concept of cultural capital especially those in sociology and cultural studies. They followed Bourdieu and identified individuals or social groups holding cultural capital and acquired competence in society's high-status culture (Mahar et al., 1990). Also, in the field of music studies the idea of cultural capital is applicable. Henk and Vander (2010) carry out surveys into public and private music consumption in Belgium and found that cultural capital has played a significant role in this process especially in public participation. Jorg Rössel (2011) studies cultural capital and different modes of cultural consumption in the opera audience which also combined other theories

from the sociology of music.

However applicable it may be, the concept of cultural capital does suffer from certain limitations. One is the accusation for its omnivore thesis in that Bourdieu attempted to provide an explanation to all practices relating to culture and society using the same structure of cultural capital and its conversion process that came along. Bennett and Silva (2011: 433) argues: '[t]he omnivore thesis weakens the connection between the social analysis of cultural dispositions and the processes through which cultural capital is formed and transmitted in the respect that it does not rest on a strongly demonstrated connection between omnivorous dispositions and the kinds of cultural aptitudes that are recognized and awarded by the education system.' Moreover, it is claimed that cultural capital is not that applicable when talking about forms of popular culture or folk culture (Schulze, 1992; Katz-Gerro and Shavit, 1998; Eijck, 2001). I do understand that each art and cultural form is distinct, yet what the concept of cultural capital provided is an overall structure to understand and perceive complicated and intangible relations between culture, economy as well as reproduction of class and the society as a whole. However, it is indeed of great importance to apply more relevant theories in specific study of certain art which comes to the second claim of limitation of Bourdieu's work. This flaw of reductionism is especially apparent in the idea of cultural capital: '[r]eductionism commits the sociological fallacy, arguing from the social sources of ideas to the absence in ideas of anything other than their social source' (Alexander, 1995: 3). Reductionism indicated that Bourdieu attached too many symbolic values and economic ideologies on to art and culture while their sophisticated inner values are thus reduced to decoding process. Moreover, it is argued that the intact art and cultural systems is therefore broken down into segmented parts to be transferred or converted like currencies in different economic markets. However, Rössel (2011: 87) has noted that Bourdieu partially restates the theory on arts appreciation later (Bourdieu and Delsaut 1981; Bourdieu, 1996b) where 'he continued to emphasize the importance of aesthetic competence for different forms of art perception; he rejected the notion that

applying art and art history categories and schemes had to be a conscious, intellectual process' (Bourdieu, 1996b: 314). The second accusation of Bourdieu's cultural capital is reasonable to certain extent. Yet as I have argued earlier and as Bourdieu had revised later himself, what Bourdieu outlined is a clear macro structure of understanding while specific micro theories require implementing at certain levels to compensate aesthetic loss of relevant forms of art. In my case it is the application of 'affordance' as will be illustrated in greater detail below.

The fact that cultural capital has to be cultivated and acquired made it open to all sorts of illustrations encompassing different classes of person and social groups. Like other currencies, the symbolic power within this cultural capital manifested itself through exchange and appropriation. By focusing on the archive of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, a picture is gradually revealed containing how this distinguished bourgeois art and this unique musical organization in China have been appropriated and exchanged by different groups of people for various purposes through each period of time from 1879 to 2010 in Shanghai. Now that we mentioned appropriation, I would like to extend the theory of cultural appropriation further to see how and why cultural capital, this symbolic currency can be appropriated and how the meaning and symbolic power are released through the process.

## **2.2 Cultural Appropriation**

There is no fixed definition of the term 'cultural appropriation'. Most communication scholars have relied instead on its 'common usage and the implications of affiliated theoretical frameworks' (Rogers, 2006: 475). Cultural appropriation is generally considered to be the use of particular elements from one culture by possessors from different cultural backgrounds. It is a rather complicated process involving interaction of the two or even more cultures together with other issues that would possibly be brought along. I am going to argue below the conditions, forms and consequences of cultural appropriation below and make reference to other related theories.

To begin with, how does cultural appropriation take place? It is an inevitable course when different cultures come into contact with each other as is more and more evident in today's world. The interactions of these cultures have shaped and are still shaping social exchange (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1962; Homans, 1974). What are the requisitions of cultural appropriation then? Büyükokutan (2011: 622) finds that 'appropriation takes place when appropriators and legitimate owners both stand to benefit, even if the benefits they derive are unequal'. It is true to some extent. However, I would argue here, although interestingly he mentioned the word 'unequal', cultural appropriation often takes place by force and under reluctance. It is especially true when non-western cultures are involved as is witnessed in many colonial cultural studies and in the first few decades of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as well. The colonized or semi-colonized cultures were left no choices. Moreover, I also wonder about the meaning of 'benefit' here. Is the appropriation of Western classical music in Shanghai beneficial to the music industry in China? It is a similar question as 'Is modernization equal to Westernization?' Debates among Chinese intellectuals were and still are fierce concerning whether Western classical music and Western musical system are more modern, scientific and accurate than Chinese own traditional music and musical system. Relevant social activities and historical movements (e.g. May Fourth Movement 五四运动) can be found without difficulty in Chinese history. In short, I would contend, the conditions for cultural appropriation are as follows: first, the encountering of different cultures often made possible by 'globalization'; second, the unequal stances of these cultures as catalyst for appropriation to take place and third, basic understanding of these two cultures by appropriators although misunderstandings would often take place along this process.

Now we move on to the forms of cultural appropriation. Rogers (2006) has identified four categories of cultural appropriation (adapted from Wallis & Malm, 1984; additional influences from Bakhtin, 1981; Clifford, 1988; Goodwin & Gore, 1990; Ziff & Rao, 1997): cultural exchange, cultural dominance, cultural exploitation and transculturation. Cultural exchange, a relatively simple and idealist one, indicates

that the exchange of symbols or elements between cultures is made with generally equal power, for example, 'the reciprocal borrowing of linguistic words and phrases, mutual influence on religious beliefs and practices, technological exchange, and two-way flows of music and visual arts' (Rogers, 2006: 478). This is a rather voluntary process and I would argue that it may exist under Western cultural backgrounds. However, as I have mentioned above, it would be too idealistic to admit the existence of equal powers especially between Western and non-western cultures. In regard to my research, many would say that the communication between Western classical music and traditional Chinese music is just a cultural exchange process in that there are so many Western classical music concerts in China and Chinese folk music orchestras are going abroad to perform for Westerners. I doubt that. The idea of folk music orchestra itself is worth a further thought for there was no such thing in China before the introduction to 'orchestra' from the West. Chinese music group used to be small ensembles of stringed and woodwind instruments with less sophisticated arrangement of different instruments. And the figure of conductor didn't really exist. Nonetheless, traditional Chinese music orchestras are seen everywhere now with *erhu* 二胡 resembling violins, *pipa* 琵琶 resembling cellos (cellos are also applied in traditional Chinese music orchestras to strengthen the bass part and compensate for the high pitch of Chinese instruments. The author herself was once a cello player at a traditional Chinese folk music orchestra at her previous university in China), *dizi* 笛子 resembling flutes and so on. Although some Western classical musical ensembles such as string quartet resemble the original form of Chinese music group, it was not learnt from China. How can this be cultural exchange with equal powers?

Cultural dominance is a more practical concept. It is defined by Rogers (2006: 477) as 'the use of elements of a dominant culture by members of a subordinated culture in a context in which the dominant culture has been imposed onto the subordinated culture, including appropriations that enact resistance'. It underscores the unequal status between two cultures involved. This form of cultural appropriation as I have argued implies reluctance and lack of choices of appropriators from subordinated

culture. To deal with tensions between the indigenous culture and the colonizing ones, individuals and/or collectives are sometimes forced to adopt one or more tactics for their use of the imposed cultural elements (Goffman, 1961). These tactics (Rogers, 2006; Goffman, 1961; Martin and Nakayama, 2000; Scott, 1990) range from assimilation (accepting and copying of the dominant culture while replacing the subordinated one), integration (internalization of imposed culture without displacing the native one), intransigence (overt resistance of the imposed culture during the appropriation procedure), mimicry (disguised internalization of the dominant culture while still holding onto the indigenous culture) to resistance (overt resistance in order to maintain native culture by appropriation). They are not separated tactics and can be integrated by different groups of people in the same historical period. Long before the importation of Western classical music, China established its own musical culture consisting of unique musical instruments, notation system and music scale (pentatonic scale in contrast to the twelve-tone system commonly accepted in the West) as well. As a result, it is not hard to imagine that various forms of cultural resistance were witnessed during the appropriating process. Reasons for that can be categorized as follows: survival (Clifford, 1988), psychological compensation (Radway, 1984), and/or opposition (Harold, 2004; Shugart, 1997).

Cultural exploitation is the reversed process of cultural dominance indicating that the appropriators are from the dominant culture. However, Rogers (2006: 486) also points out that this kind of cultural appropriation 'commonly involves the appropriation of elements of a subordinated culture by a dominant culture in which the subordinated culture is treated as a resource to be 'mined' and 'shipped home' for consumption'. During the early histories of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, music with Chinese elements written by Western composers was sometimes performed. The reasons behind these concerts are not clear but I would like to contribute two. The first is to attract more Chinese audiences due to their financial crisis. The next is to add some 'exotic' colour to their routine classic classical music. Whatever the reasons may be, Chinese elements were not even close to the position of Western

classical music in Shanghai which will be further discussed in following chapters. Because of the impartial positions of these two cultures, Ziff and Rao (1997) presents four concerns during this process: degradation, preservation, deprivation of material advantage, the failure to recognize sovereign claims. Much as I understand and agree with those concerns within cultural exploitation, it is not entirely a negative thing. The appropriation of Chinese elements by some Western composers during the 1920s and the 1930s increased the awareness of Chinese culture among those Shanghailanders, hence giving more opportunities to Chinese musicians to cooperate with the Orchestra and the employment of Chinese players in later years.

Transculturation, as Lull (2000: 242) illustrates, is 'a process whereby cultural forms literally move through time and space where they interact with other cultural forms and settings influence each other, produce new forms, and change the cultural settings'. This kind of new form is also known as cultural hybrids. In short, a key point of transculturation, different from the other three, is the combination of two different cultures encountered and the formation of a new one involving elements from both these cultures. The cooperation of Western and Chinese elements in music field may fit as an example of transculturation. This kind of cultural appropriation is more a modern phenomenon as it relates itself to globalization. The idea of globalization permeated into social sciences during the 1980s and defines 'a process through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe' (McGrew, 1992: 65-66). Globalization relates to transculturation in that both of them are concern with interaction with different cultures. However, the former is a concept much wider than the latter since it is not confined to cultural aspects. When it is regarding to cultural studies, interacted cultures are necessarily combined to create a hybrid culture. As a result, we can view transculturation as one of the consequences under globalization context.

Transculturation and cultural dominance are two forms of cultural appropriation. Nonetheless, I have to argue here that transculturation is just a milder, seemingly

wiser and more advanced paraphrase of cultural dominance whose essence is still the latter. The cooperation of Western and Chinese elements in music field, as I have mentioned earlier, is a seemingly transculturation process. It is, however, still the appropriation from dominant culture by subordinate culture in that the two cultures are drastically positioned. For example, some of the *erhu* concerto or *dizi* concerto made traditional Chinese instruments as a solo instrument to be accompanied by Western orchestras. Why should traditional Chinese instruments be adapted into concertos to make Western classical music lovers appreciate it more? Seldom do we see Western musical instrument as a solo one in Chinese folk music orchestra, let alone the idea of Chinese folk music orchestra is a Westernized object itself.

### **2.3 Cultural Dominance vs. Cultural Imperialism**

Like transculturation and globalization, the idea of cultural dominance resembles the concept of cultural imperialism to a great extent, although they are quite different in structural aspect. A major similarity between these two concepts lies in their prerequisite that they both understand and admit the extremely unequal status when different cultures encounter with each other. They both concern the imposing of a privileged culture on to the less advantaged one. However, cultural imperialism not only focuses on culture per se but also relates to much wider areas such as economy and ideology. We can see cultural imperialism as a broader context where cultural dominance is triggered as one of its many outcomes. Cultural imperialism is generally considered to be a global dominance of capitalist culture and there are two claims for it. The first one is that 'capitalism is an homogenising cultural force' (Tomlinson, 1991: 26) causing threat to others' national cultural identity by breaking down a sense of belonging to their native culture. The second approach indicates that 'the spread of capitalism is the spread of a culture of consumerism...which involves the commodification of all experience' (ibid). As for the first approach—the idea of cultural imperialism leading to the homogenization of cultures, Hamelink (1983) identifies this kind of cultural synchronisation as an unprecedented feature of

global modernity which will be discussed later. It is especially true when the second approach talks about culture of capitalism as the culture of consumerism. It is also what we are able to discover in several Third World countries nowadays. This consequently reveals the vulnerability of people in these countries. And the relative absence of constraints such as institutional-legal arrangements to consumer culture is argued to be a factor that puts consumers in the Third World at a disadvantage (Tomlinson, 1991: 116). Inevitably, cultural appropriation or in this case cultural domination arouses ideological issues as well which has been discussed above. The appropriation of Western (European) elements in non-Western contexts, as Schneider (2003: 225) notes, is often involved with 'the subversion of their 'original' meaning, a process which can be confusing to a western observer'. Notwithstanding, what cultural dominance fails to cover is the commodification process along with the spread of capitalist culture as a part of cultural imperialism. It also brought about discussion over the criticized 'by-product' of cultural imperialism such as ideologies of selfishness and profit-orientation. Moreover, the image of Western countries as privileged ones changed lifestyles in the Third World to a great extent. And the change of lifestyle involves the application of cultural dominance. For example, Malcolm Muggeridge, an English journalist, once joked that 'Indians were the last living Englishmen'. England itself gradually lost its Empire while its heritage and cultural traditions were still rooted deeply in its previous colonies. Also, in the old days when the Third World was colonized, people from the Third World are further away from the direct experience of cosmopolitan life; they are more likely to construct an imagined world filled with reinforced perspectives, values, and lifestyles from the Western countries (Appadurai, 1996). This passed on in the present day and is also the case with modern Shanghai.

## **2.4 Cultural Imperialism vs. Globalization**

As have argued above, I have put the concepts of 'cultural imperialism' and 'globalization' at the level of broader social context when comparing them with ideas

of cultural dominance and transculturation. How are they different from each other? Cultural imperialism has 'emerged along with many other terms of radical criticism, in the 1960s and has endured to become part of the general intellectual currency of the second half of the twentieth century' (Tomlinson, 1991: 2-3). Moreover, it can be viewed as the 'exalting and spreading of values and habits' (ibid). It stresses the social and economic predominance of one nation over another. Two cultures are thus comprised with one of them 'conceived as "how we live" threatened by the imposition of "how they live"' (Tomlinson, 1991: 90). The idea of globalization originated from the work of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century intellectuals: from Karl Marx and Saint-Simon to students of geopolitics such as MacKinder. It acquired academic importance until the 1960s and the early 1970s and was significantly intensified in the 1990s (Held and McGrew, 2002: 1-2). The tension between homogenization and heterogenization is the focal issue of today's global accounts. Homogenization is often argued to be Americanization or commoditization, however, it could also be 'exploited by nation-states in relation to their own minorities, by posing global commoditization (or capitalism, or some other such external enemy) as more real than the threat of its own hegemonic strategies' (Appadurai, 1996: 32). This perspective helps us to find out more on the micro globalization from the state-nation within. This is rather a complicated issue which will be discussed in great detail in following chapters. What homogenization fails to see is the indigenization process as various metropolises are brought into new societies. This phenomenon has begun to be studied systemically (Barber, 1987; Feld 1988; Hannerz, 1987, 1989; Ivy, 1988; Nicoll, 1989; Yoshimoto, 1989). The combination of Chinese traditional music and Western classical music is such a process. Also, Fabian (1991, Ch. 10) points out an idea of 'liquid culture' as a more open and fluid process to explain cultural globalization. Logical as it may sound, globalization, nevertheless, is more than simple cultural flows but also 'entails constant efforts towards closure and fixing at all levels' (Meyer and Geschiere, 1999). The cultural globalization process can be regarded as flows which is constantly blocked and mixed at various stages.

Two general attitudes are visible towards the conception of globalization. For those globalists who strongly support the idea of globalization, they focus on its capability to shake off restrictions geographically, politically and financially to reach an optimum result in the end. McLuhan (2001) has positively put forward the notion of 'global village'. It might make some sense if we look at this issue in pure economic terms. The flow of capital, resources, material, etc. does contribute to fiscal success to a great extent. Nevertheless, globalization is a much more sophisticated concept and above all, the word 'globalization' is somewhat too general and vague in itself. What on earth is 'global' about globalization (Hirst, 1997)? I would argue here that behind globalization it is more cultural imperialism to be exact. Globalization is merely a moderate and seemingly naive disguise for cultural imperialism. It is especially true in cultural fields.

As far as I am concerned, globalization is only a concept a little more than the notion of Americanization or Westernization. To be more precise, it is a new mode of Western imperialism which is 'not a particularly useful term...it can be counterposed with a term that has considerably greater descriptive value and explanatory power: imperialism' (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001: 12). As mentioned above, it is quite true in economic terms. The absolute financial advantages of the Western countries are obtained at the expense of Third World countries being assigned with tasks to provide raw materials in this global market. Consequently, the gap between rich and poor states keeps accelerating (Burbach et al. 1997). Those globalists themselves have not denied the fact that globalization serves the interests of powerful economic and social forces but they tend to emphasize the deeper structural changes that are brought about. Nonetheless I fail to see how this change actually takes place. Global capitalism is misleading since it 'ignores the diversity of existing capitalist forms and the rootedness of all capital in discrete national formations' (Held and McGrew, 2002: 41). They also argue that globalization is able to act independently in the circulation and pursuit of domestic and international objectives. This is a naive argument. It 'exaggerate[s] the autonomous power and efficacy of global institutions and civil

society; that US hegemony, not international governance, is the principal source of the maintenance and management of the liberal world order; and, finally, that in failing to penetrate beyond the appearances of global governance to the underlying structures of power' (Held and McGrew, 2002: 74). The central feature of global culture in the present day as argued by Appadurai (1996: 43) is 'the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thereby proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular'. The idea that globalization could help ease global inequality is also flawed. In this world where power politics are the dominant reality for states, inequalities would never fade away. Moreover, as argued earlier, the ineffective power of global institutions is also an important account for global inequality (Held and McGrew, 2002). It is also argued that globalization brought about the idea of denationalization which means 'erosion of the national state, but also its possible transformation into a transnational state' (Beck, 2000: 14). The concept of boundaries is getting blurred day by day. Nonetheless, I have to contend here that the denationalization is actually brought about by cultural imperialism. It is true that cultural transaction is no longer restricted by geographical and ecological conditions; however, active resistance and complicated nationalism are constantly visible in the Third World as mentioned above. It is the extremely unequal status between cultures within the context of cultural imperialism that makes subordinated nations re-evaluate about their own cultural status. Denationalization thus takes place. It creates communities with 'no sense of place' (Meyrowitz, 1985). The tendency brought forward complex emotions of nationalism and patriotism as some intellectuals have worried. Feelings of nationalism and patriotism drive them to stand firmly by their own traditional culture in the midst of cultural imperialism cast upon them for quite a long time. However, some of these emotions lost their legitimacy as they sometimes go to extremes to criticize notions of Westernization. The Cultural Revolution in China is thus a perfect example. This unprecedented political, social and cultural event presents a historical stage when nationalism and patriotism went to extremes and turned into twisted

self-esteem and extreme patriotism in front of the powerful cultural imperialism from the West. It can be regarded as an unusual and exaggerated response to cultural imperialism. Less extreme forms are still witnessed up till the present day especially when we look at the situation of Western classical music in China.

Although I have argued that cultural imperialism is more of the situation in today's world, it is not the antidote for all issues triggered by cultural communications. Cultural imperialism possesses the image of privileged cultural forms and lifestyles, mostly Western ones. And according to Bourdieu, people obtaining those privileged forms belong to a privileged class in society. His research was mostly based within France and made reference to the French intelligentsia while the situation in the Third World requires further thought. What cultural imperialism brought to the Third World is not the deeply rooted tradition of the Third World; as a result, Bourdieu's idea of heritages might not be appropriate here. It is also interesting to notice how the Third World reacted to this cultural imperialism. As a matter of fact, they were homogenized at various levels. For example, the situation in ancient China was that people who passed the imperial examinations and became a politician to serve the Emperor were those belonging to the upper class in society. Musicians were generally looked down upon. However, in today's China it is a different story. Bourdieu's (1984) theory is still applicable to this situation. Together with cultural imperialism, this situation is but a more complicated one. And moreover, what is it exactly that attracted Chinese nowadays? Is it the cultural forms brought by cultural imperialism or is it simply the Western culture per se? This is also a question worth consideration but lacking in Bourdieu's theory.

## **2.5 Taste and Social Class**

There are generally two aspects concerning cultural issues: production and reception. In the case with the SSO, the production part is mainly concerned with cultural capital and cultural appropriation as illustrated and argued above. Other related concepts are also generally considered based on the first perspective. Now

we have to shift our attention more to the idea of reception in that these two parts are interrelated and interacted elements. To see how Western classical music is received in Shanghai and how people in Shanghai think about the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra help better understand the policy of cultural capital in this case. Western classical music as a high culture requires certain knowledge to be appreciated which relates much to its lovers' social class. Cultural capital can also contribute to this issue in that investment in Western classical music brings about Bourdieu's well-known arguments of 'habitus' and 'field'. To invest on Western classical music in Shanghai, a certain habitus is formed. Symbolic power is also acquired under certain social context, i.e. field. Liu (1997: 6) has argued that 'individuals do not act freely to achieve their goals, unconstrained by particular regimens' and the 'imagining of goals and the creation of dispositions must be understood within historically specific formations of fields'.

In terms of the relation between taste and social class, Bourdieu's argument can be found in great detail from his work *Distinction*. This contributes a lot to making sense of how Western classical music is received by different groups of people under distinct cultural backgrounds in Shanghai. The classification of people is not forced in society but developed and came into being naturally through people's daily behavior. People in certain class would conduct cultural activities that make them identify the class they belong to and consume certain cultural products to distinguish themselves from people in other classes, thus leading to the differences in social structure. Bourdieu (1984: 167) has contended that 'social identity is defined and asserted through difference'. As shown in *Distinction* (1984: 485): 'A class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being, by its consumption—which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic—as much as by its position in the relations of production'. It means that certain class of people will confirm their status of being in that particular class through consuming particular cultural products, which also leads to the inclusion and exclusion of other people in society in that 'aesthetic disposition is one dimension of a distant, self-assured relation to the world and to others which

presupposes objective assurance and distance' (1984: 49). He also points out the concepts of cultural production and consumption. The former is 'associated with the dominated fraction of the dominant class' and the latter infers that 'certain goods tend to be favoured by the dominant fraction of the dominant class, and others by the dominated fraction of this class' (Hesmondhalgh, 2006: 214). Also, 'choices always owe part of their value to the value of the chooser, and because, to a large extent, this value makes itself known and recognized through the manner of choosing' (1984: 84). Through consuming certain cultural products and performing specific cultural activities, people would have a stronger sense of belonging to their classes in society. Bourdieu combines social theory and data from surveys, interviews and photographs for the first time in sociological studies. His survey is to 'determine how the cultivated disposition and cultural competence that are revealed in the nature of the cultural goods consumed' (Bourdieu, 1984: 5) because people are 'only what they do, merely a by-product of their own cultural production' (1984: 15). Taste gives rise to 'practical affirmation of an inevitable difference' (Bourdieu, 1984: 49) and it is related to both external and internal factors. He (1984: 5) points out that 'on the one hand, the very close relationship linking cultural practices (or the corresponding opinions) to educational capital (measured by qualifications) and, secondarily, to social origin (measured by father's occupation); and, on the other hand, the fact that, at equivalent levels of educational capital, the weight of social origin in the practice and preference-explaining system increases as one moves away from the most legitimate areas of culture'. We can say that 'taste, then, is a visible 'style' people show by wearing, reading, using, owning or in other ways proclaiming their preference for specific things' (Kuipers, 2006: 360).

Bourdieu argued that the power of the habitus originates from the thoughtlessness of habit and habituation rather than consciously learned rules and principles. He also kept emphasizing the 'unconscious character of practical logic and the existence of dispositions as beyond consciousness' (Jenkins, 1992: 77). The issue of consciousness and unconsciousness is also a tricky one regarding to China's

situation. As we can easily find in China's early modern history that wealthy businessmen and politicians in Shanghai moved into the foreign settlements to seek protection and optimum use of foreign privileges. Also, they learnt from those foreigners in lifestyles to get more involved in their communities. Some even became ashamed of traditional Chinese cultures and lifestyles. There was an obvious tendency in this behaviour to become more and more Westernized. It passed on to the present day too but we may recognize some consciousness within. I have to admit that it is another kind of habitus to try all means to become westernized. However, Bourdieu's (1977a) idea of the habitus has to be retained to a certain extent in that Appadurai (1996: 56) argues 'habitus now has to be painstakingly reinforced in the face of life-worlds that are frequently in flux' instead of in the context of stable social situation. Habitus can no longer be simply regarded as a constant and steady behaviour in front of the various flows and mixture of different cultures.

## **2.6 Affordance**

Much as I have talked and argued about the idea of regarding Western classical music as cultural capital to see how this cultural capital is appropriated and received, the value of culture gradually tends to be reduced to economic ones. And also, how do production and reception relate to each other? Moreover, due to Bourdieu's functional and instrumental philosophy, Robbins (2005: 15) points out that he was 'interested in the encounters between the cultures of persons rather than in cultures for themselves'. The value of the culture itself is sometimes neglected. The concept of affordance will be discussed later to compensate for this accusation.

In music field, there is 'a growing awareness that we cannot speak simply of 'music' but must speak instead about various types of 'musics' and about differing historical structures of musical behaviour' (Blaukopf, 1992: 3). It is also the case in this thesis. In sociological studies, it is not novel to combine art with society either. The trend from the late 1970s onward is that sociologists of art became increasingly

concerned with the question of musical taste and its role as a medium for the construction of social differences. In other words, sociologists increasingly took up the topic of musical taste as a mechanism of social exclusion (DeNora, 2003a: 167). High culture, in particular, serves this trend. As for high culture, Gans (1985) outlines two elements of it. One is classical works created in previous centuries or at the beginning of this century and contemporary works of a highly esoteric nature, focused around the solution of technical and aesthetic problems. And the latter is concerned with the so-called avant-garde. By the early twentieth century, avant-garde is characterized by 'its alienation from the rest of society and particularly by its opposition to bourgeois culture' (Crane, 1987: 13). However, these artists do not see themselves as an alienated avant-garde. On the contrary, 'they seemed to perceive themselves as belonging to a middle-class intelligentsia, who were mildly critical of American society but definitely not in opposition to it' (Crane, 1987: 28). It is the edginess and alienation that stand out and became valuable. However, we should notice that value is attributed 'on the basis of evaluations of quality by experts, including critics, museum curators, and, to some extent, eminent collectors' (Crane, 1987:112). Western classical music, as a high art, also relates much to the evaluations of authorities concerned as can be found in the SSO's historical development in China.

I have to admit here that it is simplistic to view Western classical music in Shanghai as a kind of currency and see how it is used, represented, appropriated and received by different groups of people within each historical and social stage by focusing on the development of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra from 1879 to 2010. However, it is sometimes too simplistic to overlook the immanent value of Western classical music per se, transforming music's role 'from active ingredient or animating force to inanimate product' (DeNora, 2003b: 3). It also irritates musicologists to a great extent although nowadays they gradually began to turn to sociology and anthropology looking for explanations beyond the music itself (ethnomusicology is thus a subject). The 'new' musicologists in modern world (a term dating to at least to

the middle 1980s) now focused instead on music's social roles. Cultural capital differs from other economic capital mainly in its inner value. Obviously, it is much more than a piece of paper that notes were made of. When Bourdieu's ideas are applied to perceive a macro understanding of culture with economic values, we should not get too carried away indulging in the exchange and symbolic value this unique currency could possess. Thus, the concept of 'affordance' is combined to go beyond Bourdieu which tends to mix the two aspects of culture—production and reception—together for it examines the deep interacting process of these two elements.

The concept of 'affordance' is commonly seen in psychology to describe quality of an object that allows for action by an individual. It is also involved in human-machine interaction later. However, it is first applied to music sociology by Tia DeNora. In her book *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803* (1995), she explores the social situations of Beethoven's success by presenting an outline of the cultural, economic, and organizational contexts of music making in Vienna when Beethoven arrived in 1792 and onwards. The ideology that is revealed in this book relates to Bourdieu's theory shown in his work *Distinction* (1984) making reference of music to wider social and economic circumstances. She (2003a: 167) also points out later in an article that 'Bourdieu's great contribution was to show how musical values were not 'pure' but were rather linked to the maintenance of social distinctions'. Nevertheless, she goes beyond Bourdieu's idea on cultural capital by focusing on the 'inside' of action which is the 'emotional, aesthetic, and affective preparation for action' (Acord and DeNora, 2008: 228). She (2000, 2003b) also elucidates how objects and interactions with objects lend themselves to, or afford uses. Thus, the concept of 'affordance' is put forward, concerning 'how groups or individuals come to 'latch on' to particular aesthetic objects to connect their own situated action to wider cultural frameworks' (Acord and DeNora, 2008: 228). Culture, as she points out, operates from inside out. Different from Bourdieu's argument emphasizing on the external values of art and culture, DeNora, inspired by Swidler's (1986) model of culture in action and culture as a 'tool kit', tries to focus more on the

art and culture per se by starting from the very inside out. The concept of 'affordance', as mentioned above, is adapted from social psychology. It identifies music's role as, to use Antoine Hennion's (2001) term, a 'mediator' of the society. The role of different pieces of music is also highlighted as how they attribute to or curtail certain emotions of an individual in his/her everyday life or some commercial activity (North and Hargreaves, 1997; Sterne, 1997). In this thesis, Western classical music in Shanghai and the existence of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra had and are still arousing miscellaneous emotions among citizens in Shanghai and the whole Chinese nation. Some would say that Western classical music is a modern and fashionable thing for old China; some believe Western classical music helps with traditional Chinese music and should be adopted to make our own music more scientific and accurate (especially during the 1920s to the 1950s); while others hold strong negative opinions towards it feeling that national self-esteem and self-respect have been extremely harmed by this bourgeois art. Moreover, the frequency of certain piece of music or nationalities of composers during each historic period relate much to the social, cultural and political context in that particular time as will be discussed later. These are all understandable when we apply the concept of 'affordance' to compensate the loss of viewing Western classical music in Shanghai as cultural capital.

DeNora (2003b: 2-3) also points out from the very beginning of her book *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology*, that attention of socio-musical studies has shifted from 'what music 'caused' to what caused music' and following this trend and thus 'music sociology began to develop as the sociology of music, a linguistic nuance within which some of the most intriguing questions about music and society'. She (ibid) questions the role of music in society which 'was implicitly downgraded' within the sociology of music. To avoid the accusation of Bourdieu's theory for its simplicity, DeNora combines Adorno's thoughts on music sociology engendering a perspective from inside out. Due to Adorno's musical background, he never regards music as an object, yet he sees music's commodity value 'derived from its psychological function,

its ability to gratify, to offer (temporarily and for money) pleasure, sensation, and a (false) sense of security. In this sense, music is re-specified as that supreme function of capitalism—a good’ (DeNora, 2003b: 17). It is much more than a simple good; rather, it should be regarded as a dynamic medium in the society. It is not only a reflection of society but also an active participant in it. She also emphasizes the importance of empirical work in related research so as to avoid generality of the theory which is never an issue in this thesis. It contains a great number of original materials manifesting how music has been an active part of social and cultural issues in Shanghai.

## **2.7 Theoretical Approaches to Music Related Studies**

Now that Bourdieu’s and DeNora’s approaches to the study of culture and music have been discussed, I would also like to broaden the horizon so as to introduce more theoretical approaches to culture, especially music related studies. Inspired by Morawska and Spohn’s (1994: 47) chart to ‘identify and relate to one another major theoretical approaches to culture in historical sociology’, I have also constructed a chart trying to examine five major theoretical approaches to musical activities as well as their interrelations. Studies within these five approaches will be briefly argued; nonetheless it serves as a general introduction rather than critical analysis. Above all, I am going to introduce the framework of this chart I designed. Spaces within the big square represent all forms of musical activities or music related issues. There are, of course, a great number of ways to make sense or understand these music and relevant activities while I am going to focus on five disciplines that are most widely applied during this process using graphic illustration. Due to my academic background, an emphasis will be placed on the sociology of music. The oval centre indicates studies belonging to the discipline of musicology in that it is the study that goes into music itself; the left upper corner is psychological studies of music; the left lower corner refers to the sociology of music; the upper corner on the right is historical approaches to music while the lower corner on the right is philosophical

understanding of music. These five disciplines are divided by dotted lines indicating that they are not isolated segments of research areas; rather, they interacted with each other in an increasingly deeper level, especially in recent times. Names of representative and influential figures in these disciplines will be placed into those different zones while distances to each discipline can indicate priority and preference of their studies and degree they were influenced by other disciplines (Not applicable to the first four works in the area of history in that they were listed according to the year of publication). The oblique line in each zone refers to studies that stick to the basis of that original discipline. As I have stressed, works and figures introduced only serve as a brief introduction and the importance of the chart itself lies in structural saliency.

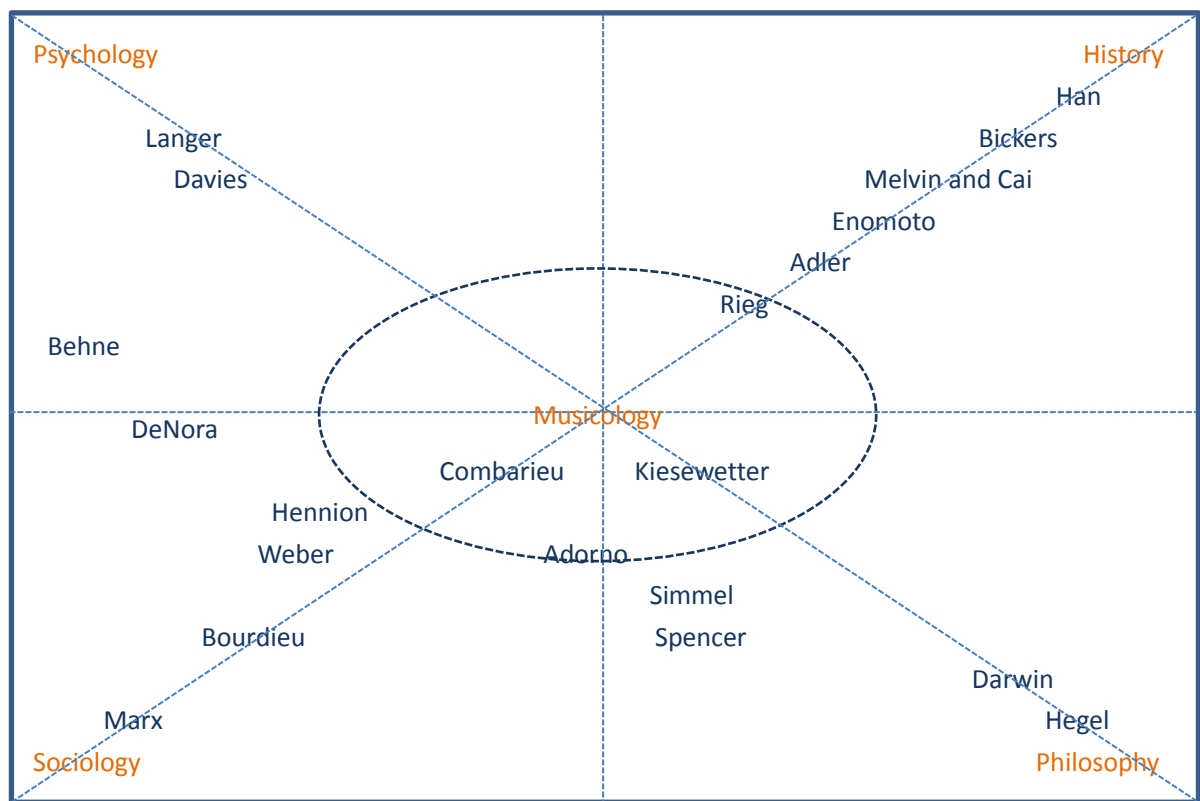


Chart 1 Theoretical approaches to music related studies.

To start with, I will look at the philosophical understanding of music. This approach is sometimes too broad and too general yet it provides some inspiration to further analyse sophisticated subjects. Moreover, it represents the initial attempt to make sense of music. For example, Charles Darwin, Herber Spencer and Georg Simmel have all engaged in discussions on origin of music while Georg Hegel focuses more on the aesthetic connotation of music. Understanding music in philosophical perspective inspired many music related research in later times. This approach would also, inevitably, relate to broader social circumstances, especially in works by Spencer and Simmel. Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, however, shifts his attention to musical data per se believing that 'art has created its own historical periods, which, as a rule, are not congruent with those of general world and political history, and actually have nothing in common with them' (Kiesewetter, 1834: 10). As a result, Kiesewetter is argued by Blaukopf (1992: 34) to set musical research free 'from philosophical and ideological bonds and circumscribed its field of study, thereby making—together with others—a decisive contribution to establishing what was soon to be known as musicology'.

It is difficult not to mention Karl Marx when talking about the sociology of music although he had made it quite clear that the superstructure—art is entirely subordinated to the base of society, i.e. economic foundation. If the economic base is changed, the entire superstructure is going to transform more or less. Marx's ideology had a great influence on scholars in various field, and among them Pierre Bourdieu stood out in his argument with music issues. He also outlines concepts such as cultural capital, field, habitus and relations between artistic taste and social classes. Thorstein Veblen (1994) has also made similar argument on leisure class underscoring the importance of economic conditions to lifestyle of a certain class. This economic approach in the sociology of music will be further analysed below. Besides Karl Marx, one name is also essential and influential within the realm of sociological approach to music—Max Weber. He clearly objects to economic explanations of cultural issues saying: 'the reduction to economic causes alone is in

no way exhaustive for any area of cultural phenomena' (Weber, 1973: 169) and argues that sociology of art is much more than 'a mechanical, superficial application of sociological categories to art' (Blaukopf, 1992: 117). Instead, Weber (1973: 191) advocates an ideal type: 'an ideal type is arrived at through unilateral intensification of one or more points of view and becomes a uniform configuration through the combination of a wealth of isolated phenomena, which may be diffuse and discrete to a greater or lesser degree, or not at all, but which fit into these unilateral points of view'. For him, it is of great necessity to 'understand' artistic production' or have the 'ability to evaluate' (ibid: 524) when engaging in history of art. As a result, Weber distinguishes his theoretical approach to Marx's by stepping closer to musicology. A similar move in the discipline of musicology is also witnessed long time ago. Jules Combarieu made one of the earliest attempts to systematically apply sociological ideas into musicological study by focusing on 'the social compulsion inherent in achievements of musical technology' (Blaukopf, 1992: 97). Unlike traditional musicologists, Combrieu (1907: 213) believes that music and society developed in a parallel way and the former can reflect 'all changes of public life, the progress of the secular mind, science, and industrial labor'. Nonetheless, Combarieu himself understands very well that, unlike philosophical or musicological analysis of art, sociology sometimes fails to provide aesthetic genesis of music. Yet he still believes in sociology's capability to provide an answer to a musical work's social-historical genesis. Combrieu's understanding on sociological approach to music is also a major concern in the field of music sociology. As I have mentioned above, unlike musicology, the sociology of music focuses on social aspects of music rather than music itself. Nonetheless, this field of research is frequently accused of focusing itself mainly on the study of social involvement of music while failing to 'explain the nature and essence of the arts themselves' (Silbermann, 1973: 20). However, how are those social aspects of music realized without destroying the 'nature and essence' of music through relevant studies? There are actually many different approaches to understand the social part of music as well as its aesthetic contents. One applies Bourdieu's theories such as cultural capital, field and habitus. This approach has

received great attention and welcome as the adoption of economic ideology into cultural studies became a fashion for a long while ever since Bourdieu's theories emerged. However, as have argued above, works inspired by Bourdieu's cultural capital and cultural consumption were generally accused of being a superficial explanation and decoding process of works of art just like what Bourdieu himself did during his early research. Among all those works which mainly focused on 'differing modes of cultural consumption...rather than on what is consumed' (Rössel, 2011: 97) , only Leder et al. (2004), as Rössel (2011: 89) points out: 'emphasize that the cognitive processing of artistic objects results in conscious evaluation on the one hand and aesthetic emotions on the other'. Rössel also goes on to state, combining his own empirical research on classical and opera music listeners, that: 'one should hence expect to find two modes of musical consumption, one more analytical and intellectual, and the other focused on pleasurable aesthetic emotions'. This approach attempted to further Bourdieu's theory but failed to go far enough as the aesthetic value of music is still missing to a great extent due to its focus on the consumption of culture though different modes of this behaviour is mentioned. It is true that 'the obligation to capture the genesis of a composer's individual works (or complete works) in the categories of sociology is a burden which the sociology of music cannot carry' (Blaukopf, 1992: 105) in that sociologists start with the precondition that 'art works exist' (Freund, 1968: 26). Nonetheless many more scholars have argued that the study of music should not be reduced to general economic exegesis no matter what.

As a result, despite economic ideology applied to cultural studies, psychological conditions (Behne, 1986) are also taken into consideration when doing cultural research especially those on music in that music is not a concrete form of existence; rather it is subjective and emotional. It is also an approach applied in music sociology to compensate for the loss of inner value of the art of music. In the field of psychology itself, study of music is not a novel subject. John Davies (1978: 19) has argued that 'the psychological study of music involves examination of the

relationship between the rules of music and the laws of perception and cognition, in so far as these latter are understood'. Suzanne Langer (1969: 228) also relates her research on music mainly to the operation of mind: 'there are certain aspects of the so-called 'inner life'—physical or mental—which have formal properties similar to those of music—patterns of motion and rest, of tension and release, of agreement and disagreement, preparation, fulfilment, excitation, sudden change, etc.' Since music is not 'an independent aesthetic object – there is no 'work' outside of the specific mediations of the experienced sound' (Marshall, 2011: 166) or as Hennion (2001: 11) puts it that music is only the forms themselves. However, Rössel (2011: 89) contends those studies saying that: 'these psychological studies usually focus neither on the social conditions of different modes of listening to music nor on the importance of cultural capital'. It diverges from both musicology and the sociology of music as well. They are also accused by Blaukopf (1992: 6) as pseudo-sociology as they might 'reinforce the false impression that sociology is able to derive the concrete form of musical artworks from the structure of the society in which these works were created'. At the same time they also overlooked Adorno's warning: 'sociological concepts that are imposed on music from outside, without being able to demonstrate their credentials in strictly musical terms, remain devoid of force' (Adorno, 1999: 2). Thus, sociologists are faced with the dilemma of 'how to incorporate the character of the works produced without reverting to autonomous aesthetic comments' (Hennion, 1997: 416). As a result, Hennion (1997: 432) points out that the focus of sociology of music should be what he called 'mediations' which included 'scores and texts, sound, instruments, repertoires, staging, concert venues and media, and in a wider context the rites, ceremonies, prayer, religious, national and political celebrations, which form the backdrop for the public performance of music' so as to understand how those mediators are 'collectively constructed' in music practices. DeNora's research on 'affordance' of music also got its influence from Hennion's (2008) structure of shifting focus from music to listening which is characterized by Marshall (2011: 166) as 'an emphasis on the microsociological analysis of a broad array of musical practices'. The reception of certain music is

analysed in different perspectives from asking 'what they like' to 'how they form attachments' (Hennion, 2001: 6).

The concern of sociology of music as Blaukopf (1992: 5) argues is 'not why musical practice is the way it is, but how it changes' which is also Max Weber's concern in his studies on music and society. To understand the changes in musical practice, we can now shift our attention to the historical study of music. Morawska and Spohn (1994) have examined many different perspectives in the study of historical sociology of culture depending on the level of culture and society embedded in individual research: culture and society as interrelated but distinct spheres; society and culture as reciprocal constructions. The relation between culture and society in historical sociology of culture resembles the relation between sociology and music itself to a great extent. Despite historical sociology, there are also a great number of historical studies on music such as those focusing on the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra before 1949 as I have briefly introduced in Chapter 1. Concern over the inner value of music is also a major issue. An art historian—Alois Riegl (1929) who introduces the idea of 'artistic intent' believed that artistic intent is a sociological concept which specifically relates to a society or different social classes. Also, Guido Adler's (1899) belief on social, economic, and political conditions affecting musical practice does not lead him to the materialist approach to history, rather, he focused more on the music itself—the discipline of musicology.

## 2.8 Variations beyond C Major

To recapitulate, all those theoretical approaches are understandable for 'the object of study and the extent to which this study extends into the infinity of the causal nexus, is determined by the notions of value held by the researcher and current in his time' (Weber, 1973: 184). The notions of value also came into being largely out of researchers' intellectual tradition and personal background. For example, Bourdieu's understanding of social structure was very much influenced by Marx; Weber received some musical education during his childhood while Adorno is a professional musician and composer. My own theoretical approach is also understandable given my personal background. I have mentioned that I learnt to play the cello at a young age yet it was not due to my interest rather, it was my parents' decision. They strongly believed, according to their experience with senior high school students, that learning to play a musical instrument, especially Western classical instrument, is definitely going to give me an edge in my future life whatever careers I may be engaged in. The decision they made for me is less concerned with music itself but attached with notions of opportunity and a better life for me with the skill of cello playing and basic understanding of Western classical music. They never took me to concerts or buy me classical music tapes or CDs unless required. I did enjoy the superficial edge and pseudo image of a modern person brought by my cello playing. I still remember my classmates' facial expressions after they learnt about my new hobby as if I were a shining star even if they never heard my performance. Indeed, music was just cultural capital to me at that time. And I believe it is a shared experience in China for many people of my generation or even children in contemporary China who are made to learn to play Western musical instruments. However, the halo faded out when I became more sophisticated and with a shrinking peer community for me to display this skill as well. The importance of this cultural capital is gradually reduced and I came to realize it was more than cultural capital. I am very lucky to borrow a cello from Music Centre on campus. Playing music I could learn by heart to myself is such a relaxing and enjoyable experience. It reminded me

much of my childhood when I first started to play the cello and offered me a temporary escape from the actual world. Moreover, as a cello player in a small string orchestra on campus and performing easy but pleasant small works, music seems to find its genuine value: from one heart may it again reach another heart.

Although I have mentioned that the key theory applied in my research is cultural capital by Bourdieu, there are indeed some variations beyond this 'C' major. With all those theoretical approaches argued above, my theoretical approach to the study on Shanghai Symphony Orchestra from 1879 to 2010 is unique and original for it is the first time that Bourdieu's concept is combined with psychological approach to study a historical project on Western symphonic music in Shanghai. The inner value of music is outlined as shown in DeNora's application of 'affordance'. Moreover, the methodological approach is also one of a kind in that there is no previous research that had focused on materials from the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive. My unique theoretical approach will not only view this extraordinary music group in China as cultural capital and try to understand how this cultural capital is appropriated by different groups of people through each historical stage but also analyse 'mediation' (Hennion, 1997) of music practices in all these years of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. The transformation part of the SSO is obviously highlighted as well for its development is unique within particular social context and complicated power control. Also, more importantly, the concept of 'affordance' in music is examined at length among local Chinese receivers and those appropriators at the same time so as to reveal the inner connotation and value of music. Besides the analysis of 'affordance', my research has focused on musical analysis in various historical stages along the development of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. There are three possibilities, as Blaukopf (1992: 99) points out, of combining musical analysis with sociology: '1. The form of the work is assigned to a given historical situation whose sociological aspects are expressed in the work...2. Component features of a composition are identified by analysis...3. The different effects of a work, or group of works, during various periods in the history of music are treated as problems...' In

this thesis, for example, the adaption of traditional Chinese music and Chinese folk songs to Western classical instrument, the 'hybrid' music during Cultural Revolution and the different connotations behind the craze for Beethoven in modern China as well as in previous decades are observed with simple musical analysis.

### Chapter 3: Foreigners in Shanghai and the Beginning of the SSO (1879 to 1919)

Before the Opium War, China was a forbidden country cut off from the outside world. It boasted itself as the Celestial Empire 天朝大国 to which all other seemingly distant and uncivilized countries should pay obeisance. Ignorant as he was, the ruler of the Qing government at that time—Emperor Daoguang 道光皇帝 even asked such question: ‘*Yingjili zhi huijiang gebu youwu hanlu ketong?*’ 英吉利至回疆各部有无旱路可通? [Is there any route connecting Xinjiang and England by land?] (Wen, 2008) Compared with Western countries whose economy flourished after the Industrial Revolution, China relied to a great extent on its self-sufficient rural economy. As for Shanghai, built along the Huangpu River 黄浦江 in the lower Yangtze delta, it was just a fishing village in the tenth century (Xiong and Zhou, 2009: 19). The establishment of Shanghai’s unique position in China’s modern history actually started after the First Opium War in 1842. Under the terms of the consequent Treaty of Nanjing, Shanghai was forced to open as one of the five treaty ports (the other four were Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Guangzhou). The Treaty of Nanjing was signed between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Qing Dynasty of China. As stated in the treaty, British merchants and ambassadors and their families were allowed to trade and live freely in those treaty ports. It marked the beginning of China’s semi-colonial and semi-feudal society which lasted for more than a century. Later, other countries gained similar rights by signing treaties with the Qing government (Treaty of Wanghia with U.S.A in 1844; Treaty of Whampoa with France in 1844; Treaty of Shimonoseki with Japan in 1895) and settled down in Shanghai. Those foreign settlers called themselves Shanghailanders. Shanghai became a privileged city for foreigners since then and its development in almost all areas afterwards was closely related to this increasing foreign presence. Bickers (2003: 39) once describes Shanghai: ‘[i]t was a city in China, but with an orchestra playing soft music in an English-style garden on summer evenings it hardly

seemed to be a city of China, at least not the willow-pattern China of the British imagination, or the China which had developed before its opening to the West in the nineteenth century'. One of the key features that distinguished Shanghai from most of the rest of China during the 1900s was that it was segregated into three territories (the International Settlement, French Concession and the Chinese Municipal area), each bestowed with an autonomous employment of power (Henriot, 1993). The British Settlement was established in 1845, American in 1848 and French in 1849. Later in 1863, British Settlement and American Settlement joined together to establish the Municipal Council of the International Settlement. Economic interaction with other Western merchants in Shanghai also contributed to the rise of Chinese bourgeoisie and capitalism, especially in Shanghai. This chapter focuses on the historical and social context in Shanghai during the early years of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, which was known as the Shanghai Public Band at that time. And of course first-hand data gathered from the author's fieldwork in Shanghai will also be provided and discussed together with theories argued earlier.

### **3.1 The Formation of Cultural Imperialism**

The development of Shanghai in the nineteenth century differed greatly from other cities in China. It is generally regarded as a result of cultural imperialism cast by those Western settlers and the exploitation of the hinterland started from treaty port (Tang and Shen, 1989; Zhang, 1990). The partial occupation of Shanghai made the colonial process incomplete in that the rest of Shanghai was still a Chinese city ruled by local authority. As indicated above, the most outstanding feature in political aspect during this period of time was the division of Shanghai by the International Settlement and French Concession. And here more attention is put on to the International Settlement under which the Shanghai Public Band was one of its many organizations. Shanghai Municipal Council of the International Settlement (shortened as Municipal Council or Council below if not otherwise identified) formed by those rate-payers was the official administrative organization in the International

Settlement. As for the qualification to become members at the Council and voting rights, it was decided by rate-payers in 1863 that those who had estate worth of 1000 Tls. or less had one voting right at the Council and the amount of voting right increased every 1000 Tls. they possessed. (Tls. represents tael which was a currency in China during that time, average value of the Chinese tael equals to 0.67 US dollars and 2s.8.75d. pounds sterling in 1914 (Remer, 1926)). Also, those who paid over 500 Tls. rents for their houses had a right to vote as well. Moreover, as regulated in the Shanghai Land Regulation issued in 1865, those who paid taxes over 500 Tls. a year for houses and land respectively or rate-payers paying 1200 Tls. a year for their rents had the qualification to become candidates of Shanghai Municipal Council members (Shanghai Municipal Archive, 2001a). This process recaptured exactly the formation of cultural imperialism as the existence of 'how they live' and 'how they administrate' gradually took shape. It also spread rapidly among local Chinese people when they moved in, especially when they were faced with the incompetence of the Qing government then. As a result, all sorts of cultural appropriation tactics were applied which will be explained in greater detail later. Also, we can see that economic power in the settlement was directly equalled to political qualification, i.e. the ideology of commercialism brought by cultural imperialism or capitalist culture. It influenced the evaluation of social value in Shanghai and China as a whole to a great extent. The members of Council were all Europeans and Americans at first with the British dominating. Chinese Ratepayers' Association in the International Settlement was not established until 1920 (Shanghai Municipal Archive, 2001a; Kuai, 1980: 498-547). Bickers (2003:55) has made an explicit description of the Shanghai Municipal Council in his book *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai* and I have summarized below to serve as a general introduction. The SMC, Shanghai Municipal Council, ran the orchestra, a fire brigade and through the electricity department the Riverside Power Station. Besides a land tax, a general municipal rate and wharfage dues, the council generated revenue from licences which allowed it to regulate taverns, liquor sales, bowling saloons, eating houses, Chinese and foreign lodging houses, Chinese wineshops, food hawkers, tea shops, foreign and Chinese theatres,

dogs, firearms, rickshaws (private and public), boats and sampans, motor and other vehicles and pawnshops. The Council also ran five hospitals (including a small metal ward), a sanatorium at Mokanshan, south-west of the city, three cemeteries, eleven markets, a slaughter house, seven parks and open spaces, nine schools, a quarry, a gaol, eight police stations and six fire stations.

The efficient municipal administration and orderly policy brought by the Shanghai Municipal Council was anything but the situation of Shanghai under the reign of the late Qing Dynasty. It was what the local Chinese people had never seen or even imagined before. The superior Western culture and the inferior native Chinese culture are thus obviously displayed serving as a precondition for cultural imperialism to take place. The sound politics were what the Settlement required to fend off criticisms that might lead to its surrender, an embarrassment by diplomats, or demands for its restitution by local Chinese. As a result, they tried very hard to bring almost everything they possessed back in the West while the attempt was sometimes made too hard. Reinforced lifestyle clarified their desire to establish superiority and cultural imperialism over Chinese people from virtually all aspects. There were daily newspapers (notably the *North China Daily News* 字林西报), weeklies, a learned journal, occasionally a poor cousin of *Punch*, a short-story club, some local expatriate authors, and a local publisher: Kelly and Walsh (Wright, 1908: 363-4). The importance of the foreign settlements was undoubtedly due to their international status as defined by the nineteenth-century treaties and by diplomatic procedure applied thereafter. In Shanghai (as in all other treaty ports) foreign residents had extraterritorial rights and were answerable only to their respective consulates. They distanced local Shanghai people from regulations, laws, lifestyles and accesses to public facilities. According to Bourdieu (1984), it is only through being different, i.e. exclusion of other classes, that social identity of certain class could be realized. By maintaining their administrative system and lifestyle, those Shanghailanders made a great effort to preserve their superior status as Westerners and by exclusion of local Shanghai people this social class is therefore outlined. Those

foreign settlements were occupied as colony by Western settlers while outside Shanghai was still a feudal Chinese city, thus forming a unique social structure—semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. For the occupation, conquest of land and establishment of their own authority, colonialism was manifested during the process. As for the influence it imposed on the society in Shanghai and in China as a whole, it should be counted as modern colonialism where it reconstructed economies of the occupied land (Loomba, 2005) i.e. the emergence of capitalism and Chinese bourgeois which will be discussed later in this chapter. More than plundering resources and wealth from Shanghai, the interaction and conflict between Western colonialists and local Shanghai people were vibrant. Those activities can be counted as the outcome of culture imperialism. When the indigenous culture is threatened by another superior culture, conflicts and cultural appropriation process seem to be inevitable. After the Industrial Revolution, those Western countries were eager to expand their market and acquire more natural and labour resources as well. When confronted with the ‘uncivilised’ Chinese people, their desire to establish a kind of cultural imperialism was also desperate. A divided Shanghai was thus formed and can be clearly shown from the map below which was published in 1910. The borders of International Settlement, French Concession and old Shanghai city are outlined by the author in order to present a stronger visual illustration:

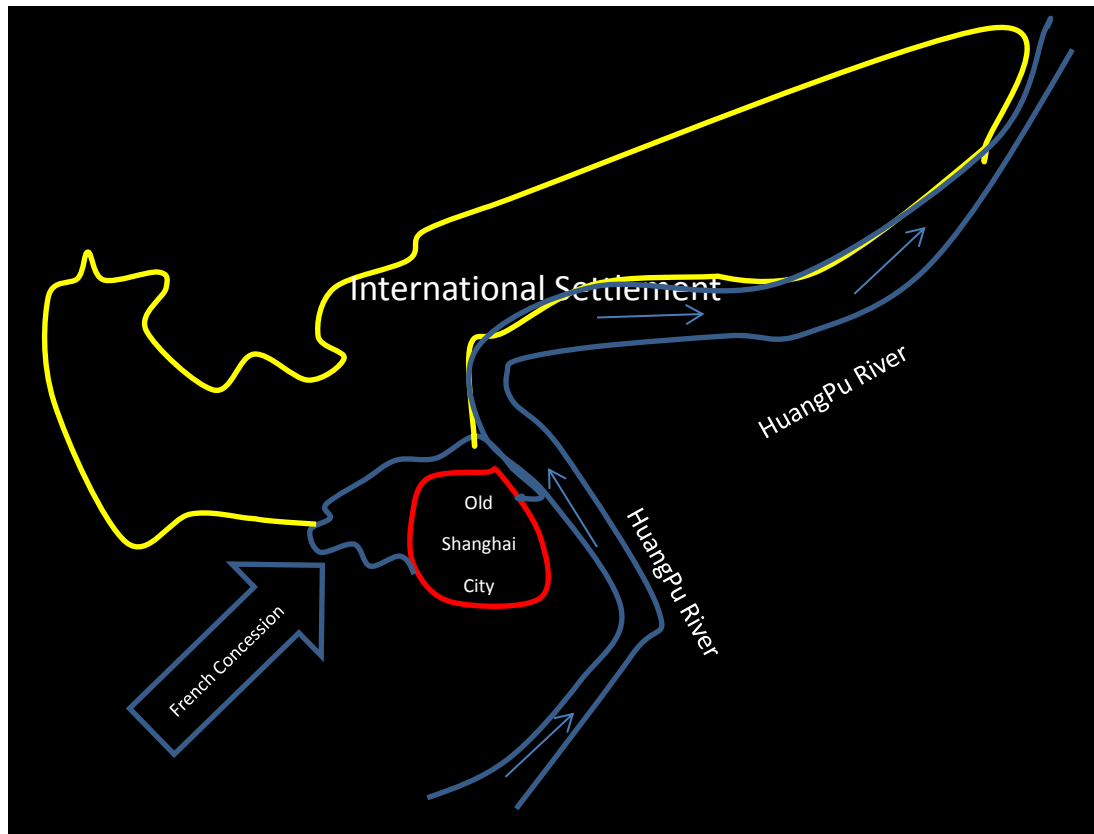


Figure 2 Display of Shanghai city and foreign concessions in 1910s.

Note: Lines drawn and notes made by the author according to the map shown on page 15 of *Lao Shanghai ditu* 《老上海地图》 [The Album of Shanghai during The Past 150 years].

Those areas outside the old Shanghai city used to be remote tidal flats. It was actually the establishment of the foreign settlements that made it flourish. The architectures at the Bund that still exist today are manifestations themselves. And in the present day, the Bund constitutes one of the landmarks and must-sees for tourists in Shanghai. The Bund was a place where cultural imperialism demonstrates itself visually. It transformed Shanghai's look permanently from a traditional Chinese coastal city to Westernized adventure land. A famous area along the west bank of the Huangpu River, it was possessed by the International Settlement and housed more than 100 financial institutions, embassies in neoclassical and art deco buildings. Here is a photo of the Bund in 1925 to give a glimpse of the outlook of the Bund. It is quite hard to tell that it was actually on the continent of China:



Figure 3 The Bund of Shanghai 1925.

Source: The SSO Archive.

### 3.1.1 Foreigners in Shanghai

By the end of 1843, there were only 26 registered foreigners in Shanghai, all British, including ambassadors, missionaries, merchants and so on. The number grew slowly in the next few years: 90 in 1845, 120 in 1846, 134 in 1847 (87 British), 159 in 1848, 175 in 1849, 210 in 1850, 265 in 1851, while still less than 300 in 1853. The numbers were relatively limited compared to 520,000 people in the old Shanghai city in the same year 1853. Yet the transformations they brought about were unlimited (Tang and Shen, 1989). According to different nationalities and different historical periods, the occupations of foreigners in Shanghai varied, yet the number of merchants always dominated through those variations. Within the 210 foreigners in 1850, 111 of them were bosses or agents from foreign firms, 13 were missionaries, 7 were from the embassies, 11 were journalists, chemists, architects, carpenters, cooks and so on and 68 were families and children. Later in 1870, there were 1666

foreigners in Shanghai (894 British, 255 Americans, 138 Germans, 104 Portuguese, 46 Spanish, 16 French and 213 from other nations). Despite the 412 of them being sailors or engaging in shipping business and 358 women and children, the majority of these foreigners were merchants (226). Next occupation groups were ambassadors (90), engineers (60), vendors (57), workers (45), police (40), freelance workers (38), servants (34), manufacturers (25), silk and tea inspectors (21), bankers (19) and missionaries (15) (Xiong, 2003a). Of all those nationalities in Shanghai Municipal Council, British maintained an absolute predominant power. Most of the Shanghailanders were subjects of the British Empire, which is not surprising given that Britain was the foreign signatory of the first unequal treaty in China—Treaty of Nanjing (Wasserstrom, 2009). Within the 5728 foreign male living in the International Settlement, 1597 had the right to vote. The number was composed by 885 British, 182 German, 147 American, 77 Japanese and 75 French (Wu, 1978).

Before 1853, Chinese were allowed to do business but were strictly restricted from living in the foreign settlements. It was clearly specified in the Shanghai Land Regulation published in 1845. Bickers (1999:102) points out that: ‘Britons maintained their Britishness and distance from Chinese and China in other ways—through their diet, clothing, habits and language’. This exclusion and distancing are channels to establish those Shanghailanders’ superior social identity. Chinese were generally looked down upon by those foreign people for their ignorance, uncivilised lifestyle and sometimes, dishonesty. This kind of racial superiority cast upon Chinese people by those Western settlers strengthened their cultural imperialism by reinforcing their identity as a civilized and privileged class. On the other hand, it compensated the feeling of insecurity experienced by them in a foreign and distant oriental country. In 1853, however, the Small Swords Society 小刀会 (a local rebellious political and military organization) occupied the old walled city of Shanghai, and took over most of the Chinese sections in the city. It was an upheaval that took place in Shanghai during the Taiping Rebellion. The Taiping Rebellion is a civil war in southern China from 1850 to 1864 led by heterodox Christian convert Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全. It brought a mass

of people of urban origin to Shanghai, many of whom were well-off and cultivated (Henriot, 2001). Since they were against the Qing government, those rebellions left the foreign concessions alone. As a result, large numbers of Chinese refugees from surrounding areas flooded into the foreign concessions during this period. It is described in the *North China Herald* (1863): all that were able to escape crowded into the foreign settlements...making it a giant shelter for refugees. This situation dramatically increased the population there and consequently gave rise to the prevalent *Longtang* or *Shikumen*-style 石库门 housing which came to dominate Shanghai by the early 20th Century.



Figure 4 A Shikumen-style architecture near the SSO in the present day.

Source: Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, 2009. It is an area where the French Concession used to be.

By 1895, the foreign population in International Settlement had grown from 3673 to 4684 and 6774 in 1900 (Xu & Huang, 1998). There were generally two different attitudes towards local refugees within the settlements. Foreign merchants saw them as an opportunity to make a fortune while the other group of Westerners was more concerned with the comfort and safety of their foreign community (Lu, 1999). In the end, profit took advantage: 'smart merchant houses in the neoclassical style that came to characterise British Asia were constructed. The new settlement attracted Chinese residents...land and property speculation made many fortunes' (Bickers, 1999: 124). In 1912, the old wall of Shanghai was also destructed legitimating the stronger interactions between Shanghailanders and local Shanghai people. 'These blurred boundaries opened up a new manoeuvring space for members of the Shanghainese elite. They had been struggling for decades to convince foreigners to let their class trump their race in certain instances' (Wasserstrom, 2009: 72). This kind of inclusion can be attributed to historical and economic reasons which were also the trend of the time. The inclusion of well-off Shanghai elite into foreign community also engendered a new round of exclusion within local Shanghai people as will be presented later. Nonetheless, the inclusion process was not smooth. Colonialism brought about racist ideologies that 'identified different sections of people as intrinsically or biologically suited for particular tasks' (Loomba, 2005: 108). In China's case, the majority of local Shanghai people were regarded as inferior and incapable of fulfilling complicated tasks especially in musical terms as will be witnessed in later years. Undeniably Shanghai was flourishing; however, as pointed out above, the fruits of that prosperity were not devolving upon local Chinese people. They continued to live as paupers. 'Shanghai had been seized by the English and transformed into a "British dependency". Most Chinese lived in hopeless destitution and poverty, and those who had money were employees of the foreigners' (Fogel, 1995: 86). It was a distinct characteristic of Shanghai at that time or even in the present day. Dong (2001: 164) has also contended: '[t]he contrast between the abject poverty in which most of Shanghai's population lived and the conspicuous luxury enjoyed by its privileged class was one aspect of Shanghai that many arriving

in the city for the first time frequently commented on'. On the contrary, foreign presence was just what fuelled the rise of Chinese businessmen. The objective environment in Shanghai accelerated the development of capitalism brought by cultural imperialism or the spread of capitalist culture. It intensified social hierarchy not only among Shanghailanders and local Shanghai people but also that among wealthy businessmen and working class.

With business opportunities brought by interaction with local Shanghai people, the total number of foreign residents kept growing. The major foreign nationality composition in 1910 is shown in the table below (Shanghai Municipal Archive, 2001a):

Table 1 Number of foreign residents in 1910

Nationality	International Settlement	French Concession
British	4465	314
American	940	44
Japan	3361	105
French	330	436
German	811	148
Russian	317	7
Indian	804	17
Portuguese	1495	15
Italian	124	12
Austrian	124	12
Denmark	113	19

Source: *Shanghai zujie zhi* 《上海租界志》 [History of Shanghai foreign settlements] Shanghai Municipal Archive (eds), 2001a, pp: 112-113.

The nationality composition transformed greatly over years. Japanese population increased dramatically from 7 in 1870 to 7665 in 1912 (Wu, 1978) which was primarily due to the defeat of China in the first Sino-Japanese war in 1895 and the signing of The Treaty of Shimonoseki 马关条约. It was a significant historical event as Paine (2003: 4) describes: '[t]he war changed perceptions in both the East and West, and these changed perceptions had a direct impact on the foreign policies of all parties engaged in the Far East. The perception of Chinese weakness led to far more aggressive intrusions by the foreign powers in China, whereas the perception of Japanese strength led to the inclusion of Japan in the ranks of the imperial powers'. Moreover, in regard to the influence on China, it accelerated the rise of Chinese capitalism which will be focused on in the following part. Also, after the October Revolution in 1917 a large number of Russians flooded to Shanghai. Quite a few of them were well-educated and skilled musicians playing an important role in the development of the later Shanghai Municipal Orchestra.

In terms of population, the foreign settlements in Shanghai were still a Chinese city for the population of Chinese people there was very large; however, it was a completely a foreign world in political, judicial and economic aspects within which Chinese were like foreigners (Wu, 1978). As stated earlier, the population is limited yet the transformations they brought about were beyond limit. Shanghai was thus transformed from an ancient Chinese village into a Westernized place with a dominating European influence. Those Western settlers in Shanghai brought in their lifestyles, modes of production and customs, thus forming cultural imperialism. For the early foreigners, Shanghai was only a place to make a fortune. However, when faced with the local Shanghai people who knew nothing about European or Western culture, the colonialists felt it necessary to vindicate their own culture to establish a kind of cultural superiority (Enomoto, 2009). Their attitudes and emotions towards local Shanghai residents were complicated. On the one hand, they felt it necessary to

establish cultural imperialism towards those 'ignorant' Chinese people. They were desperate to show off how they live to distance themselves from and exclude those 'uncivilized' people. Although many of these Shanghailanders were quite wealthy, the lifestyle they displayed was way too exaggerated and could virtually be counted as ostentation. From exquisite house decoration to sophisticated food, their ways of living were much more Western than it had originally been back at their home countries. For example, their dinner would start with a soup and a sherry, followed by one or two starters with Champagne. And then it was steak or bacon with beer. Next were ham and curry rice, cakes or puddings, oranges or figs or walnuts and this startling dinner often ended with a cup of coffee and cigarette (Wang, 1996a). While on the other hand, it was just those, what they called, 'ignorant' people and 'uncivilized' city that gave them much insecurity and loneliness. As a result, they established a Volunteer army constituted with some of the merchants. The Shanghai Public Band was initially founded to accompany the Volunteer during parade. The establishment of the Volunteer was due to their feelings of insecurity in a foreign city. In turn, this kind of insecure emotions reinforced their desire to establish the cultural imperialism and superiority over local Chinese people. Their reinforced lifestyle together with the Public Band later was like cultural capital. It is the first form as Bourdieu described: the ensembles of cultivated dispositions that are possessed by individuals through socialization and constitute schemes of appreciation and understanding. Cultural goods are distinct from material goods for they have to be apprehended and understood in order to be appropriated and consumed. Those Shanghailanders brought this reinforced lifestyle in exchange for a unique cultural identity as Westerners against local Shanghai people and a symbol of their status as superior culture owners.

### **3.2 The Rise of Chinese Bourgeoisie against Cultural Dominance**

Residents in Guangdong or Canton, as Cantonese speakers would call it, presented a strong aversion towards those foreign settlers. Foreigners there were

called *guilao* 鬼佬 [a disparaging Cantonese meaning foreigner] which is still used by Cantonese today. Unlike them, local Shanghainese were quite willing to approach those foreigners, at least it seemed that way (Lanning and Couling, 1921). Local residents in Shanghai gradually adjusted their perspective of the world with the emergence of foreign presence. They no longer viewed China as the only civilised country and believed that today's world is a connected one, not the so-called world in the past where countries outside China were remote and savage (*Shen Bao*, 1878). Under the influence of cultural imperialism, they started to realize the superiority from Western culture. As a result, all kinds of cultural dominance tactics were adopted in different stages. Xiong (2003b: 46-47) points out a possible reason for that: Shanghai, neither the political or cultural centre of Jiangsu Province nor the centre of Songjiang area, was just a coastal city and had been on the edge of traditional Chinese culture for a long while. The historical situation and geographical advantage of Shanghai objectively provided an easy environment for the influence from the West to take place. Also, in the meantime, different approaches towards cultural appropriation are made available. Due to the dissemination of Western culture, seven of the ten famous translation agencies in China were located in Shanghai; 80% of the translations were published in Shanghai. In addition, painting exhibits, plays, Chinese folk arts, novels and films tainted with unique Shanghai characteristics started to emerge. This communication between, and combination of, Chinese and Western cultures, brought Shanghai to a broad and deep influence in material and spiritual dimensions, social behaviour and concepts, and even language and customs (Wang, 2004: 8). Westernization at that time was equal to modernization and civilization in China, especially in Shanghai where 'cheap prices of its commodity prices are the heavy artillery with which [the bourgeoisie] batters down all Chinese walls and forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate...It compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeoisie themselves' (Marx and Engels, 1959: 11). Confronted with the threat from Western culture, assimilation tactic within cultural dominance process was quickly adopted in that contrast between superior culture

and native one was distinct. Western systems, modes of production, commodities as well as lifestyles were simply accepted and copied by local Shanghai people, especially those that had moved into international settlements. Moreover, subordinated Chinese culture was displaced such as the throwing away of traditional Chinese robes for Western suits which will be substantiated in greater detail below. Thus, the assimilation tactic was completed. However, not all Chinese people succumbed to this tactic. The rise of Chinese bourgeois fuelled by several historical events such as the first Sino-Japanese War can be regarded as intransigence and resistance tactics.

The first Sino-Japanese War was fought between the Qing Dynasty and the Meiji Japan over the control of Korea. China's defeat led to the signing of The Treaty of Shimonoseki on 17 April 1895 in which China recognized the total independence of Korea and ceded the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to Japan 'in perpetuity'. Unlike the First and Second Opium War when China fought against the Western imperialists, Japan is an Asian country sharing the same cultural root with China. It had always been regarded as a tributary state, much smaller than China, and thus inferior. However, compelled by the futility exposed at the defeat of Sino-Japanese War and aggravated crisis awareness, a call for reformation of the Qing government was widely heard. Since Japan was influenced by the West to a great extent, especially during its Meiji Restoration, cultural dominance cast by Japan can also be regarded as a kind of cultural imperialism. The tactic of mimicry, known as disguised internalization of the dominant culture while still holding onto the indigenous culture, was first witnessed when facing dominating Japanese culture and Western ones as well. Following Kang Youwei's 康有为 advice, the Hundred Days Reform 百日维新 initiated a series of acts that were designed to bring about a revolution to the Qing court and the whole nation. 'He called for a reorganization of the entire administrative system so as to centralize imperial control; a general liberalization of laws in order to give all subjects the right to petition the throne; and vast educational changes, including a national university and technical, military, and

medical schools.’ (Graso, Corrin and Kort, 2009: 55). Unfortunately, due to the powerful conservative opponents led by Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太后, the 104-day reform came to an end followed by execution or exile of its leaders. I thereby categorized the Hundred Days Reform as the tactic of mimicry for two reasons according to the two criteria of its definition. To begin with, reformers led by Kang Youwei did try to bring a revolution to the Qing government and the whole Chinese nation according to Western ideologies; however, due to their inexperience, the reform was not strong enough. It was confined to exterior levels known in the tactic of mimicry as the process of disguised integration of predominant culture. Also, more importantly, those reformers like their conservative opponents supported the Qing court and Chinese Monarchy system. Despite their entire revolutionary plans, those reformers remained strongly connected to traditional Chinese culture. They held firmly to indigenous Chinese culture while only becoming superficially integrated into the one imposed by the West. As a result, it is the mimicry tactic that was adopted.

Nonetheless, Zarrow (2002: 18) contends that this reform also marked ‘a turning point in the shaping of China’s modern political culture’. It led to a fierce movement—Xinhai Revolution 辛亥革命 that overthrew the Qing Dynasty and ended China’s absolute Monarchy system. Xinhai Revolution, also known as the Revolution of 1911, was greatly motivated by anger and disappointment of corruption in the Qing government. And it was also caused by frustration with the government's inability to restrain interventions of foreign powers. Tongmenghui 同盟会, one of the major leading organizations during this revolution, was founded in 1905 and advocated ‘expelling the Manchus, restoring the *Han*, founding a republic and equally dividing the land ownership’. This political belief later developed into the Three Principles of the People (Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism) promoted by Sun Yat-sen. Those revolutionaries intended to overthrow the Qing government, re-establish a *Han* Chinese government, and construct a republic. Xinhai Revolution is the adoption of assimilation tactic within cultural dominance process. First of all,

unlike leaders of the Hundred Days Reform, Sun Yat-sen was taken to America by his brother when he was only twelve years old and completed his education there. As a result, he was more familiar with the apparently superior Western culture. Moreover, he obtained an open mind and dared to question traditional Chinese systems that had existed for centuries. The Qing Dynasty and the Monarchy system in China were thus abandoned with integration of dominate Western culture. However, this assimilation tactic was still not strong enough: the revolution did not immediately lead to a republican government; instead, it set up a weak provisional central government over a politically fragmented country. It was later influenced by warlordism until 1928 (Wright, 1971).

Although the centre of these events was not in Shanghai, the elite there took an active part and played a major role in them as Shanghai had been exposed to cultural imperialism for quite a while. In regard to the Xinhai revolution, 'for one thing, the town contributed greatly to the success of the movement: it both advanced funds and mobilized men, thereby enabling the insurrection to spread into the Yangzi delta; and above all, it provides the leaders and programs that bestowed a modern look upon an antidynastic uprising in many other respects similar to those that had preceded it' (Bergère, 2009: 130). The 1911 Revolution in Shanghai strengthened the power of the local elite to whom it owed its success. 'It liberated the municipality and the chambers of commerce from all administrative supervision and installed their leaders in key posts in the local revolutionary government' (Bergère, 2009: 138). Also, disappointed by the mimicry tactic and failure of the One Hundred Days Reform in 1898, many well-known scholars left Beijing for Shanghai contributing to Shanghai's rapid development. Although the rise of Chinese bourgeoisie during this period was relatively a small scale compared to the huge composition of peasants (almost 90% in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century) in the entire nation, it had a great ideological impact on Chinese society especially Shanghai in the years onwards. The rise of Chinese bourgeois in Shanghai can be regarded as the application of integration tactic. For the bourgeoisie class did not exist or was not evident before Shanghai was

exposed to cultural imperialism from those Shanghailanders. Western culture, including its modes of production, commercialism and lifestyle, was integrated by local Shanghai people. However, different from average bourgeoisie class, Chinese bourgeoisie were meant to take on historical responsibility—rejuvenate the nation. It is also their unique identity and way of earning a living amidst the complicated background of cultural imperialism and rising nationalism. Consequently, superior Western culture was integrated without displacing the original one, at least it seemed that way.

Also, the occupational structure of local Shanghai people was very different from other Chinese cities. In the 1930s, there were 36.38% workers in the old Shanghai city, 25.23% in international settlements; 15.17% businessmen in the old Shanghai city, 22.56% in international settlements; and 15.84% peasants in old Shanghai city, 0.13% in international settlements (Xiong, 1999: 106-107). As a result, the two aspects of capitalist relations of production were available in Shanghai: capitalists and workers. Chinese bourgeoisie was first constituted by compradors—native managers for foreign businesses in China. They are described by Bergère (2009: 128) as ‘a bourgeoisie cut off from the society from which it emerged, bent on imitating – if not serving – its foreign models, yet envied by all other social groups’. Their emergence brought about by Western colonialism and rise of Western capitalism created a subtle and complicated nationalism, ‘born out of both dispassion and privilege’ (Loomba, 2005: 157). They were advantaged in a great many aspects apart from independence from the colonial power for they were ‘simultaneously a colonial community and an upper class’ (Anderson, 1991: 58). With the investment of foreign capital, rise of nationalism and the support of Chinese new intelligentsia who advocated reform according to the West, Chinese entrepreneurs, land owners and artisans also joined this class. For example, the Rong’s family who founded a flour- and cotton-milling business in Shanghai and nearby cities such as Hankou and Wuxi were regarded as ‘Red Capitalists’ in China. They got this name for their support and cooperated with the Communist Party in later years. The rise of Chinese bourgeoisie

during this period of time was most evident in Shanghai. Three major preconditions are pointed out by the author for the phenomenon and are listed and argued below.

The first is the economic condition in Shanghai, an external factor. After the First Opium War, Shanghai's society witnessed a drastic transformation in all fields with self-sufficient rural economy collapsing swiftly in economic terms. As can be imagined, in the late nineteenth century, Shanghai's economy was admittedly poor like Feuerwerker (1980: 39) has mentioned: 'the technology of Europe's industrial revolution was just beginning to appear in the coastal cities, and the rural population lived with an increasingly adverse man-land ratio and an agricultural technology which over the centuries had been exploited to the limits of its potential'. Capitalist economy gradually emerged in Shanghai and other coastal cities as well which accelerated the formation of abnormally flourished modern cities such as Shanghai. Foreign imports of cotton yarn and cloth began to increase significantly, especially during 1858-60, after additional treaty ports were opened (Feuerwerker, 1980: 19). Attracted by Shanghai's proximity to the main cotton-growing areas as well as by the availability of coal, cheap electricity, and a huge labour pool, British, American, German, and Russian firms rushed to set up cotton mills, silk filatures, and other light industries and manufacturing enterprises on Shanghai's periphery (Dong, 2001: 71-72). It promoted the economic development in Shanghai to a large extent. In the late 1890s, especially after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, a huge amount of foreign capital emerged at Shanghai's economic market ushering in a foreign investment era and the golden age for Chinese national industry as well. Moreover, the outbreak of the First World War happened to be a huge opportunity for the economy in Shanghai. Between 1895 and 1911, a large number of industries funded by foreign capital were set up in Shanghai, 41 of which possessed over 100,000 foreign capitals. By 1911, the foreign output value from cotton, silk, flour, cigarette, match, medicine, machinery and electricity was 10 times the output in 1895 (Xu and Huang, 1998). The prosperous economy invested by foreign capital and opportunities given by the First World War set models and created promising social background for

the golden age of Chinese national economy.

The second is social condition, an internal one. Social ranking in traditional Chinese society was led by officials among whom a large number of intellectuals gathered through the imperial examination system, as Confucius' apprentice (*Confucius Analects* 《论语》) said: *Xue'er you zeshi* 学而优则仕 [he who excels as a scholar can become an official]. The ranking was followed by peasants as China had been a self-sufficient rural country for a long time and then workers who worked very hard to earn their livings. Merchants were at the bottom of that social ranking. A large number of classical Chinese literatures and sayings can be found where merchants were stereotyped to be mean, selfish and profit-oriented: '*Shangren zhongli qinglibie*' 商人重利轻离别 [businessmen put profits beyond personal emotions] (Bai Juyi: *Pipaxing* 白居易: 《琵琶行》); '*Mozuo shangren qu, xihuang jun weian*' 莫作商人去, 恹惶君未谙 [do not be a businessman whose bitter life is beyond your imagination] (Bai Juyi: *Buru lai yinjiu* 白居易: 《不如来饮酒》); '*Huizuo shangrenfu, qingchun chang bieli*' 悔作商人妇, 青春长别离 [regret to be the businessman's wife and waste all the valuable time in parting] (Li Bai: *Jiangxia xing* 李白: 《江夏行》) and sayings such as '*Wu shang bu jian*' 无商不奸 [you cannot be too sly as a businessman]. Nonetheless, after the opening of Shanghai to the West, the rapid economic development dramatically uplifted the social status of merchants in Shanghai. As mentioned above, voting rights in the Municipal Council were subject almost entirely to the economic ability of residents there. Although it was not until 1920 that Chinese rate-payers' association was established, the ideology spread wide in Shanghai that one's financial power, rather than knowledge, determined one's political participation. Moreover, the rise of merchant class also had a great influence on the social value in Shanghai including 'pragmatism, which in the name of profit, sanctioned every kind of collaboration with the foreigners; modernism, which justified borrowing from the West; and nationalism, which provided a defence against slurs of acculturation and legitimised all economic activities pursued in the name of overriding national interests' (Bergère, 2009: 46-47). I have to argue here

that this phenomenon was very much related to cultural imperialism established by those Western settlers as a result of cultural imperialism bringing ideologies of capitalism and consumerism. Moreover, the idea of nationalism as a defence of acculturation is worth a further thought. It thus leads to the discussion of the third condition for the rise of Chinese bourgeoisie.

The third is psychological condition. One of the features of cultural imperialism is that 'our way of living' is ultimately threatened by their way of living (Tomlinson, 1991). Bickers (2003: 59) points out that 'for a start, colonialism was rooted in distrust...all Chinese were deemed to be unreliable, corrupt, inefficient, inaccurate and so on. Chinese labour was felt to need foreign supervision; Chinese supervisors were seen as corrupt or corruptible, and so lower-class men were recruited from Britain, or from the visiting vessels of the merchant navy. And Shanghai's foreign elite refused to be served at the department stores by Chinese staff.' However, what is the difference between colonialism and imperialism as they both account for the relation of a superior nation and a subordinated one? As far as I am concerned, colonialism belongs to imperialism or it is a consequence of the latter. Comparatively, colonialism is a detailed concept while imperialism is more general. At the early stage, local Shanghai people turned to the West and started to imitate their way of running business, clothes, food and lifestyle. Among them, those that had moved into the foreign settlements stood out as they wished to escape from continuous chaos brought by Taiping Rebellion and other movements and to improve their relations with their foreign employers or partners. It was common at that time to regard this kind of imitation as salvation though it was quite superficial. Modernization equals to Westernization in Shanghai then. However, a deep inferiority complex inevitably characterized most intellectuals in Shanghai and kept influencing them for a long time. This complex might have come from the general attitudes and humiliation brought by those Westerners towards them at that time. Vulnerability of Chinese people revealed under the threat of cultural imperialism cast by Shanghaiers was a major account for this cultural dominance. As a result, 'the years to come were

characterized by blind worship of the West and a process of indiscriminate imitation' (Wang, 1966: 52). The business class in Shanghai was comprised by a high proportion of pioneers, self-made men and adventurers. By living within the foreign communities, they became more and more westernized. At the beginning of the century, they abandoned their long blue silk robes for jackets and trousers which were symbols of their extraterritorial status. This behaviour could enhance their prestige and afford them protection while 'the new social values became established chiefly through imitation; reproduction of Western ideas and practices remained the most important factor in this evolution' (Bergère, 2009: 47-48). Those Chinese bourgeois also learnt to speak English for better communication with Westerners. Some even became Christian converts (Hao, 1970). This kind of imitation is exactly a form of cultural appropriation—cultural dominance, as discussed in previous chapter. It is defined by Rogers (2006: 477) as 'the use of elements of a dominant culture by members of a subordinated culture in a context in which the dominant culture has been imposed onto the subordinated culture, including appropriations that enact resistance' although the resistance part of this appropriation is not yet evident during this period of time. The exposure of the influence from the West was made possible due to the opening of Shanghai. The complicated but disappointing social context made Chinese people realize the appropriation of Western culture and systems necessary. This psychological precondition for the rise of Chinese bourgeoisie reflected the desire of Chinese elite to learn from the West when faced with inability and inferiority of our nation. This was also true in music field at later times.

Under the social context described above, 'the rich grew richer, while those with money to invest found themselves accumulating fat profits in textiles, flour milling, cement factories, tanneries, and other light industries...The rich Chinese enjoyed luxury at a level unknown to or considered excessive even by the foreign taipans. They lived in the western district or the French Concession in villas set in the midst of acres of landscaped gardens shielded from view by high brick walls' (Dong, 2001:

94-99). Shanghai set the style of foreign presence in China. The economic atmosphere there was not only favourable to the emergence of new social types but also encouraged traditional merchants to re-orientate their activities. Moreover, re-evaluation of merchants' social status also helped the integration of urban elite groups. The rise of Chinese bourgeoisie boosted economic development in Shanghai and laid a solid foundation for turning to the West in cultural field. However, the difference between classes also constituted latency for more serious social issues afterwards, as mentioned above.

### **3.3 The Shanghai Public Band**

The diffusion of Western music 'beyond the confines of the imperial court in Beijing took place by way of three conduits: Protestant missionaries, soldiers, and new-style schools' (Wang, 1984: 17). Notwithstanding, distinct from traditional Chinese music and relation to religion in many occasions, it made itself unwelcome among the majority of Chinese at the beginning (Enomoto, 2003). Some missionaries were not simply religious agents spreading Christian tenets; they also performed the role of what Albert Feuerwerker aptly called 'cultural brokers', delivering Western secular ideals and knowledge among educated Chinese. They relied mainly on three institutions: schools, private associations and newspapers (Chang, 1980: 278). Catholic schools such as St. Ignatius College established in 1850, Aurora University founded in 1903 etc. and Christian schools such as St. John's University opened in 1879, St. Mary's School in 1881 etc. were set up in the treaty ports, especially Shanghai (Ye and Wang, 2001). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, missionary schools increased greatly in numbers and many Chinese students were enrolled. For one thing, under the terms of unequal treaties customhouses and post offices were controlled by European people who required a large amount of staff. For another, the Self-Strengthening Movement 洋务运动 in this historical stage increased craving for Western culture (Enomoto, 2003: 5). Also, many of these missionary schools have courses on music and taught techniques on performing Western musical instruments.

The College St. Ignatius established by The Roman Catholic Church of France paid special attention to music: Students were asked to play Mass and Haydn's symphony in churches (Serviere, 1983: 289-230). If you ever read biographies of China's early musicians, you will have no difficulty finding that many of their parents were Christians or they had attended missionary schools themselves (Enomoto, 2003: 6). What is more, by the year of 1860 during the Self-Strengthening Movement, some officials and intellectuals gained access to Western music. Some of them even sent their children abroad to learn music and dance. Occasionally books on Western music got translated by the translation organization during the movement (Xia, 2004: 31). However, Xia (2004: 32) also argues that there was little influence on China's music life at that time although Western music was taught at missionary schools and developed during the Self-Strengthening Movement. Western music promoted through the first channel got spread around to some extent but still lacked the essence of Western music. The latter channel, however, merely provided a modern toy among Chinese officials and militaries. As a result, cultural dominance was not possible with the lack of interaction of two cultures. However, it is quite surprising to find out how little religion affected the establishment and development of the Shanghai Public Band as shown in a meeting minute on Feb. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1921 from *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council*. With a request to change the hour of Sunday concert from 5 to 4.30 so that church goers can attend the concerts and concert goers the church, the Council refused that suggestion stating 'whatever the hour of the concert, it would make little difference to the church attendance' (Shanghai Municipal Archive, 2001b: XXI: 249). It further manifested the role of Public Band as cultural capital, the third form that existed in institutions as argued by Bourdieu, in exchange of cultural superiority and imperialism cast on towards local Shanghai people.

Lives of those early foreign settlers in Shanghai, as could probably be imagined, were quite boring. They had to find ways to entertain themselves. At first, Shanghai was just a place for those Shanghailanders to make a fortune. With the thriving

economy of Shanghai, the merchants were in need of spiritual comfort amidst fierce competitions. Moreover, they required to establish their superior cultural identity by maintaining Western-styled leisure activities. As a result, after the economic and political situation became relatively stable, cultural activities supported by rich merchants flourished in the foreign settlements. Before the arrival of those Shanghailanders, there were about ten theatres in Shanghai performing mainly Peking Opera and, to a lesser extent, *Kunqu* 昆曲 (Yu, 1929). Chinese theatres in the nineteenth century were quite like those in France in the eighteenth century, although the latter provided more comfortable theatre environment (Henriot, 2001: 40). The dancing halls (*wuting* 舞厅 or *wuchang* 舞场) were a significant part of this development in Shanghai towards a modern consumer and leisure-oriented society (Henriot, 2001: 103). Music also gained considerable attention. Some foreign troops would bring music bands. Managers in theatres also started to organize singers and musicians for road shows. The amateur musicians in Shanghai would accompany for visiting musicians too (Haan, 1993). As early as 1850, the British founded amateur troupe and made a warehouse 'Empire Theatre' even without a single backrest chair for them to perform (Tang and Shen, 1989: 249). In order to make background music, the troupe called in people, who can play musical instrument to accompany the plays, on the basis of which the Shanghai Public Band was established in 1879 (Xu, 1991).

At that time, music life in Shanghai was mainly dominated by the Music Society and Wind Instrument Society performing pageant in summer (Lang, 1875). During 1878 to 1879, their musical instruments were passed on to the Public Band. At first, the Shanghai Public Band was funded by the Trustees of the Recreation Fund. Later in 1881, the band was taken over by Municipal Council of the International Settlement, directed by the Town Band Committee. In 1881, twenty Filipinos were recruited from Manila and were taught to play brass instruments. They formed a motley municipal public band which performed in the public gardens of International Settlement and gave weekly tea dance concerts in the Town Hall on winter evenings. Philippines had been a colony of Spain for three hundred years and thus it was influenced greatly by

Western culture. The Philippines were more familiar with classical music than Chinese (Bickers, 2001). Also, employing Philippine musicians was an economical choice by then. After the Council took over, grants were given from the International Settlement and French Concession. It was mentioned in the Report of the Sub-committee for the Public Band in 1885 (Shanghai Public Band, 1885: 191): 'the committee believe that with what the Band may be expected to earn during the coming year, the English and French Councils respective appropriations of Tls 6,000 and Tls 1,500 will suffice to meet all requirements'. Another council recruit in 1919 was its conductor—Mario Paci who turned the Public Band into an Orchestra with world-class ambitions. It will be the focus of the following chapter.

### **3.3.1 The Purpose of the Shanghai Public Band and Forming of Cultural Capital**

The initial purpose of the Shanghai Public Band was to entertain those foreign settlers and make Shanghai a home away from home. Moreover, as discussed above, the Shanghailanders regarded this Band as cultural capital to show off their cultural superiority towards the 'ignorant' local people rather than a group with high artistic value. Though there was evidence of the Band's existence before 1879, the official date for the establishment of the Shanghai Public Band was an advertisement for concert in *North China Daily News* on January, 8<sup>th</sup>, 1879. It is also found in *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council* in 1879: '[l]etter from Chairman of Committee submitted indicating that at the suggestion of the Trustees of the Recreation fund, a Band Committee had been formed and that it had been decided to ask the Chairmen of the two Councils to join it—The services of the Band are offered for Volunteer paradesive subject to such arrangement as may be made with the Council, and the latter are asked for a grant from the Municipal funds for its maintenances during the present year' (Shanghai Municipal Archives, 2001b: VII: 244). The Band, in its first few years, was composed of Manila men only, except for its Bandmaster. It was also shown from the 'Bandmaster's Report of the Sub-committee for the Town Band' in 1879 (Shanghai Public Band: 110-111): '[t]he Committee have taken over the contracts with the fourteen Musicians, recently

made in Manila by M. Remasat, our Bandmaster and they are prepared to offer the services of the Band for all Volunteer parade...' Other than accompany the Volunteer parade, the Band also performed in the gardens of International Settlement and French Municipal Council. Their performances were also recorded in the 'Bandmaster's Report of the Sub-committee for the Public Band' in 1886 (Shanghai Public Band: 186): '[t]he Band played 136 times during the year in the Public Garden and in the Garden of the French Municipal Council'. And in 1887 (Shanghai Public Band: 205): '[t]he Band played 129 times during the year in the Public Garden and in the Garden of the French Municipal Council and 5 times on the Cricket Ground'. According to those records, the Band gained much popularity among residents at International Settlement and was 'looked upon as one of the recognised institutions of the Settlement, affording a great amount of pleasure to the public...' (Shanghai Public Band, 1889: 231) There are not many existing materials on detailed information of the audience, however, from the Bandmaster's report in 1909 (282) we are able to find that: 'the orchestral concerts given in the Town Hall on Sunday have maintained their popularity and the audiences have varied between 600 and over 1,000, the average attendance throughout the year having amounted to about 700'. These performances in the public gardens were quite popular in terms of the size of audiences. Although these musical activities took place in Shanghai, Chinese people were not involved at all for they were not allowed to enter these public gardens in the first place. The well-known 'phrase "Chinese and Dogs Not Admitted" did not appear on any officially-sanctioned sign' (Bickers & Wasserstrom, 1995: 446), nonetheless, humiliation brought by Western imperialist presence was strongly felt by local Chinese people. And it is also mentioned earlier, the exclusion strengthened their superior social identity which in turn, mystified this cultural capital among local Chinese making it symbolize the upper class to a greater extent. Chinese people could only hear the band's performance during parade of Shanghai Volunteer Corps or other personal parties. They could also hire the band if they were able to offer enough money. This Public Band in Shanghai never tried to attract Chinese audiences nor did they make any effort to promote Western classical music among local

Chinese. They had virtually no contact with local Chinese people and this was also a feature of their life within the foreign settlements at that time (Enomoto, 2009). As discussed above, attending concerts in the open air was one of the many reinforced Western lifestyles established by those Shanghailanders as cultural capital to obtain their symbolic identification. Also, they prevented the involvement of local Chinese to reaffirm this cultural superiority. There are many other evidence found along this period to support my statement and are argued below. Here is a picture of Jessfield Park 兆丰公园 (known as 中山公园 today), one of the public gardens, where the Band used to hold their summer concert:



Figure 5 Jessfield Park in the 1910s.

Source: The SSO Archive

### **3.3.2 The Affordance of this Cultural Capital**

In regard to the Public Band, especially for its first few years, the ideology of Council's management and affordance of music they performed both indicated one thing. It was rather the form of this music group than the quality of music itself that mattered. There are two manifestations of my argument. One is the Municipal

Council's reluctance to employ European musicians for they were too expensive as is shown in the 'Bandmaster's Report to the Honourable Members of the Public Band Committee' in 1899 (Shanghai Public Band: 123) and in 1906 (Shanghai Public Band: 201). It is also found in *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council* in 1903 (2003b, XV: 224). The Municipal Council insisted on employing musicians from Manila for their cheap price though the Philippine musicians were generally looked down upon in various cases because racism is always involved through colonializing process. 'I must mention, however, that I have been obliged several times to deal severely with some of the musicians who, owing to their peculiar race, are very often lazy and do not pay sufficient attention to their business...' (Shanghai Public Band, 1897: 307) Also, in 1907 (pp. 109), the Bandmaster complained in his report to the Municipal Council of the poor musical ability of these Manila men: 'the Philipinos showed themselves willing and...capable men during the process and the result that has been attained with them may be termed satisfactory. The manner of performing music practised in Europe was however entirely strange to them'. And in 1911 (pp. 226) he continued: 'the public must not forget that two thirds of the musicians consist of Manilamen, that is to say, of people who are lacking from the very outset in any [background] whatsoever for the work which has to be performed at Sunday concerts'. This kind of racial superiority in the discourse of colonialism can be translated into class terms as the subordinated race remained cheap and inferior labour (Loomba, 2005). It is also evident in the bandmaster's report and the cheap salary of those Philippine musicians. Later in 1910 (pp. 224) the bandmaster wrote in his report that: 'with the numerous improvements, which have been successfully carried out in recent years, [there] arose a wish for some of the other benefits of western culture and a desire to experience some of the advantages enjoyed by those living in the home countries'. The Band was re-organized and started to employ musicians from Europe. Here is a table of number of musicians from the Europe and from Manila from 1912 to 1918:

Table 2 Number of European and Philippine players from 1912 to 1918.

	Europeans	Manila men
1912	18	24
1913	14	21
1914	12	21
1915	12	21
1916	10	20
1917	8	28
1918	7	21

Source: Table made by the author from information found in the Conductor's reports from 1912 to 1918

(Shanghai Public Band) which were gathered at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive.

Although the Bandmaster and the Council made an effort to recruit more European musicians, Manila men still constituted the majority at the Band. It is, on the one hand, because the Council regarded the Band as a symbol to represent their cultural superiority or cultural imperialism rather than a well-established musical group. On the other, reason for the descending number of European players is mainly due to historical condition—the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the consequent unstable social context in Shanghai and in Europe as well. It is quite clear that the life of musicians and music they performed were very much related to broader environment. For example, German and Austrian musicians experienced a hard time at the Band during the First World War. It is found from *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council* on April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1916: 'since the outbreak of the war the German and Austrian musicians have refused to play at patriotic performances, a statement has been authorised to be published in the *North China Daily News* to the effect that they have been required by the Council not to attend patriotic

entertainment and that they have expressed themselves willing to attend whenever they are required' (XIX, 415). Moreover, on May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1916: 'the memorandum and the letter taken together apparently anticipate action on the Council's part in accordance with the resolution put before the Ratepayers, namely that the services of the German and Austrian musicians shall be terminated at the end of their agreement. But a request signed by 680 voters is in the sense that the Band be made acceptable to the majority by arranging that German and Austrian members shall take no part in its performances...' (XIX, 430) Although it was in Shanghai, far away from the main battlefields in Europe, we are still able to find that even the Public Band took its position at warfare. Seemingly an innocent musical group, it served as cultural capital manipulated by the Council, dominated by the British, to obtain political standpoint during the First World War against their enemy allies. Musicians from Germany and Austria were thus having quite a difficult time then.

The affordance of music they performed is also visible. Generally speaking, although the Bandmaster was not satisfied with those Philippine musicians, the music they performed was quite up-to-date at that time. However, why were they so keen on performing the latest classical works in oriental city miles away from Europe where Western classical music dominating? A close examination of what the music afforded and the 'channel' function of music were thus necessary. Acord and DeNora (2008: 235) have argued that 'the arts do not actually create social action; but like other components of human experience...they provide means through which social action takes place and through which experience is subjectivized'. From an advertisement found on *The North China Herald* in 1879, we can see that the Band played opera music by G. Donizetti (1791-1848) and C. Lecocq (1832-1918) who were well-known composers in Europe then. Compared with the early opera music they played, music the Band performed in the early 1900s under the baton of a German conductor R. Buck was works by composers who are more familiar with us nowadays: Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Mozart, Wagner, Tchaikovsky, Mendelssohn, Liszt and so on (Shanghai Municipal Council, 1908). For example, during 1911-1912, Richard

Wagner was performed 17 times, Tchaikovsky 11 times, Franz Liszt 9 times, Beethoven 8 times, Jean Sibelius 6 times, Saint-Saens 4 times and Felix Mendelssohn 4 times (The SSO Archive). These were all popular and most performed composers at the Band in later years and even in modern Shanghai as well. However, at that time they were still relatively contemporary classical music and more complicated music than that performed by the Band in earlier years. The choice of music was also very much related to the nationalities of conductors and musicians. The conductor from 1907-1918 was R. Buck from Germany. Han (1999: 144) has mentioned that those European musicians referred to in historical documents were generally considered to come from Germany and Austria. We can then understand why the majority of those frequently played composers were German and Austrian: Wagner, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn and so on. Although the German and Austrian musicians constituted the majority of European musicians, they were made to suffer at the Band in that Britain was the dominant power both in the Council and in the Band as well. The affordance of music they performed most was first of all, to make Shanghai a home away from home as mentioned above so that cultural superiority could be established against the 'ignorant' local Chinese people. Second, it is the music they performed that revealed musicians nationalism and their 'latching on' to works by composers from their home countries to identify their national as well as cultural identity within the British-dominated International Settlement. As a result, we can further confirm that for Shanghai Municipal Council, the form of the Public Band itself was more important than the music they performed. They tried their best to ban German and Austrian musicians from performing at public concerts while still allowing music from those countries to be played. More evidence was found relating to affordance of this 'cultural capital' and will be argued in greater detail in the following part.

The popularity of composers in Shanghai and among general Chinese people through all these years is relevant to the frequency of their works performed at the Public Band. It will be shown and discussed in later chapters with more evidence.

The influence of the Shanghai Public Band to music field in Shanghai and in China as a whole is beyond imagination due to its long history and unique social context. The exclusion of Chinese people by the Band during its early years somehow made this organization and Western classical music into an upper-class status and mystery to local Chinese. The cultural superiority was thus established. Also, the first existing concert programme at the Shanghai Public Band in 1911 was also the first printed Western music concert programme kept in Chinese music history:

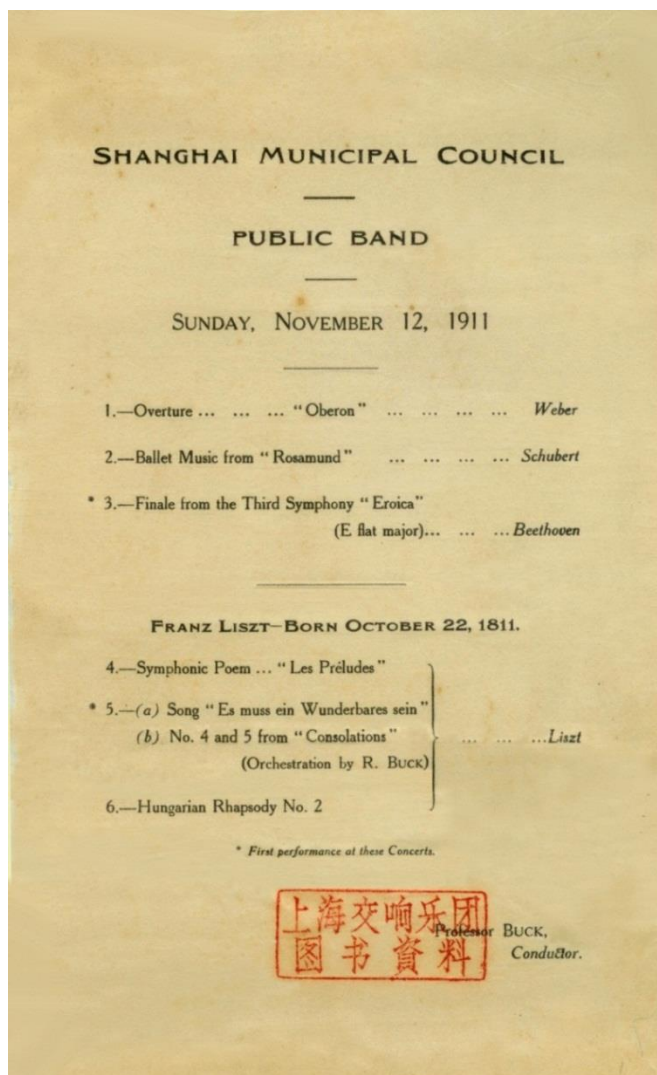


Figure 6 The first printed Western music concert programme kept in Chinese music history—Shanghai Public Band, 1911.

Source: The SSO Archive.

The Municipal Council made an effort to bring the latest music to the Band as was

mentioned in Bandmaster's report to the Council in 1903 (Shanghai Public Band, pp. 191): 'as the result of the Council's subscribing to a musical journal, I have received a regular supply of new music from London, which has enabled me to perform new selections nearly every day...' The Bandmaster also pointed out in his Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council in 1906 (Shanghai Public Band, pp. 200) that '[t]he music required from the Public Band may be classified under four headings: (1) Free concerts in summer time in the Public Garden and on Race Course; (2) Music required in the theatre for the operatic companies and in the concert hall by local musical societies... (3) Military music for the Volunteers; (4) Music at public dances and dinners and in the clubs, hotels'. We can see from the four categories that performance occasions for the Band were quite casual. They were not formal or large-scale concerts although the Band tried hard to bring the latest music to their summer concerts. It was aimed to make their settlements in Shanghai more Western in musical perspective. Later in 1908 the Bandmaster's report made a comparison between works performed in the Town Hall during that year vs. those performed at the autumn Promenade Concerts in the Queen's Hall London. The following table is made to better illustrate that comparison:

Table 3 Comparison with concerts in Queen's Hall London

	Concerts in the Town Hall in Shanghai during 1908	the autumn Promenade Concerts in the Queen's Hall London
Number of concerts	84	61
Music performed	No fewer than 115 in total: mainly Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Mozart, etc. and modern symphonic music as well	Around 549 in total: large proportion beyond resources of Shanghai but mainly classical ones

Source: Chart made by the author with information from 1908 Bandmaster's report (Shanghai Public Band).

Those Shanghailanders were bold enough to compare Shanghai, a city with almost no Western classical music heritage to London, one of the eminent centres of Western classical music in Europe. It is quite clear from this comparison that the Public Band tried its best to make Shanghai resemble their home countries back in Europe in musical aspect by making this cultural capital the way they should be. However, this resemblance was quite superficial in that the comparison was restricted to number of concerts and titles of music performed rather than the quality of music. It can thus be indicated that the affordance of these latest music serves to prove a fact. During the early years of the Shanghai Public Band, more symbolic meanings were attached to it trying to show the 'ignorant' local Shanghai residents of those European settlers' cultural superiority and extraordinary way of living. In later years, when more Chinese audiences, musicians and music were involved, the vigorous acceptance and resistance of this cultural capital were beyond imagination. Consequently, convergence and conflicts were to be displayed.

## **Chapter 4: Carving up Shanghai and the Endangering SSO (1919 to 1949)**

These three decades were marked by several significant political and cultural events in China. Social outlook of China, especially coastal cities such as Shanghai, was thus drastically reshaped. This period of time, despite warfare, also witnessed a major process of Chinese modernization. Virtually all Chinese leaders of this historical stage had the quest for modernization as a means to save the whole nation. They strongly believed that modernization would enable China to catch up with the West, defeat imperialism and establish a respected position in the world community (Mackerras, 2008). The division of Shanghai by International Settlement, French Concession and the old Shanghai city in previous decades became much more complicated with the growing Japanese power, Nationalist Party (also known as the KMT) and rising of the Chinese Communist Party (the CCP). Shanghai turned into a place where various powers demonstrate themselves. It was like luxuriant crops waiting to be carved up and plundered by those powers. Domestically, Shanghai and places nearby also played an active part in many of the national events including May Fourth Movement 五四运动 (1919), establishment of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai (1921), May Thirtieth Movement 五卅运动 (1925), founding of Nationalist Government of the Republic of China in Nanjing by Chiang Kai-shek (1927), Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), establishment of Reorganized National Government of China in Nanjing by Wang Jingwei 汪精卫 (1940), official ending of the International Settlement (1943), surrender of Japan (1945) and Civil War between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party (1946). In cultural perspective, May Fourth Movement in 1919, together with New Cultural Movement 新文化运动 from 1915 was of great significance cultivating a new generation of Chinese intellectuals. They turned to Western ideologies and political beliefs. The spread of Western ideologies as shown in New Cultural Movement was also known to be the Chinese Enlightenment in that it was against old social and cultural systems just like the

Enlightenment in Europe. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra (known as Shanghai Municipal Orchestra at that time) also had its ups and downs. 1919 was an important year both for China and for the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as well. In that year Paci became the conductor and ushered in the 23-year Paci's time. Under the Italian conductor Mario Paci's baton, the Orchestra entered its golden age and was crowned as 'the best in the Far East' (Tanabe, 1970). It was also Paci's effort to involve Chinese players in the group (the first Chinese player in the Orchestra was Mr Tan Shuzhen 譚抒真 in 1927) and persuaded the Municipal to allow Chinese audiences to attend their concerts. However, as the overall social situation gradually became unfavourable for Shanghai Municipal Council, the Orchestra as an artistic group suffered from constant disbanding crisis due to lack of funds. What is more, during the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, the Orchestra changed its name to Shanghai Philharmonic Orchestra. Paci also left his position as conductor due to political issues. With the ending of International Settlement and the Communist Party's taking over, the majority of foreign musicians left or made to leave Shanghai which worsened situation of the Orchestra. This chapter will first introduce the political condition in Shanghai during this period. Attention will then shift to May Fourth Movement together with the emergence of new intellectuals. The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and its involvement with local Chinese people will also be focused on.

#### **4.1 Vicissitudes of Power**

The major political powers in Shanghai during this historical stage were Western settlers in International Settlement and French Concession, Japanese empire (Japan also set up a puppet government in Northeast China—Manchukuo from 1931-1945), the Nationalist Party whose provisional government was based in Nanjing and the newly-emerged Chinese Communist Party. The growing of Japanese power threatened white prestigious status to a great extent leading to the official ending of century-old foreign settlements in Shanghai. Their fight to demonstrate power was

also evident in cultural aspects as a desire to establish cultural dominance and superiority over the subordinated ones which will be discussed with more evidence later. This situation was found in the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra too. It will be the focus of the third part in this chapter. Moreover, after May Fourth Movement in 1919, the rise of Chinese nationalism together with the spread of Marxism and Bolshevik ideology from the Soviet Union led to the establishment of Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai. The wish for decolonization also triggered a number of violent movements against foreign powers such as May 30<sup>th</sup> Movement in Shanghai. It also prompted the cooperation of the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party in fighting against the Japanese. Tactics from cultural dominance and transculturation process were witnessed during this process in order to realize national salvation and decolonization. Nonetheless, due to different political beliefs of the two parties, a Civil War afterwards seemed inevitable.

#### 4.1.1 Japanese Cultural Dominance

The International Settlement and French Concession kept developing where the ‘Western elite groups there flattered themselves that they had, with their own bare hands, built up a society that was akin to that of the old Europe, but more dynamic, more cosmopolitan, and more autonomous’ (Bergère, 2009: 295). Due to bright business opportunities and modern urban facilities, the population, especially Chinese population grew rapidly despite warfare every now and then. It can be shown from the following table:

Table 4 Population in International Settlement

	1920	1925	1930	1935
Chinese population	759,839	810,279	Around 1 million	1,120,860
Foreign population	23,043	29,649	36,471	38,195

Source: Table made by the author with information from *The Shen Bao*, 1942, V379: 255.

By the end of 1910, Japanese population had outnumbered that of Britain and became the largest among foreign population in Shanghai. In 1942, the major nationality composition was as follows: 1,528,239 Chinese, 33,345 Japanese, 10,788 German, 4,202 Russians, 2,779 British, 1,478 Indians, 879 Portuguese, 747 Polish and 404 Americans. Also, in 1916 there emerged a Japanese board member at Shanghai Municipal Council for the first time and the number increased to 2 in 1927. By 1930, there were 5 British, 5 Chinese, 2 Americans and 2 Japanese at the board of Shanghai Municipal Council (Shanghai Municipal Archive, 2001). As can be deduced, Britain gradually lost its predominant stance. Later during the 'Isolated Island' period of Shanghai (1937-1941 when Shanghai was surrounded by Japanese army and the Western settlements), foreign concessions, protected by their international status, were spared from invasion. However, it did not last long for the Japanese forces took control of the International Settlement a few hours after the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 and generally led to the disappearance of foreign concessions in Shanghai. The International Settlement, French Concession and those Western settlers thus entered 'a new era of hostile environment due to the war and the Japanese occupation, which marked the end of the settlements and of the city's international status' (Cornet, 2004: 257). After taking over, Japanese power cut the International Settlement off from the part of its territory situated to the north of Suzhou River. Passage from the occupied zone to the free ones was thus extremely difficult (Bergère, 2009: 291). The former International Settlement then gradually turned into 'a sort of concentration camp' as a Japanese military spokesman put it (Wasserstein, 1998). The situation also brought about a progressive disintegration of this colonial society.

The decline of Western power and the expansion of Japanese power were quite evident in miscellaneous issues within the International Settlement. Yet the International Settlement was actually more 'international' in a sense, 'and in local propaganda much was made of the fact that under the old order the SMC was a

British bailiwick, but now indeed it had become truly international and the contributions of the White Russian presence in the SMP, for example, was now to be fully recognized for the first time' (Bickers, 2004: 249). The fight for power in Shanghai was revealed in political field as can be observed in the acceptance of Japanese board members at Shanghai Municipal Council. Moreover, their fight for power was even fiercer within cultural aspects. The interrelations and differences between concepts of cultural imperialism and cultural dominance have been discussed in Chapter 2. As early as Japanese Meiji Restoration, its cultural imperialism largely reflected a general emulation of the West, especially Western Europe. Nonetheless, its posture as liberator from white oppression in Shanghai was also evident. As a result, the situation of Japanese culture in Shanghai was also part of the cultural imperialism yet it concerned more with cultural dominance in that the former tends to focus more on the global spread of capitalist power. It also showed the vulnerability of subordinated culture as Chinese students were forced to learn Japanese and Japanese culture at school in Northeast China where the puppet government was founded. China was perhaps the most significant part of The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere 大东亚共荣圈 that Japanese Empire had planned. The later Sino-Japanese War can be regarded as intransigence tactics during this cultural dominance process in that people from subordinated culture overtly resisted the superior one. Japan is an Asian country whose development was however, much more rapid and advanced than that of China leading to the resistant process against Japanese cultural dominance overt, strong and sometimes violent. Situation in the international settlements was more or less similar. It is shown in *Shanghai Times* (1942) that the hapless Russians, meanwhile, previously ordered to learn English, now found them taking compulsory Japanese classes. There was a certain decline in the foreign influence in Shanghai. Status of foreign concessions was not reversed for the Chinese authorities did manage to regain some rights they had lost through abusive practices (Bergère, 2009). In regard to the French Concession, it was abolished twice: on July 30, 1943 and on February 28, 1946. By the end of war in the Pacific, 'under Japanese pressure, and following the example of the British and

American, France had officially agreed to renounce its extraterritoriality privileges and to restore Chinese sovereignty over its concessions' (Cornet, 2004: 257). Shanghai thus belonged to China entirely in political sense.

Foreign presence remained in Shanghai after the war: the British continued to live, work, marry, and die in the city; some of them, indeed, because they had nowhere else to go. But their hold on China's real capital city was broken (Bickers, 2004: 253). After the victory, as Bergère (2009: 323) has mentioned, 'a Shanghai liberated from Japanese oppression and reunified after the disappearance of the foreign concessions seemed ready to resume its role as the pioneer of modernization within the framework of a system of international relations in which China would now be included as a full partner. In the summer of 1946, the civil war started up again, but it was waged far away from Shanghai. It gave space for the rebuild and development of Shanghai in all fields. We can say that the Second Sino-Japanese War actually helped local Shanghai authorities gain control over the city. Nevertheless, the Western influence on Shanghai was still large.

#### **4.1.2 The Nationalist Party vs. the Chinese Communist Party**

As mentioned in previous chapter, the success of Xinhai Revolution (also known as Revolution of 1911) overthrew the Qing Dynasty and established Republic of China whose first president was Sun Yat-sen. Though he only served briefly, his modern political philosophy was of great significance such as Three Principles of the People (nationalism, democracy and livelihood of people). Greatly influenced by the West and Japan, his belief and proposition were very much related and emulated from the modern political systems in those countries. It can be counted as the assimilation tactic under Western and Japanese cultural dominance as discussed in previous chapter. After Sun Yat-sen's death, Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of Chinese Nationalist Party (the KMT). He adopted the tactic of integration when faced with cultural dominance. Despite political chaos, the years from 1927 to 1937 was still generally regarded as Nanjing Decade in that Nanjing was the capital of China under

the rule of Chiang Kai-shek's National Government.

In contrast to the prevailing ideas advocated during the New Cultural Movement and May Fourth Movement by later Communist Party members, Chiang Kai-shek returned to an appreciation of modern Confucian values as a transculturation process. It was during the Nanjing Decade when he swung against the left. In February 1934 he launched a campaign called the New Life Movement 新生活运动, aiming to promote Confucian virtue and moral regeneration so as to militarize the nation. Western Christianity was also combined. I would argue here that the cultural beliefs offered in this New Life Movement were a means of transculturation for it presented the encounter of two cultures and the formation of a third one. So as to oppose the Communist Party and its ideologies, the New Life Movement called for restoration of Confucian norms, giving great emphasis on traditional family values. Traditional virtues were greatly encouraged such as politeness, righteousness and integrity. Focus was also put to courtesy, punctuality and hygiene which were virtues advocated in Western countries. This movement extolled respect for morality and traditional Chinese social hierarchies. Primacy of collective interests was restored to go beyond those of individuals or particular social groups. It was essentially 'conservative and condemned Western values—liberalism, individualism, democracy—that the intellectuals of the May Fourth Movement had tried to adapt to China' (Bergère, 2009: 219). Transculturation took place in that Chiang Kai-shek put the two cultures involved at a relatively equal position to fight back against the May Fourth intellectuals. It was due to his own understanding of Western and traditional Chinese culture with the help of and influence from his wife Soong May-ling 宋美龄—a legendary Chinese woman who had received her education in the United States since young.

With the worsening national crisis and encouraging success of October Revolution in Russia, the direction of May Fourth Movement shifted from 'enlightenment and individual liberation through the shattering of traditional cultural hierarchical bonds' to 'national salvation, that is, on liberation the nation from imperialist and warlord

control'. Communism along with May Fourth Movement gradually gained an increasing popularity among the politically-active intellectuals. Moreover, 'its increased emphasis on direct political, often violent, action...was linked too closely with the rise of Chinese Communism' (Schappo, 2006: 176-179). The Chinese Communist Party was founded in July, 1921 in Shanghai since a large number of intellectuals escaped from Beijing to Shanghai after May Fourth Movement out of political pressure. China was too big to be absorbed by a single power, the desire to 'acquire 'sphere of influence' rather than territory' was preferred and the relations between Russia and China were thus 'a product of the conflict between two land powers' (Edwardes, 1967: 114-115). Furthermore 'the conflict was on the new level and it was a level unique to the period of highly-developed capitalism' (ibid). In regard to Russia, the acceptance of Chinese Communist Party into Comintern and support for its development were a step to achieve its ultimate goal of Communism and to fight against the West. It can also be regarded as a form of cultural dominance; to be more specific, it was the tactic of assimilation. It was not surprising as those Communist Party members were among May Fourth intellectuals. They advocated the replacement of Confucius ideology by modern ideologies such as Mr *De* 德先生 (democracy) and Mr *Sai* 赛先生 (science) from the West and Communism from Russia. It also brought about drastic transformation in music field as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Though the Chinese Communist Party and Nationalist Party (the KMT) cooperated twice when confronted with the national enemy—Japanese Empire, a Civil War seemed inevitable as a Chinese saying goes: it would be too crowded for two tigers on one mountain. The Civil War started in April, 1927 and was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. It resumed in 1946 after the defeat of Japan and ended in 1949 with the establishment of PRC by the Communist Party. The last phase of Chinese Civil War was also known as War of Liberation.

## 4.2 Chinese Enlightenment and *Haipai* Culture

The New Cultural Movement in early 20<sup>th</sup> century and May Fourth Movement in 1919 were regarded as the Chinese Enlightenment or sometimes Chinese Renaissance. The former title was due to its resemblance with the Enlightenment in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe when rationalism and naturalism prevailed. Chinese new intellectuals adopted assimilation tactic when faced with cultural dominance from the West and disappointment with native Chinese culture. They questioned and attempted to get rid of traditional ideologies and customs while advocating a new and westernized way of thinking. For the influence of assimilation tactic, I am going to focus on the rise of the public and Western-styled May Fourth intellectuals. It is also regarded as Chinese Renaissance mainly due to the use of vernacular in literatures instead of classical Chinese. The May Fourth literary revolution challenged the traditional Chinese classical language which was rooted in Chinese society for nearly two thousand years and came up with ‘a new vernacular literature, *baihua*—literally, literature of plain talk—new intellectual brought about a vernacularization of values that was broader and more radical in scope than any other previous language reform movement’ (Schwarcz, 1986: 79). It was not only a revolution in literature but more importantly a revolution of minds. By adding popular folk culture into traditional Chinese literature, the newly emerged intellectuals experienced a brain storm that opened their minds to Western ideas and made them reflect on tradition Chinese culture. However, I am not going to provide more details of these arguments since I believe that New Cultural Movement and May Fourth Movement were more like the Enlightenment in terms of the rise of public. Together with the rise of Chinese bourgeois as discussed in previous chapter, the rise of public during New Cultural Movement and May Fourth Movement was provided with stronger social foundation for it created ‘a new audiences: the masses’ (Mittler, 2012: 31) and hence greater possibilities. Habermas’ (1989) understanding of Enlightenment was the creator of ‘public realm’ and the way public opinions questioned traditional ideologies. The rise of public refers to the extensive

participation in public sphere and involvement of general masses in public issues. It can be found, for example, in articles published on *Shen Bao* debating over the value of traditional Chinese music and Western music which also accorded with assimilation tactic. In regard to Shanghai, a distinct form of *Haipai* Culture 海派文化 (Shanghai Culture) emerged representing the fruit of the seemingly transculturation process on that unique land where the West and the East met. Notwithstanding I will substantiate later that it was actually the cultural dominance.

#### **4.2.1 Rise of the Public**

Kautsky (1969: 122) has argued that: '[t]he key role of the intellectuals in the politics of underdeveloped counties is largely due to their paradoxical position of being a product of modernization before modernization has reached or become widespread in their own country.' The intellectuals, the elite class of Chinese society, were standing at the crossroads where traditional Chinese society was put to a face-to-face confrontation against the modern West. It not only displayed a profound social and political crisis in China, but also made possible the apparent collapse of a culture and a whole system of values (Chen, 1971: 3). After all, it greatly boosted the anti-Confucian campaign and 'idea of 'dumping the national heritage' was enthusiastically embraced by the youth, who revolted against all existing institutions' (Wang, 1966: 309). From resistance to appropriation, they experienced several ideological awakening, transformation and assimilation of the dominant culture from the West.

The May Fourth Movement accelerated China's modernization process marking the age of new intellectual elite with Western-style education and way of living. 'By 1916 perhaps as many as 10 million Chinese had in some way or other been introduced to Western learning; for some it was no more than a taste, but many acquired their entire education in Western-style institutions' (Sheridan, 1975: 115). They believed that Westernization was the only salvation for China against a threat cast by cultural imperialism. Those that had studied in the West must become

'leaders and saviours of the nation' which was a notion the returned students accepted without demur (T'ao, 1964: 76). However, when the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out and the Sino-Japanese antagonism grew, scholars in China turned towards Western Europe and America. As a result, in the face of Japanese expansion the institutional structure of the unequal treaty system including extraterritoriality persisted. Foreign, especially American, influence on Chinese higher education reached a paramount stage despite the rapid rise of Chinese nationalism. The 1920s in particular was a period marked by vigorous Sino-American collaboration in science and higher education due to the above reasons (E-TU, 1986). Thus, intellectuals of May Fourth generation had a threefold educational background: Chinese (traditional and early modern), Japanese, and American-European (E-TU, 1986). Consequently, cultural appropriation seemed inevitable. Depressed by traditional Chinese culture but inspired by Western ideology, they swiftly adopted assimilation tactic. There was also a fever of studying abroad especially to Japan during this period of time. The *Shen Bao* had published an article providing figures of Chinese students studying overseas on January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1936: Japan (347), America (254), Britain (121), Germany (61), France (42) and etc. (*Shen Bao*, 1936: V336-607). They were the tower of strength in spreading Western ideas and technologies in China. Those that had studied abroad became, to a large extent, bicultural. They forged common bonds with the Western liberal arts tradition and ensured that the New Culture movement in education would foster more than the mere transfer of technology, 'but it raised acutely the problems of making their foreign training effective and relevant to China's problems, both in fact and (equally important) in the eyes of China's political and military elite who were called upon to give the educators continuing support' (E-TU, 1986: 365). They should always strike a balance between what they had learned abroad and the revolutionary situation in China.

Now I would like to briefly introduce New Cultural Movement and May Fourth Movement, with situation in Shanghai in particular, to serve as a general social context for the rise of public. New Cultural Movement launched during the

mid-1910s and the 1920s was originated from Japan and enlightened by Japanese Meiji Restoration (Schwarcz, 1986). Just like the definition of assimilation tactic indicates, it was a calling for liberty, modernity, democracy and science amongst the chaotic nation and also a reflection on Confucianism and Chinese traditional culture. It remained as the 'awakening moment of radical iconoclasm, revolution, humanism, science and democracy, progress, individualism and nationalism—a Chinese Enlightenment or Renaissance' (Velingerova & Wang, 2001: 1). The later May Fourth movement was very much inspired by New Cultural Movement and was a good example of showing the drastic reformation taking place in China. On May 4, 1919, more than 3,000 students from universities in Beijing, mainly Peking University, gathered in front of Tiananmen Square to demand the return of German possessions and rights in Shandong to China. China was one of the victorious nations at World War I; however, according to the Versailles Peace Treaty, part of Chinese territory and rights once possessed by Germany were intended to pass to Japan. Without responding, the university students marched to Cao Rulin's 曹汝霖 (Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the warlord government) house asking to punish Cao Rulin, Lu Zongyu 陆宗輿 and Zhang Zongxiang 章宗祥 since they were Chinese representatives at the Paris Peace Conference. After burning down Cao's house and beating up Zhang Zongxiang, 32 of the leading students were arrested.

'The movement spread to Shanghai but there changed its character, becoming a great campaign of nationalistic claims in which merchants and workers mobilized alongside the radical intelligentsia' (Bergère, 2009: 178). Chinese bourgeoisie, as introduced in previous chapters, supported and took parts in May Fourth Movement 'both to support China's sovereignty and to protect their own economic interests...This combined expression of national and class interests was a salient feature of the May Fourth Movement' (Chesneaux, Barbier and Bergère, 1977: 72). National capitalism was boosted to a great extent in that there was a call to buy *aiguohuo* 爱国货 [patriotic goods].



Figure 7 Nanjing Road near its junction with Fujian Road around the 1930s Shanghai with lots of Chinese shop signs.

Source: The SSO Archive.

#### 4.2.2 *Haipai* Culture

*Haipai* culture (Shanghai culture) emerged between 1920 and 1930 when Shanghai was no longer Chinese but yet to be Western. The core of this culture is the accommodation and combination of Chinese cultures with all kinds of other cultures just like the sea (*hai* 海) embracing millions of rivers. However, Bergère (2009: 243) argues that it is mistaken to view Shanghai culture ‘as a double betrayal at once of traditional culture and its foreign models: the richness of Shanghai culture stemmed from its fertilization through its cross-cultural influences’. Though it seemed logical to

view *Haipai* Culture as the result of cross-cultural hybridity, I have to argue here it was still cultural dominance in essence.

To start with, *Haipai* Culture emerged under the context of cultural imperialism which is the midwife of cultural dominance. It had a great influence over the well-to-do classes that lived in close contact with foreigners in Shanghai. Especially during 1926 and 1927, the political chaos and violent upheavals brought by warlords forced writers and intellectuals to leave the capital and seek refuge in the concessions of Shanghai. Lee (1999: 17-22) notes that 'the craze for cafés illustrates the degree to which people's imaginations and taste for exoticism fuelled the success of the new leisure activities'. The café also became 'a symbol of modernity, but modernity of a refined nature, bathed in the prestige of French literature' (Bergère, 2009: 267). Shanghai intellectuals generally came to accept Western lifestyle and started to view Chinese tradition from a new perspective. Different from the earlier endeavour to protect traditional way of life as shown by intellectuals in Hundred Days Reform in 1898, they turned to search for another political power even at the expense of tradition. Besides, cultural dominance was witnessed among young people in Shanghai who 'aped Western youth not just in their choice of clothing but in their personal lives as well. Rebelling against arranged marriages, filial piety, old-fashioned family, and all the other conventions of traditional society, they experimented with the concept of 'free love,' joined leftist organizations, handed out flyers promoting strikes and boycotts, and attended lectures by the likes of Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, or Margaret Sanger. In Shanghai, students and intellectuals could lead freewheeling bohemian lives' (Dong, 2000: 151). However, due to its close but subtle relation with the West, *Haipai* Culture was resented by a number of xenophobic conservatives, nationalist militants, and radical intellectuals criticizing that it colonized people's minds. Edwardes (1967: 208) has also pointed out that 'the difficulties faced by modernising Asian elites, the failures of economic planning, and the continually widening gap between the haves and the have-nots seem to be a consequence of psychological wounds inflicted in the age of imperialism'.

Consequently, as I have mentioned in the beginning of this part, *Haipai* Culture was formed under the context of cultural imperialism which served as the catalyst of cultural dominance rather than transculturation.

Next, I am going to focus on articles related to music found in the *Shen Bao* (translated as *Shun Pao* in the old days) from 1919 to 1949 to see how traditional Chinese music and Western music were represented among intellectuals in Shanghai. These articles were also related to the rise of public in that intellectuals started to question traditional Chinese music and request for reformation. The *Shen Bao*, also known in English as Shanghai News, was a newspaper published from April 30, 1872 to May 27, 1949 in Shanghai, China. Founded by Ernest Major (1841-1908) a British businessman in 1872, it was one of the first modern Chinese newspapers. Zhou (2006: 45) has pointed out the two major areas through which Major, the publisher, distinguished himself from the other foreign newspaper: '[f]irst, from the outset, he made it clear that the new newspaper would be for Chinese readers, and thus that it would emphasize news and issues of interest to Chinese, not foreigners. Secondly, he put Chinese compradors in charge of running the business and let Chinese editors pick news items and write editorials. These two methods proved very effective. The Chinese compradors used their knowledge of and connections with the local community to raise circulation and attract advertisements, they kept the price of the paper lower than that of its competitor. Simultaneously, Chinese editors did a better job of making *Shen Bao* appeal to Chinese readers' taste. Within one year, *Shen Bao* had put *Shanghai Xinbao* out of business and become the only Chinese newspaper in Shanghai until the appearance of *Xin Bao* in 1876 and *Hu Bao* in 1882'.

As discussed in previous chapter, Western classical music was not familiar among general Chinese people. Nevertheless, the real acceptance of it did not attribute to those missionaries rather; it was the choice of Chinese intellectuals themselves. Together with the spread of Western ideology, Western classical music was gradually accepted by more and more Chinese intellectuals. It even became a common leisure activity within urban life which bore the colour of bicultural phenomenon (Xia, 2004:

73). China had been a nation that valued the past more than the present and disdained most things foreign. However, it was now regarded as the subordinated category. During the New Cultural Movement, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, president of Peking University, organized a series of ‘music reform groups’. They aimed to introduce Western classical music and reform Chinese music by eliminating its deficiencies to make it more ‘scientific’. It ‘reflected the hegemony of Western musical theory and the assumption that Chinese music was somehow backward and in need of reform’ (Jones, 2001: 36, 39). The situation with Western classical music in Shanghai was similar as Kraus (1989: 24-25) has mentioned that for Shanghai’s petit bourgeoisie its accoutrements (for instance, pianos in the domestic parlour) were markers of modernity and class privilege. Chinese music, in turn, was regarded as low-class and vulgar. It was not hard to imagine that the introduction and adoption of Western music, especially classical ones, would inevitably arouse issues among the general masses. The majority of those articles were found either criticizing traditional Chinese music and musical instruments or advocating the reform of traditional Chinese music according to the West. Here is a table made by SPSS comparing the numbers and percentage of articles with similar subjects published in *Shen Bao* from 1919 to 1949:

Table 5 Number and percentage of different articles in *Shu Pao* from 1919 to 1949

Table						
Subjects		Criticizing Chinese Music	Reform of Chinese Music	Support of Chinese Music	Introducing Western Music	All
Number of Articles	% of Total Sum	41.7%	18.5%	11.1%	28.7%	100%
	Sum	45	20	12	31	108

Source: Table made by the author using SPSS with information from *The Shen Bao* 1919 to 1949 and Shen Bao

Index Note: 'Reform of Chinese music' refers to 'Reform of Chinese Music according to the West'.

It is obvious from this table that there were an overwhelming number of articles complaining about traditional Chinese music and musical instruments, and requesting the reform of Chinese music according to the West. When faced with complete musical notation system, harmonic system and more sophisticated music instruments from the West, traditional Chinese music and instruments were complained about for their its incomplete musical scales, powerless sound and simplicity of the music (Yuqiang, 1925: V211-P119). On the other hand, Western music seemed to be equipped with all virtues: '...what left in our music today are some skills but very superficial in terms of music knowledge. What else can we except?...We only get people who could fiddle with the instruments or hum songs and become the so-called musicians...1, Western music books are very rich; 2, there are many different patterns of rhythm in Western music; 3, Western music has more new music scores than old ones; 4, Chinese songs are decadent music...5, Western music emphasizes a lot on harmonics...6, there are few half tones in Chinese music...7, Chinese music is not accurate...8, each Western music has its own excellency...9, the strings of Western musical instruments are made of medal that can make louder sound than silk ones in Chinese musical instruments...10, Western musical instruments are exquisite while Chinese ones are shabby...' (Bufei, 1925: V218-P353) The inferior emotions experienced by Chinese intellectuals and the desire to reform traditional Chinese music were very strong from these articles: '...in terms of advancement, Chinese music cannot be compared to Western music. Moreover, what we have in the present day are just some kind of stringed and woodwind instruments whose sound is very weak. As a result, some scholars are so scared that Chinese culture will extinct and therefore asked to promote Chinese traditional music...but they know little about music and mix traditional Chinese music with Western music without any order...if we don't reform our music, great harm will be caused to its future...' (Dafu Music Group, 1926: V221-P285) Here, again,

modernization equalled to Westernization which was counted as the only salvation to Chinese culture. Though traditional Chinese music was charged of its various disadvantages, especially when compared with Western classical music, voices to displace it were seldom heard. As a result, we can say that *Haipai* culture or the situation of music in Shanghai belonged to the integration tactic of cultural dominance.

### **4.3 The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra**

Mario Paci, a name hardly known to the Western music world, was an Italian pianist who travelled to Shanghai as part of his concert tour in 1918. Little did he know that he was going to spend the rest of his life in this oriental city. He fell seriously ill upon arrival and had to postpone the concert for a few months to February 1919. During those few months he found Shanghai, especially the International Settlement and French Concession, a nice place to stay as revealed in his letter to Sara, his wife: '[i]t is a town completely European, magnificent large buildings, large roads, electric trams and everywhere busy people coming and going. One does not feel that one is in the Orient at all, one feels like being in Europe' (Zaharoff, 2005: 89). Moreover, he was asked to conduct the Shanghai Public Band by Shanghai Municipal Council, a golden opportunity to realise his music ambition (Paci, 1942). Thus, the Orchestra ushered in its 23-year Paci's Time. It was also during this period that the crown 'best in the far east' was received. This crown was given by a Japanese musician Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984) who travelled to Shanghai in 1923 and the compliment was widely quoted till the present day. Tanabe was amazed at a concert given by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April that year and then crowned the Orchestra the 'best in the far east' in his book published in 1970. Nonetheless, it was still under the control of International Settlement and hence suffered from all kinds of issues together with the historical fate of International Settlement and the city of Shanghai as well. It was also appropriated as cultural capital by different groups of people: the Italian and French government, the

Japanese power and local Chinese people. The music they performed or asked to perform inclined ideology of the power attached. The concept of 'affordance' was also realized through the ideological power or cultural dominance latched on to the music which will be discussed in due course.



Figure 8 Profile of Mario Paci in 1936.

Source: The SSO Archive.

#### **4.3.1 Glorious Times and the Disbanding Crisis**

The Shanghai Public Band was renamed Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in 1922. Though the Orchestra suffered from insufficient European musicians and loss of artistic value in 1919, it swiftly recovered under the conduct of Mario Paci. Shanghai Municipal Council even provided financial support to his trip in Europe bringing more qualified musicians there back to Shanghai. In 1922, European musicians (22) finally outnumbered that of Filipinos (20) (Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, 1922: C10-4-2) and the tendency kept growing. Consequently, quality of music they rendered was much higher than before. It is interesting to notice the change of attitude by the Municipal Council as they used to decline proposals to recruit European musicians every time due to the concern with their higher salaries. At first, Shanghai was just a

venture land for those Western settlers to make a fortune and then go back home. Thus, the point of establishing a band was just to while away boring times and reinforce their cultural superiority over the 'ignorant' Chinese people. However, when Shanghai was gradually transformed into their home away from home and with the 'ignorant' people gaining more and more Western knowledge and musicianship, it seemed necessary for the Council to raise level of the Orchestra. It is shown in *North China Daily News* in 1919: '[w]e can only hope that it may be possible to reconstruct a permanent orchestra, so that Shanghai can once more have its symphony concerts, and even from a musical point of view have some right to be called "The Paris in the East"' (*North China Daily News*, 1919: 11). Moreover, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Russians had a great influence on Shanghai's music field. After the Czar was overthrown in 1917, lots of aristocrats and Jewish people escaped to the Far East. Some came to settle down in Shanghai and among them there were many musicians and music lovers (Enomoto, 2003). Before that, concerts in theatres performed by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Band were free to all foreigner residents from the settlements, however, it became charged (from \$1 to 20 cents) when those Russians flooded into concert theatres after 1921.



Figure 9 The Shanghai Municipal Orchestra at the Grand Theatre in 1936.

Source: The SSO Archive.

The development for the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra was quite steady in the first few years of this period: they had their summer season in public gardens at the International Settlement and winter season in the Town Hall which was later moved to the Grand Theatre. For example, in 1922 there were 70 orchestral performances, 15 chamber music and soloist concerts and 82 brass band concerts (Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, 1922). After they moved the concerts from the Town Hall to the Grand Theatre in 1930 where more seats were available, the average attendance reached 750 instead of 300. At one concert the number even hit 904. Later the average number dropped to 610 in 1936 and to 500 in 1938 due to unstable political situation in Shanghai (Shanghai Municipal Orchestra). The open air orchestral concerts in particular were most welcomed among those Shanghailanders with 1,800 audiences in 1924 (Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, 1924). Also, like previous times, they kept 'in touch with the movement and production of the musical world'

(Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, 1926: 349). In regard to music they performed, despite classic classical music by Beethoven, Paci also actively chose works in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century from all around the world, like works by M. P. Musorgsky (1839-1881), N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908), E. Elgar (1857-1934) and so on. Notably, thanks to Paci's trip to Italy, some Italian composers' works were brought in like O. Respighi (1879-1936) and G. F. Malipiero (1882-1973) (Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, 1922). Paci himself also revealed his criterion for choosing music which was shown in a newspaper article appeared on the *Il Giornale d' Italia*: '[t]he most extensively I can assure you that without exception. Every year we give Beethoven Symphonies, Brahms, Dvorak, Schumann, Schubert, even Debussy, Ravel, Honneger and Respighi...In every program, Italian music is given with dignity and love. How could it be otherwise, as the Shanghai Orchestra is a true and real manifestation of Italian art? Palestrina, Pizzatti, Sgambati, Respighi, Pic Mangiagalli, Malipiero are regularly executed...' (Zaharoff, 2005: 154-155) Though Paci's decision on music was important, he and the Orchestra had to try their best to please the SMC as shown in his annual report to the Council. Paci justified the ratepayers' money by emphasizing on attendance and possibilities of making extra money by engaging in private services. However, the SMC still regarded the Orchestra as 'an expensive luxury' and asked them to popularise the programmes rendered so as to be 'appreciated by the majority of the audience' (Shanghai Municipal Archive, 2001b, XXIII: 314-315). Also, after Japanese power invaded, they cast much influence on the Orchestra as well. For example, music by Japanese composers were specially asked to perform (2<sup>nd</sup> May, 1943, 28<sup>th</sup> Symphony Concert; 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1943, 5<sup>th</sup> Symphony Concert and so on). During 1943-1944 a Japanese guest conductor—Asahina Takashi 朝比奈隆 (1908-2001) also came to conduct the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra after Paci laid off his baton in 1942. On the music programme, there were also advertisements for films regarding Japanese plan to defeat Britain and America so as to build a better East Asia. For them, the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra was cultural capital to show off Japanese culture, a cultural step to build The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and a political propaganda against Britain and America.

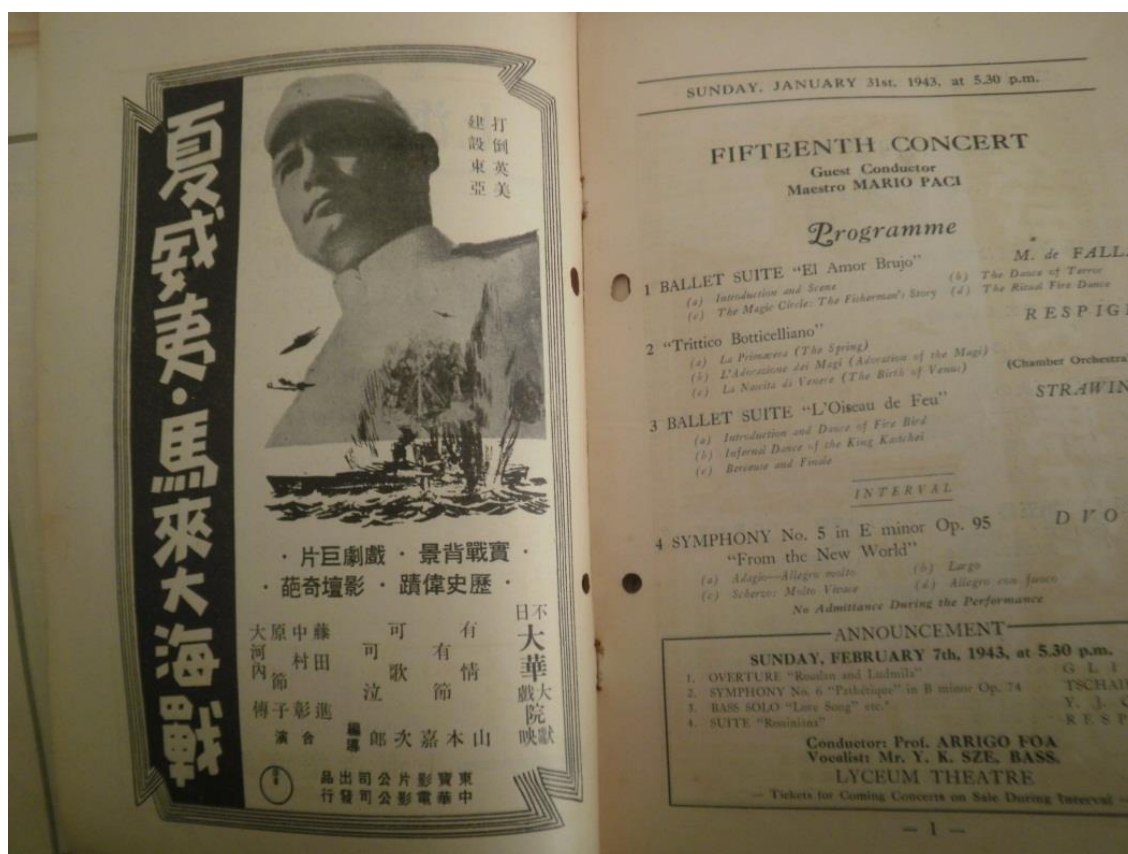


Figure 10 Music programme for the Fifteenth Concert on 31st January, 1943 with film advertisement for *Battle of Pearl Harbour and the Malay Coast* (Kajirô Yamamoto, 1942).

Source: Picture taken by the author (2012c) from the original programme at the SSO Archive (A2-20)

Due to the Council's emphasis on profit the Orchestra could bring and the worsening political and social situation in Shanghai, the Orchestra suffered from disbanding crisis every now and then. Paci told a reporter in 1939: 'every year...we must fight people who say, "Music is a luxury why must we pay for it?"...fortunately, there are more people who do not think that music is a mere luxury and the granting of approximately 1 per cent of the annual budget so that Shanghai can hear the only symphony orchestra in the East and one of the best in the world is a waste of public money' (Austin, 1939: 23). There were generally two groups of people who thought that the Orchestra should be disbanded, one was contending out of the ratepayers' benefits: '...the unpopularity of the Orchestra may to some extent be due to the fact that it does not cater to the public taste in music and it is noteworthy that a large section of the audiences which attend the performances in the Grand Theatre are

not settlement ratepayers' (Shanghai Municipal Archives, 2001b, XXVI: 157). And the other was from local Chinese. Though quite a few of Chinese began to understand and appreciate Western classical music, the majority of local Shanghai people still do not see the point of keeping the Orchestra. This is especially because a large portion of money used to support the band was taken from taxes by Chinese people: '[a]ll their expenses are covered by our Chinese living in the settlement. They've only got 45 people in the Orchestra but the annual expense is 300,000 *yuan*. As a result, the Chinese ratepayers committee is trying its best to disband it considering the limited education it could offer and the huge money it cost...' (Zhang, 1935) Of course, the Orchestra survived, or my thesis would probably come to an end here. What attracted my attention most is how they survived. The French and Italian government were so generous that they offered quite a large sum of grant (ranging from \$20,000 to \$40,000) to keep it running. It happened several times from 1938 to 1942. The French authorities in particular were strange enough for they had refused to pay additional grant quite a few times from 1885 to 1924 when asked to as found from *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council* (Shanghai Municipal Archives, 2001b). Yet it should also be noted that their support was conditional: the Conductor was asked to arrange a certain number of concerts each year dedicated exclusively to French and Italian music respectively. The fight in European battlefield during the Second World War continued within the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra although its form was transformed. Just like what happened with theatre during the Enlightenment of Europe when it was open to the public: '[f]or aristocratic patrons the theatre was a stage within a stage, an arena for exhibiting the signs and prerogatives of rank' (Melton, 2001: 176). It is also the same with the French and Italian authorities who wished to build their superior status through patronage to the Orchestra. Moreover, by requiring music by French and Italian composers to be performed, the idea of 'affordance' is thus realized. The choice of French and Italian composers was no accident nor was it a whim. On the contrary, it was a thoughtful action. The concept of 'affordance' made us to focus on the 'inside' of that action which is the 'emotional, aesthetic, and affective preparation for action' (Acord and

DeNora, 2008: 228) as mentioned in Chapter 2. In this case, the action is to offer grants to the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra by French and Italian government as a way of establishing their cultural superiority towards Britain and America. Nevertheless, the inside of this action is to make the Orchestra perform music by composers from these two countries—the aesthetic preparation for that action. Later, however, in 1942, Paci laid down his baton because he was ‘Italian, a Fascist and Collaborator of the Enemy’ (Zaharoff, 2005: 280). We can see clearly that this cultural capital was flexibly applied by different groups of people under various contexts.

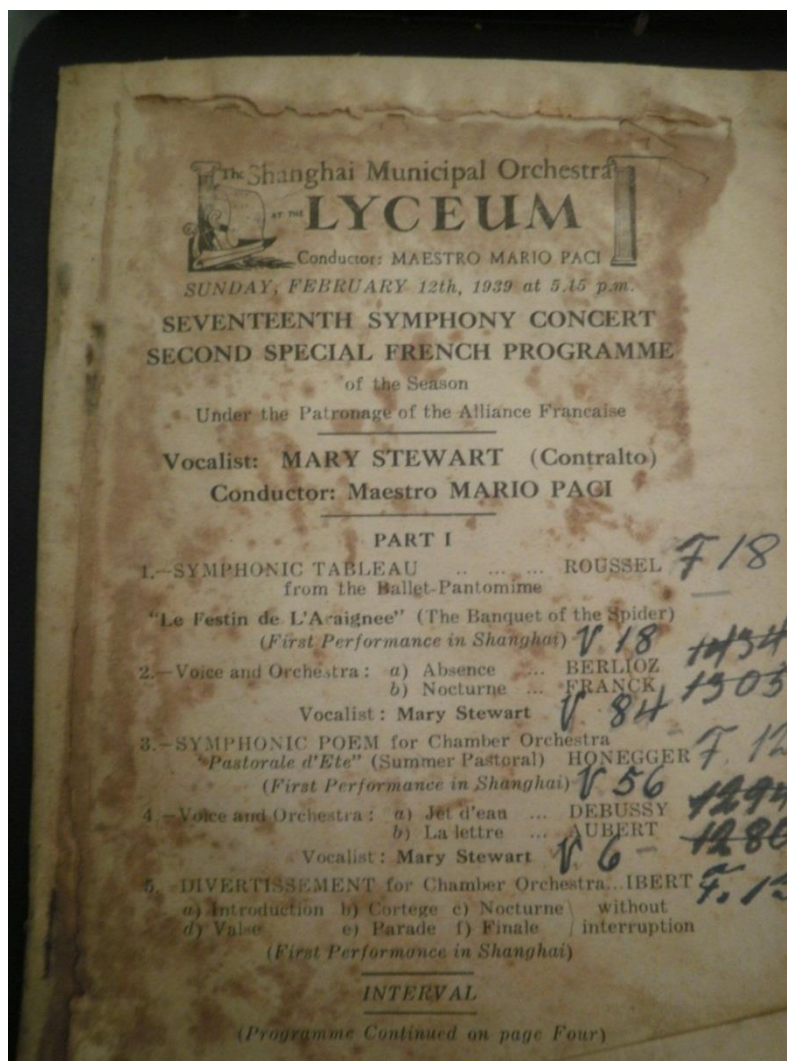


Figure 11 Second special French programme of the season under the patronage of the Alliance Francaise on 12th, February, 1939.

Source: Picture taken by the author (2012c) from the original programme at the SSO Archive (A2-16).

#### 4.3.2 Involvement of Chinese

As mentioned in previous chapter, Chinese people were once forbidden to attend concerts given by the Shanghai Public Band whose name changed to Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in 1922. The Band Committee showed little interest in attracting Chinese audiences either, as shown in discussion of advertising issues in 1928: '[i]t is then recommended that advertisement be inserted in the *North-China Daily News*, the *China Press*, *The Shanghai Times* and the *Shanghai Zaria*...Advertising in Chinese and French papers is not favoured, since most persons interested in music are readers of the four journals selected' (Band Committee, 1928: 140). The intention of it was not for local Chinese to enjoy Western classical music. Due to the rise of public inspired by Chinese Enlightenment—New Culture Movement and May Fourth Movement as well as support from Paci, more and more Chinese audiences were seen at their concerts. Like court theatres, once closed to the general masses, opened to the public during eighteenth-century London. It is also the only one example of how the relatively exclusive sphere of the court could generate more inclusive arenas of sociability and entertainment (Melton, 2001: 168-169). By establishing their superior and reinforced lifestyle, those Shanghailanders lived just like European royals in foreign concessions in Shanghai. Also, coincidentally, it was during this period of time that the economic miracle of Shanghai and China's modernization came into place. It possibly created the market for classical music in Shanghai in both material and ideological terms as discussed above. As pointed out by Yang (2007: 3): 'having assimilated Western associations of classical music with bourgeois ideals of refinement and gentility, the expanding middle classes of the post-war era readily adopted the foreign music as a marker of social distinction'. Western classical music, like other things from the West, became a symbol of modernization in China.

Since then, the percentage of Chinese audiences was frequently mentioned in Conductor's report to the Council (Shanghai Municipal Orchestra): 20% in 1931, 22% in 1932 and 22% in 1937. The majority of those Chinese audiences were students

from music conservatory and other universities in Shanghai in that students were able to attend free of charge. It is a method to involve more Chinese by Paci. Also, some well-known scholars of literature and art would buy tickets to attend the concert (Zhang, 1926a, V220: 509). Nonetheless, Chinese people were still forbidden to enter public gardens at the International Settlement and as a result, they were still restricted from participating the open-air concerts held in those gardens: '[a] request has been received from Mr MacNair of St. John's University that Chinese students be admitted on payment to the summer orchestral concerts in Jessfield Park...After discussion it is decided to express regret that the principle with regard to the admission of Chinese to the Parks cannot be departed from' (Shanghai Municipal Archives, 2001b: XXII: 446). Yet, as mentioned above, Paci took other measures to encourage Chinese people's attendance at their concerts: 'he allowed teachers and students from Shanghai Music Conservatory to attend the rehearsals and let them stand on the upper floor of concert halls to hear the formal performance where no charge is made' (Cao, 2000). This helped the development of music, especially Western classical music in China to a great extent. The first Chinese musician ever to play at the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra was Mr Tan Shuzhen in 1927 but he was not given any money then. The official employment of Chinese players at the Orchestra was not until the year 1938. They had to work at movies theatres and record music for films as a source of extra income since their salary was very low (Melvin and Cai, 2004). Some say it was due to financial issues and foreign musicians' high living standard that made them recruit these Chinese players (Zhang, 1935). It was true to some extent, yet I believe a more important reason was the Council's declining power in front of Japanese invasion. The acceptance of Chinese players was a gesture to show the Council's standpoint. Besides, the Orchestra also cooperated with Chinese soloists and performed music by Chinese composers (Huang Zi's *Metropolis Fantasia* 黄自的《都市风光幻想曲》) for the first time in 1935. It is also worth noting that although there were not any female players at the Shanghai Munciple Orchestra, many Chinese female soloists have collaborated with the

Orchestra to give public concerts. For example, Lois Woo 吴乐懿, enrolled in Shanghai Music Conservatory in 1934 at the age of 15, was the piano soloist at many of the SMC's Symphony Concert: 6<sup>th</sup> Sunday Symphony Concert on 21<sup>st</sup> November, 1937; 25<sup>th</sup> Symphony Concert on 7<sup>th</sup> April, 1940 and so on (The SSO Archive: A2-15 and A2-17). Qingzhu 青主—real name Liao Shangguo 廖尚果—was a famous music theorist based in Shanghai. His daughter Leonora Valesby 廖玉玠, was the violin soloist at the SMC's 30<sup>th</sup> Symphony Concert on 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1943 (The SSO Archive: A2-20). Moreover, Paci's female Chinese student—Mary Shen 沈雅琴 was the piano soloist at the SMC's 22<sup>nd</sup> Symphony Concert on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 1941 (The SSO Archive: A2-18).



Figure 12 Tan Shuzhen—the first Chinese musician played at the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra.

Source: The SSO Archive.

#### 4.3.3 The Nanjing Government and Haydn's *Creation*

Also, one thing worth mentioning was that in April 1937, the Orchestra was invited to give two concerts on the inauguration of Concert Hall in Nanjing (the capital of China at that time): 'the first concert was purely Symphonic, whilst the second consisted in the performance of Haydn's *Creation*. Both concerts were performed to a capacity house of 2,400 persons' (Shanghai Municipal Orchestra,

1937: 255). This invitation and the choice of Haydn's *Creation* are worth a further thought.

To start with, there was a theological root to choose Haydn's *Creation*. As is known, Haydn's composition of *Creation* was based on *Book of Genesis* and *Paradise Lost*, both religious books. If we look back to the ideologies promoted by Chiang Kai-shek in the New Life Movement started in 1934, it is not hard to find the roots they shared in Western Christianity. Also, to invite the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra informed the acknowledgement and appreciation of Western culture by the Nanjing Government. In the meantime, it also revealed their wish for support by International powers against the CCP in that they had not cooperated with the Communist Party until three months later when Marco Polo Bridge Incident took place on 7<sup>th</sup> of July, 1937. The incident marked the start of Second Sino-Japanese War.

In addition, it is not difficult to figure out the hope expressed by choosing Haydn's *Creation*. Haydn depicted and praised the creation of the universe by God as well as Adam and Eve. The Nationalist Party (the KMT) led by Chiang Kai-shek were having a hard time against the rising Communist Party, Western powers in its neighbouring city Shanghai and the impending Japanese intrusion. To build a new China and a stronger nation free from all those interferences, the Nanking Government was eager for 'creation'. Besides the political intention revealed by applying this cultural capital—Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, the concept of 'affordance' was also realized for this appropriation was more than using the form of Western symphonic music to present their high-culture taste or expressing wish for international support. What this cultural capital afforded and how it related to action was also worth exploring. As DeNora (2003a: 119) goes beyond Bourdieu's focus on the semiotic connotation of culture and pointed out the idea of 'culture in action': 'how any social performance mobilises (available) resources, both socially distributed and locally available (situated), such as action-strategies and action-repertoires'. And in this case, the choice of Haydn's *Creation* by the Nationalist Party was closely connected to

ideologies they advocated, political intentions they planned and, more importantly, the desire to 'create' a new China—an action hidden behind the culture they appropriated.

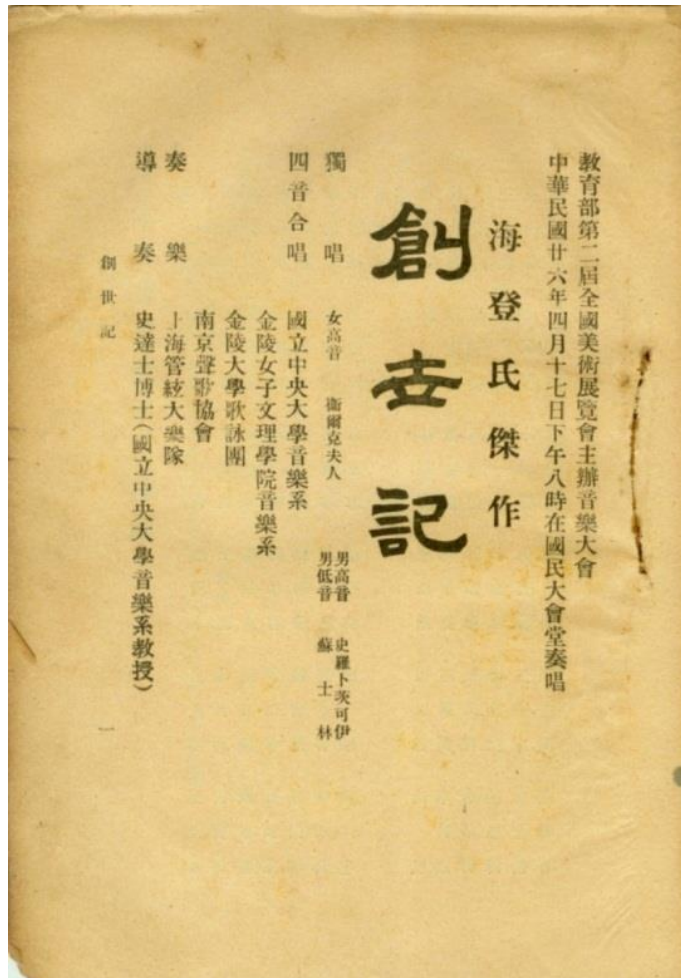


Figure 13 Haydn's *Creation*—the cover of music programme for concert in Nanking on 17th April, 1937.

Source: The SSO Archive, original programme found at file A2-16.

#### 4.4.4 Attitudes of Chinese People

There were generally three types of attitudes held by Chinese people towards the involvement of Chinese people at the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and with Western classical music as a whole.

The first type is proud and encouraging found among the majority of May Fourth Intellectuals. Articles from newspapers and magazines showing this type of attitude

were generally published from the 1920s to the 1940s, a period of time from the final involvement of local Chinese to the founding of PRC. 'Chinese musicians joined the orchestra...they are all skilled players which made us very proud' (Wu, 1940). Also, there were a number of articles sharing information of the Orchestra's concerts for free: '[i]n order to encourage Chinese taste for Western top music, I am now writing below the programme of the 35<sup>th</sup> and 36<sup>th</sup> concerts on April 29<sup>th</sup> and May 6<sup>th</sup> respectively...' (Shanghai Music Conservatory, 1925) Some even felt a sense of superiority when they attended the concerts: '...I should be proud to enjoy this concert. When I was ushered to my seat by a foreign girl, I feel more proud. The majority of foreign audiences and the quiet concert hall, I can't help the sense of self-respect...' (Luo, 1946) On *Shen Bao*, for almost one and a half year starting from 1925, Zhang Ruogu 张若谷, a Shanghai scholar, published information for almost every Sunday Symphony concert held by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra including time, place, and ticket price together with a brief introduction to music they performed. When classic music works were to be performed, Zhang would also indicate specifically and encourage the attendance of Chinese people. He also introduced general rules and common sense for social behaviour one should obey at concerts and general Western social occasions for fear that the majority of Chinese people did not know (Zhang, 1926a, V220-509). Zhang encouraged the habit of attending 'noble' concerts by young people during Chinese New Year vacation instead of idling about as they would previously do (Zhang, 1926b, V220-845). For him, and the majority of Westernized Shanghai scholars, attending concerts by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra was a modern lifestyle and a way of showing their identity as shown in Bourdieu's argument with taste and social class. As mentioned above, the majority of Chinese audiences were students from music conservatory or universities and well-known scholars of literature and art. Zhang's free advertisement for concerts came to an end when he heard an extremely uneasy piece of music on 27<sup>th</sup> February, 1927 at the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra's concert. It will be discussed in the following part. Information for the concerts was still seen on *Shen Bao* but only when it related to Chinese soloists or works by Chinese musicians.

Moreover, Xiao Youmei 萧友梅, a well-known music educator clearly identified his encouragement of the attendance of Chinese audiences at concerts by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra: ‘...I have to say that you should not only do your duties of paying taxes without enjoying your rights and besides, you have to listen to this kind of music a lot so as to understand it...’ (Xiao, 1928)

The second is humiliation and upset which was also shown by some May Fourth intellectuals with nationalist sensitivity as will be shown later with excerpt from an newspaper article by Zhang Ruogu. The number, however, was relatively small compared to the first type. In later years more and more people were holding this attitude as can be found in articles published in the first few years after the establishment of PRC. It was rather a prevailing ideology of that particular historical stage where Western elements were mostly criticized as they were supposed to be against Communism. The intention of Paci’s support for the involvement of Chinese is questioned by them: ‘[w]ithin the Orchestra, people are classified into five rates with Italians at the top, followed by other western Europeans, Russians and Filipinos while the Chinese are at the bottom. It was shown in their salary as well...music by Chinese composers is hardly seen on their music stands. Occasionally, Paci would conduct works by Chinese composers like Sha Mei and Huang Zi only to attract the Chinese Board’s attention...on a music book with Sha Mei’s work many foreign players wrote ‘first and last time to perform’...’ (Shuoyuan and Cao, 1979) There was an article published on 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1927 with the name ‘Yuesheng Beiduofen Bainianji (yi)’ [Music saint Beethoven’s 100 anniversary (1)] by Zhang Ruogu (1927, V234: 553-554) in which he expressed his anger and upset when hearing the Orchestra performing ‘God Save the King’ leading him to end his free advertisement for concerts on *Shen Bao*. Main content of his article is translated by the author as follows:

...I used to copy each concert programme, translate and make some introduction in order to arouse Chinese people’s interest in Western music and promote common sense of Western music to Chinese society. But on the Feb. 27<sup>th</sup> this year, I was extremely upset after the concert...I attended the 20<sup>th</sup> Town Hall concert and the last piece is the overture

of Weber's *Jubel*. However, at the end of it, all players stood up and performed 'God Save the King' together. Two thirds of the audiences, except for the Russians, all stood up and salute. We sat still and were extremely offended. I think it must some particular order from the Municipal Council and the majority of players are Italians, Germany and Manila men with the conductor being Italian himself. Why do they play this national anthem? It must be the 'bread' issue. They are controlled by the Anglo-Saxon nation and may be forgiven. But I still think this is a manifestation of some ideology. In order to shun the suspect of promoting that ideology, I decided not to put free advertisement for their concerts. Now they don't play *God Save the King* anymore and I am feeling better...besides, my friend Mr Tan Shuzhen will join the Orchestra to play the second violin...he is the first Chinese to be in the Orchestra so I will introduce you the programme this time in particular. However, I will not write any articles about the Town Hall concerts...I have written a book for Western music lovers introducing you the very best music works... (Zhang, 1927, V234-553,554)

The music *God Save the King* was the national anthem of Britain whose strong political indication and threatening ideological tendency was very hard on Chinese people's hearts during that particular period of time. It was especially hard for intellectuals from May Fourth generation whose patriotism and national self-esteem were very strong. For my understanding, the 'manifestation of some ideology' referred to imperialism and the easy reminding of subordinated cultural and political status of Chinese nation. Feelings of embarrassment and upset were thus aroused. The concept of 'affordance' is again witnessed here for what the music made Zhang Ruogu and the rest of those Chinese audiences do and feel was strong and obvious. It was much more than attending Western classical music concerts as a way of showing their identity and social status, rather, this 'action' is worth a further thought regarding various historical and national issues at that particular historical stage. This kind of feeling, as Magdoff (1978: 150) argues, located 'in the false patriotism and the racism that sink deeply and imperceptibly into the individual's subconscious; in the traditions, values, and even aesthetics of the cultural environment—an

environment evolved over centuries, during which self-designated “superior” cultures assumed the right to penetrate and dominate “inferior” cultures’.

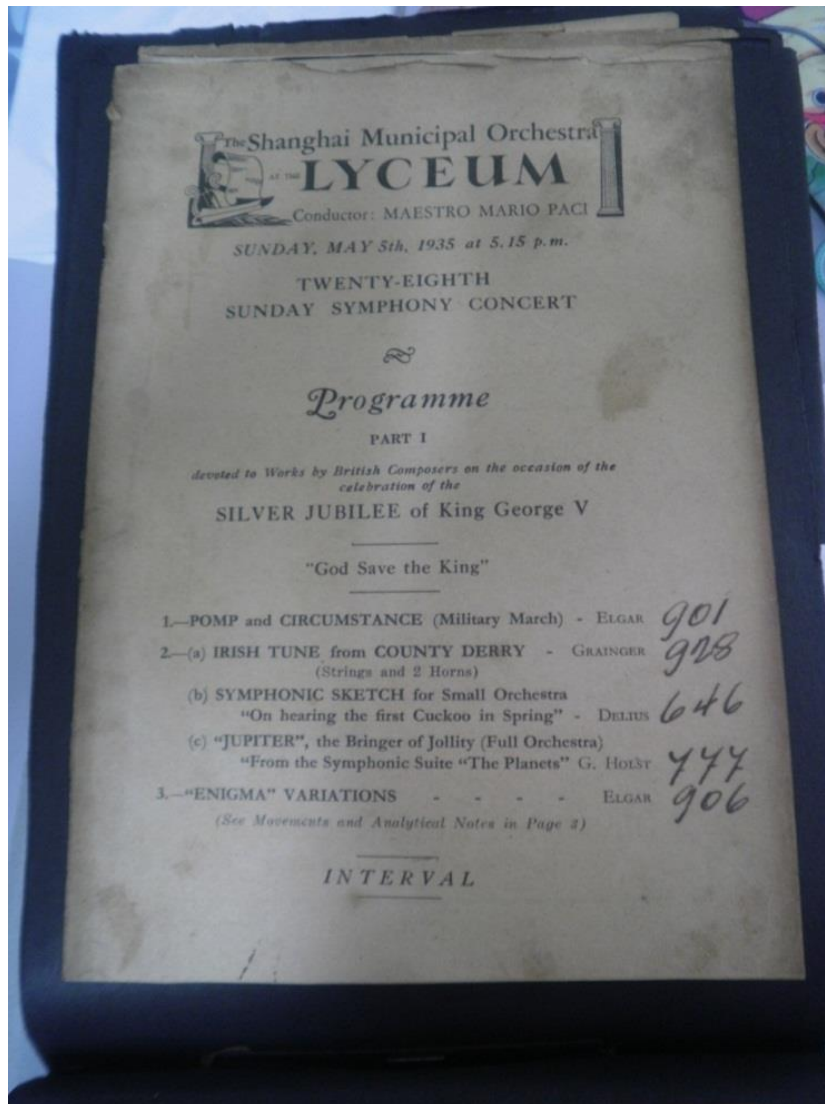


Figure 14 Music programme for 28th Sunday Symphony Concert on 5th May, 1935.

Source: Picture taken by the author (2012c) from original programme at the SSO Archive (A2-12) (Note: I did not find the music programme on 27th May, 1927 so I presented one with ‘God Save the King’ in 1935).

The third one is actually hard to define; I would call it old-fashioned or in Adorno’s (1976) words: ‘the musically indifferent’ for they still held old-fashioned attitudes towards music. And Western classical music was no exception. This type of attitude can be found among the majority of ordinary Chinese people at that time. Music in China had never received enough attention it ought to have in ancient times for it

was 'not a form of independent art but was only used as company at tea house or played by some blind people on the street. Chinese people have not formed the habit of listening to music quietly and whenever there is music on stage, there are people talking loud among which peddlers are even shouting to sell things...because of this, European musicians who came to China all stayed away from Chinese and we were not allowed to the concerts...' (Zhang, 1925: V217-81&82) It does not suggest that Chinese people did not love or understand music for traditional forms of Chinese music such as *Jingju* has always been popular. This is to say that Chinese people did not treat music seriously as a formal and independent form of art related to privileged classes. In regard to the disbanding crisis mentioned above, 'a number of Chinese have suggested that the Orchestra could reduce its cost by its Band section attending funerals' (Shanghai Municipal Archives, 2001b, XXVIII: 446). The suggestion was of course turned down by the Band Committee as detrimental to the Band's prestige. Despite their refusal, it was also constantly recalled to them that 'in many cases to relatives of influential Chinese will pay almost anything to get the Municipal Band' (Band Committee, 1919: 10). The ideology behind showed that although many scholars gradually understood and appreciated Western classical music, there were still a number of local Chinese who knew nothing about music and only regarded the group formed by foreign players as an object to show off their economic power.

## **Chapter 5: Communist Shanghai and the Reform of the SSO (1949 to 1966)**

After the defeat of Nationalist Party, People's Republic of China (the PRC) was established on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1949 by the Chinese Communist Party (the CCP). It represented a landmark in Chinese history and also a temporary and relative peace after a century's upheavals since the First Opium War in 1840. Society was nonetheless very much fragmented: public order decayed, economy suffered from severe inflation. Cultural development, after all those years of warfare, lagged behind to a great extent especially during the decade before PRC's establishment. The first few years of PRC until the launch of Cultural Revolution in 1966 witnessed a great deal of recoveries from war time for this new country. It tried to get rid of the remaining forces from the Nationalist Party and imperialist powers from the West and Japan as well. The revolutionary development in almost all fields during this period of time had its great influence from the Soviet Union with China being a member of the socialist bloc until Sino-Soviet split in the late 1950s. 'Modernization' has always been a popular term in China's modern history implying the desire to overcome traditions as well as 'old-fashioned' ideologies and substitute them with new systems and thoughts, especially Western ones. During the 1950s and the 1960s, however, it became more and more apparent that people especially intellectuals with different cultural backgrounds dealt with modernization and made use of modern technology or culture in quite distinct ways 'under the influence of the deep-lying structures of their own cultural values and inherited institutions' (Fairbank, 1987: 23). It, however, turned out to be the prelude of catastrophic Cultural Revolution. Moreover, the idea of 'class' came to be reinforced within Chinese society as the masses were widely labelled. Yet, unlike China in the present day, it was never the rich men's world as they were frequently accused of their subtle relations to the West as a means of getting wealthy. Even landowners and rich peasants who had no contact with the West were forced to hand in their lands and

possessions to authorities allowing for equal distribution. The Land Reform movement was officially launched in 1950 and those landowners and rich peasants were viewed as exploiting class. On the contrary, being a proletarian such as an ordinary working class or a poor peasant was proud and honoured in that their incomes were regarded as 'clean'. Just like what Communism promoted—'radically egalitarian' which 'argued that the proletariat – the class of people who owned little or nothing, and who lived by doing manual labour for wages – was destined to rule' (Moise, 1986: 52). As a result, the majority of Chinese population, considered to be the 'class of people who owned little or nothing', was filled with enthusiasm to build up a new country free from exploitation and suppression. Shanghai, a city whose influence from the West was the strongest, was put in the limelight during all the revolutionary social movements launched every now and then throughout these years. Not hard to imagine, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra (also known as the Shanghai People's Municipal Symphony Orchestra or the Shanghai People's Symphony Orchestra until 1956) shared similar destiny with disbanding crisis, musicians sent to countryside and factories, etc. At this historical stage, the symphonic music group was not quite a typical one. It could rather be regarded as cultural capital, appropriated by the Communist Party and worked as a propaganda tool in various situations such as displaying independence and capability of Chinese people and publicizing latest social slogans on their programmes. Moreover, Chinese folk songs adapted for the SSO to perform revealed the ideology of making foreign things serve China. It laid a foundation for the hybrid music to take form during the coming Cultural Revolution.

## **5.1 The CCP's Ideology and the Socialist Bloc**

When the CCP was first established in 1921, there were only 57 Party members. At the beginning, almost all members were educated people coming from middle- or upper-class backgrounds for they were among the first generation exposed to Communism and Marxism. According to the ideologies they were studying, however,

‘these young intellectuals were soon trying to organize the proletariat – the industrial workers – as the main basis of the revolution’ (Moise, 1986: 53). As a result, the number of the CCP members expanded year by year especially when the CCP became the ruling party of China. The establishment of PRC was no doubt the great triumph of the CCP in political terms despite the control of Taiwan by the Nationalist Party (the KMT) which still remains an issue till the present day. Here is a table showing the number of the CCP members from 1940 to 1961:

Table 6 Number of the CCP members from 1940 to 1961.

Year	Month	Event	Number of CCP Members
1940			800,000
1945	April	Seventh National Congress of CCP	1,210,000
1947	December		2,700,000
1949	October		4,480,000
1950			5,000,000
1954			6,500,000
1956	September	Eighth National Congress of CCP	10,730,000
1959	Summer		13,500,000
1961	June		17,000,000

Source: statistics from news release conference of the International Communication Office of the CCP Central Committee on 24<sup>th</sup> June, 2011.

Marx indicates that when a class successfully transformed its position from

subordination to domination, social structure is doomed to be reorganized (Giddens, 1973). This new ruling party was eager to consolidate their authority through destroying remaining 'detrimental' forces such as remaining Nationalist Party and imperialist powers. Moreover, the old hierarchical social order was like a thorn in the flesh to them due to their 'radically egalitarian' ideology which led to 'stripping the old elite of its power, its prestige, and most of its wealth' (Moise, 1986: 126). The Land Reform was just a case in point. It had actually begun in the north part of China where the Communist Party was based during the Civil War. When PRC was established, 70% to 80% of the land in Chinese countryside was owned by landlords or rich peasants constituting less than 10% of the entire rural population. They thus ended up as the feudalist exploiting class and were targeted to be extinct or reformed. Their land and possessions were seized by local political authorities without any compensation, allowing for equal distribution. They were sometimes under physical attack; some were even killed, by poor peasants during the process.

Confucianism had been the official state ideology of China ever since Han Dynasty (206 BC) until the establishment of Republic of China by Sun Yat-sen in 1911. It was then replaced by Sun's Three Principles of People. Confucianism had been under severe criticism ever since New Cultural Movement as discussed in Chapter 4. The key point advocated within Confucius ideology was the 'importance of proper human relationships...subordinates should be reverent and obedient towards their superiors, while superiors should be benevolent and just...it suggested that people wanting to improve society should look to the past for their models, rather than trying to devise something new' (Moise, 1986: 6). Buddhism is another source of Chinese philosophy. Though originated in India, Buddhism has always been the most widely accepted religion in China leading to the popularity of fatalism.

The victory of the CCP happened to challenge these two major ideologies or philosophies in China. The proletariat is able to take the lead and change fate through violent fighting against upper classes. This prevailing social theory and 'radically egalitarian' ideology advocated by Chinese Communism encouraged the

general masses to take an active part in class conflicts against the old social elite classes which will be substantiated in relation to practical cases later.

### **5.1.1 The Soviet Union's Cultural Dominance**

The ideological influence of the Soviet Union on China was already strong in the 1930s as North (1963: 33) mentions that many Chinese had looked towards Moscow—especially after the revolutionist Sun Yat-sen had turned to the West for help in building a republic but ended up in refusal and ignorance. What the Bolshevik Party, later renamed Communist Party advocated inspired Chinese intellectuals to a great extent: through class struggle the poor is capable of taking 'control of the economy from the rich, and attempting to establish a socialist economic system' (Moise, 1986: 51). After the establishment of PRC, the rationale was that since the best of Western (British and American) science, technology and culture had already been absorbed by the Russians, the 'quickest and best way' was to learn the essence directly from the Soviet Union (Pepper, 1987). The subordinated position of China to the dominant stance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in almost all fields was obvious at this historical stage. The prerequisite of cultural dominance was thus available. Although the CCP's ideology encouraged the general masses to fight against the exploiting classes from home and the West, the once superiority complex of Chinese nation seemed to be toppled. Due to humiliations brought by constant defeat in battlefields and political occasions in the past century, feelings of inferiority were instead deeply rooted in various fields. As to tactics of cultural dominance, it is difficult to nail down an exact type during appropriation process for the complicated issues involved. I will then try to analyse some major fields of Sino-Soviet interaction employing theories from cultural dominance under the context of cultural imperialism as defined in Chapter 2.

The acceptance of China into the socialist bloc and support offered by the Soviet Union during the Cold War can be regarded as an exploitation process from the Soviet Union's perspective, resembling the form of cultural exploitation to a great

extent. It was the dominant culture making use of the subordinated ones although in China's case, it was not for resources of consumption. The purpose was political and ideological influence. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Ziff and Rao (1997) express four concerns for the cultural exploitation process which includes degradation, preservation, deprivation of material advantage, the failure to recognize sovereign claims. Although in terms of the relation between the Soviet Union and China, these four concerns were not the intentions of the Soviet Union. The essence of traditional Chinese culture was inevitably deprived of to help strengthen the socialist bloc. China became a socialist member led by the Soviet Union and was a follower at that time. As a result, China was not able to give enough attention and respect to its own culture but had to learn from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Degradation of China in almost all fields was also ineluctable.

Much as the Cold War was generally considered as a political and systemic conflict. It was also a cultural conflict, a 'battle for the minds' or in the words of Harriman W. A., a U.S. ambassador in Moscow from 1943 to 1946: it was 'a war of ideology and a fight unto the death' (Ninkovich, 1981: 135). From the very beginning, both sides in this confrontation—the United States and the Soviet Union—tried to expand and consolidate their sphere of influence not just through diplomatic means and economic assistance, but also, more importantly, through cultural diplomacy (Ninkovich, 1981, 1996; Frankel, 1965). It was of extraordinary significance for the Soviet Union to take China into their bloc to fight against the United States of America and also to cast ideological impact, as cultural imperialism, towards China. It accords with the concept of cultural exploitation argued above.

Cultural exchanges, in this sense, became a prime element of Sino-Soviet partnership after founding of the PRC. These exchanges accord with definition of the first form of cultural appropriation—cultural exchange: 'the reciprocal borrowing of linguistic words and phrases, mutual influence on religious beliefs and practices, technological exchange, and two-way flows of music and visual arts' (Rogers, 2006: 478). They included 'mutual visits and performances by delegations of writers,

orchestras, and artists; large-scale international conventions such as the World Youth Festival; and the movement of exchange students in arts, drama, and music' (Volland, 2008: 54). Nonetheless, it was not as simple as that definition indicates for inferior feelings were constantly expressed by the majority of Chinese which should not be overlooked. Examples will be given and words will be quoted when referring to the particular case of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra later in this chapter. The visiting delegations from the Soviet Union in particular were a significant move. It provided this newly founded nation with legitimacy indicating that the PRC belongs to their socialist world. Student exchanges, especially the exchange of students in music, arts and drama, played a key role in the cultural diplomacy among nations of the socialist bloc. Their immediate public impact was yet limited in the socialist world. However, it is worth noting that many former exchange students moved into leading positions upon returning to the PRC. They also continued to dominate research and teaching areas well into the 1980s and beyond (Volland, 2008: 58-59). In the 1950s, Chinese artists won a number of prestigious awards at international competitions which manifested the talent of these artists and helped to boost Chinese people's confidence on international stage.

In regard to political, economic and cultural systems, it was exactly the tactic of assimilation within cultural dominance for China simply copied from the Soviet Union's example while replacing the old ones. In terms of economy, China in 1949 was almost in a state of economic collapse. However, with the help and influence from the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party swiftly launched the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957). It, by conventional measures, was an unusually successful program of economic development. The Soviet experts who helped prepare the First Five Year Plan, intended to have steady growth based on steel, coal, petroleum, electric power, cement industries. They also planned for construction of 300 or more factories and economic independence of China by 1967. As a result, between 1950 and 1957 steel production rose from 0.6 to 5.3 million tons, coal from 43 to 130 million tons and electric power from 4,500 to 19,300 million kilowatts. Agriculture

also thrived, with grain production rising from 160 million tons in 1953 to 250 million tons in 1958 (Bown, 1977: 4). Mao put it in early 1953: '[t]here must be a great nationwide upsurge of learning from the Soviet Union to build our country' (Fan, 1972: 102). It was a very common Chinese scene since 1949-1950: the emulation of Soviet methods, study of Soviet theory, placing Soviet experts in key ministerial, enterprise, military, and scientific and educational advisory posts, dispatching Chinese students and specialists to Russia, and publication of large numbers of translated Soviet texts (Teiwes, 1987). It thus created a profound and lasting influence on Chinese economy and society as a whole. The influence from the Soviet Union was also great in political terms. The Chinese Communists had, at a very early stage, developed a pattern of political organization, modelled on that in the Soviet Union. It had been a major factor in their successful achievement of power both before and after the founding of PRC (Barnett, 1964).

In cultural fields, the Party paid salaries and assumed responsibility for the living and working conditions of intellectuals but quickly imposed organizational control over them (Goldman, 1987a). According to Mao, the only acceptable intellectual was the one who integrated himself with the workers and peasants and used his or her capacity to serve the people. During the half-century prior to the Communists' rise to power, 'modern education in China developed under the strong influence of Western ideals of liberal education and academic freedom' (Barnett, 1964: 125). After the establishment of PRC, the Communists followed the Soviet Union's model, establishing new schools on all levels. Special efforts were made to set up institutions of higher learning and to reorganize old institutions after the same pattern (North, 1963). It was due to the inexperience of the CCP as a ruling party in China, they felt subordinated to the 'big' country and leader of socialist bloc—the Soviet Union. Traditional Chinese ideologies and social systems had already been criticized since the 1920s which made the assimilation process necessary: accepting and copying the Soviet Union's models in almost all fields.

In regard to cultural dominance from the Soviet Union, it is assimilation tactic that

was taking place. Native Chinese culture was generally looked down upon and thus abandoned when exposed to superior Russian ones. China at that time was just a younger brother in the socialist bloc. However, in terms of Western culture, an overt resistance was witnessed. This resistance towards Western cultural elements can be illustrated using the tactic of intransigence within cultural dominance. Why the tactics of intransigence rather than resistance since both of them imply overt resistance to the dominant culture? If we examine the definitions of these two tactics again, it would not be difficult to find out the reason. The purpose of resistance is to maintain native culture which was not the case for China as discussed above. It was rather to show its political position as a socialist country. In 1958-1964 the Sino-Soviet dispute became the primary problem for Chinese foreign policy which was later followed by the collapse of Sino-Soviet relations and the disintegration of the Soviet Union (Whiting, 1987). The end of direct Soviet influence also marks the beginning of a new Chinese path to socialism as will be substantiated later. Besides Sino-Soviet dispute, the Communist Party had to work very hard against Western influence within the nation as well. Barnett (1964: 5) has pointed out that 'the insistent demand in China for creation of a strong, united, modernized country is an expression of growing nationalism, which is most prevalent in urban areas where Western influence has been the strongest. In concrete political form, it has been directed mainly against foreign influence in China.' What the Communists had done was to gather strength in remote rural areas far from coastal cities with visible foreign influence and consequently channelled Chinese resentment against foreign imperialism towards any Western elements.

## **5.2 Class Conflict and Communist Shanghai**

As mentioned several times in previous chapters, latency was laid on class conflict in later times which was the forming of different classes and drastic gaps between the rich and poor in Chinese society. The situation was worst in cities such as Shanghai whose Western influence was strong. This conflict reached a crescendo

during this historical stage and Cultural Revolution that followed. It is also not hard to imagine the enthusiasm of the proletarian class in China for they believed that their life time opportunity had come to change their fate and beat the well-off classes who used to exploit their poor labour. This phenomenon, on the contrary, showed Marx's theory pointed out earlier in this chapter that social structure is destined to change with subordinated class becoming dominant one.

Class conflict during this period of time was in essence the tactic of intransigence under cultural dominance process as explained above. The overt resistance against anything Western got spread within Chinese society. Chinese bourgeois and intellectuals with Western background also became targets of accusation. It revealed the desire and fear during the CCP's process of consolidating their power in mainland China. Chinese bourgeoisie had its golden times (discussed in Chapter 3) and generally became an established class along the development of capitalism especially in coastal cities such as Shanghai. However, 'the weakness and vacillation of the bourgeoisie required that the proletariat take the lead' (Moise, 1986: 98). The concept of 'class' had always been of great importance during the first three decades of PRC especially since the 1950s when 'class labels were virtually frozen, people who had been labelled landlords, rich peasants, bourgeois, or petit-bourgeois...had virtually no chance of attaining a change in class status, no matter what their present means of earning a living might be' (Moise, 1986: 143). In 1948 Mao told cadres: '[w]e do not advocate absolute equalitarianism.... [and] we must not attempt to wipe out overnight the whole system of feudal exploitation' (Mao, 1969b: 236). Nonetheless, an impressive start was made, 'with agricultural and industrial hired labourers forming the apex of the new 'hierarchy', followed by poor peasants (who had rented land), middle peasants (who owned a small amount of land) and small shopkeepers, etc., rich peasants (who hired labour to help run their large properties) and landlords (who lived off rents from their tenanted land holdings)' (Bown, 1977: 3). Mao, furthermore, declared that 'bourgeois ideas which are favourable to capitalism and harmful to socialism' (Mao, 1977: 5).

According to Bourdieu's theory, social classes, interests and tastes came into being naturally through different habitus maintained by people with distinct status. However, it was the CCP's task to wipe those differences out so as to realize their 'radically egalitarian' ideology. Consequently, during 1951 and 1952 a series of movements were launched targeting at the bourgeois or intellectuals with bourgeois tendency aiming to consolidate Communist power. The central idea of it was the 'demarcation of the ideological line between the bourgeoisie and the working class,' between 'foe and friend' (Barnett, 1964: 133). The Three-Anti campaign (anti-corruption, waste and bureaucracy) and Five-Anti campaign (anti-bribery, theft of state property, tax evasion, cheating on government contracts and stealing state economic information) were just these movements. At first, however, it is quite obvious that 'the party had been undermined by bourgeois ideology and influences...[r]elying on the bourgeoisie led to abandoning the working class' (Gao, 1952: 270). Yet, later when class struggle became intense, these campaigns entered their prime time. Po Yipo 薄一波, a Communist official, made the point clear saying: '[t]he campaign against corruption, waste, and bureaucracy is...a struggle against the decadent thoughts of the bourgeoisie and also a determined counteroffensive against the attack of the bourgeois class against the working class and the Communist Party for the past three years' (Barnett, 1964: 155). Communist leaders later made assurances to Chinese bourgeoisie that the campaign was not designed to wipe them yet it was not the case. One result of these campaigns was clear and obvious: a fundamental change of position in Chinese national life of an entire class—the bourgeoisie. The Communists have, in effect, labelled the bourgeoisie as a class enemy of the regime, which was only allowed to exist on sufferance (Barnett, 1964).

Besides bourgeois, relationship between the Party and intellectuals was also worsened. It was rather an ideological conflict between the Western thought and traditional Chinese values, as well as Marxism from the Soviet Union. After 1949, the Party, on the one hand, 'indoctrinated intellectuals in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism,

which was imposed more comprehensively and intensively than Confucianism had been on the traditional literati'; while on the other, it 'tried to stimulate the intellectuals to be productive in their professions' (Goldman, 1987a: 218). There were about 100,000 higher intellectuals, defined as professionals, scholars, and creative artists in the 1950s. Most of them were characterized by Zhou Enlai as having a degree of bourgeois idealism and individualism (*Renmin ribao*, 1956). The intellectuals were subjected to efforts to change their Western liberal orientation, yet 'the Party was still wary of harsh measures that would alienate them' and moreover, 'the Party was primarily concerned with imposing ideological control over intellectuals in the arts and humanities' (Goldman, 1987a: 236).

However, early in 1956 the Chinese Communist leadership initiated the Hundred Flowers Movement under the slogan: 'Let a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend' aiming to regain cooperation with intellectuals before continuing on the 'forced march' toward industrialization (North, 1963). The Party's relaxation toward the intellectuals, as Goldman (1987a: 243) contends, also 'reflected a general policy of relaxation in the economy as it allowed free markets in the countryside and paid more attention to light industry which had been neglected in favour of heavy industry'. The initial object of this movement was to give intellectuals freedom to help rectification of the Party. Although the CCP tried very hard to end divergences between classes, social stratification could never be wiped out by force. Consequently, students criticized their teachers and courses; artists and 'letterists' criticized conformist pressures; teachers criticized the time allocated to Mao study in schools (Snow, 1962). Mao himself assumed that the Party was genuinely supported by the masses after several social movements launched in previous years and extraordinary economic success. On the contrary, it was not the case as Moise (1986: 142) describes: '[i]t took a while for this invitation to be treated seriously, but in the spring of 1957 the intellectuals responded. Mao was shocked. Where he had hoped for criticism directed mainly against people who violated Communist norms, a great deal of what he got was directed against the system itself.

The viewpoint was anti-revolutionary, “bourgeois”. As a result, the Hundred Flowers experiment failed and was followed by an ‘Anti-Rightist’ campaign when those that expressed their criticisms during the Hundred Flowers Movement were labelled as ‘rightist’. What is worse, they were under arrest or sent to the countryside doing labour work as a way to reform their minds. According to Teiwes (1987: 137) this failure was essentially due to ‘some fundamental misconceptions concerning the new situation in China’. He (ibid) went on to explain that the intellectuals were assumed to stand on the side of socialism and have no fundamental clashes of interest with the system which ‘did not take into account the facts that bourgeois intellectuals as a group had often been subjected to severe pressure since the early days of the PRC that their interests as they conceived them had often been grievously violated, and that their relations with Party cadres were marked by mutual mistrust’. Yet it demonstrated that despite years of indoctrination, dating back to the early 1940s, ‘an important segment of the Party and non-Party intellectuals had not abandoned the Western liberal ideas they had absorbed in earlier decades’ (Goldman, 1987a: 253).

It should be admitted by now that no part of Chinese life was apolitical, and culture was certainly no exception. According to Mao, ‘[a]ll our literature and art are for the masses of the people,’ for ‘there is in fact no such thing as art for art’s sake, art that stands above the classes’ (Schram, 1967: 172). Mao also ‘expressed concern that public opinion, greatly influenced by ideas and even by works of fiction, could overthrow political power, a reflection of his increasing obsession with ideological consciousness’ (Goldman, 1987b: 450).

### **5.2.1 The City of Shanghai**

Shanghai, the China’s bourgeois centre as Mayor Chen Yi 陈毅 put it, was a city of special importance but also a city in dilemma. Torn between the contradictory requirements of both ‘dogmatic purity and economic efficacy’, the Communist leaders decided to implement a subtly mixed policy within the framework of a united

front aiming to 'restore Shanghai's potential for production, but it also favoured some unwelcome social and political trends' (Bergère, 2009: 343).

During these campaigns, Shanghai's response was rapid and vigorous. As early as December, 1951, the Shanghai municipal government, in response to national leaders, called meetings of leading businessmen to explain to them the drive against corruption, waste, and bureaucratism, and to urge them to confess their complicity in these crimes (Barnett, 1964: 144). The Five-Anti campaign was launched in January 1951; business in Shanghai had already been seriously disrupted before March. And moreover, at the peak of the campaign, in March and April, commercial activity came to an almost complete stop. The window displays of department stores were scaled down. It also influenced the fashion trend of clothes. For example, suits and ties went out of fashion. Instead, it was the costume promoted by Sun Yat-sen (an upright-collared cotton tunic) that was favoured (Bergère, 2009). The business class in Shanghai also lived under a reign of terror with their private and professional lives being exposed in detail to their employees and to the public (Barnett, 1964: 146-147).

This new social pyramid system had a profound impact on Shanghai and China as a whole. The fall of Chinese bourgeoisie is no doubt explained partly by 'the skill and brutality of the Communist cadres' policies, but equally by the fragmentation of Shanghai society and the prevalence of values such as family solidarity and the attraction that officialdom exerted within this, the most modernized sector of society' (Bergère, 2009: 363). Values and perspectives of Chinese people were dramatically transformed. It was especially true in Shanghai, a Westernized metropolitan city then, when it was taken over by the Communist Party. The declining visibility of foreigners in Shanghai, still present but now much more discreet, changed the outlook of the city to a great extent. 'Many Westerners had not waited for the entry of the Communist troops and had already left, in particular numerous Americans—businessmen, missionaries, and so on—after their consul-general, as early as November 1948, had counselled prudence' (Bergère, 2009: 347). By May

1949, their community had shrunk from 4,000 to 1,200 people (Wilkinson, 2000: 231-249). 'At the end of 1949, the foreigners celebrated Christmas and saw in the New Year with dancing and whiskey drinking. But already they were living as hostages' (Bergère, 2009: 348). However, at first almost all the British remained: '[w]e will stand by Shanghai if we possibly can....Shanghai is home to us as a community, not merely a trading post' as a consul-general of Great Britain had said in 1948 (Barber, 1979: 60).

### **5.3 Reform of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra**

Shanghai was liberated on 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1949 and in June the Orchestra was taken over by Shanghai Military Management Committee. Shanghai Municipal Symphony Orchestra was renamed Shanghai People's Municipal Symphony Orchestra when it was taken over in 1949 and changed its name to Shanghai People's Symphony Orchestra in 1951. In 1956, it finally got the name of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as it is known today. On 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1951 military control of the SSO was ended and leadership was given to Shanghai Municipal Cultural Bureau (The CCP, B34-2-2-1). Intransigence tactic was evident here as well for the authority passed their resistance and hatred towards Western culture on to those Western players at the SSO, especially the conductor then. As is known, around 1949 when the CCP was about to take over China, a large number of foreign people left Shanghai including musicians at the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra. The conductor at that time was Arigo Foa (concert master when Paci conducted the Orchestra) yet he was forced to leave mainland China in 1952 under 'made-up' and even ridiculous accusations such as being an imperialist. Some say it was because he looked down upon Chinese players in the Orchestra and often scolded them badly. However, the eagerness of the Party to present an orchestra conducted by Chinese people was very strong. Foa then went to Hong Kong and became conductor at Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra for more than ten years. And thus Mr Huang Yijun 黄贻钧 became the first Chinese conductor of the Orchestra since Foa left. In 1951, there were only 16 foreign people (7 from

Russia, 3 Philippine, 1 from Italy, 1 from Austria, 1 from Czech, 1 without nationality, 1 not known) at Shanghai People's Symphony Orchestra (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, 1951: C2-1-1). As a result, many more Chinese players had the opportunity to join the Orchestra including students from music conservatories and those played at dancing halls in Shanghai. The remaining foreign players, unlike Foa, were treated quite well yet they were often forbidden to perform in most of the public occasions. It is because the authority in charge wanted to present an orchestra filled with Chinese people. And they would even borrow players from other institutions to replace those foreign players' positions at public performances (Luo, 2012a). The remaining foreign players, of course, would not fancy that and left one by one until 1958 when the last foreign musician V. Tarnopolsky went back to Russia. The Orchestra was then composed of Chinese players entirely (altogether 66 in 1962). All-Chinese SSO as special cultural capital, designed by the CCP, revealed the inferiority deeply-rooted within the nation and strong nationalism for fear that foreign visitors, especially those from other socialist countries, would look down upon them if there were Western faces present at their Orchestra. However, in return, this specially designed cultural capital did boost national confidence; moreover, it also showed, subtly, the CCP's political stance against the West serving as a prelude to the more overt resistance to the West in later years.

### **5.3.1 What 'Reform' Indicated?**

Due to the Orchestra's particular historical background and especially 'the perception that a symphony was by definition an elitist institution that served the capitalist classes' (Melvin and Cai, 2004: 194), it suffered from disbanding crisis. The situation was extremely severe in 1950 when music from the opera *Madame Butterfly* was performed by the Orchestra. 1950 was also the year when 'War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea' broke out. As the hero in that opera is an American officer; strong disputes were heard suggesting that the Orchestra should be disbanded as it was the left-over by Western imperialists. The emotional concerns behind music the Orchestra performed manifested the idea of 'affordance'. Though

suggestions to disband the Orchestra never disappeared, disputes were strongest when *Madame Butterfly* was publicly performed during that year. The main characters from this opera, as mentioned, were American and Japanese. Both were regarded as class enemies at that time and performing such music was equivalent to declaring support for those imperialists. Their situated action of disbanding the Orchestra was then connected to wider cultural framework by ‘latching on’ the opera of *Madame Butterfly*. It was actually targeted more at the origin of that opera than the music itself. Fortunately, Mayor Chen Yi decided to keep it saying that ‘symphonic music was a good thing, we should keep it and we could also reform it to make it ours if you have disputes’ (Wen, 2012).

In regard to ‘reform’, an article named *Shanghai jiaoxiang yuetuan ruhe minzuhua ji cuoshi* [How to nationalize the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and suggested measures] in 1960 (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, 1960) was found in Shanghai Municipal Archive. It pointed out that ‘first of all, we should reform those old-fashioned intellectuals because they had not been reformed. Nor had they received any practical exercise. More importantly, they had deep-rooted bourgeois literary ideology—blind worship of old and dead Western people...we should first of all, put them to exercise in labour work and make them understand how working class people really felt...’ Here, it is rather the tactic of resistance than intransigence for the importance of native culture was highlighted. In the face of a superior Western culture, Chinese public did not give in; rather they showed strong resistance towards it and other relevant issues. This overt resistance against Western cultural elements also transported to criticism of players at the SSO. An article published on *Wenhui Bao* in 1951 indicated that the musicians’ performance in the open air against cold weather was a way of showing their commitment to reform and devotion to this proletarian country: ‘during the celebration of Spring Festival, they were invited to the *Dashijie* Piazza which, together with the cold weather, was not familiar to the players...at first they were afraid that their fingers may be hurt and instruments may be damaged if they perform in the open air in winter. After

persuasion and especially when they saw the waiting soldiers and thinking of the soldiers' bravery when fighting, the players felt encouraged.....it is worth mentioning that players all wear Chinese tunic suit when performing which they felt necessary and honourable...' (Yang, 1951) Anyone who is familiar with music or musical instruments today should know that under severe weather conditions sounds given out could not be good and players' fingers would not be flexible enough to present their musical skills. However, the 'torture' of those players at the SSO was viewed as an opportunity to show their class stand. The gesture of musicians' subversion was then regarded as if it was the subversion of Western culture to Chinese nation revealing twisted inferiority.

The Conductor, Mr Huang Yijun, wrote a report (Huang, 1962: C6-1-1) in 1963 summarizing work during the past 13 years and initial plan for future ones. Here is a table translated by the author from the original one shown in his report. It offered a better picture of what 'reform' really indicated.

Table 7 Work summary from 1949 to 1962.

		1949-1957	1958-1960	1961-1962
Number of Performances		238 (30 per year)	342 (110 per year)	157 (78 per year)
Number of Audiences		442,000 (49,111 per year)	545,400 (181,800 per year)	248,800 (124,400 per year)
Composers' Nationality Ratio		Chinese (16%) Foreign (84%)	Chinese (68%) Foreign (32%)	Chinese (37%) Foreign (63%)
Percentage of Locations	Theatre	93%	29%	82%
	School	3%	1%	2%
	Factory or	4%	18%	16%

	club			
	Countryside	0%	42%	0%
	Outpost of Coastal defence	0%	5%	0%
	Street	0%	5%	0%
Scale of Performances		Large	Medium and Small	Large
Number of Cooperation with Foreign Musicians		12	2	9

Source: translated by the author from the original table in Huang, 1962: C6-1-1.

The high percentage (84%) of foreign music performed at the SSO from 1949 to 1957 was due to frequent cultural communications within socialist bloc. As a result, foreign music was mainly composed of music from other socialist countries such as the Soviet Union, Finland and Romania, especially in years such as 1950 when the percentage was 71.6%; 1954, 76.5% and 1955, 66.7% (The SSO Archive). 1950 was the year when 'War to Resist US and Aid Korea' broke out and consequently, the CCP wished to appropriate the affordance of music from other socialist countries to gain support and also show their political stances. 1954 was the year when the SSO was given assignments to perform music by composers from socialist countries which will be discussed later. Another factor can also be combined to explain the situation between 1949 and 1957 where Western, especially European classical music, was also performed at a considerable amount. It was the Hundred Flowers Movement mentioned earlier that allowed the development of music to enter a new era of creative freedom and diversity in which a hundred flowers would bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend for a short period of time. Mao himself also said

that he found it perfectly acceptable for musicians to 'apply appropriate foreign principles and use foreign musical instruments' (Mao, 1980: 83) since foreign music and foreign musical instruments are, after all, just tools. Musical institutions of all sorts grew in this era and visits of foreign companies and musicians to China were welcomed as mentioned above. Here, the tactic of integration can be found during cultural dominance process as it indicated the integration of dominant culture into the subordinated ones. However, this integration was short-lived. After the failure of the Hundred Flowers Campaign, class conflict was back on stage again and was followed by the Cultural Revolution. The agreement signed between International Culture Association and foreign countries, especially socialist ones, mentioned above, was to promote musical communications (The SSO Archive; Wen, 2012). According to the agreement, the SSO had to fulfil tasks of performing certain number of music by composers from their countries and vice versa. Although it seems to be an equal cultural exchange process, it is still cultural dominance in essence as will be substantiated later.

1958 was the year when the Great Leap Forward took place. It was an economic and social campaign aiming at rapidly transforming China from an agrarian economy into a modern communist society depending on China's large population. The country had an ambition to surpass UK within 15 years only to end in prevailing of unrealism and blind arrogance among the whole society. It will be further illustrated in the next part. Together with a movement to send players to countryside and factories to perform music for peasants and workers, the percentage of Chinese music performed at the SSO was increased to a great extent during 1958 to 1960. Although it seemed to be a transculturation process where two cultures were combined, this combination of traditional Chinese music and Western classical music instruments was rather superficial. Besides, the purpose was not to create a new or hybrid culture but to make these Western elements serve Chinese reformation. And despite the movement to nationalize classical music, resistance was shown towards this form of Western music and other capitalist elements. The resistance was not as

overt or strong as that during the Cultural Revolution for music by European composers continued to be performing, though in diminishing numbers. Therefore, I contend that it was actually more an integration tactic that took place which is a tactic to internalize the imposed culture without displacing the original one under the threat of cultural dominance. China was still fully aware of the superior Western culture from capitalist countries even it was in the socialist camp. It is also pointed out in Mr Huang's report that since the Great Leap Forward in 1958, the work of popularizing symphonic music had witnessed a noticeable progress by performing easy-to-understand music, explaining the meaning of music before performing using projectors and so on. Before 1949, there were not more than 700 people attending a symphonic music concert while it reached 5,000 at that time. Also, the occupations of those audiences had changed dramatically. Apart from music lovers (mostly office workers and students), many more young workers from factories and a few peasants attended the Orchestra's concerts as well. He further indicated key work in the following year—1963 which was to cultivate music lovers from peasants by organizing regular small-sized performances for them and playing music they knew well (Huang, 1962: 6). Later between 1961 and 1962, the percentage of foreign music increased. The foreign music constituted mainly of music from socialist countries for the considerable number of constant cultural exchange occasions among socialist bloc during this period of time. The cultural exchanges will be listed later in this chapter.

One thing should also be pointed out that the table above was made by Mr Huang Yijun, the conductor then, in 1962 concluding work before that time. It was four years ahead of the outbreak of Cultural Revolution in 1966. As a result, I would like to provide more information gathered from the SSO Archive during these four years. From music programmes found at the SSO Archive (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra: A2-26 and A2-27), an increasing number of adapted Chinese music was performed by the Orchestra especially on cultural exchange occasions with other socialist countries. And in return, music from those socialist countries was also constantly performed

like previous years. The majority of Chinese music performed was adapted from ethnic music or folk music from all areas of China. Music with themes such as praising national war heroes or the CCP also prevailed. However, music by composers from the West, Western Europe in particular, was seldom mentioned and dropped to zero on the eve of Cultural Revolution.

### 5.3.2 Serve the Masses No Matter What

The Great Leap Forward and the unrealistic ideology in society also had a great influence on the SSO. They bragged that the Orchestra will be among the world's best in just a year. Moreover, instead of performing Western classical music, the Orchestra should also play as much Chinese music as possible. The 'conquering' of superficial Western elements such as 'torture' of players seemed to be far from enough, reformation was soon spread to music itself. Lacking Chinese composers who could write full symphonic music, a great amount of Chinese folk music (with themes such as celebration of harvest, the success of Sino-Japanese War, success of the Civil War, construction of the countryside, praising the Party and so on) was adapted for the Orchestra to perform. The work was mainly done by players and students from music conservatories using acoustic principles. It can be imagined that those music was awkward and was not like typical symphonic music at all (Interview with Zheng Deren from *Shanghai jiaoxiang yuetuan 130 nian* TV programme, 2009). Here is table found at Shanghai Municipal Archive, translated by the author, containing Chinese works performed by the SSO after China's liberation in 1949 to 1957.<sup>10</sup> (The SSO, 1958: B172-4-937-1).

Table 8 Chinese works performed by the SSO from 1949 to 1957.<sup>10</sup>

Composers	Music	Frequency	Debut Date
Ding Shangde	Symphony Suite 'The New China'	3	50.1.8
	Variation of Chinese Folk Songs	4	50.10.22
	Xinjiang Dance Music	11	50.10.22
	Variation of Youth Dance	1	51.10.28

	Children's Suite 'Happy Festival'	4	55.3
Huang Zi	Metropolis Fantasia	1	49.7.31 (*)
Zhang Mu and Qin Pengzhang	Yangge Dance	2	50.8.7
Huang Yijun	Selected Folk Songs	4	50.10.8
	March of People's Liberation Army (adapted)	1	51.10.28
	Dao Ba Ban (adapted)	4	51.10.28
	Merry Evenings (adapted)	8	51.10.28
	Farmers' Songs of North Anhui	6	53.2.14
Wang Yunjie	Jiangnan Suite	4	50.10.8
	First Chapter of Symphony No.1	1	56.8
Zhang He	Happy Countryside	9	50.10.8
Zhu Qidong	Symphony No. 2	4	50.12.31
Xian Xinghai	Chinese Rhapsody	8	51.10.28
	Spring Moon	4	53.10.29
	Red River (Ancient Chinese Poem)	6	58.7
Si Tu Huacheng	The East is Red (adapted)	1	51.10.28
Chen Mingzhi	Frontier Suite	1	51.10.28
	Scenery	1	51.10.28
Zheng Deren	March of Anti-US and Aid North Korea	1	51.10.28
Mao Yurun	Music of Four Seasons (adapted)	1	51.10.28
	Flowers Blossom alongside Huai River	2	54.1.16(*)
He Lüting	Evening Party	4	52.7.26
	Senji Dema (Name of heroin from folk story)	4	52.7.26
Ma Sicong	Dance from North of the Great Wall	2	52.7.26
	Song of Nostalgia	5	53.7.25
Li Weicai	Victory Drum	6	52.7.26
	Little Cowboy	6	53.8.7
Ma Ke	Suite of North Shanxi	3	53.7.25

Chen Yun and Qin Pengzhang	A Xi Moon Dance	4	53.9.19
Liu Zengru	Spring in Jiangnan	2	54.1.16
	Rich Jiangnan	4	54.1.24
Sha Mei	Waltz of Happy Life	2	54.1.16
Sang Tong	Fantasia	2	54.1.16
Ge Yan	Carriage	3	54.1.24
Liu Yong	Flower-Drum Dance	3	55.7
Li Huanzhi	Prelude of Spring Festival	4	55.8
Wang Yiping	Pixiu(one of Dragon's sons) Dance	6	55.8
Liu Fu'an	Three Folk songs from Anhui	1	56.8
Wu Zengrong	Four Folk songs from East Mongolia	2	57.3.16
Hu Yanzhong	Four Folk Songs	3	57.3.2
Liu Tieshan and Mao Ruan	Dance of Yao People (an ethnic group in China)	2	57.3.2
Qu Xixian	Choral: the Red Army Base	2	57.2
Liu Shiren	Choral: Praising China our Motherland	2	57.3.2
Zheng Zhisheng	Morning	2	57.6.1
	Pilgrimage	2	57.6.1
Zhang Zihu	Luyang Song	2	57.10.12

Source: translated by the author from the original table in the SSO, 1958: B172-4-937-1.

It is obvious from the table that the number and themes of Chinese folk songs among the general Chinese works performed at the SSO were quite impressive considering the nature of a symphony orchestra and music it used to play before the CCP took over. There is a concern over this phenomenon. To begin with, Chinese folk songs are the product of Chinese working class expressing their emotions and feelings. Since China is a large country with 56 ethnic groups, Chinese folk songs are usually divided according to different distributions and ethnic groups. The features of Chinese folk songs are simple lyrics, catchy rhythms and vivid imaginations and are

often accompanied by traditional Chinese musical instruments, sometimes by dances or simple body movements. It is not hard to imagine the prevailing of Chinese folk songs since 1949 in that working class was considered popular in society when the CCP advocated its 'radically egalitarian' ideology. Chinese folk music was thus supported by the CCP to implement that ideology in art field. Chinese folk songs were no longer folk songs for the primary lyrics part was deprived when adapted for the SSO to perform. Then what is expressed, without lyrics of folk songs, during this musical process? Western symphonic music is a high art with close relation to bourgeois class in capitalist society praising the purity of art. It has nothing to do with working class nor does it intend to express any emotions or feelings of any class. Obviously, the adapted Chinese folk songs on Western musical instruments did not make it symphonic music. These two seemingly irrelevant music forms were forced to combine together at the SSO in communist Shanghai. However, it does not make it hybrid music either. For one thing, the adaption process was rather superficial. It was only musical notes from Chinese folk songs that were transported onto Western musical instruments without fundamental transformations. For another, the dominant position of Western symphonic music or Western culture in general, was still solid despite a desire to reform the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. To further develop this argument and also to answer the question pointed out earlier: 'what the integrated music form attempted to express', cultural appropriation theory should be applied.

Besides integration tactic explained earlier, what revealed behind performing those adapted Chinese folk music was the transformation the Orchestra, this Western-style cultural capital. The Orchestra was made to serve the general masses instead of those social elites or well-off classes it once belonged. It was a direct, tough and even brutal way of showing 'radically egalitarian' ideology. It is obvious that the unequal status of these two cultures were presented, one subordinated while the other dominant. Under the process of cultural dominance, integration tactic was applied. They would like to internalize this Western art form in order to

maintain native Chinese culture by adapting Chinese folk music for a Western music group—symphony orchestra. Although they tried to preserve Chinese music, they were not showing strong resistance unlike violent fighting against Western culture in the following decade. Moreover, the affordance of those adapted Chinese folk songs, on the one hand, showed a practical implementation of the CCP's egalitarian contend. On the other, it also indicated a twisted inferiority deeply rooted in the CCP and ordinary Chinese people as mentioned earlier. They urgently required to display that Chinese music was able to catch up with Western music if not as good. As a result, musicians were pushed to adapt music not suitable for Western classical instruments. That traditional Chinese instruments, the more appropriate form, were not applied proved this argument of the inferiority again in that they had to use a 'currency' whose exchange and circulate values were available and understandable among those from dominant cultural background. By performing Chinese music on Western classical instruments, they convinced themselves that their subordinate cultural position could thus be transformed and this cultural capital could also increase its 'market value'.

Players at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra also took an active part in the Great Steel-Making Movement that was launched soon after the start of the Great Leap Forward. They had music rehearsals during day time and participated in steel-making in the evenings: female players were making gloves while male were melting steels in the backyard of their office building. Of course, they were extremely exhausted after all day's work yet they were still filled with enthusiasm. Steel window frames were taken off and frying pots were also handed in so that more steel could be made. Above all, they strongly believed that the Party was always right (Interview with Chen Hui'er from *Shanghai jiaoxiang yuetuan 130 nian* TV programme, 2009). The consequence of the Great Leap Forward and irrational Great Steel-Making Movement led to severe famine from 1959 to 1961 causing around 45 million deaths (Dikotter, 2010).



Figure 15 Some players from the SSO performing in Jinshan Mountain countryside in 1959.

Source: The SSO Archive.

In regard to public attitudes towards the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra's reform and the masses' understanding of their music, almost all relevant opinions published in newspapers, magazines or those collected from factory workers showed strong support and affirmation. On 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1958 an article named *Xinkaishi* [New start] was published saying: '...in the past, they talked about art high up in the theatre. They regarded it as something belonging to the well-off class and were against the right idea of serving the workers and farmers. By doing so, they stayed away from ordinary people and moreover, made art suffer the danger of dying out. They can see that now art is oriented towards workers, farmers and soldiers, the future looks so bright...symphonic music has finally found its way...' (*Jiefang Daily*, 1958) Sending players into countryside, factories and on the street were believed to be the right way for the Orchestra's development: '...this is the new phenomenon in music field. Players from Symphony Orchestra go to dining halls of the factory. The workers are having meals while they stand there playing. Students from the Music Conservatory go to the street and hold concerts there...What a good beginning! From now on,

people's music business is sure to popularize on the street, in the factory and in the countryside...' (Tong, 1958) However, the support and affirmation did not indicate that Western classical music is genuinely understood by the masses in China. At first, players from the SSO would perform classic classical music only to find the general masses could not understand and appreciate it at all. 'When the bass soloist started to sing, the audiences applauded warmly saying: 'You sang very well, just like the cow!'...But music they were familiar with received warm welcome...We also tried our best to entertain them, like me and Cao Peng 曹鹏, we did talk shows made out of their daily stories...' (Luo, 2012a) Sometimes, music is requested by audiences: '...on the 13<sup>th</sup>, they performed for workers at Shanghai Tools Factory. They played a lot of workers' favourite songs in their dining halls. 80% of the music is requested by those workers...' (Ma and Jin, 1958) Why did they support a form of music without understanding it? They supported it just like they welcomed the viewpoints of the CCP. It was widely believed to be a life time opportunity for the masses to enter upper class under Communists' 'radically egalitarian' ideology. It happened in political and economic fields. It was destined to take place in cultural arena too including Western classical music. Power, money, possessions as well as cultural taste in music should be shared equally. However, unlike objective forms such as power, money and possessions which contained little affordance, music, on the country, could provide cognition (DeNora, 2003a) which refers to the CCP's proposition mentioned earlier. The SSO changed its form as a Western-style orchestra to serve the masses and perform music the masses preferred, or music belonging to the general work class, instead of Western classical music. This situation revealed integration tactic under the context of cultural dominance. Moreover, from their understanding of symphonic music, we can see that social classes could not be wiped out by forces and taste of certain class, as Bourdieu indicated, is only going to take shape naturally by habitus of people belonging to that particular class.

Another historical material found at the SSO Archive could further supplement my argument: a pamphlet (A3-1) dedicated to the SSO by Shanghai Cable Factory which

contains photos and comments from workers there. The function of symphonic music was very much highlighted and sometimes exaggerated for a lot more than one worker had indicated that revolutionary symphonic music played by the SSO was a great stimulus to their production: '...the revolutionary symphonic music you played inspired our revolutionary enthusiasm, facilitated production and encouraged patients in hospital...' (Wang, 1965) And their music obeying the Party's guideline was praised: 'You have followed Chairman Mao's guidance and the Party's policy on literature and art; you have sent the revolutionary music to our factory and established a strong relationship with workers, farmers and soldiers...You applied the weapon of revolutionary music to praise work and express our working class' enthusiasm...' (Ji, 1965) Furthermore, like what most of other newspaper articles had pointed out, it was the Communist Party that made symphonic music, a form of art that was never meant to entertain proletariat, available to ordinary working classes. Zhang (1965) wrote: '...but the word 'music' indicates such an arrogant art in the old days. Our working people did not have enough to eat let alone enjoying music. It was only designed for those exploiters and aristocrats. Today I have the honour to listen to the greatest music—revolutionary music; I cannot tell you how excited I am right now. It is because Mao's idea is showing the way; it is due to your revolutionary spirit. We thank the Party for happiness it brought along and thank you for the encouragement you have given us...'



Figure 16 Players from the SSO performing at Shanghai Cable Factory.

Source: Picture retaken by the author from the original one at the SSO Archive (A3-1).

### 5.3.3 Political Propaganda Tool

In various situations, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra was applied by the government as cultural capital to show their political stance and social propaganda. It is because the SSO is a Western music organization that was able to be reformed to serve the masses and perform music from other socialist countries to demonstrate their united front. It was just like a currency able to be converted according to different requirements in various situations yet it was more than that for what the music afforded. It will be illustrated later in due course. The agreement signed between International Culture Association and foreign countries allowed works from their countries to be frequently performed at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and vice versa. From 1949 to 1965, especially between 1951 and 1955, many special concerts were held with music exclusively from other socialist countries: 21<sup>st</sup> October, 1951 Czech Music Concert; 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1951 Celebrating 34<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of

October Revolution in the Soviet Union; 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1952 the Soviet Union Music Concert; 23<sup>rd</sup>-24<sup>th</sup> May, 1953 Czech Music Concert; 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> June, 1953 Russian Music Concert; 12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> February, 1954 Bulgarian Music Concert; 26<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup>&30<sup>th</sup> February, 1954 Romanian Music Concert; 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> April, 1954 German Music Concert; September, 1955 Polish Music Concert (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra). Besides, music by composers from socialist countries was also frequently performed. As was mentioned above, this was part of the tasks to be fulfilled under the terms of those agreements signed between International Culture Association of PRC and other socialist countries. Here the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra was applied by the government as a political tool of confirming membership in socialist bloc. Much as it may look like an equal and friendly cultural exchange during cultural appropriation process, however, it is actually cultural dominance due to the inferior feelings expressed by Chinese public. Most of the Chinese people including players at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra felt honoured to perform their music especially because they shared the similar experiences of being exploited by the West, the capitalists and imperialists. On the other hand, feelings of inferiority were often witnessed for fear that players' limited musical ability at the SSO might not match the quality of music. For example an article by was published on *Wenhui Bao* in 1954 by Zhao Zhihua (1954) under the title of 'Wo'men Re'ai Luomaniya Yinyue' [We love Romanian music] saying: '[t]he concert of Romanian works is on show. We feel extremely proud and happy. It is due to the cultural agreement made by China and Romania in 1953 that gives us the opportunity to perform this honourable task, we all felt very excited...on the one hand, we are happy and excited; on the other, we have concerns that we might not fail to show the composers' ideas in music [due to our limited skills]...' Also, performing music from other socialist countries was always connected with the Communist Party and encouragement for the building of socialist China: '...their highly collectivism spirit and extraordinary artistic skills make the audience lost in the beautiful music... [these performances were planned] to encourage Shanghai people's passion to construct socialist society, the Soviet Union Symphony Orchestra decided to perform on the 8<sup>th</sup> at the Cultural Square...' (*Shouci*

*gongyan*, 1958) As a result, the precondition for cultural exchange is not available for there are dominant cultures and a subordinated culture. For the tactic within cultural dominance, I would argue, it belongs to 'assimilation'. The stance of native Chinese culture or music in this case, is vague while their music was constantly praised and admired. Music from those socialist countries afforded inferior emotions of Chinese people and excitement shared as being one of the Communist countries which goes beyond the idea of the SSO as cultural capital applied to show the Party's political stance. Sophisticated meanings are thus revealed and cultural dominance process is thus clearer.

Musicians from those socialist countries would also come to Shanghai to cooperate with the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and give public concerts. Feelings of inferiority by Chinese people were sometimes so strong that they looked up to music from other socialist countries with unrealistic respect: '...the talent of controlling their instruments is reaching a state that material is subordinated to human, there is no difficulty for them...I think this is a kind of happiness. In the socialist countries, people can enjoy the material and spiritual wealth made by their own effort as much as possible...' (Lu, 1958) Moreover, there were lots of interactions with Russian conductors and soloists in particular as shown in the programmes (The SSO Archive, A2-24, A2-25 and A2-26), to name but a few concerts with conductor from the Soviet Union: 1955.8, 1957.1.26-27, 1957.2.16-17, 1957.3.2-3.3, 1957.3.16-17, 1957.3.23-3.24, 1957.4.6-4.7...1958.7.6, 1961, 1962 and those with Russian soloists: 1955.5.21-5.22, 1958.3.29, 1958.5.10, 1958.7.6, 1961, 1962. Here is a list of countries involved in the cultural communication and welcoming performance from 1954 to 1965 (The SSO Archive, C4-1-1) and the majority of them were socialist countries at that time:

Cultural communication: 1954: Poland, Romania; 1955: Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Finland, East Germany; 1956: the Soviet Union; 1957: the Soviet Union, Finland, Poland; 1958: the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union, Brazil, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany; 1959: France, Romania, Venezuela, Dresden(East Germany), Czech, Argentina; 1960:

the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union; 1961: Japan, Albania, Canada, Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union; 1962: Argentina, East Germany, the Soviet Union; 1963: Mongolia, Berlin; 1964: Hungary, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cuba, Cuba; 1965: the Soviet Army

Welcome performance for groups and leaders from other countries: 1954: UK, India, East Germany, Indonesia, Cambodia; 1958: Bulgaria; 1959: Czech, Leningrad, Delegation of 12 Communist countries; 1960: East Germany, Leaders from democratic countries; 1961: Albania, Ghana, Brazil, Albania, Hungary, Leningrad, Belgium, Nepal, Burma, Venezuela; 1963: Ghana, Cambodia, Cuba, Belgium, Pakistan, United Arab Republic, Australia, Indonesia, Tanganyika, Ambassadors in China, Nepal, Hong Kong; 1964: Albania, Australia, Pakistan, Sudan, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Republic of Mali, Albania, Ceylon, Romania, Sino-Soviet Union Delegation; 1965: Tanzania, Pakistan, Syria, Pakistan, Romania, Albania, Nepal, Arab.

The following photo was taken on 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1954 when the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra was holding a concert performing Romanian works. It clearly shows how the SSO was appropriated by the CCP as cultural capital to manifest its political stance. We can see from the photo below that it was more like a political conference with political leaders' profiles hanging at the background while authorities giving opening speeches. It is difficult to tell that it was actually a Western classical music concert stage if one ignores the Chinese characters hanging at the back reading: concert of Romanian works. The performance of Romanian works was not just a simple matter of giving a symphony concert; instead, what their music afforded at the SSO was politically tainted. China, as a member in the socialist bloc had to give certain amount of concerts with works by composers from socialist countries as a political task to fulfil. It remains unknown whether Chinese people did enjoy Romanian music itself or not. One thing was for sure: in terms of symphonic music, Chinese people were experiencing a deep inferiority when music works from other socialist countries were performed by the SSO as argued above. Moreover, their music was more than an art in itself; instead, due to nationality of their composers they were of special interest at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra supported by the CCP.



Figure 17 1954.3.26 The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra performing Romanian works at Shanghai Majestic Theatre  
上海美琪大戏院.

Source: The SSO Archive.

Not long after the establishment of PRC, musicians received good treatment: high income and decent food. However, politics always took precedence. Most of the musicians' working time was forced to listen to reports from leaders and study subjects such as Marxism and Darwinism instead of taking time to rehearse. The music chosen to play publicly should bear political focus as well such as the campaigns to 'Resist America and Aid Korea' and 'Oppose Corruption'. There were lots of concerts in sequence from 1950 to 1952 (The SSO Archive, A2-23) with the latest social slogans written on the cover of their concert programmes, to name but a few: 1950.7.23 Summer Open-air Symphony Concert with 'Against US Aggression in Taiwan and North Korea! Against US Imperialism! Against US Manipulating Taiwan and North Korea!' on the front page; 1950.11.12—1951.2.4, 13 concerts in sequence with 'Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea to Protect our Country' on the front page;

1951.3.25--4.29, 6 concerts in sequence with: 'Strongly Against US Arming Japan!' on the front page; 1951.5.6—7.29, 10 concerts in sequence with 'Support Government to Punish Counter-Revolutionary Criminals! Suppress Counter-Revolutionary Activities! Consolidate People's Democratic Dictatorship!' on the front page; 1951.8.5—9.16, 7 concerts in sequence with 'Respond to the June 1<sup>st</sup> Appeal! Donate Airplanes and Canons! Comfort the Victims!' on the front page; 1951.11.25—1952.1.20, 5 concerts in sequence with 'Respond to Chairman Mao's Appeal: 1. Continue 'Against US Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea' Activities; 2. Promote and Support Patriotic Movements; 3. Impel Brainwashing Movements!' on the front page; 1952.2.3 and 1952.2.17, 2 concerts in sequence with 'Against Corruption! Against Waste! Against Bureaucracy!' (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra) It was not difficult to find their relation to the dates of those nation-wide big events and social movements. The application of this cultural capital, i.e. Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, is crystal clear which is to obtain social propaganda and demonstrate the Orchestra's social and political stance. Here are two music programmes randomly chosen from all those with latest social slogans.

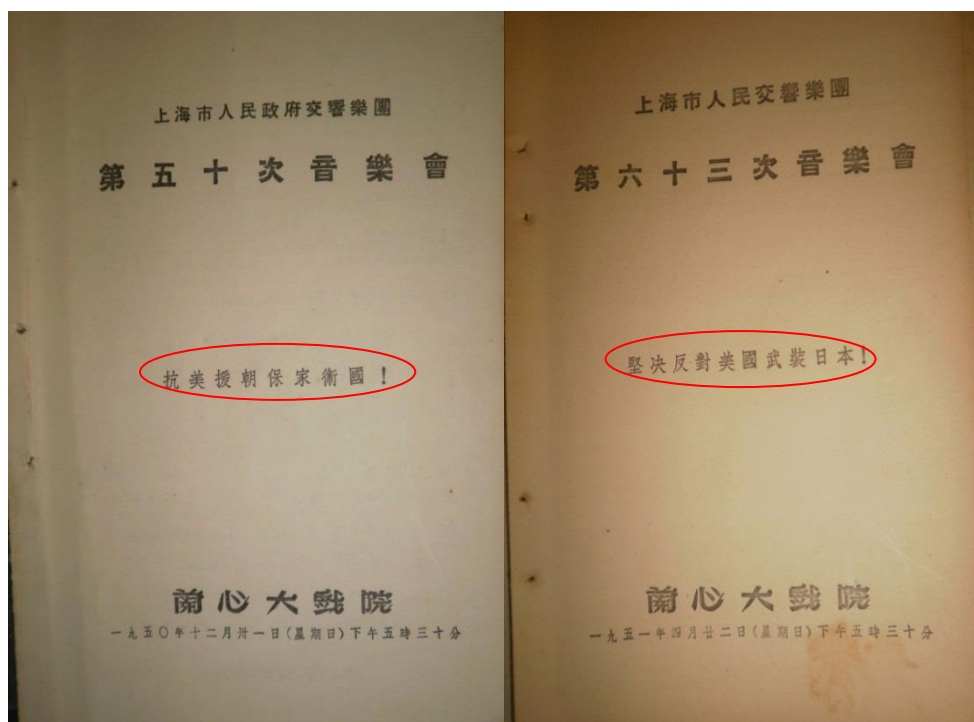


Figure 18 Left: The 50<sup>th</sup> Concert of Shanghai People's Municipal Symphony Orchestra on 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1950;

Right: The 63<sup>rd</sup> Concert of Shanghai People's Symphony Orchestra on 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 1951

Source: Pictures taken and edited by the author (2012c) from original ones at the SSO Archive (A2-23). Words in the left red circle read: 'Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea to Protect our Country!' Words in the right red circle read: 'Strongly Against US Arming Japan!'

## Chapter 6: The Cultural Revolution and the ‘Hybrid’ SSO (1966 to 1976)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 无产阶级文化大革命, or Cultural Revolution as it is known to most people, is one of a kind in Chinese history and even in the world as a whole. It officially started in 1966 and came to an end in 1976 marked by Chairman Mao's death. And the Gang of Four, a leading political faction in Cultural Revolution, ended up arrested. There is no doubt that this infamous social, political and cultural movement brought tremendous destruction to Chinese society. To be specific, it was a nightmare to Chinese intellectuals or elites in various fields. Class conflict worsened during this particular historical stage. Moreover, thousands suffering from physical and emotional humiliations committed suicide. It is also a brain storm within which bourgeois culture and feudalist culture were criticized in order to create a whole new world. Its strong ideological impact even lingers till the present day. Red Guards 红卫兵, a group of politically-active young people mostly students, carried out and promoted the Party's guidelines using *Dazibao* 大字报, big character poster. They also took an active part in criticizing those Western styled intellectuals and their teachers at school. Those were all typical and frequently seen social phenomena of that time. However, the general evaluation of the Cultural Revolution is not the whole picture and it would be too simplistic to say that the Cultural Revolution caused 'loss of culture, and of spiritual values; loss of hope and ideals; loss of time, truth, and of life; loss, in short, of nearly everything that gives meaning to life' (Thurston, 1984-85: 605-6). It, indeed, slowed down the process of China's modernization development to a great extent, yet ridiculously, the starting point of which was to make China modern and the goal was actually achieved in some of the cultural forms. It was the same situation in music field. This attempt was, however, reversed as Clark (2008: 250-251) points out that 'the composers, choreographers, and theatre directors undertook their work in a political system obsessed with concepts of correctness'. Despite the poignancy of those targeted

intellectuals, many scholars nowadays would argue that ‘the stated intent of the Cultural Revolution...was not simply to destroy, but also to create’ and ‘this new, government-mandated culture was to include a transformed, proletarian version of many art forms’ (Melvin and Cai, 2007: 248). The Party made an effort to create brand new culture out of the capitalist bourgeois culture and decadent feudal culture which can be practically found in their smashing down of Western churches and Buddhist temples. Also, teachers, as representatives of Confucius, were under attack. Intellectuals with Western relations shared the same suffering. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, surprisingly, was not disbanded considering its essence as a Western-style music group. It was not put under much attack either despite elites there. On the contrary, it circumvented and became a Party-favoured art group by creating one of the eight model operas—*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Those well-known musicians and Mr Huang Yijun, the conductor of the SSO before Cultural Revolution, were removed from their previous positions and were forbidden to play their instruments. Nonetheless, the majority of players remained on the safe side. Of course, Western-styled classical music and Chinese music on ‘love’ or other ‘feudal’ themes were still not allowed to perform, at least in public. Yet it is also found to one’s surprise that a considerable number of youngsters in China volunteered to learn Western musical instruments in order not to be sent to the countryside or remote provinces helping with the masses. This chapter will first give a brief introduction to the Cultural Revolution and then the focus will shift to the criticized bourgeois and feudal culture applying cultural appropriation theory. Experiences and sufferings of musicians will also be pointed out which are gathered from interview and focus group with retired SSO players and from other documents as well. More importantly, I argue that the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra was a hybrid product during Cultural Revolution based on analysis of *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*.

## 6.1 A Response to Cultural Imperialism

Class conflict and struggle had been the centre of the nation's political life ever since the late 1950s. In January 1957, Mao's relatively tolerant attitude towards the elimination of class differences was shown when faced with condition of China at that time: 80 per cent of university students in China were still children of landlords, rich peasants, upper middle peasants, and the bourgeoisie. 'This situation,' he (Mao, 1977: 353) comments, 'should change, but it will take time'. However, class conflict had already worsened at the failure of Hundred Flowers Movement. It later became more obvious and severe during the Cultural Revolution.

The starting point of Cultural Revolution was to prevent capitalists' restoration in art and literature and in political life, of course, so as to purify the Party. Moreover, it set out to search for a new road for the Party and China due to its split with the Soviet Union. The first half of its starting point was shown in the fuse of Cultural Revolution—Wu Han Incident. Wu Han 吴晗 was the Deputy Mayor of Beijing then and historian who wrote a play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*《海瑞罢官》in late 1960. Hai Rui, a devoted civil servant in Ming Dynasty was dismissed by an arrogant emperor. In November 1965, an article written by Yao Wen Yuan 姚文元, Mao's propagandist, was published on *Wenhui Bao* in Shanghai where the influence of Wu, the Beijing based official, was less strong. The article criticized this play and stated that it was an allegory referring the arrogant emperor to Chairman Mao and Hai Rui to Peng Dehuai 彭德怀. Peng, the once eminent Party military leader, was purged by Mao in 1959. Almost in no time, it set off the domino reaction in all walks of society.

The Cultural Revolution can also be seen as a kind of response of the Third World people to cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism is considered as global dominance of capitalist culture which was evident in China before PRC's establishment, especially in coastal cities such as Shanghai and was brought by colonialism more than a century ago. Most arguments concerned would mention the spread of capitalism as a homogenising cultural force and its threat to the national

cultural identity (Tomlinson, 1991). It was also exactly what the CCP had been worried about. For fear of the capitalism's restoration in this relatively young socialist country ruled by the Communist Party, the Cultural Revolution made a brutal attempt to block these tendencies. They firmly believed that capitalist tendency existed in any socialist societies. Furthermore, economic forces would inevitably lead to restoration of capitalism and 'the return to a society based on money, technology, and a powerful privileged class (even if it did not privately own the means of production)' (Chesneaux, 1979: 154). At that particular historical stage, the CCP strongly thought that bourgeois and revisionist culture served the bourgeoisie, the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and Rightists. This latency, in the CCP's point of view, paved way for the restoration of capitalism and was quite contradictory to proletarian Communist Party whose base was the general masses especially the poor peasants. Their greatest concern since 1949 had been that if the proletariat could not seize hold of cultural positions, the bourgeoisie was bound to do so. Harding (1991: 107) notes that: 'Mao's restless quest for revolutionary purity in a post-revolutionary age provided the motivation for the Cultural Revolution, his unique charismatic standing in the Chinese Communist movement gave him the resources to get it under way, and his populist faith in the value of mass mobilization lent the movement its form.' The dominant standpoint within this movement was rather the imagined 'seizure of power' from the visionary 'bourgeoisie'. As a result, we can say that the Cultural Revolution was 'to constitute a process of subjective transformation leading to a new political identity' (Schram, 1991: 90). The Cultural Revolution also expressed a strong desire to create an absolutely original path for the CCP and China as a whole. It was due to their hatred of Western capitalism and Soviet-style socialism that revealed, at the same time 'the tensions and conflicts surrounding the fundamental choice of a type of society: which kind of socialism would China have' (Chesneaux, 1979: 154)? As a result, transcultural process was made possible which will be further developed in the following part.

However brutal the response to cultural imperialism may be, there has been, 'like

other social revolutions...some positive outcomes' (Gao, 2008: 6). The ten-year Cultural Revolution is a calamity to elite but on the other hand, it 'encouraged grassroots participation in management and it also inspired the idea of popular democracy' (ibid). Moreover, Calhoun and Wasserstrom (2003: 251) also argue the role of the Red Guards that they 'were not just passive followers of a charismatic leader, but agents actively involved in a variety of ideological disputes and contests for power'. Although the Cultural Revolution can be regarded as an extreme attempt to block capitalist culture, it inevitably brought

## **6.2 Bourgeois Culture and Feudalist Culture**

I have argued above that the transcultural process was made available during Cultural Revolution. Transculturation is a form of cultural appropriation. According to Lull's (2000: 242) definition, it is 'a process whereby cultural forms literally move through time and space where they interact with other cultural forms and settings influence each other, produce new forms, and change the cultural settings'. This kind of new form is also known as cultural hybrids. Transculturation was generally regarded as one of the consequences under the 'friendly' globalization context. Ironically, what actually took place was not the creation of a genuine new culture. For most of the time, it fell into the 'victims' of cultural imperialism as discussed in theory chapter. On the contrary, during this 'unfriendly' Cultural Revolution, transculturation had an intact and typical presentation shown by originating a brand new cultural form—revolutionary opera. To understand this process, we have to conduct a close examination of cultural elements it appropriated and also loathed at the same time.

### **6.2.1 Capitalist Bourgeois Culture**

It is not difficult to imagine criticism over capitalist bourgeois culture in that the West had been the nation's enemy ever since PRC's establishment. After Sino-Soviet split, things from the Soviet Union were not admired anymore and were detested

and rejected as well.

Mao's concern over differences between bourgeois ideas and socialism was constant. Mao would attribute all social behaviour that was supposed to oppose the CCP's ideology to 'the sluggishness of the bureaucracy, the emergence of tradition and 'bourgeois' ideas in intellectual life, and the emphasis on efficiency in national economic strategy' which all 'together created the danger that revisionism – a fundamental departure from a genuinely socialist path of development – was emerging in China' (Harding, 1991: 114). Moreover, he found an extreme way to ease this concern. Mao launched the Cultural Revolution whose ultimate picture was a China 'pure though poor, more egalitarian and less privileged, more collectivist but less bureaucratic, and society in which all worked as one, not so much because they were led by the Communist Party as because an inner compass – Mao Tse-tung Thought – pointed them toward the magnetic pole of true communism' (MacFarquhar, 1991: 305). Yet, with the focus on class conflict and adherence to mass line, the Party itself had gradually become a source of new social stratification (Bottomore, 1965) which can be more clearly witnessed in modern China. Getting rid of the remnant capitalists in China was of course a major purpose of this political campaign. At the same time, convincing its political necessity to the masses was of equal importance (Chesneaux, 1979: 155).

The Red Guards responded to the Party's guild lines enthusiastically. They went onto the streets and into wealthy people's houses looking for evidence of 'bourgeois' culture and would often smash them on the spot. It was quite the opposite of situation during the 1920s in Shanghai when well-off citizens moved into foreign settlements and tried their best to imitate those Westerners in almost all aspects. Red Guards insisted that people should stop drinking, desist from smoking, and give up the 'bourgeois habits of keeping crickets, fish, cats, and dogs'. Also, it was very different from ideologies in the present day that Chinese people with overseas experiences generally attain higher status or are looked up to in society. During the Cultural Revolution, 'people with Overseas Chinese ties lost many of their privileges

in housing, consumer goods, and other realms, and sometimes were even intimidated into refusing to accept remittances' (Whyte, 1991: 721). Laundries, they said, should refuse to launder the clothing of 'bourgeois families,' and 'bath houses must as a rule discontinue serving those bourgeois sons of bitches, and stop doing massage for them' (SCMM, 1967: 12-20). Moreover, even the keeping of goldfish, birds, and other pets was proscribed as 'bourgeois' in many locales. Also, families were required to post Mao's picture prominently in their homes and use Mao's sayings as decorations. Many kinds of recreational activities, such as dances, camping outings, and hobby clubs also fell under suspicion for being bourgeois and were cut back sharply (Whyte, 1991: 725-726). Without any doubt, Red Guards' behaviour was brutal and cruel. Cheng (1995: 7) states when a Party cadre spat on her carpet before taking her to a Party meeting: '[t]hat was the first time I saw a declaration of power made in a gesture of rudeness...I had come to realize that the junior officers of the Party often used the exaggerated gesture of rudeness to cover up their feeling of inferiority'.

For visual examples of the accusations, please see Li's photos in *Red-Color News Soldier* published by New York Phaidon Press Inc. On page 105, the figure—Luo Zicheng was accused of following the capitalist line and was forced to wear a dunce cap and a board with his name and crime on his neck for public criticism. On page 123, the figure—Yu Ziwen was accused of being a 'big property owner' and was forced to wear a board with her name and crime on her neck for public criticism.

Much as they may resent capitalist bourgeois culture, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra did not disappear; moreover, it was appropriated by the Party to provide background music for model operas. Detailed analysis will be made later in this chapter. I would like to provide one possible reason for this self-contradictory social phenomenon. Those Western lifestyles, leisure activities and typical Western classical music possessed by well-off Chinese people, most evident in Shanghai, were regarded as incarnation of Western cultural imperialism. And according to the CCP's 'radically egalitarian' belief, they should be extinct in socialist China. I am not saying

that it was right to regard Western musical instruments as incarnation of cultural imperialism; however, they were more of circulated cultural capital, with Western imperialist tendency, along China's 'modern' process. What matters is not their form but music they produced. Both individuals with bourgeois-relation and also Western musical instruments were put to reform. Nonetheless, people with feelings and emotions were not instruments and that is exactly what made class conflicts vivid and fierce. Reformation for these instruments was manifested in the appropriation of them to accompany model operas.

### 6.2.2 Traditional Feudalist Culture

Besides destruction of bourgeois culture, it is easy to overlook the criticism over traditional Chinese culture. As mentioned above, the initial objective of Cultural Revolution was not to destroy but to create and to modernise. Consequently, old stuff had to be wiped out in order to create new ones. In the Eleventh Plenum 1966, where Mao officially launched the Cultural Revolution, there was also request to combat the 'four olds'—old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits. Ancient Chinese architectures were dismantled and classical works were torn into pieces such as literature and paintings whose themes were purely artistic such as love, bird and flower. Moreover, religions and traditional Chinese philosophies were condemned for being superstitious. Besides Western Christian churches, Buddhist, Daoist and Confucian temples were regarded as the so-called feudal heritage and had to be smashed (Mittler, 2010).

For examples of destruction of Buddhist Temple, please see Li's photos from *Red-Color News Soldier*. On page 100, there is a destructed Buddha figure and a paper sign at the back reading 'smashing the old world'.

It is the same in music field. 'Chinese instruments such as the zither *guqin* could not be played, and many operas with traditional stories (especially ghost operas that were considered superstitious) could not be performed officially for several years' (Mittler, 2010: 383). Why is *guqin* 古琴 smashed rather than the other Chinese

instruments like *jinghu*, *pipa* and Chinese percussion instruments? The rest were applied and put into the orchestra with the other Western instruments to create revolutionary music. *Guqin* constituted an important part of traditional Chinese culture and music. It first came among the *Siyi* 四艺 [Four Arts] of Chinese scholars in ancient time: *qi* 琴 (*Guqin*), *qi* 棋 (chess [Go]), *shu* 书 (calligraphy), and *hua* 画 (painting). *Guqin* is to traditional Chinese music as Confucius is to traditional Chinese culture. Moreover, *guqin* had a profound relation with Chinese scholars and Confucius in particular. Confucius had emphasized the necessity of music education stating: *Xing yu shi, li yu li, cheng yu yue* 兴于诗 立于礼 成于乐 [to educate somebody you should] first start with poems, then emphasize ceremonies and finish with music]. Thus, *guqin* shared a similar suffering with Confucian ideology which underwent most strict criticism than any other school of traditional Chinese ideology. They are the par excellence in their individual field. Being outstanding was opposed to the CCP's 'radically egalitarian' belief. Some of the traditional Chinese musical instruments had already undergone reforms according to their corresponding Western instruments in various degrees ever since the New Cultural Movement in the 1920s and the 1930s. The sound and structure of *guqin* are so unique and are thus difficult to be adapted for the Party. Just like people with a strong character or cultural capital difficult to circulate, the reformation process was meant to be violent. It also revealed the ideology of pragmatism held by the Party as shown in Cheng's conversation with her friend, a music professor at Shanghai Music Conservatory. She complained: '[t]he usual criticism about my education in England, my sending the children to Australia and my teaching method. When we were friendly with the Soviet Union, we were urged to teach western music and train students to take part in international compositions. After we broke with the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao started to make criticisms about western music...' (Cheng, 1995: 49)

Despite capitalist class, Mao had classified the bureaucrats as a class by 1965: 'The bureaucratic class is a class sharply opposed to the working class and the poor and the lower-middle peasants. These people have become or are in the process of

becoming bourgeois elements sucking the blood of workers' (Mao, 1969a: 49). Mao also encourages the cadres to criticize their superiors and students their teachers. It was due to the Party's belief that being superior was deleterious while being poor and inferior was glorious. The subordinated ones should take all means to rebel and overthrow the superiors. It was claimed that 2,600 people in literary and art circles, 142,000 cadres and teachers in units under the Ministry of Education, 53,000 scientists and technicians in research institutes, and 500 professors and associate professors in the medical colleges and institutes under the ministry of Public Health were all 'falsely charged and persecuted,' and that an unspecified number of them died as a result (Lin and Jiang, 1981: 182-183). 'Leading university cadres were paraded around campus wearing dunce caps and criticized at school meetings for their bourgeois orientation toward education' (Pepper, 1991: 544). Mao had criticized the 'pedantic and impractical nature of college education' and he also recommended that 'everyone including administrators, faculty, and students should go to the countryside to see the land and the people' (Pepper, 1991: 561) ushering the Down to the Countryside Movement which had changed lives of many intellectuals in China.

Take music as an example: again what matters most was not the form but music traditional Chinese instruments afforded. To combine them with Western orchestra, an original form of music or culture is thus created. Western musical instruments were not allowed to perform Western classical music while traditional Chinese instruments were not allowed to perform 'feudal' or artistic music, i.e. music on love, life, death, ghost, emperors and so on. However, just as Mittler (2010: 385) argues: 'thus preserving—and not smashing—the 'feudal' symbolism of certain aria types and meters, while filling them with new content, was a clever and effective way of using their suggestive powers to advance a revolutionary political semantics'. These two cultures or music were partly smashed and, more significantly, partly reborn and sustained. In Mittler's (2010: 384) words, the hybrid culture or music was 'even brought to an artistic high'. This is exactly what transculturation is all about: the

combination of two different cultures and the creation of a brand new one, though the process in China was rather poignant. Mutual influence within these two cultures through time and space also accorded with the situation in China. In the 1920s and the 1930s, articles published in *Shen Bao* advocated the reformation of traditional Chinese instruments according to the West as illustrated in previous chapter. Before Cultural Revolution, however, the condition was reversed: within the SSO almost every instrument was under experiment—making the sound of violin resemble the sound of *banhu* 板胡 or *jinghu* 京胡; making cello sounded like *matouqin* 马头琴 etc. (Tan & Qian, 1960). It was the first and may be the last time that Western musical instruments were experimentally made close to traditional Chinese musical instruments. In modern times, transculturation is often connected with globalization which I have argued is often not the case for the influence of cultural imperialism is far too strong. It is, however, during Cultural Revolution that transculturation was made possible in that the genuine criticism of Western and traditional Chinese culture was available. Moreover, the desire to originate a new one or hybrid one was very strong as is the case with Shanghai Symphony Orchestra.

### 6.3 The SSO and Hybrid Music

Since the start of Cultural Revolution, ‘musical attention turned more immediately to what we might call ‘praise songs’ for Chairman Mao and ‘rebel songs’ for Red Guard groups’ (Clark, 2008: 182). The choral versions of classical style poems written by Mao Zedong received unprecedented attention in this historical stage. Composers had begun to produce song versions of the poetry in 1958, though it was initially in something of the manner of German lieder, for the solo voice. By the late 1960s, the preferred vehicle was the massed chorus (Wang, 1991: 132-133). It was also an ideal means to circumvent and protect Western music by having such a lyricist. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra had a dramatic transformation as well. From the focus group I conducted with 9 retired players from the SSO who had all experienced Cultural Revolution, it was surprising to find that they did not suffer much. They told

me that the persecutions were rather targeted at famous players: players who had won international prizes and eminent leaders. As a result, ordinary players like them were relatively on the safe side though strict restriction was put on the sort of music they should play, at least publicly. They were not looked down upon by the public either. Instead, they were regarded to be meritorious in that they created the model opera—*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* which accorded with the Party's cultural policy. Those famous players at the Orchestra and Conductor Mr Huang Yijun were not that fortunate.

### 6.3.1 'Wiping out' the Elite

In 1967, not long after the outbreak of Cultural Revolution, the Conductor Mr Huang Yijun was forced to leave his position and Cao Peng was put to conduct for he was a Communist Party member. Cao was not as famous as Mr Huang and he was also swift and flexible in singing praise of the Party's guideline under different social contexts. In 1975, he published an article on *Jiefang Daily* (Cao, 1975) stating: 'The dark poison of revisionism to view everything from the West as ultimate standards also exists in art related issues. Western music and theories were thought of whenever we talk about improvement and techniques. The heroic figures such as Yang Zirong 杨子荣 and Guo Jianguang 郭建光 were on the stage while well-known Western works were secretly practised at home. Moreover, there is a capitalist art kingdom in most of the players' heads which has to be destroyed in order to better reflect the rich life of our great times and set up the heroic music figure of proletarian class'. However, in 1986, after Cultural Revolution, there were audiences suggesting that the SSO should perform light music or popular music instead of serious symphonic music. Cao told them firmly that: 'due to the Cultural Revolution, there were many music illiterates. We are people's music workers so we have responsibility to bring the knowledge of Western symphonic music to people...' (Liu & Chen, 1986) I am not criticizing Cao's shift of attitude according to the change of Party's guideline, yet what I want to suggest here is that there was no room for individuals with a slight divergence from the Party's ideas. To live a normal life in

China, especially during the irrational Cultural Revolution, the best way was to be among the majorities with some flexibility. Official evidence of the decision on change of conductor is not found yet according to relevant materials collected at the SSO Archive, it is not hard to extrapolate that either the CCP or a section of the CCP in Shanghai had issued this order. Furthermore, it was supported by some members at the SSO. For one thing, all decisions in Chinese society big or small, economic or cultural were completely made by the Party at that time. For another, Mr Huang's report mentioned in previous chapter was criticized within the SSO. Words and phrases he mentioned in that report were judged: 'conductor taking responsibility', 'players should be faithful to every note on the music sheet' and the goal of 'trying our best to participate in Prague Spring in 10 years (1972)'. Accordingly, he was challenged: 'Should the Party take responsibility or should the conductor?', 'Should the players be faithful to the note or to the Party?', 'Should we take the proletarian literature and art line or revisionist Prague Spring?' He was also criticized for playing the background music for a film that was regarded as feudalism. Mr Huang is a celebrity making him an easy target, especially in those days (Cao, 1998). Later, when there was no more 'crimes' found, Mr Huang was 're-employed'. He was offered a job to look after bicycles outside the theatre when the Orchestra was performing inside.



Figure 19 Huang Yijun at the podium during a rehearsal with the former Soviet Union violinist Oistrach in 1957.

Source: The SSO Archive.

The famous pianist Gu Shengying 顾圣婴, who was well known for playing Chopin's piano music, committed suicide together with her mother and younger brother in 1967. They could not bear humiliations both physically and mentally. Gu was born in 1937. Her father was a former officer from the National Party and was sentenced to exile in Qinghai, a remote province in northwest China after PRC's establishment. She was a very talented and hard-working pianist who had won a number of international prizes for China and became the SSO's soloist player at the age of 17. When Cultural Revolution broke out, her prominence and her father's background put her into severe criticism. She once had a photo with her wearing in a white dress sweeping the floor and a black grand piano stood beside. This photo of Gu Shengying was condemned by the Red Guards as disgusting because she was playing the old Western music and poisoning audiences (Wang and Huang, 1989). She was deprived of the dignity as a human being and the right to perform with her beloved piano. Her piano was sealed and music works she admired were taken away

by force (Haima, 1997). Gu also suffered from physical attack. She was forced to bend on her knees to admit her ‘crimes’. She was even slapped by a strong man in the face before her suicide (Gu, 1998).



Figure 20 Gu Shengying, in red oval, during her visit to Hong Kong in 1962.

Source: Photo edited by the author from the original one at the SSO Archive.

### How Music Affords Emotions

The most tragic figure at Shanghai Symphony Orchestra was perhaps Lu Hong'en 陆洪恩. Lu enrolled in the SSO as a timpanist in 1950. He was shot dead under the crime of ‘counter-revolutionary’ on 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1968. Political life dominated Chinese society ever since 1949. The outbreak of the Cultural Revolution saw more political meetings in the SSO. During a group discussion of Yao Wenyan’s article *Ping sanjiacun* 《评三家村》 [review of ‘three families’ village’—a column accused of anti-Party], Lu raised dissents and held firmly to his contention. When confronted with criticism, he did not back out. On the contrary he argued vigorously illustrating his ideas but ended up in jail as an active counter-revolutionist on the spot. While he was in prison, he was forced to reveal He Lüting’s 贺绿汀 crimes (He Lüting is a renowned musician and music educator). Nonetheless, he praised He saying He Lüting was his senior apprentice and teacher, moreover, a master in China’s music

field. Consequently he was beaten up badly. To forget the physical sufferings, he would hum Beethoven's *Symphony No.3* and *Missa Solemnis*. It was done with difficulty because his lips were mangled by them. On the night before his execution, he told a fellow sufferer that: 'If you had a chance in the future, please visit Austria for me, a place where I had longed for my whole life. Please give a bunch of flowers at Beethoven's tomb in Vienna and tell him his admirer was humming *Missa Solemnis* on his way to execution' (Qin, 2009). Here, Lu's emotional attachment to Beethoven's *Symphony No.3* and *Missa Solemnis* revealed music's role as a 'medium with and in which to think about, experience, and re-experience social reality' (DeNora, 2003b: 65). Lu's mental connection to *Symphony No.3* was strong. This symphony work was also known as *Eroica* (Italian for 'heroic'). Lu felt proud of what he had done and dignified his heroic character. 'As a Chinese intellectual, I devoted myself to the country and worked very hard but end up in this half-dead situation. I wanted to live but I do not want to live like a dead body. I would rather die if not free' (Qin, 2009). For *Missa Solemnis*, he considered his fate and death to be solemn and noble. These two pieces by Beethoven gave him spiritual comfort and support as well as a temporary escape from this nightmare reality. Lu, due to his understanding of Western classical music and personal sufferings, connected to Beethoven's tunes spontaneously. He can be categorized as the second type of musical conduct defined by Adorno (1976)—the good listener. I believe Lu also belonged to the first type of musical conduct—the expert, for his specialty in music though not indicated. However, in this case, Lu attached much more emotional affordance to music. Lu understood music as we understood certain language. The affordance process was made possible: linking music with his personal emotions and sufferings. He expressed himself musically, a 'language' he admired and was most familiar with, and to seek spiritual comfort as well.



Figure 21 Lu Hong'en (second left) as the conductor shaking hands with world renowned Polish pianist Helena Czerny-Stafanska during a concert of the SSO in 1957.

Source: The SSO Archive.

The persecution was mainly targeted at elite musicians, as a result, the first Chinese musician ever to play in the SSO—Tan Shuzhen cannot be spared from criticism. ‘...He (Tan Shuzhen) was put in a cell for 14 months under the name of memorizing the National Party. The cell is under the first floor of library without windows or light. He was often beaten. Once criticized in a public meeting, Tan was seized by his hair and his arms were twisted like a jet plane. But he would never admit crimes he had never committed; he never signed nor revealed others but only crying: “I’ve never done that!” Because they can’t find evidences for his “crime”, Mr Tan was allowed to “work”: cleaning and repairing 122 toilets in the conservatory...he said: “...I have never thought of running away or suicide because I am a Christian. I have to wait, it is a long night but the sun will eventually rise...” ...’ (Nie, 2007: 24)

Persecution of musicians was one side of the story though emotional attachment to the persecution was too strong to overlook by general masses. There is indeed another side of the story where many young students volunteered to learn Western musical instrument in order not to be sent to the countryside. Even if they were sent to the countryside, they could escape from heavy labor work by enrolling in art troupes and playing Western musical instrument to serve the masses. Many of these youngsters became parents passing their music dreams on to children or amateur music teachers in modern China (Ding, 2004; Mittler, 2010). As mentioned above, severe persecution was targeted at well-known people or the elite. Ordinary players could still practice classic Western classical music secretly at home, the pieces they loved and were more familiar to (Luo, 2012a). Besides, according to Mittler's (2010: 386) interview with music lovers, they 'recalled that they could in fact listen to their classical records (if they had not been smashed or stolen by the Red Guards)'. She (ibid) further indicated that the documentary film *From Mao to Mozart* (Lerner, 1981) also 'implicitly suggested' this side of the story. The film was shot in 1979, only two years after the official end of Cultural Revolution, while there were 'two extremely accomplished young players who perform for Stern, one on cello, one on piano, most certainly must have started to learn their instruments during the Cultural Revolution during the Cultural Revolution sometime before the mid-1970s; otherwise, it is impossible to conceive how they could have reached this level of virtuosity'. It was same with students learning traditional Chinese instruments.

### **6.3.2 The Affordance of Western Classical Music**

Western classical music was very much demonized during Cultural Revolution although the tendency of which can be perceived. The argument over Western classical music in China carried on, as revealed in Clark's (2008: 179-180) book *The Chinese Cultural Revolution: A History*:

In 1973, these arguments about classical music re-emerged with an October article in the *Guangming Daily* titled 'On a discussion about program music and non-program music' (Guanyu

dui biaoti yinyue yu wubiaoti yinyue de taolun). This topic had had been raised in an attachment to a report by a unit responsible for the visit to China of two Turkish musicians. The article gave rise to a nationwide criticism of non-program, or untitled music, that is music (for example, Symphony No. 5 or Concerto in G Minor) without a title that indicates its content. The Cultural Revolution insurgents considered this a bourgeois indulgence in fantasy and obscurity: Real proletarians wanted music that had a title that explained what it was about. This was the custom with traditional Chinese instrumental music, each part of which usually bore a poetic suggestion as to supposed content. Only certain Western composers who had emerged at the time of the rise of the bourgeoisie were considered to have a positive historical role.

Typical Western classical music was not the 'correct' music for Chinese people. Its relation with capitalist class and incarnation as class enemy were highlighted as shown in an article published on *Wenhui Bao* in 1976 Shanghai: '...all these years, symphonic music had been the hereditary area and one of the most stubborn forts of capitalist art forms. In the bad old society, workers at our port could hear that corrupted music coming from houses of the foreign bosses and bureaucratic capitalists. The vampire-like music sounds like biter horn and was like the whip on us workers as well. We call this: vampires listen to music while workers were bleeding...capitalist class attempts to use this hereditary area to transform their ugly faces and present the so-called 'eternal themes' which are 'love and death' and so on. They tried to promote their anti-human theory by that strange music and asked us proletariats to get along with capitalist class so that they can come back to political power through art...the Peking Opera revolution is like a thunder smashing capitalists' artistic fort. It shows the glorious figures of workers, farmers and soldiers on symphonic stage...' (Shang'gang qiqu zhuangxie liudui, 1976) Moreover, the Red Guards had a vivid description of the revolutionary symphonic music: '...the success of revolutionary symphonic music *Shajiabang* broke chains on the neck of symphonic music and smashed the dream of capitalist class. They tried to use symphonic music to corrupt people's hearts and recover its capitalist power. *Shajiabang* is the symphonic music that belonged to our workers, farmers and soldiers. It spoke for us

revolutionary rebellious soldiers. We can understand it. And it relates to us. We want to hear it again and again till forever...' (Soldier No.3, 1967)

The analogy of capitalists as vampires sucking working people's blood and revolutionary symphonic music as a thunder smashing the capitalist class were both ridiculous and promethean, or even romantic as Clark (2008: 191) has pointed out that '[t]he self-image of Chinese modernizers, from the May Fourth era onwards, had been a Romantic, Promethean concept which struck a chord with traditional notions of Chinese intellectuals and their social leadership role'. It was ridiculous to attach too much connection between music and politics. And the restoration of capitalist class through Western classical music might not be an easy task as the Party had feared. It was promethean in that there was no country or nation like China that would hold so many social and cultural movements attempting to sort out relations between Western and traditional Chinese culture. Many of them were actually self-contradictory to each other. It was romantic in that the Party together with the general masses were unrealistic and firmly believed that human volition can be the decisive factor for almost everything. They were also convinced that 'radically egalitarian' was absolutely possible. However, this 'egalitarian' ideology unconsciously created new social stratification.

It was not what Western classical music actually afforded. It was rather what the general Chinese people and the CCP believed it afforded. As was mentioned above, availability is a very important concept for the CCP just like circulation to currency. The SSO or Western classical music as a whole is cultural capital difficult to circulate within China's broader social context by the CCP. Both of them had to be reformed. However, the hidden meaning towards this currency, especially Western classical music is worth exploring. Music requires interpretation and thus made itself an easy target for political appropriation. A table expanding 15 pages was found at the SSO Archive listing crimes of many classic Western classical music works. It could serve as a contribution to my argument. The creator of this table is not known yet general attitudes towards Western classical music and affordance of each piece of music are

clearly revealed. It also showed ideologies that the CCP would very much like to control during Cultural Revolution. Here is the first page translated by the author:

Table 9 Accusation of Western symphony works.

Composer	Music	Music Pattern	Comment
Beethoven	Symphony No.3	Symphonic Music	Advocating <b>individualistic heroism</b> , also named <i>Eroica</i> for the music is <b>dedicated to Napoleon</b>
Beethoven	Symphony No.5	Symphonic Music	Advocating personal strive against fate, also named <i>Fate</i>
Beethoven	Symphony No.6	Symphonic Music	Picturing the beautiful natural scenery, also named <i>Pastoral</i> .  <b>Advocating the leisure life of well-off class.</b>
Beethoven	Symphony No.8	Symphonic Music	Advocating personality.  The passion for love and nature.
Brahms	Symphony No.1	Symphonic Music	Work coordinating class struggle.
Kalinnikov	Symphony No.1	Symphonic Music	Presenting quiet and deep <b>melancholy</b> .

Franck	Symphony in D minor	Symphonic Music	It is <b>low</b> . One part in particular is <b>showing a noisy urban capitalist city</b> .
Goldmark	Rustic Wedding Symphony	Symphonic Music	Picturing <b>love</b> .
Haydn	Symphony No.18	Symphonic Music	It is a work showing <b>musicians fawning to the feudal landlord class</b> .
Mendelssohn	Symphony No.3	Symphonic Music	Also named <i>Scotland</i> . <b>Well-off class showing their trip abroad</b> .

Source: translated and minor edition made by the author from the original one at the SSO Archive (A11-1).

Interpretations of all those classic symphonic music are a decoding process, out of their social background and music style as well. More importantly, these symbolic meanings brought about other greater and stronger social actions such as banning of Western classical music in various situations, destroying related products such as music scores and tape recorders, persecution of musicians and so on. Besides its semiotic significance, music's role 'as a structuring medium of action' (DeNora, 2003b: 122) is also realized. On the one hand, it is a symbolic object where decoding process can be performed. On the other, it can also be the cause of certain social actions. The idea that symphonic music is an elite cultural form enjoyed by the few upper class people went against the CCP's policy of serving the general masses. In addition, according to the table, the majority of Western symphonic music contained decadent capitalist ideologies constituting individualism, worship of feudal class, hedonism and so on. It is just these ideologies that made fighting against Western classical music fierce and relevant musicians tragic. Music was thus made an active

part during Cultural Revolution.

Nonetheless, there is also another side of the story: not all the CCP members were that 'romantic'. Despite the overhaul of music within Chinese society during the Cultural Revolution, Premier Zhou Enlai, in charge of China's foreign relations, had encouraged visits by Western orchestras. Increased contact with the West engendered visits to China by foreign artistic groups and organisations. Among the first few were the London Philharmonic and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Eugene Ormandy in September 1973. Yet this move was not very smooth in that some extremists in China passed Western classical music's ideological shortcomings to the subtle and indirect undermining of Zhou's political position. In the meantime, however, 'Beethoven and other composers again came under attack for failing to reflect a proletarian outlook in their work' (Wang, 1991: 246-247). 'There was every indication of that kind of criticism in the literary and art world which might lead to a new radical stage in the process of continuous revolution' (Brugger, 1977: 383). Nonetheless, visits by Western orchestras continued in the mid-1970s. In the autumn of 1975 the New Zealand National Youth Orchestra toured to Beijing and Guangzhou. This was the first Western orchestra to visit China since 1973. Also, Qu Wei's 瞿维 1974 symphonic suite *The White-Haired Girl* 《白毛女》 was performed by the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra on its tours to Japan, Australia, and New Zealand in 1975 (Jiang, 1996: 48-49). Meanwhile, China's own symphony orchestras, in Shanghai and Beijing, had regrouped, working on film scores in addition to public performing (Clark, 2008: 180). Richard Kraus (1989: 157) notes that this revival of Western music in the 1970s was a way out of rural exile for many young Chinese musicians and marked an unprecedented high point in Western instrumental music in China.

### 6.3.3 Revolutionary Operas



Figure 22 Front page of the programme for performance on celebrating 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the PRC.

Source: picture taken by the author (2012c) from the original programme at the SSO Archive (A2-28)

To understand Cultural Revolution, revolutionary operas, also known as the model operas should never be neglected. There were eight revolutionary operas and they were the only artistic forms allowed to perform publicly in China during the ten-year Cultural Revolution. These operas include *The Legend of the Red Lantern* 《红灯记》, *Shajiabang* 《沙家浜》, *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* 《智取威虎山》, *The Harbour* 《海港》, *Raid the White Tiger Regiment* 《奇袭白虎团》, *The Red Detachment of Women* 《红色娘子军》, *The White-Haired Girl* 《白毛女》 and *Ode to the Longjiang River* 《龙江颂》. Within the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra at this historical stage, no typical symphony concerts of any kind were allowed. They were made to contribute and accompany to those revolutionary operas, serving the policy of ‘making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China’. I will first make a brief introduction to one of them—*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* in that it was

transplanted by the SSO in 1967. And then I will accentuate three key issues to substantiate my argument of the hybridity within these revolutionary operas. Revolutionary symphony *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* is adapted from the Peking Opera under the same name. The story of the opera took place in the winter of 1946. A detachment of the People's Liberation Army, going deep into the mountains in Northeast China, aroused the masses; penetrated into the Tiger Mountain lair of the diehard bandits headed by the Vulture and wiped them out by concerted actions. The opera created lofty images of proletarian heroes such as the scout platoon leader Yang Zirong, chief-of-staff, the railway worker Li Yung-chi and the hunter's daughter Chang Pao and warmly praised the great victory of Chairman Mao's concept of people's war (The SSO Archive, 1975: A2-28). It is only this kind of story that is considered 'correct'. These revolutionary operas were the hybrid products of transculturation between Western classical music and traditional Chinese music. I have generated three key points to support my argument and affirm their hybridity. However, I would like to explain the hybridity revealed from the two photos below, found at the SSO Archive and artistic features of revolutionary operas before laying out those three key points.



Figure 23 The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra performing *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* at Cultural Square in 1968.

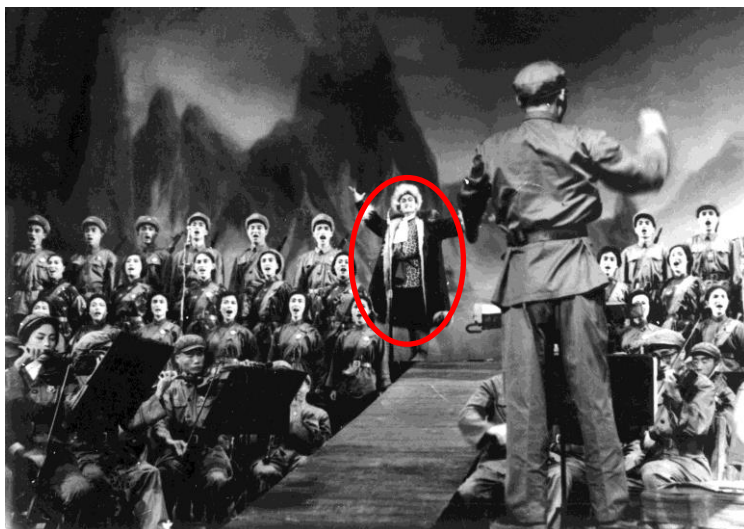


Figure 24 The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra performing *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* at Cultural Square in 1968.

Source: Figure 25 and Figure 26 are both edited by the author from original ones at the SSO Archive.

Note: The instrument in red rectangular in Figure 25 is a traditional Chinese plucked instrument—*pipa*. The man in red oval in Figure 26 is the leading character—Yang Zirong from *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*.

It is clear from the upper photo that there were traditional Chinese musical instruments, such as the plucked instruments, mixed in symphony orchestra. Chinese percussions also joined and could be easily recognized at the very beginning of those revolutionary operas. The background settings of performance and clothes those players wore contributed to a totally different concert scene compared with typical symphony concerts or concerts the SSO used to hold before Cultural Revolution. Traditional Chinese instruments such as *pipa* and *erhu* are sometimes used as a solo instrument in today's China to be accompanied by Western symphony orchestras as a manifestation of the modernization of Chinese musical instruments and the nationalization of Western musical group. Except for the solo occasions in modern China, there was and is no such combination of traditional Chinese instruments especially the plucked ones with Western symphony orchestra before and after the Cultural Revolution. As for Chinese percussions, they are still frequently seen in Western symphony orchestras in China nowadays especially when performing works by Chinese composers. They make effective sounds for showing the content of music,

the plot of drama and strengthening the expressiveness of music. In terms of revolutionary operas, they were of great significance. The background settings, with all those fake mountains to fit in the plot of that opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, are also rare for Western symphony orchestras. However, it should be noted that those background settings utilized realistic painting techniques from the West. The outset of creating those revolutionary operas was to make Chinese culture modern as have mentioned above. As a result, Peking Opera was boldly but also creatively transformed and enriched with Western symphony orchestra as well as elements from Western operas and ballets. In order to make the opera alive and vivid, performing clothes, properties and background settings were all required to make a huge change from typical Peking Opera and symphonic music. Moreover, it borrowed ideas from stage art of straight plays. It also altered the symbolic features and liberal style of traditional Peking Opera; instead, systematic aria from Western operas was adopted and the relations between sound and emotions, styles and characters, appeals and images were dealt with in a very good way. By applying Western elements, traditional multiple use of one piece of music in Peking Opera was changed to one piece of music for one opera. In terms of artistic performance, the traditional process of Peking Opera was transformed in order to better relate to modern life: basic techniques from Peking Opera were remained such as *chang, nian, zuo and da* [singing, reciting, acting and martial arts]. Techniques and elements from stage plays and general singing and dancing were also actively combined. More details will be provided later. Zhang Guangtian 张广天 (2000), a musician, praised the active combination of traditional Chinese musical instruments with Western ones and ‘wedding the art of Western ballet with that of the Peking opera’ (Gao, 2008: 22). Zhang also pointed out that ‘the model Peking operas not only developed a theoretical framework for managing change and continuity in the Chinese theatre, but also demonstrated a successful effort to counter the seemingly unstoppable tide of Western cultural imperialism’ (ibid). Although the response to cultural imperialism was often irrational and brutal at this extreme historical stage as argued earlier, the one made in cultural field was, to one’s surprise, valuable and successful: fulfilling

the transcultural process. And it was made possible just because of the seemingly irrationality and brutality which will be argued in greater detail below. However, due to severe political prejudice, successful experiences concerning role settings in the history of art were not borrowed; rather, great emphasis was placed on the theme of artistic works, class tendency of characters and generality of those revolutionary operas. The CCP was hoping and boasting to create the unprecedented heroic characters in the whole art history.

In general, Western bourgeois art and feudalist Chinese traditional arts were both under severe criticism. Consequently, all those traditional plays, mainly from Tang Dynasty and Song Dynasty, were forbidden for they were usually centred on ancient imperials, wits and beauties, ghosts and fairies, etc. Moreover, almost all the newly created or adapted plays during the first few years of PRC were not allowed either for their accused relations with feudalism and capitalism. The desire was strong and desperate to set up a number of new heroic figures from those modern operas to better serve socialist China. Yu Huiyong 于会泳, the key figure of Cultural Revolution and Minister of Culture from 1975 to 1976, pointed out in 1968 the principle of ‘three emphases’ which later became the guideline of art creation during the Cultural Revolution. These three emphases are: emphasis on positive characters among all characters, emphasis on heroic characters among positive characters and major heroic characters among ordinary heroic characters. This principle categorized characters of plays into three layers constituting a new creation of art theory among the entire artistic field in China. Yang Zirong in *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* is just a character from the third emphasis. Yet why is Yang Zirong the ultimate emphasis among other positive figures in that opera? And why was there so much emphasis on heroic characters while elite in society were severely wiped out? The character—Yang Zirong, adapted from real-life figure, had helped the suppressed local hunters fight against bandits in Tiger Mountain. And above all, he was an officer from People’s Liberation Army. We can see that those heroic characters from

revolutionary operas were not created as 'human beings' for they did not have families or romantic relations; what they had were only great ambitions and heroic actions. They were basically symbols and incarnations of the Chinese Communist Party or in Bourdieu's words—cultural capital. Another guideline of artistic creation during Cultural Revolution was the principle of 'giving priority to the theme' concluded by Yu Huiyong too. This principle indicates that the major concern of an artistic work is the theme and the settings of characters should always serve the expressing of that theme. This ideology is rough and is also against the logic of art creation making art the servant of political subjects.

To use Bourdieu's cultural capital concept, the CCP's ideology and intention in Cultural Revolution can be easily understood for the accumulation, exchange and exercise processes were very clear. The eight revolutionary operas can be regarded as cultural capital designed by the CCP. During the accumulation stage, efforts and preparations were invested before creating them: criticism of previous art forms both from home and abroad, establishment of related artistic theories and so on. When they were ready to put on stage, the CCP wished to use this special cultural capital so as to consolidate their control of the minds by constantly emphasizing on its incarnations, i.e. heroic characters in revolutionary operas. Eight revolutionary operas equipped with hybrid features from both Western and traditional Chinese art and cultural elements, were provided to modernise Chinese people's leisure life and legitimate their artistic taste. In return, the CCP successfully broadcast its bright and heroic figure through the establishment of heroic characters in those revolutionary operas. The exchange and exercise processes were thus completed. However, to use the concept of cultural capital does not reduce the artistic connotations of this hybrid art. Much as it contains political symbols, its inner value as an art form is not neglected as is evident from my analysis above and illustrations that followed.

In numerical perspective, performance of those revolutionary operas did accord with the CCP's ideology of serving the masses. Unlike Western high arts that were targeted, revolutionary operas served audiences from a wider range of classes. It was

also due to the fact that they were the only music forms that were officially allowed during the ten-year Cultural Revolution. Here is a table of number of performances and audiences from 1966 to 1972 (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive, 1973: A12-1):

Table 10 Number of performances and audiences from 1966 to 1972.

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Number of performances	101	90	53	50	76	68	94
Number of audiences	132,136	413,010	234,090	270,634	183,991	253,430	339,450

Source: translated by the author from the original one at the SSO Archive (A12-1).

These fundamental breakthroughs all contribute to making this new form of music a hybrid one. I will also substantiate this argument with the following three key points. First of all, the prerequisite for this transcultural process to take place is the 'romantic' ideology held by the CCP and most Chinese people at that time. As I have argued above, 'romantic' here emphasizes unrealism and the firm belief of human volition as an answer to almost everything. Consequently, they failed to see and understand the greater tendency of 'globalization' outside China which in essence is cultural imperialism of the West especially after disintegration of the Soviet Union. That might also explain transculturation could not be brought to its full play in modern times. The exposure to capitalist culture and their strong economic position made 'globalization' process filled with cultural imperialist elements which one can never be too 'romantic' to overlook. As a result, it is the cultural dominance rather than transculturation that often took place. Moreover, historical issues contribute to making this hybridity possible. Ever since May Fourth Movement in 1919, a new generation of intellectuals equipped with Western knowledge emerged. The struggle between Western culture and traditional Chinese culture had always been under vigorous debate. Through all these years of experiment, assimilation and resistance,

these two distinct cultures interacted with each other on a deeper level making transculturation possible under the extreme social context of Cultural Revolution.

Next, I am going to focus on music style of Peking Opera which allowed for adaptation. Five of the eight models were modernised Peking Opera. Why is it Peking Opera rather than other regional operas? Or we can put it 'why is Peking Opera the national opera of China?' If we look into the historical development of Peking Opera, the answer can be found without difficulty. Peking opera took its form in the mid-nineteenth century combining Anhui Opera and Han Opera. It also absorbed features from *Qinqiang* 秦腔, *Kunqu* 昆曲, *Bangzi* 梆子 and *Yiyangqiang* 弋阳腔, all well-known regional operas across China. Peking Opera had its prime within the Qing court after its formation. It is just the combination of many established regional operas that gained Peking Opera its popularity since Peking or Beijing was filled with people from across China. Peking Opera, thus, is a hybrid cultural form itself. However, the typical Peking Opera was considered feudal and decadent. It therefore required reformation and modernization just like Western classical music. As a result, this adaptation together with Western symphonic music is possible. Mittler (2010: 380) has defined that '[r]evolutionary opera, not unlike earlier opera forms, was a hybrid, synthetic product that stemmed from a dialogue between high art and popular culture, as well as between several local cultures' which pointed out relations between Western culture and traditional Chinese culture. The hybridity within Chinese culture is also made clear as I have just argued. Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, made quite an effort to reform traditional Peking Opera even before the Cultural Revolution. Her initial efforts encountered the disdain of established performers, the opposition of officials responsible for cultural affairs, and thus the neglect of the press (Goldman, 1981: 321-322). Faced with these obstacles, however, Jiang turned to a group of young, relatively radical, intellectuals in Peking and Shanghai. 'Compared with more prestigious members of China's urban intelligentsia, these were younger men, lower in rank, less cosmopolitan in outlook, and more exclusively steeped in Marxist intellectual traditions' (Harding, 1991: 119). They responded to

the new demands and opportunities presented by experimentation with a mix of confusion and eagerness. For them, 'the new-style operas, other performances, and arts offered an opportunity to achieve official and even popular acclaim' and since 'the political accommodations required of cultural practitioners between 1966 and 1976 were hardly unfamiliar to most players, faced with a choice of silence, resistance, or participation, most chose the latter' (Clark, 2008: 252).

Finally, I am going to focus on revolutionary operas themselves to understand their hybridity. A more detailed aesthetic analysis of revolutionary operas is made above. Besides the SSO, in order to develop this innovative art form which met the demand of the Party to entertain the masses, a Central Symphony (*Zhongyang yinyuetuan*) was established in 1956 and a Central National Music Orchestra (*Zhongyang minzu yinyuetuan*) in 1960. In May 1976 the newly re-published *Renmin yinyue* [People's Music] published an article by members of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra on their 'battle' to create proletarian symphonic music. They cited their version of *Tiger Mountain* as an example of their achievement in bringing together specialists and masses in creating the symphony (Shanghai yinyuetuan, 1976). Nonetheless, as Clark (2008: 177) argues: 'the stalwarts of the Western canon: Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and company continued to hold pride of place in the repertoire'. One of the eight model performances was a symphony, *Shajiabang*, based on the model opera of the same title. A second group of the model performances promoted in the early 1970s included two musical performances: a piano-accompanied concert version of arias from the model opera *Hongdengji* 《红灯记》 [The Red Lantern] and a piano concerto *Huanghe* 《黄河协奏曲》 [The Yellow River]. In addition, other musical versions of the model operas and ballets were experimented on in these middle years of the Cultural Revolution, transforming Chinese music into distinctly Western classical musical formats. *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* was transplanted into a 'revolutionary symphony' by the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra starting in 1967 as mentioned above, though it only had its official premiere in January 1974 (*Guangming ribao*, 1974). Nevertheless, the

use of Western musical elements in Chinese model operas inevitable aroused debates. Wang (1999: 68-103) argues that the use of Western music, including the addition of Western instruments to the opera orchestras, was not something tacked on to the new dramas to reinforce somehow an impression of their newness. The musicologists attempted not to undermine or distort the folk elements in the operatic musical heritage. Western musical elements were carefully selected and integrated with the more traditional Chinese one. The results can be considered among the first successes in this enterprise since 1949.

Mittler (2010: 388) has made similar argument stating that '[i]nstruments, particular instrumental techniques, and melodies from Chinese folk music are fitted to a framework of functional harmony in the musical idiom of European classical and romantic music'. She (ibid) also went on to give greater details of the combination of these two different music forms: '...the traditional operatic 'orchestra,' which usually consists of *jinghu*, *erhu*, *pipa*, percussion, and some occasional Chinese wind instruments, is revamped and expanded to include a complete symphony orchestra; a choir is added in some (e.g., *Song of the Dragon River* in scenes 1, 4, and in the epilogue). Musical interludes or connectives between arias, and so-called *guomen*, are greatly expanded...Wagnerian leitmotif techniques are applied throughout to mark and describe certain characters...certain instrumental groups conventionally used in classical music to mark particular moods or situations are also employed frequently—horns for scenes in the woods, for example (*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, scene 5), or high woodwinds for idyllic scenes and the glockenspiel for transcendent atmosphere'. Mr Wen (2012) also told me during our interview that players at the SSO were very much disturbed by those Chinese percussions for they were too loud and often confused players trained to perform Western styled symphonic music. Moreover, programmes found during this period of time at the SSO Archive are very different from typical ones. They would always include quotations from Mao; detailed explanation of ideologies guided that revolutionary opera, scripts and music in numbered musical notation, a traditional Chinese

notation system that is still used for Chinese musical instruments today. It is shown in the picture below:

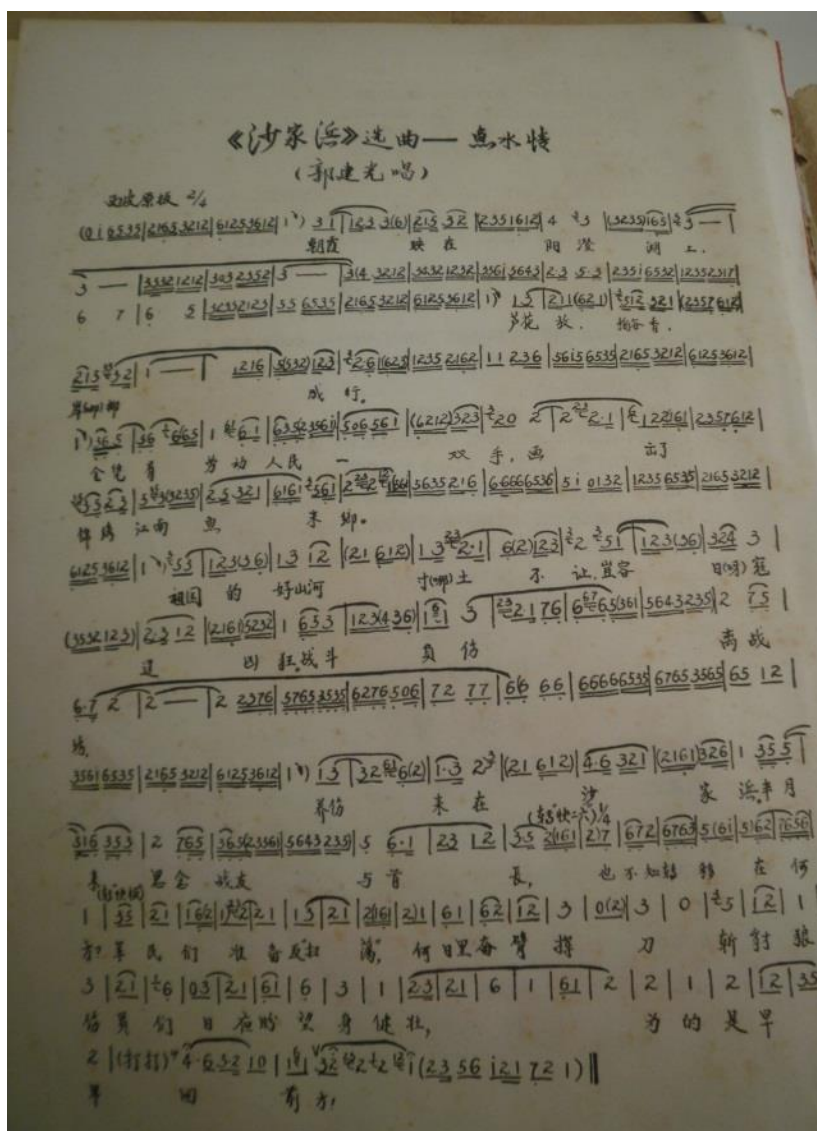


Figure 25 One page of the SSO's music programme (1967.5).

Note: music score with numerical notation system from *Shajiabang*.

Source: Picture taken by the author (2012c) from the original programme at the SSO Archive (A2-28).

Transculturation is the process where a new kind of culture emerged out of the two different but interacted ones and that is exactly how revolutionary operas came into being. From the use of musical instruments to musical techniques applied, from themes of those operas to the design of music programmes, the promethean music form was like a 'thunder'. It smashed part of Western classical music and part of

traditional Chinese music but, in the meantime, it preserved the other parts of them giving birth to a hybrid one. However, it required historical and social conditions for this hybridity to emerge. And in China's case, it was the 'romanticism' of the CCP and a strong desire to seek for modern path without Western influence.

Opera modernization, advocated by Jiang and Yu Huiyong, the former Minister of Culture, was at the heart of the cultural innovation of the Cultural Revolution. As a result, the Chinese stage and screen stopped presenting any work of art other than a handful of 'revolutionary' films, operas, and ballets written under the sponsorship of Jiang Qing (Harding, 1991: 211). As for the audience, most of them were enthusiastic at first but could not avoid being bored because of the lack of variety in music they were allowed to listen to. Secret playing and rehearsing of music both Western and 'feudal' were remembered by music lovers from Cultural Revolution (Luo, 2012a). At the beginning of Cultural Revolution, the urban and educated audiences seemed to have appreciated the effort towards modernization that these adjustments to the old forms represented. Also, the political reformers (and even underground revolutionaries associated with the Chinese Communist Party) saw the potential of such a well-rooted popular art to spread progressive messages to a wide audience (Jia, 1996). Later in the movement, however, rather than being involved in organizations and pursuit of a variety of activities, 'people found themselves required to participate in a narrow range of activities over and over again, the most dramatic case being the repetitiously performed model revolutionary operas' (Whyte, 1991: 727).

## **Chapter 7: Cosmopolitan Shanghai and the Modern SSO (1976 to 2010)**

After the death of Mao in 1976 and the overthrow of Gang of Four, Cultural Revolution came to an official end. China, since then, entered a new era especially with the adoption of Reform and Opening up Policy by Deng Xiaoping. Opposite to the 'radically egalitarian' ideology, Deng declared in 1978 that to get rich is glorious and it would be perfectly all right if some areas get rich first. To carry out the reform, Deng also called for four modernizations. It was an idea first pointed out by Premier Zhou Enlai in 1964—of agriculture, industry, defence, and science and technology—and initiated new economic policies. As a result, Deng established in 1980 four Special Economic Zones 经济特别行政区 (the SEZs) in the southern coastal provinces including Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen, Shantou, 'where the old ports of entry for foreigners had been located' (Mackerras, Taneja & Young, 1993: 91 & 95). Not long after that, Shanghai, together with thirteen other coastal cities were allowed to enjoy the SEZ policies and open one or more 'economic and technology development zones' 经济技术开发区 (the ETDZs) greatly accelerating China's modernization process. Deng's ideology has thus been the core concept in Chinese society till the present day making the position of political issues gradually giving way to commercial ones. It is also argued that 'the open mobility that began with the Deng era had a far more revolutionary influence on the structure of society than the so-called Mao revolution that had imposed rigid social barriers' (Vogel, 2011: 706). The take-off of Chinese economy, especially in coastal cities with Shanghai as a centre, almost never failed to attract attention as well as capital from home and abroad. Despite a reduction in growth rates after the Tiananmen Incident in 1989 and during the Far Eastern economic crisis of 1997, further development of Chinese economy has been constant and strong since 1986. Gross National Product's growth stands out, at an average of over 10 per cent per annum (Gray, 2002: 445). Moreover, in the mid-1980s, many ambitious young people with a good business sense jumped

into the rough waters of business, as is called *xiahai* 下海 in Chinese, creating millions of nouveaux riches almost overnight. And also with relatively less focus on political life, China experienced a new round of cultural enlightenment marked by expanding cultural market and consumerism. In cities such as Shanghai where cultural imperialism dominates, this ‘cultural enlightenment’ can also be named ‘Western enlightenment’ as will be discussed in greater details later. It also facilitated the fever of studying abroad with 1.27 million Chinese students attending universities overseas at the moment, mostly self-funded (Chen, 2011). As for the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, it gained support from the CCP by performing classic classical music rather than revolutionary ones as they did in Cultural Revolution. They still had to perform ‘red’ music in special occasions such as the Party’s birthday each year. Western classical music is now regarded as a symbol of modernization and a kind of new cultural fashion or modern lifestyle while the value of music is sometimes overlooked. Local governments in China are obsessed about building up costly theatres. Audiences are indulged in buying high-price tickets for concerts as a means to identify their taste. Parents are eagerly pushing their only child into Western music education: according to figures from Chinese Musicians Association in 2007 there were about 30 million Chinese children learning the piano and 10 million learning the violin. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra thus became idol of the day once again.

## 7.1 ‘Chinese-Style’ Socialism

Before Deng started the economic reform, Chinese people were very poor or ‘equally poor’: most workers earned only 40 *yuan* (roughly 4 GBP) a month (though some welfare subsidies were offered) regardless of their work and performance. He launched an economic reform with the motto of *rang yibufen ren xian fuqilai* [letting some people get rich first] as mentioned earlier, which differs greatly from ‘Mao’s basic social tenet of egalitarianism’ (Tong and Wong, 2008: 117). In 1992, Deng called for an expansion of economic liberalization. This set off a wave of construction. New

housing, roads, public buildings, factories, airports, dams, and electrical power stations brought a large number of job opportunities and better living conditions all over the country (Oi, 1999; Wang, 2005; Gittings, 2006). By 1995, efforts had been made to dismantle the inefficient and unprofitable government-run enterprises. 'Approximately 34% of businesses and industries were run by the state; another 37% were classified as collective ownership, which referred to an array of ownership forms ranging from small village or township businesses to workshops run by the workers or local governments; 29% were classified as privately owned and operated' (Benson, 2002: 61). As a result, privatization gradually constitutes a major role in the economic reform and private sectors become the most dynamic part of national economy. Moreover, it was also 'the source of wealth for China's first multi-millionaires: 2-5% of all the private enterprise owners had incomes over 10 million *yuan* by the middle of the 1990s' (Parris, 1999: 267). A dramatic rise of personal income is also significant: urban per capita incomes grew from 739 *yuan* in 1985 to 5,854 *yuan* in 1999. Rural incomes lagged, but still grew at about 4 per cent per annum to reach 2,210 *yuan* in 1999 (Gray, 2002: 446). Planned economy thus gave way to the 'invisible hand' of market.

Although Chinese government and the CCP insisted that the People's Republic of China was, is and will be a socialist country, the market economy since Deng's leadership and broader social circumstances seemed to suggest a different story. A stronger and stronger predominant capitalist tendency is witnessed or as should be called, officially, 'Chinese-style' socialism. There are obvious doubts over the essence of this 'Chinese-style' socialism even within China, let alone Western world. The influence from the West can be regarded as a result of cultural imperialism dominated by Western capitalist countries. It is also worth noting how Chinese government and society appropriate this cultural dominance. This process was first shown in Deng's establishment of Special Economic Zones (the SEZs).

### 7.1.1 The SEZs vs. Treaty Ports

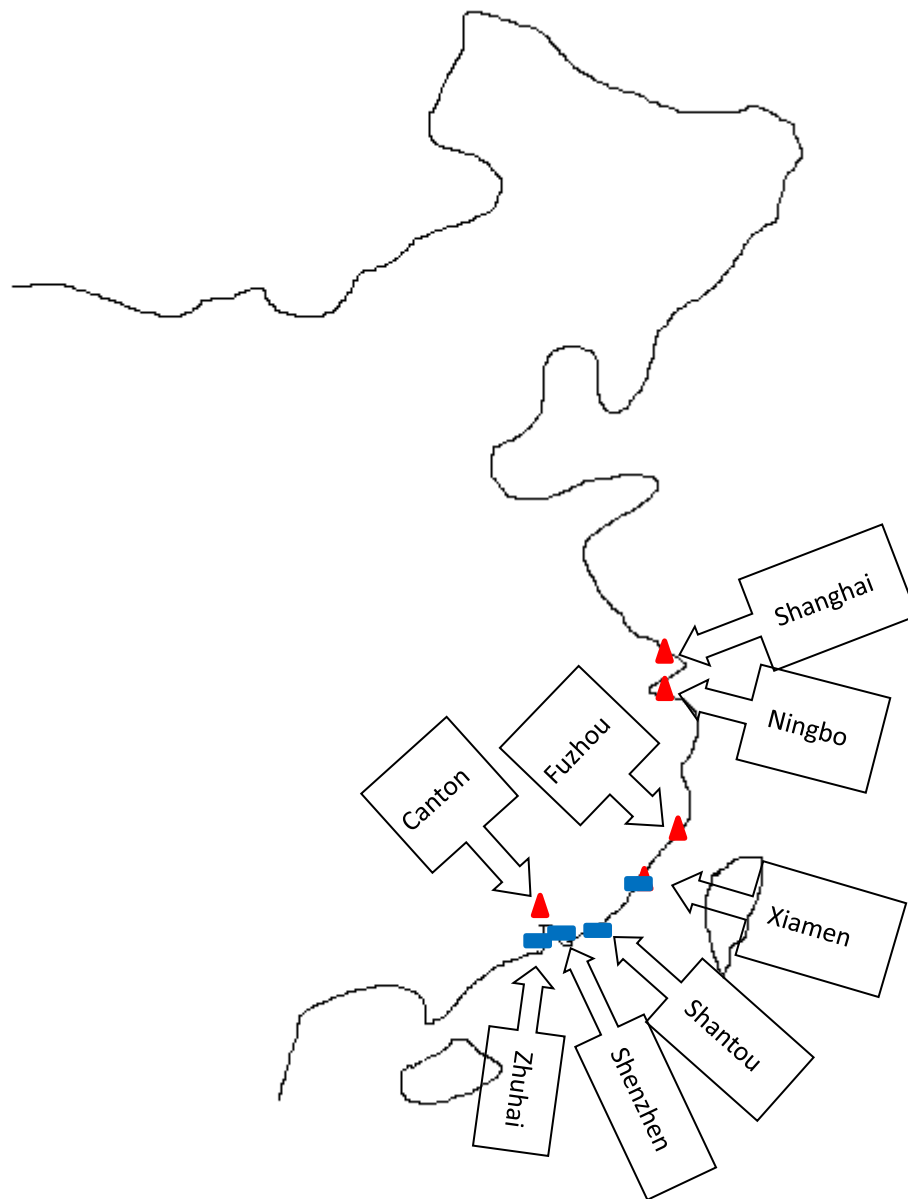


Figure 26 Brief Display of Previous Treaty Ports and SEZs along the Eastern Coastal Line in China.

Source: Map Drawn and Edited by the author.

Note: Red triangle represents five treaty ports under the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842; blue rectangular represents the four SEZs established in 1980.

The signing of Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 and the force opening of five coastal cities as treaty ports were just like yesterday although more than a century had passed. Four coastal cities were 'opened' again as Special Economic Zones to attract foreign

capital. Most of the four coastal cities, especially Shenzhen, were basically in a situation where those treaty ports had been when they were first established: underdeveloped virgin lands desperately needing 'huge initial investments in infrastructural facilities before they could attract foreign investors' (Mackerras, Taneja & Young, 1993: 94). All these SEZs, as can be seen from the map above, remain in remote southern provinces. Only Xiamen was one of the original five treaty ports. Among them, Shenzhen and Zhuhai border Hong Kong, the colony of Britain and Macao, the colony of Portugal at that time. Moreover, Xiamen and Taiwan face each other across the Taiwan Strait showing the CCP's political intention. This time, it was not done by force; rather it was accompanied by the eager initiative of the CCP. Schell (1985: 113-114) has questioned this re-opening: '[t]o hark back today to an era when foreign imperialist powers were threatening to 'slice up the Chinese melon,' by recoinning the phrase 'open-door policy' to describe China's new relationship to the West, makes one wonder about the Chinese leadership's sense of history.' Due to the past experiences, a somewhat conclusion is implied within the whole nation: since pure socialism is not able to make China a wealthy and powerful country, a catch-up lesson of capitalism is required (Xu, 1992; Gao, 2008: 194). Deng seemed to be free from these concerns regarding to the sense of history or the precise political and social system China takes as his famous motto goes: A cat, whether black or white, is a good cat if it catches a rat. As a result, these SEZs and other coastal cities like Shanghai, became the focus during economic reform once again as they always had been throughout Chinese modern history. They attracted foreign investment and encouraged the construction of new housing, roads, and transport systems. The look of China's urban environment was thus dramatically changed making it 'a land of joint-ventures, enterprises with foreign funding and/or investors but with Chinese public agencies as partners' (Benson, 2002: 62-63). A similar situation is witnessed at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as well: on an advertising card for the SSO's chamber concert every Friday evening it writes in Chinese—'the pleasant and classical Friday evening in the former French Concession' as is shown in the picture of that card below. The fact that Hunan Road where the SSO is now located once

belonged to French Concession is supposed to be a humiliating historical fact of Shanghai as a city and also for the whole Chinese nation. However, the SSO does not seem to think that way. What French Concession represented to the SSO and to the majority of Chinese people nowadays is more about modern or Western connotations they wished to be equipped with. These Western relations act as a means to show off their social status.



Figure 27 The SSO's advertising card for its chamber concerts every Friday evening.

Note: The Chinese words underlined in red say: 'the pleasant and classical Friday evening in the former French Concession'. Picture was taken and edited by the author (2012c).

Source: card picked up outside a KTV in Shanghai by the author.

Deng's 'Black-White Cat' theory and the SSO's advertising card also revealed China's official surrender to cultural imperialism and an overt giving up of resistance and intransigence tactics under cultural dominance. It was very different from the typical Communist ideology which advocates fighting and struggling for power. No matter how China developed itself without any notice of social systems, one thing is beyond doubt: this form of 'Chinese-style' socialism is the result of cultural

imperialism. The social and economic predominance of one nation over the other is clearly displayed together with imposition of lifestyle that came along. And it also goes without saying that under the broader context of cultural imperialism it is the form of cultural dominance taking place along cultural appropriation process. It resembles the situation in the 1920s when well-off Chinese people moved into foreign settlements in Shanghai and became westernized or what they would call 'modernised' in all walks of life. Once again, history had its moment of coincidence where modernization equals to westernization—after all those resistances and transculturation during the past one century and a half. It is also the process of assimilation tactic within cultural dominance. They shared similarities in that they were both the initiative choice of Chinese people or society with native culture being abandoned to a great extent. It can be found from, for example, the replacement of planned economy by market economy and the throwing away of Confucianism for Western science and ideology. In the beginning, it was the assimilation tactic that took place and then, confronted with accusation of blindly worshipping foreign things, integration tactic was adopted which is more evident in music field as will be substantiated later. However, one thing worth noting is that it is the integration tactic rather than transculturation in that indigenous culture is unequally placed against Western culture with the latter predominating.

## **7.2 The Nouveaux Riches and Middle Class in Cosmopolitan Shanghai**

With the success of economic reform and a large number of entrepreneurially-minded young people jumping into business 'sea' since the 1980s as discussed above, a new group of people emerged in Shanghai—the new economic elite or nouveaux riches. Goodman (1995: 132) has described that 'during the first few months of 1993 the considerable speculation in the Chinese press on the number of millionaires to be found in China drew attention not only to the extent of economic change but also to the emergence of new economic elites'. It has much to

do with the 'Chinese-style' socialism under the influence of cultural imperialism or capitalist culture: changing of economic system from planned economy to market economy, the role of state from direct control to indirect supervision and the opening up to foreign investment. Nevertheless, Goodman (1995: 133) makes an argument about the role of new economic elites in Chinese society: 'interestingly, the new economic elites have concentrated on the search for wealth and status rather than political power, not least because of the entrenched political position of the established economic elites'. It is believed by the majority of Chinese people that political power is temporary and unstable while wealth or money is relatively permanent and safe. Due to the significance of this group of people—resources for China's social, economic development, the government is encouraging this trend in many ways. Also, due to the prevailing of consumerism, government has 'allowed domestic and foreign consumer goods to be advertised in department store windows and on billboards formerly reserved for political slogans, and has increased the production and imports of such goods' (Gold, 1981: 61-62). This has subsequently led to the emergence of commercialism in Shanghai started since the early 1990s. 'For the first time commercial, rather than political, factors were determining the majority of what was published and produced...the most conspicuous phenomenon has been the unprecedented growth of works produced with the explicit purpose of sheer entertainment and commercial profit' (Wedell-Wedellsborg, 1995: 224). Cultural imperialism provides the image of privileged cultural forms and lifestyles, mostly Western ones to Chinese people who quickly surrendered and adopted assimilation or integration tactics through cultural appropriation process, thus giving room for the development of consumerism. Tomlinson (1991: 26) points out that 'the spread of capitalism is the spread of a culture of consumerism...which involves the commodification of all experience'. Vulnerability of the Third World is also witnessed in the city of Shanghai. It is a homogenizing power coming from the West as Shanghai is becoming a cosmopolitan city or mainly a Western one. 'Chinese-style' socialism allows the opportunity to 'get rich first'. This first group of 'rich people' also interacted with consumerism brought about by cultural imperialism or the spread of

capitalist culture. The concept of 'class' in China seems to be an economic one as is also evident in the following part when talking about the 'halo' of symphonic music.

Situation in managerial level has also transformed greatly. Life tenure for cadres within the CCP is abolished. After Mao's death, Deng boldly dismissed a 'good class background' as a criterion for selecting officials. Moreover, in 1992 Deng Xiaoping made a number of the older cadres retire (Lieberthal, 2003: 230-239). It was an action never imagined by the CCP before. The Party began to recruit more and more young people. The public posts are now filled by examinations. In terms of the ruling elite, there has been a 50 per cent turnover, as Gray (2002: 435) contends that 'there has also been a considerable change in the background of those in power'. For example, the level of education is much higher and the range of Party's recruitment is now much more diverse. It even includes some of China's successful capitalists, although at the first few years, 'there is still tension between the older-style cadres with less education (from Mao's, Deng's, and Jiang's generations) and the new elite with advanced degrees from universities' (Gamer, 2008: 91). It can be seen as an ideological transformation within the Party as it is becoming more flexible and broad-minded to the West. It is also shown in the 'Chinese-style' socialism mentioned above.

Another group that benefited greatly from these reform policies in contrast with the Cultural Revolution is 'intellectuals': a grab-bag category in the Chinese understanding including academics, students and more abstract thinkers. No longer were they termed the *choulaojiu* 臭老九 [stinking ninth] (that is, the ninth class of undesirables in Cultural Revolution terminology). Instead, education was encouraged to a great extent as China strove to improve its science and technology infrastructure (Mitter, 2008: 67). A kind of new intellectual also emerged in the 1990s, called *xin zuopai* 新左派 [the new leftist] or *xin zuoyi* 新左翼 [the new left wing]. The moment economic reform was implemented in China, the trend of going to the West for further studies reached a high point in no time. And the majority of those New Leftist have done their graduate studies in the West. To them, 'the liberation of

thought in the 1980s was a form of wholesale opening up to the West, resulting in the indiscriminate acceptance of all kinds of Western ideas and the fetishization of Western institutions' (Liu, 2001: 51-52). This group of people mainly constituted the middle class in China, or as Gold (1981) describes: a new group called the swing group in the middle which is much like the middle class in Chinese society. They, like the teenagers, are young enough to have hopes for more education with upward mobility and many are 'very highly motivated and study foreign languages, technology, and philosophy on their own, even though their chances for further formal education are slim' (Gold, 1981: 61). In terms of changes in lifestyle, as workers and peasants finally prospered, new styles of clothing in brighter colours emerged on China's streets after the nightmare suppression during the Cultural Revolution. And also, as mentioned above, music tapes of Hong Kong and Taiwan singers circulated through the country, along with China's own rising generation of rock musicians (Benson, 2002: 51). These changes are closely related to influences from the West or, to be exact, cultural imperialism. For the swing group in the middle, they have also accepted and carried out the concept of a more individualistic life style: basically following the fashion trend from the West, like the bell-bottom slacks in the 1980s and tuning in to disco or rock and roll music influenced by the Michael Jackson fever. Besides enjoying life by following the West, the middle class members always have an interest in education both for themselves and for their offspring as well. Some newly available forms of entertainment were of a more educational nature together with the implementation of one-child policy. Urban families enrolled their single offspring in untold after-school activities like piano, violin or ballet dance lessons as parents sought to give their child opportunities and pleasures they themselves never had (Benson, 2002: 65-66). They are also, at the same time, adopting the assimilation tactic consciously or unconsciously. The definition of assimilation tactic in cultural dominance indicates that the imposed culture is integrated while the original one is abandoned. Some would argue they are doing this to accord with the trend of the time, to be modern or to be globalized. However, by making their children take Western classical instruments lessons, a majority of

parents in China gave up resisting the threat cast by cultural imperialism or Western culture. They swiftly made the choice of Western classical instruments rather than traditional Chinese ones. They admitted the inferiority of native culture, may be inexplicitly, under the dominating Western one. To accord with the trend of the time is just to compromise with cultural imperialism. To be modern is not for modern's sake, instead, to be modern implies to be Western. And to be globalized is just another way of saying to be westernized. Since the middle class group is considerably large in Shanghai, the cost on education and cultural activities was a major one among the general Shanghai people. It is shown in the table below that expenditure on education, cultural and recreation services always constitutes a high percentage in Shanghai:

Table 11 Composition of Per Capita Consumption Expenditures of Urban Households in Main Years (%)

Year	Total Consumption Expenditures	Food	Clothing	Household Facilities Articles and Services	Medicine and Medical Services	Traffic and Communications	Education, Cultural and Recreation Services	Residence	Other Commodities and Services
2000	100	44.5	6.4	7.7	5.6	8.6	14.5	9.0	3.7
2001	100	43.4	6.2	6.2	6.0	10.3	15.2	8.5	4.2
2002	100	39.4	5.9	6.2	7.0	10.7	15.9	11.4	3.5
2003	100	37.2	6.8	7.2	5.4	11.4	16.6	11.6	3.8
2004	100	36.4	6.3	6.2	6.0	13.5	17.4	10.5	3.7
2005	100	35.9	6.8	5.8	5.8	14.4	16.5	10.2	4.6
2006	100	35.6	6.9	5.9	5.2	15.8	16.5	9.7	4.4
2007	100	35.5	7.7	5.5	5.0	18.3	15.4	8.2	4.4

2008	100	36.6	7.9	6.1	3.9	17.4	14.8	8.5	4.8
2009	100	35.0	7.6	6.5	4.8	16.7	14.9	9.1	5.4
2010	100	33.5	7.7	7.8	4.3	17.6	14.5	9.3	5.3

Source: information provided by survey office of the National Bureau of Statistics in Shanghai. Table translated by the author from the original table in *Shanghai Statistical Yearbook: 2011*. P.159

As for the city of Shanghai, once semi-colonized and divided by international settlements, it now boasts itself as a cosmopolitan. However, this cosmopolitanism has its close relation to the West as ‘decolonization is easily transformed into neo-colonialism with the emergence of new national elite dependent on metropolitan economic linkages’ (Taylor, 1995: 18). It should also be noted that this kind of westernization or the so-called ‘neo-colonialism’ in today’s Shanghai is very different from that in previous times. Shanghai’s Western background kept reminding them ‘of the constant making and remaking of the privilege of assuming a national self, of the changing scenarios of resistance to and mimicking of the powers of colonialism, and of the construction of the ‘national’ in the face of other possible contestations for identifying a collective identity in the modern globe’ (Roy, 1995: 105). Consequently, an increasing sense of national self-esteem and confidence supported by economic power is now witnessed in the westernization process. Publications on cultural Shanghai also showed an increased self-awareness by Shanghai intellectuals of the city’s urban identity (Cheng, 1996). Wang Weiming 王唯铭, an editor of a culture column in a popular youth paper in Shanghai, highlighted several features of the newly found urbanism in China’s most celebrated cosmopolitan (Wang, 1996b): the leisure class, fashion-sensitive consumers, skyscrapers and cosmopolitanism. His Shanghai was ‘a landscape overlaid with colonial landmarks and modern marvels: the refined Ma-le Villa, the marvelous Eastern Pearl Tower, and the gigantic Yangpu Bridge’ (Guang, 2003: 628-629). It was, moreover, ‘a land of leisure and consumption, represented by such department stores and recreational centers as the *Beilemen*, the New World, and the Paris Spring

with an international jazz band playing from a famous hotel lobby as a one-time symbol of the city's cultural life' (ibid). However, as the migrants and peasants flooded into Shanghai, its identity as a cosmopolitan city is in danger. Yet, what is at stake here is not simply a summertime nuisance posed by disheveled bodies of migrant women, but, more significantly, 'an urban middle-class and bourgeois identity under the threat of economically mobile peasants. The more fluid the class categories in the cities, the more important it became for the middle class to acquire symbolic capital by sharpening their cultural distinctions vis-à-vis the outsiders. As Wang reassured himself, money alone does not buy urban tastes and sensibilities' (Guang, 2003: 631). It brought about the question and emphasis of classes by Shanghainese within the society. As a city with early and long-time exposure to the West, class issue may also contribute to the citizens' appreciation and love for Western things. Just like those Shanghailanders living in international settlements, they reinforced their foreign identity by creating the Shanghai Public Band or the later Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and excluding local Shanghai people. The well-off class in modern Shanghai is doing more or less the same thing. Western classical music, through all those years, has been captured as cultural capital appropriated to show the social identity of certain group. This process is strengthened by excluding people from other classes as Bourdieu (1984: 167) has contended that 'social identity is defined and asserted through difference'. Only by choosing different music or lifestyle from other people can their social identities and values be realized and achieved. However, this cultural capital is not as simple as it seems. Is the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra supported by the Party? Do they understand the inside value of this cultural capital? To answer these questions, I am going to shift my focus to the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra by looking into this cultural capital and try to understand what music really affords.

### 7.3 The Modern SSO

In 1976 when Cultural Revolution came to an end, Mr Huang Yijun was re-appointed as conductor and chair of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. This decision was made by the Party along with a nation-wide 'Bring Order out of Chaos' movement. This movement corrected more than 3 million relevant cadres' cases and over 470,000 people were given back their Party memberships by the end of 1982. However, given Mr Huang's old age and physical as well as psychological conditions, Chen Xieyang 陈燮阳 became the conductor and head of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in 1984 till 2009 when Yu Long 余隆 took the place (Yu Long is also the Art Director of China Philharmonic Orchestra and Music Director of Guangzhou Symphony Orchestra). Their Conductor in Residence now is a talented female Chinese conductor—Zhang Jiemin 张洁敏. In 1986, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra carried out music director system just like that in symphony orchestras from Western countries. In terms of duties and tasks required, music director is the major conductor and responsible for making decisions relevant to music. The head of Orchestra is more of a managerial person. This slight change showed their assimilation process under the influence of cultural imperialism. It seemed to be international fashion to call their conductor 'Music Director'. With the rapid modernization process of China in this new era, the SSO joined the trend, as a high-art symbol making its contribution to Shanghai's cosmopolitanism. In the 1980s, not long after the end of Cultural Revolution, there was a classical-music fever. This fever was especially centred on classic works such as Beethoven and Tchaikovsky, among young people in Shanghai and the whole nation as well. They would queue at 4 a.m. for a Beethoven's concert ticket '[t]his is the second upsurge in popularity of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. The first came with a series of Beethoven concerts last year...A series of 14 Tchaikovsky concerts are given almost every weekend. More than 18,000 tickets were sold out soon after the season started late October...' (Cao and Hu, 1986) Tape recordings of Western classical music sold out very quickly soon after they were put out. A similar situation was witnessed at

bookstores as well: 'I was like a starving man so frightened that the "food" in front of me would disappear. However, there were countless people sharing this emotion with me and consequently, there were unprecedented long queues at the bookstore...When it was my turn, I was suddenly at a loss. I wanted to buy every book: those I once possessed, those I have read or haven't and even books for my two-year old son in the future. This crazy emotion took almost two years to die down...'(Cao, 1996a) It can be understood as a burgeoning desire for Western art and culture as well as other 'criticized' ones after the ten-year oppression during Cultural Revolution. Nonetheless, the classical music fever could not have taken place without the Party's support.



Figure 28 Long queues outside Shanghai Music Hall for the SSO's Beethoven concert in 1985.

Source: pictures retaken by the author (2012c) from the original ones at the SSO Archive (A3-2).

### **7.3.1 The Return of Elitism and Reconstruction of Cultural Capital**

The official re-employment of former conductor Mr Huang Yijun after the end of Cultural Revolution was a symbol representing the return of elitism which was severely prohibited in the previous decade. Social elites were against the CCP's ultra-left ideology of 'radically egalitarian', as a result, they should be wiped out. What the CCP favoured was not the real-life social elites with flesh and blood in that they only allowed the existence of admiration or cult for a single community—the Chinese Communist Party itself. It is also obvious in Chapter 6 when the establishment of heroic characters in revolutionary operas as incarnations of the CCP was argued. However, the situation was drastically altered when outstanding individuals were back to public. And it is interesting to notice how elitism has generally returned to Chinese society through the transformations of the SSO after Cultural Revolution and how Western symphonic music, this cultural capital, was reconstructed along the process.

Chen Xieyang became the conductor and music director of the SSO after Huang Yijun's retirement in 1984 as mentioned above. From articles in newspapers and magazines, Chen's representation of the whole SSO and Western symphonic music, this bourgeois high art, was not difficult to notice: '...it is a pity that I am not a good symphonic music listener. It is Chen Xieyang's superb conducting gestures that inflected me rather than my understanding of Beethoven...I sat next to Chen Xieyang and asked him about symphonic music. He answered me using accurate and simple words with his serious face in deep thought as always. It is as if he was lost in Beethoven's world yet his reserved face tells an amiable arrogance...' (Ha, 1985) This article was not very logical yet it revealed the distance between Western symphonic music, represented by the SSO's conductor Chen Xieyang, and ordinary Chinese people. Despite the CCP's ideology to make Western symphonic music serve the general masses, the gap between them was still large due to unfamiliarity with genuine symphonic music. It is also worth noticing that such admiration of an individual shown from this article was actually allowed in public. It was a symbol of

the CCP's change of their ultra-left ideology. Chen's Western relations were not obscure either: '...Chen says the energy and creativity behind his conducting style and his approach to managing his orchestra are the fruit of his long association with the West. From 1981 to 1982, Chen was invited to study and perform in the U.S under the auspices of the Centre for U.S-China Arts Exchange... 'But it was in the U.S that I really developed ideas about conducting, that I had a chance to share and collaborate with musicians whose training was so different from my own'...' (McPherson, 1987) During Cultural Revolution, symphonic music was deprived of its nature as a Western bourgeois art; what is worse, it was no longer allowed to be Western but had to be reformed to serve the CCP's egalitarian ideology. As a result, strong resistance towards Western culture was witnessed in the whole Chinese society serving as a background of the hybrid music—revolutionary operas. However, in modern China, the nature of Western symphonic music as a bourgeois high art is given back. The reconstruction of this cultural capital inevitably involves reinforcement of exclusion of and distancing from the general masses. The origin of this cultural capital is recognized; moreover, it is strengthened due to the superior position of the West. The following commercial advertisement of named concert by the SSO with its conductor and famous Chinese pianist residing in U.S—Kong Xiangdong 孔祥东 is a vivid illustration on return of elitism in Chinese society. The establishment and appropriation of Western classical music starts for commercial markets are thus made clear.



Figure 29 Commercial advertisement of named concert by the SSO with the conductor Chen Xieyang and well-known Chinese pianist residing in U.S—Kong Xiangdong in 2003.

Source: picture taken by the author (2012c) from the original newspaper at the SSO Archive (A3-21-1).

Besides the return of elite conductor, the coming back of well-known players to the SSO is also noticeable. During social upset and suppression of elite by the CCP, a large number of talented players at the SSO left for other countries, especially Western ones, for better career opportunities. The situation was most serious in the 1990s when communication between China and the West was getting much better. And it is said that the number of players that left the SSO was large enough to organize another symphony orchestra (Xing, 1995). It is also interesting to notice that in 1999 when the SSO first went abroad, to Russia, so as to employ players there and fill the vacancies created by loss of Chinese players. They received warm welcome in Russia and interviewed many more Russian musicians than anticipated. An article gave five reasons for that situation: 'one, China had made much progress since Reform and Opening up Policy and Shanghai is a cosmopolitan enjoying world

reputation...two, the political situation is stale while economic markets thriving...three, their income would be almost ten times higher if they were employed by the SSO...four, Russians and Chinese have long been good friends with each other...five, the SSO has the longest history among its counterparts in China...’ (Cao, 1999: 16) Although some of the reasons seem to be platitudes, one cannot overlook China’s increasing power and growing international status. As a result, the brain drain tendency at the SSO is finally reversed with the rapid economic development of Shanghai, support of elite in society and better commercial market for Western classical music in China. The current concertmaster Pan Yinlin at the SSO left China in the 1980s and became the concertmaster at Tokyo Metropolitan Symphony Orchestra in Japan for almost 20 years before his return to the SSO in 2003. More and more musicians like Pan gradually returned to the SSO, let alone the international fame for those Chinese superstars in Western classical music field, to name but a few: pianist Lang Lang 郎朗, Li Yundi 李云迪, Wang Yuja 王羽佳, Kong Xiangdong 孔祥东; composer Tan Dun 谭盾 and cellist Wang Jian 王健. Their existence on the one hand, boosted Chinese national confidence to a great extent. On the other, it represented China’s thriving market not only in economy but also in Western classical music field. This cultural capital was reconstructed again. The Party’s support and drastic ideological change within the whole society can be regarded as an accumulation process gathering different symbolic values from those during Cultural Revolution. And it became more and more obvious that the ‘exchange rate’ for this cultural capital is getting higher in China for a robust market there. It is especially true in terms of ‘foreign’ cultural capital, i.e. Chinese musicians who had stayed abroad or won international prizes and Western musicians giving performance in China. We can see from this phenomenon that although China is becoming a strong country with higher international status, the positions of Western culture and Chinese culture are still not quite equal. Besides the return of Chinese elite at the SSO and Chinese music field in general, the craze for Western classical music composers was also witnessed in public as will be explained later with greater detail. Why has this Western bourgeois high art flourished in modern China after a long and

severe suppression not very long ago? This question is going to be explored below.

### **7.3.2 Support from the CCP**

Jiang Zemin 江泽民, President of China from 1993 to 2003, was the mayor of Shanghai during 1985 and 1988. He mentioned several times that modern cosmopolitans in today's world should not only possess strong economic power but also capability to present their cultural identity. As for Shanghai, it should have high-standard symphonic music and ballet so as to be a modern and international big city. It reveals the ideology that modernization equals to Western since symphonic music and ballet are typical Western arts. During his presidency, he seized every opportunity to show off his extensive knowledge of Western music: often grabbing the baton to direct orchestras at state banquets. He would also entertain Western leaders by singing or playing the piano. During his long tenure as party secretary of Shanghai, Mr. Jiang helped to start a craze in China for extravagant opera houses (Becker, 2004). Symphonic music, this Western form of art, is now regarded as a modern symbol, cultural capital whose circulation value lies in its Western nature and bourgeois indication under the influence of cultural imperialism. During the Cultural Revolution, Western classical music was cultural capital strictly criticized for its relations to capitalism, individualism, decadence, etc. and was put to be revolutionized. In modern China, on the contrary, this cultural capital is favored as its original existence by the government. Its decency was advocated as a weapon to fight against 'decadent' popular music especially during the 1980s.

On 16<sup>th</sup> February 1986, there was a public lecture held by the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra for over 200 municipal leaders at various governmental organizations in Shanghai. The aim of this lecture was to make those Communist leaders understand more about symphonic music—high art from the West. Those cadre-students responded positively. Liu Wenqing, the vice secretary of Shanghai Municipal Party Committee then, said: 'High art such as symphonic music can raise the cultural quality among young people and have an imperceptible influence. That is why us,

politicians should understand and become familiar with this kind of art...' (Tu, 1986)

This kind of lecture was held more than once since a similar lecture program in May 1997 was found at the SSO Archive (A2-46) organized by Shanghai Municipal Propaganda Department and Organization Department. The programme included introduction to the origin, historical development and some basic knowledge of symphonic music together with history of symphonic music in China. At the end of that program, it concludes: 'Symphonic music is an 'international language' unrestricted by countries or nations; moreover, it is a symbol of a country's modern ideological and cultural progress' (A2-46). The shift of Party's attitudes is astonishing but also understandable at the same time. It is astonishing in that their attitude towards Western symphonic music was vastly different from just a few years ago. However, if we could simply regard, for now, this form of Western art as cultural capital it would not be difficult to comprehend the Party's pragmatism behind this shift of attitudes. In modern China, especially after Reform and Opening up Policy, the Party and almost the entire Chinese nation started to sense the influence together with the threat from cultural imperialism, i.e. capitalist culture in the West. Under Deng's 'Black-White Cat' theory, the CCP took a lead in rapid surrender to cultural imperialism and thus symphonic music or Western classical music as a whole was regarded, once again, 'more scientific, more heroic, and because it was international, it came to be hailed as progressive' (Bezlova, 2004). Assimilation and integration tactics are also swiftly adopted when confronted with the dominant Western capitalist culture. 'International' actually refers to Western here as can be found in the connotation of modernization within symphonic music for its Western nature and origin.

In modern China, Western classical music, this cultural capital, is very much favored by the CCP and was applied as a means to show off or project a modern, progressive image of Shanghai. Shanghai New Year's Concert first started in 1994 has now become a fashion for citizens' leisure life. The majority of works performed is classic Western classical music. It aimed to become the oriental version of New

Year's concert in Vienna (Li, 1994) whose audiences often include top political leaders of Shanghai. Local newspapers in Shanghai would always list their names in the subtitle of concerning reports every New Year's day (1<sup>st</sup> of January, not Chinese New Year). It is exactly the integration tactic along cultural appropriation process for there is no such thing as New Year's concert before 1994. Moreover, in traditional Chinese culture it is Spring Festival (first day according to lunar calendar) that should be celebrated as the start of New Year. Though Chinese New Year is still a big festival today, the increasing popularity of Shanghai New Year's concert is presenting the victory of integration tactic. Moreover, '[t]o show how modern and trendy Shanghai was becoming, the city leaders commissioned a French architect to design an ultra-modern opera house made of glass and steel costing 157 million U.S. dollars and located just next to the Shanghai Communist Party headquarters' (Bezlova, 2004) as shown in the picture below.



Figure 30 Shanghai Grand Theatre in 2009 with posters celebrating the SSO's 130 anniversary.

Source: The SSO Archive.

However, it should also be pointed out that the support from the CCP is conditional. Cao Yiji 曹以楫, the previous Party committee secretary at the SSO, 'often organizes Party members at the SSO to watch videos on the Mayor's talk and stories of Party members' decent behaviours from other enterprises...every time

before going overseas to give concerts, Cao Yiji would always ask related persons to come to introduce the political and social situations of the destination country...strengthen players' national self-esteem and patriotism. In October 1999, the SSO was going to the U.S. to perform. Before that, Cao Yiji invited Zeng Le to tell his story of making inventions for our country while forgetting his own illness. He also invited Liu Jingbao, Deputy Governor from Shanghai branch of The People's Bank of China, to tell his story of studying and working abroad to win glory for China...' (Cao, 1996b:11&13) Much as the Party loved this Western style cultural capital, they still hold reserved concerns on exactly what they favoured—the capitalist nature and origin of symphonic music. China is, at least officially, a Communist country.

### **7.3.3 What Beethoven and Chinese Pieces Afford?**

To perceive symphonic music or Western classical music as a form of cultural capital is a helpful way to understand the CCP's shifting attitude towards it. However, it is also worth looking inside of this cultural capital. What is it that the CCP could take advantage of within this cultural capital? Or, in other words, what is it that music affords at the SSO that attracted Party's attention and thus won its support? First of all, I am going to focus on the craze for Beethoven as an example to show affordance of classic Western classical music in China. Then I will move on to Chinese music performed by the SSO in modern times to see what they afforded under the cultural imperialism context.

There are currently two bronze statues in the yard of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra: one is Beethoven's and the other is Mr Huang Yijun's (the first Chinese conductor at the SSO). Beethoven's statue was given as a gift to the SSO in 1991 by German embassy in Shanghai. Moreover, Beethoven's statue stays at the central position since then as shown in the picture below.



Figure 31 Shanghai Symphony Orchestra (front).

Note: Beethoven's bronze statue is in the red oval.

Source: The SSO (2009). Photo edited by the author.

The fact that Mr Huang Yijun's statue is at the backyard while Paci's statue is not even there makes one wonder about Beethoven's contribution to the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. The answer, however, may be cruel: Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) did not even have the chance to know about the SSO. Beethoven's music is also favoured by the majority of Shanghai people to a great extent. In 2005, the SSO allowed audiences to take part in deciding music they would perform at their Christmas concert that year. According to questionnaires collected by June, two general categories were mostly preferred. One is large Western classical pieces with deep philosophical connotation within which Beethoven's Fifth and Ninth Symphony were frequently chosen followed by Mahler; the other is casual and delightful small pieces such as Johann Strauss's waltz and Tchaikovsky's ballet music. Chinese composers' works and other modern Western composers' music, however, were seldom ticked (Xing & Cao, 2005: 7). Moreover, Beethoven is among the most frequently performed composers at the SSO as shown in the table below:

Table 12 Frequency of Western composers played at the SSO in 2008

Composers	Ludwig van Beethoven	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Johann Strauss II	Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky	Johannes Brahms
Times performed	72	67	51	30	23

Source: Table made by the author from performance statistics throughout the year of 2008 (including chamber concerts), information collected at the SSO Archive.

Despite his piano and violin concertos that were often chosen by chamber concerts, movements from his Symphony No.5 in C minor, Op.67 were the most frequently performed pieces—10 times (especially the first movement: 7 times) in 2008. Needless to say, Beethoven was one of the most outstanding, representative and influential figures in Western classical music world. The familiarity and love for him and his works can be partly attributed to historical reasons: the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra's own great influence from music in Classical and Romantic era. In concerts given by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra from 1911 to 1949, Beethoven's Symphony No.3 in E flat major, Op.55 *Eroica* was performed 4 times; Symphony No.5 in C minor, Op.67, 5 times; Symphony No.6 in F major, Op.68 *Pastorale*, 5 times; Symphony No.7 in A major, Op.92, 3 times (Antonin Dvorak's Symphony No.9 in E minor, Op.95 *From the New World* was performed 9 times during that period) (The SSO Archive). Still, why is Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67, especially the first movement, the favourite one both in the SSO and also among audiences? I would like to offer an explanation for Symphony No. 5's affordance.

Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67, especially the first eight notes at the beginning of the first movement, is a well-known classical work or we can call it a 'popular' classical music piece.



Figure 32 First eight notes of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67.

Source: Drawn by the author.

DeNora (2003b: 67) puts it this way when she analysed a case relating to music as cognition: '[i]n the 'inner voices' of certain musical passages, she was able to find exemplars of her nature and identity'. In regard to the SSO and audiences in Shanghai, on hearing that tune, they could recognize their identity as symphonic music performers and listeners respectively, especially the latter. Since the majority of Chinese audiences' understanding of Western classical music is considerably superficial, they do not fancy pieces they are not familiar with. In other words, if they heard other less familiar classical works, they could probably not find the 'inner voices' that relate to their identity as symphonic music listeners. Under the context of cultural imperialism, it is of great significance to obtain that identity as a presentation of assimilation tactic. The identity is also applied to inform others including themselves that they are 'modern' as Western classical music listeners. My argument is also supported by local news reports: '...some experienced music lovers from Shanghai Music Lover Association said regretfully that orchestras such as Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and London Symphony Orchestra are extremely popular in Shanghai. It is still difficult to get a ticket, even if they put on several concerts. On the other hand, famous soloists or ensembles that have won 'Grammy Awards' or 'The Classic Brits Awards' will not receive a similar warm welcome. Sometimes it is even very difficult to sell the tickets. It is only after the well-known Chinese musicians highlighted their excellence will local Shanghai people realize that they have missed a great concert...' (Wu, 2009: 12)

As for Chinese composers' works, they are not as popular as those Western classic

ones. Nonetheless, due to their connotations of national self-esteem and national modernization mentioned frequently in related local news reports, they are still constantly performed, at a relatively small percentage though. Among those Chinese composers' works, there are *The Butterfly Lovers' Violin Concerto* 《梁祝小提琴协奏曲》 by Chen Gang 陈钢 and He Zhanhao 何占豪, Zhu Jian'er's 朱践耳 'red' symphonic music (*Sing a folk song to the Party* 《唱支山歌给党听》 and *take over Lei Feng's gun* 《接过雷锋的枪》) and symphonic music with Chinese ethnic elements (*Sketches of the mountains in Guizhou* 《黔岭素描》 and *a wonder of Naxi* 《纳西一奇》), Tan Dun's contemporary classical music (*Water Concerto*, *Fire Concerto* and *Earth Concerto*) and so on. To make music more Chinese, some, such as Tan Dun, applied recorders or videos with original Chinese music (traditional or folk) to go with the orchestra at concerts. Traditional Chinese instruments are sometimes used as solo instrument to be accompanied by the whole orchestra such as the commonly seen *dizi* concerto or *pipa* concerto in China. They are so obsessed with the form of this Western music style. It is strongly believed that only by combining Chinese instruments or elements with Western instruments and orchestras, a way of communication more familiar in Western world, will there be a chance for Chinese culture to go abroad, to be understood and thus to be appreciated by foreign people especially Westerners (Yiyi, 1994; Lu, 2003; Zhao & Liu, 2008). It seems to be the current of time. However, I should say, it reveals the vulnerability of subordinated culture under the threat of cultural imperialism i.e. the superior Western culture. This kind of combination is not, as many would contend, transculturation. It is rather the integration tactic within cultural appropriation process for those two cultures are at different positions with the West obviously dominating. Thus, the social context should be understood as cultural imperialism, not globalization. And integration tactic, as its definition points out, is the integration of imposed culture without displacing the native one. It accords exactly with the situation in China's music field nowadays. I will now focus on the accordance of the well-known *Butterfly Lovers' Violin Concerto*. It is considered to be the most successful symphony work by Chinese composers and also the most frequently performed at home and abroad. It will serve

to substantiate my point above and to see how Chinese people 'latch on' to this violin concerto to connect themselves to integration tactic.

*Butterfly Lovers' Violin Concerto* is inspired from a famous ancient Chinese folk tale, the oriental Romeo and Juliet story. In the end of that story, the hero—Liang Shanbo 梁山伯 and heroine—Zhu Yingtai 祝英台 committed suicide and turned into two beautiful butterflies. Some of its melodies were adapted from *yueju* opera 越剧 (a traditional Chinese opera originated in southern China). Techniques from traditional Chinese instruments such as *erhu* were adopted on violin. It was written in traditional Chinese 5-note scale also known as the pentatonic one. Nonetheless, it should be noted that this music was written in 1959 as a gift to celebrate PRC's 10<sup>th</sup> birthday by Chen Gang and He Zhanhao, students at Shanghai Music Conservatory at that time. There was a movement in Shanghai Music Conservatory and in China as a whole. It advocated that Western classical instrument should be nationalized, as is mentioned in previous chapter. Several experimenting groups were thus established to achieve this goal. Although all sorts of Chinese elements were applied in this piece and it seems that a transculturation process had taken place, one should also notice that this piece was written in the typical standard Sonata form including an exposition, a development and a recapitulation. It signifies the heroine—Zhu Yingtai as the solo violin and the hero—Liang Shanbo as the cello. The composers, music conservatory students, learnt and wrote Western classical music by observing the pattern and structure of classic Western works. Much as they wish to nationalize Western classical instruments or music—the resistance tactic to preserve original Chinese culture by appropriation, *Butterfly Lovers' Violin Concerto* is still a Western style concerto with some Chinese elements. It is the result of integration tactic, i.e. to integrate the imposed culture without replacing the native one. Especially after the Cultural Revolution when censorship of art loosened, this piece of music quickly gained greater popularity and became a well-known symbol of Chinese symphonic music. It is often applied as an example to show that China is as good as, if not better than the West in music field. This comparison is made under the context of cultural

imperialism in music forms that originated from the West. It is just those explicit Chinese elements, such as melodies adapted from *yueju* opera, within *Butterfly Lovers' Violin Concerto* that lend it to, or afford uses (DeNora 2000, 2003b). And these 'uses' lie in demonstration of successful integration process in a society threatened by the dominant Western culture. I have made my argument that this piece of work is the result of integration tactic. It is not to imply that integration is better than transculturation. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that it is still a very successful attempt to preserve traditional Chinese elements both musical and ethnical. Under the context of cultural imperialism, it is a strategy to apply the integration tactic so that the traditional culture could have a chance to display on a stage where superior culture dominates. And, inevitably, the process might involve spontaneous preservation. If you have ever heard this extraordinary piece—*Butterfly Lovers' Violin Concerto*, you would be able to understand that this kind of preservation and the integration tactic fit very well to create a beautiful piece of music with traditional Chinese features.

#### **7.3.4 How Music is Received—The Halo of Symphonic music**

A considerable amount of music lovers in Shanghai obtained excellent Western classical music knowledge and strong appreciation capability. There are also more and more Chinese audiences attending chamber music concerts held by the SSO every Friday evening. However, the majority is still attracted and dazed by the 'halo' of Western symphonic music which is indeed created by them. The influence of cultural imperialism, especially after Reform and Opening up Policy by Deng, and the consequent prevailing of consumerism commoditized this Western art making it a symbol of identity, representation of modern lifestyle, especially in the city of Shanghai—home to millions of *nouveaux riches*. There are three major concerns behind this seemingly flourishing, promising Western classical music market in Shanghai and in China as a whole.

The first one is prevailing consumerism and cultural capital as mentioned above. This might be a worldwide issue today that art is perceived as a commodity, especially under the global context of cultural imperialism. Cultural capital is thus a concept: an accumulated power like other economic capital and can be invested according to individuals aiming to obtain all kinds of profits. A major difference from economic capital lies in that cultural capital is a connotative idea that possesses inner meaning and symbolic power which should be understood and acquired through certain ability. However, in Shanghai, concerts like other commodities in economic markets should be advertised and sometimes packed to attract audiences: '...it is very difficult for a regular concert to sell ticket under the name of 'symphony concert', while the situation would be much better if there is a good name for it with corresponding re-arrangement of repertoire. Huang (1998) pointed out in his report that there was a concert named 'collection of the best and beautiful ballet music' given by the SSO last weekend and the ticket sale was very promising. Also, as I have observed from the official website of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, that 'A Company contributes over 5,000,000 *yuan* per year is allowed to send representative to Shanghai Orchestra Council and becomes a council member' (Shanghai Symphony Orchestra). There are also many publicity related benefits for those Council members: 'The image and logo of a council member will be posted on obvious and specified place of publicity materials for all brand programs and season concerts of the year; A council member will be presented in all brand activities in its name; activities for each brand will be arranged according to the orchestra's annual planning...' (ibid) It is more and more like any other ordinary company seeking investment and promising mutual benefits for investors. As a result, the exchange value of this cultural capital is axiomatic.



Figure 33 Concert Programme for *K.WAH Enchanting Music Night* on 12<sup>th</sup> December, 2000 sponsored by K.WAH Group.

Note: Transparent music sheet through which K.Wah Group's products are advertised serves as a vivid illustration of how the SSO is appropriated as cultural capital to perform its economic value rather than musical one.

Source: Picture taken by the author (2012c) from the original programme at the SSO Archive: A2-52.

The next is the extensive existence of posed Western classical music lovers among those nouveaux riches. It is not hard to generate from the first concern above and also from my previous argument relating to nouveaux riches together with affordance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5. For those superficial Western classical music lovers, symphonic music concerts are social places to identify their social identities and reinforcement of social classes they belong. It is shown in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984: 485): 'A class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being, by its consumption—which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic—as much as by its position in the relations of production'. It means certain class of people will confirm their status of being in that particular class through consuming particular cultural products. It also contributes to the inclusion and exclusion of other groups of people in society in that 'aesthetic disposition is one dimension of a distant, self-assured relation to the world and to others which

presupposes objective assurance and distance' (ibid: 49). Through consuming certain cultural products and performing specific cultural activities, individuals would have a stronger sense of belonging to their classes in society. Shanghai, in particular, is a city with strong consuming power but relatively weaker cultural basis.

Western classical music has always been related to well-off classes ever since the end of First Opium War in 1842, except for interruption of the Cultural Revolution. China's opening to the outside world since 1977 brought along rapid expanding of influence from capitalist culture. And among them, Western classical music or symphonic music to be specific has been an old friend. Unlike the first few years of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra when Chinese people were forbidden to attend their concerts, the condition here, in Shanghai, is more economic than racial. All are welcome in this cosmopolitan Shanghai so long as one can afford the tickets which can go as high as 2,000 *yuan* (200 GBP). While sometimes, it does not cost you anything in that many group tickets would be given out to investing companies whereas not many would take that opportunity to attend: '...the manager from Shanghai Concert Hall told the reporter that there are about hundreds of audiences who are loyal classical music fans and attend almost every concert...but the number is not very large and their consuming power is limited. As a result, it is normal for general concert to have 50% to 60% attendance. And within the number of attendance, it would be really good if 30% to 40% of the tickets were sold...on the other hand, the music market itself is tepid as well...' (Ling, 1995) It is also observed by Yang (1995): '[t]he Germany conductor Helbig from the U.S. gave a great concert with the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra last night while there were a lot of empty seats...it is known that those seats belong to complimentary tickets for sponsored organization...' It is true that some well-off class members were making an effort to understand this high cultural form from the West as the SSO provided a one-to-one volunteer concert 'baby-sitter' service in 2005: '...in this new music season, the SSO has a bold idea of providing one-to-one volunteer service to audiences with VIP tickets...volunteers will wait outside the theatre half an hour before the concert,

show the audiences around the theatre and introduce the history and function of the theatre as well as traditions of classical music concert. Questions will be answered by volunteers as well. After the concert begins, volunteers will sit next to the audiences and explain the music to them...' (Gao, 2005)

If we take a look at the number of reports complaining noises from audiences during concerts through all these years, the SSO's volunteer service seems quite necessary: '...there are people arguing, talking loud...music lovers are disturbed but cannot do anything but sighing...the focused foreign conductor heard the noises and looked back twice but he cannot put the baton down...music halls are supposed to be a high-level cultural location, although audiences are not required to wear dresses and suits. High-price tickets should have shown their taste and cultural level to a certain extent...yet regretfully, the cultural atmosphere is thin or almost none at all in those 'cultural' places...' (Yizhang, 1990); '...the pianist Kong Xiangdong could not bear the constant beeping of the beepers and noises from audiences, he stopped playing and stood up asking the audiences to turn off their beepers...parents also treat concerts as a music class for their only child forcing or dragging them into theatre only to make concert more noisy...and flashing of cameras also worsened the situation...' (Huang, 1994); 'it was the Spanish conductor and guitar master Angel Romero's debut in China. He couldn't have imagined being "ill-treated" like this by Shanghai audience—when he was conducting Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 in A major the audience were having a more "grand" symphony: moving seats, slamming doors, calling friends, whispering everywhere and even snoring...the conductor suddenly looked back into the audience with dignity and anger. It was silent for a while...in the second half of the concert, the theatre was still filled with all kinds of disappointing sounds...' (Sun, 2002: 21) and so on. Bourdieu's theory of social class and taste is helpful in understanding the classification of social identities according to leisure activities they chose; however, the criterion of this classification system is ambiguous. In China, the criterion seems to be an exclusively economic term. Audiences' behaviour is much better nowadays although audiences would still

applause between movements of a symphonic music work as I have observed at the SSO's concerts during my fieldwork.

The third is the craze for Western music education forced by Chinese parents as is also briefly mentioned above. This issue can be regarded as a combination of the first two concerns. On the one hand, it is because Western classical music is generally regarded as much favoured cultural capital under the influence of cultural imperialism. Chinese parents eagerly push their only child to acquire this cultural capital through investing on their music education, mostly Western musical instruments. On the other hand, it is also due to the emphasis on education by middle class members in Shanghai. Unlike those posed Western classical music lovers, these parents want their only child to become an upper-class member by making them familiar with the upper-class 'language', i.e. music taste and leisure activity which could outline that class. However, this familiarization process is sometimes perfunctory: '... (Li Danfeng, head of the Children's Music Committee of the Shanghai Musicians' Association said) "Chinese parents have a fever for music education but they usually force their children to practice, rather than nurture their interest. I've met a student who has perfect piano skills but no passion when playing. He says his parents have never taken him to a live concert"...' (*Shanghai Daily*, 2005) This kind of psychology is shared by parents belonging to or even outside middle class in Shanghai and in other developed regions as well. The fame of Chinese Western classical music stars such as Li Yundi and Lang Lang, especially the latter contributed to this Western classical music education craze. The then 25-year-old superstar, Lang Lang, has an Adidas shoe endorsement and his own line of baby grand pianos (Lin, 2008). Those parents reconfirmed their belief from those Chinese superstars' experiences. It is only through understanding their 'language', not only by speaking fluent English but also by playing Western classical instruments such as the piano or the violin, that their off-springs could be among the upper-class filled with Western culture. Moreover, their only child could thus enjoy a life they had only dreamt of but were never given a chance due to social environments when they were young.

## **Chapter 8: Conclusion**

### **8.1 Reflection on Historical Part**

The social and cultural history of the SSO since its founding in 1879 is a grand and vivid picture. In this part, I am going to recapitulate the historical process of this extraordinary music organization and reflect on some of the research questions raised in Chapter 1.

#### **8.1.1 The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in C Major**

The historical development of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra from 1879 to 2010 can be roughly regarded as a cyclical one rather than a linear one. The process is made clear combining theories of cultural capital and cultural appropriation as the letter 'C' indicates. By saying cyclical history does not deny the advancement of the SSO's development; instead, its process at each historical stage has been highlighted. However, one thing in particular caught my attention. A century or more has passed, the social outlook presented by the SSO and attitudes shown by some well-off classes in Shanghai resembled the ones in the first historical stage of the SSO, i.e. 1879 to 1918. It will be further illustrated later with more detailed arguments. The second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century in China witnessed the formation of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra as superior cultural capital by Western settlers or Shanghailanders, as they would call themselves, against local Shanghai people who hardly know a thing from the West, let alone the sophisticated Western classical music. Relations between Western classical music and bourgeois class in capitalist society were also strengthened in Shanghai by them. The accumulation process of this cultural capital involves reinforcement of their Western lifestyle and exclusion of local Chinese people as a general cultural imperialist background. Chinese bourgeois were stimulated to go on historical stage in thus social circumstance. Nonetheless, unequal position of Chinese culture and Western culture was also established under

that social entourage. Cultural exploitation was sometimes witnessed by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra then as a means to create exotic senses for foreign residents in International Settlement and French Concession. Also, it was applied to attract local audiences in later times. As for the response of local Shanghai people, cultural dominance as a form of cultural appropriation was the general situation. Chinese people from different social classes reacted drastically towards this superior Western cultural capital. Especially in later historical times—1919 to 1948, along with the chaotic political situation in Shanghai and constant nationalist social movements, degree of exposure to and understanding of Western culture were greatly distinct among different groups of Chinese people. The five tactics of cultural dominance: assimilation, integration, intransigence, mimicry and resistance can all be found along the process although the extent to which they were adopted varied. The position of traditional Chinese music or Chinese culture as a whole was also subverted due to the existence of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Western culture in general as the superior cultural capital. When the CCP took control in 1949, everything seemed to be put under reforms as the ideology of the CCP was ‘radically egalitarian’—unprecedented on Chinese continent before. At first, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra suffered from disbanding crisis as one could possibly imagine the fate of Western related stuff in socialist China. This extraordinary music group survived due to Chen Yi’s support (Chen was the mayor of Shanghai then) but it was forced to reform so as to accord with the Party’s artistic guideline of serving the general masses in Chinese society. Dramatic transformations took place within the SSO and Chinese society as well. Since the Party wanted to present a Western symphony orchestra filled with Chinese players, those remaining foreign players left Shanghai one by one until the CCP’s wish came true. After a few years of reformation along with a number of social movements launched by the CCP, players at the SSO were requested to go to the countryside and factories in order to better understand lives of the general masses and to play music for them. Of course, it was no longer Western classical works that were performed. These works generally became the focus at the SSO and the entire Chinese music field. The SSO was also appropriated

as cultural capital by the CCP to show their political position within the socialist bloc as it was required to give certain number of concerts performing works by composers from other socialist countries. Latest social slogans were also shown on the cover of the SSO's concert programmes. In regard to forms of cultural appropriations: cultural exchange, cultural exploitation and cultural dominance were witnessed although cultural exchange remains under question for unequal status between the two parties involved. And of course, the form of cultural dominance constituted a major portion in society. During the ten-year Cultural Revolution, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra amazingly survived again as a revolutionary resistant force to the West. The SSO together with its music thus reached a new high level at this historical stage. Not only did it survive, the SSO was even put to great use as it was made to provide background music for revolutionary operas. The CCP in this period of time designed the SSO as cultural capital to 'modernise' Chinese culture so as to consolidate the Party's ultimate power in China. Traditional Chinese culture was accused of being feudalist and Western bourgeois art was criticized for its capitalism. The prerequisites for transculturation were ironically available. Although a large number of social elite and artistic treasures were destroyed, revolutionary operas as a hybrid art form stood out. Cultural Revolution came to an official end in 1976 marked by Mao's death. China thus entered a new era with Deng Xiaoping's Reform and Opening up Policy. Since then, drastic changes have been witnessed once again in China. Although the CCP still insisted that China is and will be a socialist country, this socialism is characterized by 'Chinese style' as the return of elitism at the SSO to begin with. Unlike previous decade, the SSO, as cultural capital, is given back its high-art values it supposed to possess in other ordinary symphony orchestras from Western countries. Moreover, just like what those Shanghailanders did in the first historical stage (1879 to 1918), the high-art symbolism and relation to Western bourgeois class are reinforced. Social stratification is also clearly revealed through the exercise of this cultural capital. It reminds us much of the time when local Chinese people were excluded at concerts given by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra a century ago. However, one thing should be noticed during this process. The definition of class in

China might still leave much room for argument. Besides cultural capital that was supposed to be possessed by Western classical music lovers in China or anywhere else in the world, capital in money value seems to be of greater importance as shown in news articles presented in Chapter 7. Shanghai is not only home to a large number of middle class members but also venture land for nouveau riches that became wealthy almost overnight. Their understandings of Western classical music, however, lagged behind. The fact that Shanghai as well as China is becoming more and more cosmopolitan with stronger economic power boosted national confidence and self-esteem to a great extent. Notwithstanding, there is still a tendency to favour Western stuff such as Western symphonic music as they represented the modern in Chinese society. The huge number of Western musical instrument learners is also worth noticing for most of them were forced into learning by their middle class or simply wealthy parents. Cultivating their interests in music in the meantime is, nevertheless, attached much attention. A great many Chinese people seem to be dazed by the 'exchange rate' of this cultural capital. The following chart serves as a reminder concerning the different groups of authorities that designed and appropriated the SSO as cultural capital in each historical stage.

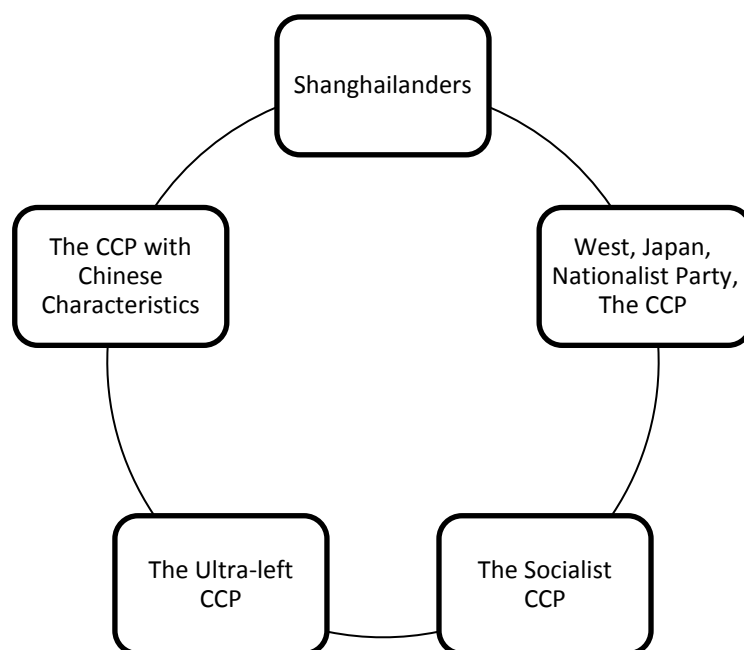


Chart 2 Major authorities during the SSO's development from 1879 to 2010.

### 8.1.2 The Mystery of Modernity

Modernization or modernity has always been a desire of Chinese generations ever since the First Opium War in 1842: the late Qing court, the reformers, Chinese bourgeois, May Fourth intellectuals, the Nationalist government and the Chinese Communist Party (Hsu, 1982). However, what does the term 'modernity' indicate? Habermas (1987) stated that modernity in Hegel's work is a concept of new age: 'the modern age, while the Renaissance, the Reformation and the discovery of the 'new world'—events that occurred roughly around 1500—were used to distinguish the Modern Age from the Middle Ages' (Wang, 2009: 70) while Foucault focused on the 'attitude' perspective of modernity which 'connects itself to both the present age and the future' (ibid). However, so far as I am concerned, the concept of modernity highlights a process of comparison. How a culture views itself to be 'modern' in regard to other cultures, the superior ones in particular, and also to previous formats of its own. If we regard the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as cultural capital for now, this comparing procedure is constantly witnessed through each historical period of this research with the SSO and the city of Shanghai or even in China as a whole. The representations of 'modernity' and this 'cultural capital' varied. It also entailed the application of cultural appropriation when Chinese culture were confronted with or compared to other, especially Western, cultures and the 'impotence' of its native form. I am now going to briefly summarize the five stages along the development of the SSO to see the different indications of 'modernity' and also, how this comparison actually took place.

The first stage is from 1879 to 1919. The opening of Shanghai as a treaty port after China's defeat during the First and Second Opium Wars and the consequent establishment of foreign settlements in Shanghai dramatically transformed the outlook of the city and more significantly, the ideology of local Shanghai people. Formation of cultural capital along with cultural imperialism displayed a 'reinforced' Western culture and lifestyle. Their exclusion of local 'ignorant' Chinese people in all walks of leisure life also intensified the superiority of this cultural capital to a great

extent. Moreover, faced with the decadent late Qing government, Chinese reformers adopted cultural appropriation tactics to modernise this country and the entire Chinese nation. For most of them, modernity means learning from the West, sometimes out of reluctance, to save the nation as Wei Yuan, a famous Chinese scholar of that time, put it *Shiyi changji yi zhiyi* 师夷长技以制夷 [learn from the West to defeat the West]. This ideology also facilitated the emergence of Chinese bourgeoisie as they later interacted closely with those Western settlers. Nonetheless, their attachment to traditional Chinese culture was still relatively strong. Due to their inexperience in terms of reform activities, the cultural appropriation process was perfunctory. The importance of this historical period, in this research, was not laid to the appropriation process but the establishment of cultural superiority and formation of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra as cultural capital. Moreover, the artistic inner value of this cultural capital should not be overlooked. It contributed to the comparison and formation courses through the choices of music performed and relevant musical activities involved.

The second period is from 1919 to 1949. An outstanding feature of those three decades was Chinese enlightenment—New Cultural Movement and May Fourth Movement together with their strong ideological impact. Mr Science and Mr Democracy appropriated from the West became catchy slogans among intellectuals of May Fourth generation. Modernization at that time desired a new Chinese culture which was equal to Western culture in all fields. Also, traditional Chinese culture, exemplified by Confucianism, was severely targeted for the first time in Chinese history due to its ‘decadency’, ‘oppressiveness’ and ‘conservativeness’ as opposed to ‘free’ and ‘liberated’ Western ideologies. Communism was widely spread during this period of time too as a way to save the nation. The ‘first-generation Communist Party members took the Russian Revolution as a model, criticizing the bourgeois character of 1789’ (Wang, 2009: 4). In music field, cultural appropriation was also visible shown from a number of reports found at the *Shen Bao* encouraging local Shanghai people to attend concerts given by the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra (predecessor of the

SSO). However, in some special occasions they were upset by cultural imperialism the music afforded. Vigorous debates over whether traditional Chinese music should be reformed according to Western ones were seen on *Shen Bao* every now and then.

The third one is from 1949 to 1966. After the defeat of the Nationalist Party, the Chinese Communist Party (the CCP) came into power and established People's Republic of China (the PRC) in 1949. Relation between the Soviet Union then and the 'radically egalitarian' ideology advocated by Communism influenced China's development greatly in its first few years. This impact was wide and strong enough to reach almost every corner of mainland China including the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. Modernization for them and for the whole nation as well, was to reform according to the Soviet Union style and Communist ideologies. As a result, narrowly escaped from disbanding crisis in the early 1950s, the SSO was swiftly applied as cultural capital to show the Party's political position by performing music from socialist countries and putting the latest social slogans on their music programmes. Players at the SSO were also called to go to the countryside and factories to serve the masses performing music to suit their tastes. In terms of traditional Chinese culture, it was still under criticism as it 'insisted upon cosmic and social harmony, moderation and the glories of the past' instead of 'struggle, conflict and perfection' (Hutchings, 2001: 86) accentuated by Marxism. Later China split up with the Soviet Union and the CCP leaders, led by Chairman Mao Zedong, went into extremes in searching for a unique way for China's development free from Western influences and traditional Chinese ideologies in the past.

Next is the ten-year Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. Violent fighting against bourgeois culture and 'feudalist' traditional Chinese culture together with poignancy of intellectuals or elite groups were an extremely long nightmare to the entire nation. Art treasures, architectures and even persons with slight relation to those targeted cultures were destroyed or put to reform. Despite all those hysteric forms, hybridity was also a feature of the Cultural Revolution period. Detachment from those two cultures involved was 'romantically' strong. Meanwhile combination

of these two cultures was also innovative which can be found in detailed analysis of revolutionary operas in Chapter 6. Modernization was ironically, the starting point of launching this Cultural Revolution. However, the modernization process was one of a kind for its extreme attitudes towards the once superior culture and once subordinated culture and its desire to create an entirely new or hybrid cultural form out of them. To one's surprise, the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra was not disbanded due to its capitalist implication; moreover, its contribution to a revolutionary opera—*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* was praised to a great extent. And also its stance was very much favoured by the CCP as a revolutionary Western-style music group to be appropriated so as to realize their initial modernization goal.

The last stage is modern China from 1976 to 2010. The CCP leaders insisted on 'Chinese-style' modernization as they did in terms of 'Chinese-style' socialism, however, 'the knowledge and skills associated with foreign technology will inevitably influence the thinking and behaviour of those who acquired them' (Hsu, 1982: 118) or as Schell (1985: 105) puts it: '[w]hat I saw and felt instead was the 'radiance' of people making money. Behind the official façade of confidence what one sensed was a failing socialist nerve.' The rise of commercialism and consumerism, especially in cosmopolitans such as Shanghai, was very much the outcome of cultural imperialism. And in turn, this strong economic basis contributes to boosting national self-esteem and provides a more objective attitude towards both Western and traditional Chinese cultures. Chinese people's obsession with Western classical music and Western classical music education for their single child are clearly delineated in Chinese society in the present day. Western classical music is like cultural capital appropriated to show off their superior social identity and to exclude other classes in Chinese society. This process resembled that by Shanghailanders in the first historical stage. Unlike people in previous periods who merely admired and copied Western culture, this newly emerged middle class is quite aware of, as Couzens (1985: 33-34) describes when he talked about the new African class, where they belong and what belongs to them, where they are going and how, what they want and the methods to

obtain it. Western culture is still admired to a great extent yet not blindly. Nor is it approached at the expense of displacing native Chinese culture. This 'Chinese-style' modernization is indeed a much more complicated process than simple Westernization. For traditional Chinese culture, a sense of confidence and pride can also be found in today's China as more and more Confucius Institutions are established all over the world. Jiang Zemin, a previous Party leader, encouraged Shanghai's cosmopolitanism by emphasizing on the development of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra. He also underscored in a speech celebrating 100<sup>th</sup> birthday of great Peking Opera stars Mei Lanfang 梅兰芳 and Zhou Xinfang 周信芳 in 1994: 'the Chinese race is one that has a 5,000-year tradition of splendid history and culture as well as tremendous life force and creativity' and he warned that China should not become a 'vassal of foreign, particularly Western culture' (Jiang, 1995).

## **8.2 Reflection on Theory Part**

In this part, I am going to argue the appropriateness of theoretical framework applied in this research. It is mentioned in Chapter 2 that cultural capital, the key theory of this thesis, emerged in the context of French society whose political ideology and cultural background are vastly different from those in China. Moreover, the concept of 'affordance' is also accused of failing to realise the aesthetic value of music. This part will then serve as a reflection arguing why and how these concepts are applicable both in the context of China and in the study of Shanghai Symphony Orchestra.

### **8.2.1 Appropriateness of Cultural Capital in the Context of China**

Now I am going to argue and recapitulate the appropriateness of 'cultural capital' in this research. The idea of cultural capital, as mentioned in theory chapter, forms a macro framework to help understand how Shanghai Symphony Orchestra is appropriated and received by different groups of authorities and general masses through all these years. It is mentioned in theory chapter that the concept of cultural

capital was generated in French society. China, however, is an oriental country far away from France and the tradition, social value and art forms are distinctly different compared with the latter. When the PRC took power, China turned to a socialist country led by communist party whose ideology and political orientation diverge from those in the West.

The distribution of economic capital, social capital and cultural capital contributes to class formation and social hierarchy. Communism advocates egalitarian by eliminating economic capital. In traditional and typical communist countries, private ownership of property was not available while cultural and social capital controls the means of production. Nonetheless, the key form of social capital was political in countries run by Communist parties (Andreas, 2009: 9). Social hierarchy in those countries was then determined by one's possession of cultural and political capital to a large extent (Bell, 1973; Gouldner, 1979; Inkeles, 1966; Lane, 1982; Parkin, 1971 and Wright, 1994). Mateju (1993) concludes that 'the redistribution of resources, the absence of private ownership, and an emphasis on equality of conditions instead of equality of opportunity were the main principles explicitly pursued by state socialist countries' (Wu, 2008: 201). It is especially true in the first few years of the PRC (1949-1976) when the Party tried every possible means to terminate social inequality. After the founding of the PRC in 1949, 'economic and cultural capital were concentrated in the hands of the old elite classes, while political capital was concentrated in the hands of the new Communist elite, made up largely of peasant revolutionaries' (Andreas, 2009: 11). As a result, the Party aimed to cease the polarizing tendency between economic, cultural capital and political capital which made it different from that in France. Moreover, after a few social and economic movements to eliminate economic capital, 'the CCP turned its attention to redistributing cultural capital, with the intention of further undermining the advantages of the old elite, an endeavour that reached its most radical point during the Cultural Revolution' (ibid).

It is expected that the ruling ideology in Communist China was going to create a

classless new world where all forms of capital were able to distribute on an equal basis. However, it turned out to be a totally different story. Those movements and revolutions led by the CCP did not cease the existence of social class or inequality; on the contrary, it created new forms of class differentiation by unequal distribution of political capital. Also, Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital is based on education resources which still 'remained enormous' by the end of Mao's era but 'had been significantly diminished' through those radical policies (Andreas, 2009: 269). The education principles applied in the Mao's era ended up with 'an educational system that aimed to provide more educational opportunity for children from working-class and peasant families' (Wu, 2008: 201). Other studies made by scholars (Heyns & Bialecki, 1993; Mateju, 1993; Szelenyi & Aschaffenburg, 1993) also support this argument. However, this seemingly equal educational system was interrupted by the Cultural Revolution when teachers turned into targets of criticism.

The focus on political capital, egalitarian ideology and the deprivation of educated elite during the era of Mao was not the same as the social context where Bourdieu's cultural capital theory emerged. In terms of political capital, it led to opportunity structures heavily manipulated by political intervention (Lenski, 1978). Political life consequently played a considerable part in China's social life. Bourdieu (1998) also observes this issue by pointing out that within the Soviet bloc 'the most important form of social capital was political, based on party membership' (Andreas, 2009: 10). Political issues are thus a major focus in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. It should also be admitted that the 'usual' effect of cultural capital in distributing education resources and social privileges was no longer available during the Mao's era, especially the Cultural Revolution. The word 'usual' refers to Bourdieu's argument of the relation between cultural capital and higher education as well as social hierarchy at later stage. Symphonic music and Western culture as a whole still function as cultural capital and relate to the division of social classes. However, it was the other way around compared with the French society. Those with less cultural capital, such as working class or peasants, became the privileged ones. Attention was then shifted

to the affordance of this cultural capital to show how this radical transformation actually took place. Political intervention, as argued above, is supplemented to make sense of Chinese society from 1949 to 1976. Moreover, a broader context of cultural imperialism is also combined to help analyse the unique situation of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra in China both before and after 1949.

The 'usual' effect of cultural capital re-emerged soon after the end of Cultural Revolution although the word 'usual' still needs a further thought. One thing worth noting in the present day China is the low aesthetic capability of local Chinese people and commercial orientation attached to the SSO in various cases as shown in Chapter 7. The theory of cultural capital generated by Bourdieu in the French society has often been questioned about its generality. In Ostrower's (1998: 44) article, three arguments (Lamont, 1992; Erickson, 1996; Halle, 1992) are especially pointed out to contend that other factors such as moral boundaries and solidarity in business, rather than cultural capital, are more prominent in dividing social classes under different cultural backgrounds. The situation of contemporary China or modern Shanghai in particular, does not resemble the French society besides political issues mentioned above. The class distinction, in many cases, is an economic problem as argued in Chapter 7. However, it does not suggest that the idea of cultural capital is not applicable in China. Ostrower (1998: 44) concludes, with his own research of elite in the American context, that 'the link that cultural capital theory draws between the arts and class cohesion holds, but propose that it occurs through an alternative mechanism'. The alternative mechanism in China operates from outside in along with the commercial orientation shown in this study of the SSO since 1977. The numerous nouveaux riches in Shanghai believe that to be modern or to enter the class which their economic power guarantees is to be aware of or exposed to Western culture. This sort of belief came from their perceiving and observing how elite class behave in the West and the kind of cultural activities middle class in Shanghai invest on or engage in. As a result, I argue that cultural capital in modern China works in a different way which functions from outside in. In other words, the focus is more on

capital than on culture or we can say it is a kind of capitalized culture in modern Shanghai to demarcate social classes.

On the other hand, the fact that modernization sometimes, if not always, equals to Westernization made symphonic music and the SSO attach similar implications as those in the Western societies. Moreover, the cultural reproduction model (Bourdieu, 1977b; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) can be found along the history of the SSO in different historical times. The cultural reproduction model emphasizes the relation of family origin and children's achievement through access of education resources, for example: the first generation of Chinese musicians trained to play the Western classical music instruments as shown in Chapter 4 and the behaviour of the middle class in Shanghai in terms of their educational investment on as well as cultural consumption for their offspring as found in Chapter 7.

One might also wonder that in a country where egalitarian is its ruling ideology, why would the cultural capital play such an important part in class division and educational resource distribution? This query is true to some extent. The cultural mobility model (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997) reveals that cultural capital 'is equally important for everyone who holds it' (Wu, 2008: 222). However, it is shown in research that socialism does not lead to greater educational and social equality (Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993). Ganzeboom, De Graaf, and Robert (1990) provide an explanation for this seemingly contradictory phenomenon: 'in socialist societies, the cultural aspects of social inequality have extra force, and inequality in the cultural dimension functions as the main transmitter of social inequality' (Wu, 2008: 202). Social inequality cannot be terminated by political force or ideology. It is rather a natural formation although the process of which can be vulnerable to political intervention and curved by historical ups and downs.

It is mentioned both in Chapter 2 and earlier in this part that the theory of cultural capital serves as a macro framework. Within this structural framework, the SSO and symphonic music are perceived as cultural capital. The major focus of this

study is to see how this cultural capital is produced, appropriated and received in different historical stages in Shanghai. The implication and attachment of this cultural capital is also analysed. However, it is not suggesting that such macro framework is the whole picture. There are also several dimensions of the theory. The political intervention and economic emphasis in China's case are also pondered in depth. Cultural capital can still be usefully applied in this study of the SSO in China although it is an alternative mechanism (Ostrower, 1998) through which cultural capital functions.

### **8.2.2 Appropriateness of 'Affordance'**

The macro framework of cultural capital theory demands a micro insight into the SSO, the institutionalized cultural capital. It is not only due to the alternative dimensions through which cultural capital functions in China but also to compensate the loss or ignorance of the culture per se in the theory of cultural capital.

The concept of affordance was first developed in the study of psychology (Gibson, 1977 & 1979) which reveals the relation between action possibilities and capacity and psychology of agents. The action possibility was also applied in the field of technology—the interaction of human and machine. Moreover, what an object affords not only relates to its physical property but is further related to what actors or users perceive within this object (Norman, 1988). However, how this concept is going to make sense of symphonic music in Shanghai in different historical stages? Also, Tia DeNora applies the idea of affordance in music study to make sense of how individuals latch themselves or their daily life on music. Shanghai Symphony Orchestra is, nonetheless, a cultural institution. Is it still applicable in this research? Finally, one might want to know that to what extent the concept of musical affordance compensates the theory of cultural capital in terms of its reduction criticism. In the following part, I am going to reflect on the appropriateness of 'affordance' in this research of the SSO and try to find answers to the above questions.

As argued above, the theory of cultural capital is applicable in China yet it is not the same context with French society where it emerged. Moreover, the research of the SSO from 1879 to 2010 sets out to perceive the SSO as cultural capital and attempts to understand how this institutionalized cultural capital, symphonic music and Western culture as a whole are produced, appropriated and received by different groups of people in five historical stages. It is not only the distribution of cultural capital that matters but also, more importantly, it is the transformation process that should be highlighted. As a result, the distinct inner value and connotation of the cultural capital—the SSO under different social background should be examined. Although cultural capital differs from technological object, it enables ‘action possibilities’ which are related to those hidden meanings attached to them by ‘agents’. For example, during its first few years, the SSO affords the meaning of a superior art institution resembling that in the West. It also helps actors, those Shanghailanders, to construct a self-identity (DeNora, 1999) that makes them stand out among local Chinese. During the first decade of the PRC, however, this cultural capital affords the property of a Westernized music institution which involves it in a number of reformations. The process of how Tia DeNora goes beyond Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory by combining the idea of affordance has already been argued in Chapter 2.

The concept of affordance applied in this thesis improves the analysis beyond the use of cultural capital theory in the following two ways. First of all, it provides an insight into the macro framework of cultural capital. It is of special significance in this research of the SSO. The social context of Shanghai in different historical stages requires a closer examine of the SSO, the institutionalized cultural capital to understand the connotation of it attached by various groups of people. Moreover, the concept of affordance allows a focus on the reception part of local Chinese people. It is found during the first few years of the SSO that this institutionalized cultural capital was applied to reinforce those Shanghailanders’ superior identity and establish a kind of cultural imperialism. However, the situation changed dramatically

when it came to the Mao's era. To understand how this transformation took place it demands an in-depth examine of the cultural capital per se.

Second, the cultural capital theory puts much emphasis on its relation with the demarcation of social class; however, affordance theory shifts the attention to the inner value of the culture. And in this research, it is music that would be highlighted. Moreover, 'the repertoire played is the language through which the orchestra speaks to the audience' (ASOL, 1993: 17). The choice of repertoire, however, is not a simple and unilateral procedure in China especially before 1976. It is not only the language which the SSO speaks to the audience but also what the hidden authority wishes to proclaim in public. As the application of 'affordance' in human-machine interaction, the focus on ' "human-music interaction" offers an ideal vantage point for viewing music "in action", that is, for observing music as it comes to be implicated in the construction of the self as an aesthetic agent' (DeNora, 1999: 32). The word 'self' in this research of the SSO, however, counts as a collective noun. Also, by analysing certain pieces of music the Orchestra performed in particular circumstances the reception part of the cultural capital is better realized. DeNora's (2000 & 2003b) several empirical research projects well established her point of view which employs 'the term "aesthetic reflexivity" in relation to musical practice...[and] provide[s] a means for self-interpretation, for the articulation of self-image and for the adaptation of various emotional states associated with the self in social life' (DeNora, 1999: 32). Detailed examples concerning the emotional attachment of the SSO's repertoire can be found in several chapters such as Zhang Ruogu's article on the *Shen Bao* in Chapter 4. The module of 'human-music interaction' can thus be understood yet what does it have to do with the institution of the SSO? Can the argument of affordance be applied to this research of the SSO?

Cultural organizations such as the SSO are equipped with contradictory identities: artistic perception and managerial utilitarianism (Albert & Wheten, 1985). Both these identities are subject to broader social forces supported by powerful authorities (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) as Glynn (2002: 65) states that: '[t]he beliefs

and values of these powerful interest groups converge in the establishment of “taken-for-granted,” culturally patterned practices and constitutive rules that define institutions, which in turn, fix and codify these sanctioned meanings in practice and in symbol’. The development of symphony orchestra then facilitates ‘a common process to institutionalize the values and preferences of the elite’ (Glynn, 2002: 67). During Mao’s era, the SSO also represented the institutionalized preferences of the elite, although it was only the political elite. This process is what DiMaggio (1982) calls the ‘sacralization’ of art. He (1992: 47 fn.1) further explains that ‘sacredness in this sense has less to do with the content of art than with the kinds of barriers—both cognitive and organizational—that are built up around it.’ As a result, the institutionalized cultural capital works through a ‘collective process by which actors (e.g., artists, audiences) ascribe significance to particular types (“genres”) of cultural objects’ (Dowd et al., 2002: 38). The affordance of cultural institutions or the SSO in this research is then established by actors. Therefore actions are consequently made possible. In this study, the affordance of the SSO in different historical social context of Shanghai is examined to understand the interaction between this institutionalized cultural capital and the social forces attached and, moreover, the social and political actions entailed.

In regard to the aesthetic compensation made by the concept of affordance, I have to admit here that the outcome is limited. Throughout the thesis, musical analysis is carried out in due course to make sense of the aesthetic affordance and value of the SSO’s repertoire and general situation of Western music in China. Due to the focus on sociological analysis, it is still not able to bring out the full play of music. However, as pointed out in Chapter 2, the significance of applying the idea of affordance is not only focused on compensating the reduction of cultural capital theory. The shift of attention on culture per se also represents a progressive theoretical step. There is not yet a perfect theoretical framework balancing sociological argument with musical analysis. Nonetheless, the idea to go beyond cultural capital theory combining musical affordance is valuable in that the latter

provides insight into culture to a certain extent. The theoretical framework in this research serves as an initial attempt to examine the possibilities of extending Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and focus on the inner value of culture.

### **8.3 Perspectives on Future Studies**

This thesis might seem a bit too ambitious at the beginning for its time span of the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra from 1879 to 2010. However, by focusing on theories such as cultural capital, cultural appropriation and affordance, the interaction of this extraordinary music group with transformations in the city of Shanghai is clearly presented. The inner value of this cultural capital is also realized along the process to some extent. Nonetheless, I would also like to point out some perspectives for future works on the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra if this unique music group would be of any interest to scholars from different academic backgrounds.

As existing research on the SSO were all centred on historical stages before PRC's establishment in 1949, there is much to be done for periods afterwards. This thesis can serve as a rudimentary start. It is also worthwhile to look at the SSO after 1949 in that Chinese society underwent dramatic transformations since the CCP took power let alone the change of ideologies held by the CCP itself. I understand it would be a large historical work to cover the whole development of the SSO or simply part of the SSO's history since 1949 yet I do wish the rich historical resources at the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra Archive could be brought to a better use. Due to my academic background and focus of research, it is a pity that I had to leave out much historical data I collected. Also, the majority of the materials, especially newspaper and magazine excerpts, are written in Chinese. It would require efforts for Western scholars who would like to engage in this great subject.

Besides historical research, I also look forward to musicological research of the Orchestra. From what I have learnt from my short visiting scholar study at Shanghai Music Conservatory, narrowed perspective on the SSO in the discipline of musicology

is more than plausible. What is more, as the trend in musicology during the latest years is to turn to the subject of sociology for inspirations, collaboration of scholars from both disciplines might also be a great idea. For example it would be interesting to analyse how a certain composer's work is performed differently in distinct historical stages or how the SSO interpreted the same piece of work in a way different from other symphony orchestra in the West. Although I have tried to combine musicological analysis in my thesis, I am quite aware of my limited musical knowledge as merely a classical music lover and amateur cello player. There are also a great many audio and video materials at the SSO Archive which would be of great use to musicological research. Moreover, the archivists at the SSO also keep files for each conductor at the Orchestra especially Chinese ones. They would contribute to research from the conductor's point of view.

## Selected Glossary

*Aiguohuo*/爱国货/patriotic goods

*Baihua*/白话/vernacular

*Balinghou*/八零后/post 80s generation

*Bangzi*/梆子/a kind of vocal cavity frequently used in local Chinese opera in the north

*Banhu*/板胡/a traditional Chinese bowed musical instrument often used to accompany local Chinese opera in the north

*Chang, nian, zuo and da*/唱念做打/singing, reciting, acting and martial arts: basic techniques from Peking Opera

*Choulaojiu*/臭老九/a disparaging name for intellectuals often used during Cultural Revolution

*Dazibao*/大字报/big character posters often used during Cultural Revolution for political purposes

*Dizi*/笛子/Chinese flute made with bamboo

*Erhu*/二胡/a traditional Chinese bowed musical instrument with two strings

*Guilao*/鬼佬/a disparaging Cantonese name for foreigners

*Guomen*/过门/interlude between verses or songs in traditional Chinese opera

*Guqin*/古琴/a plucked seven-string traditional Chinese musical instrument, belong to the zither family

*Guzheng*/古筝/a plucked twenty-one-string traditional Chinese musical instrument, also called Chinese zither

*Hai*/海/sea

*Haipai*/海派/Shanghai-related

*Han/汉/*abbreviation for all Chinese things especially ancient Chinese ideologies

*Hongdengji/红灯记/The Red Lantern*, one of the eight model operas during Cultural Revolution

*Huanghe xiezouqu/黄河协奏曲/the Yellow River Concerto*

*Huizuo shangrenfu, qingchun chang bieli* (Li Bai, *Jiangxia xing*)/悔作商人妇, 青春长别离。(李白:《江夏行》) /regret to be the businessman's wife and waste all the valuable time in parting

*Jinghu/京胡/a traditional Chinese bowed musical instrument primarily used in Peking Opera*

*Kunqu/昆曲/a traditional Chinese opera that originated south of the Yangtze River*

*Longtang/弄堂/term for a narrow alley or lane used especially in Shanghai*

*Matouqin/马头琴/also called morin khuur, a traditional bowed musical instrument from Mongolian district*

*Mozuo shangren qu, xihuang jun weian* (Bai Juyi, *Buru lai yinjiu*)/莫作商人去, 恹惶君未谖。(白居易:《不如来饮酒》) /do not be a businessman whose bitter life is beyond your imagination

*Pinyin/拼音/the official system to describe the pronunciation of Chinese characters in Latin script*

*Pipa/琵琶/a four-string traditional Chinese plucked musical instrument*

*Qin, qi, shu, hua/琴棋书画/Guqin, chess [Go], calligraphy and painting*

*Qinqiang/秦腔/a folk Chinese opera in Shaanxi Province, northwest of China*

*Rang yibufen ren xian fuqilai/让一部分人先富起来/let some people get rich first*

*Shajiabang/沙家浜/one of the eight model operas during Cultural Revolution*

*Shangren zhongli qinglibie* (Bai Juyi: *Pipaxing*)/商人重利轻离别 (白居易:《琵琶行》) /businessmen put profits beyond personal emotions

*Shikumen/石库门/a traditional architecture style in Shanghai with combined Western and Chinese elements started in the 1860s*

*Shiyi changji yi zhiyi*/师夷长技以制夷/learn from the West to defeat the West

*Shen Bao* or *Shun Pao*/申报/the Shanghai newspaper (1872.4—1949.5)

*Siyi*/四艺/four arts (*qin, qi, shu* and *hua*), supposed to be possessed by intellectuals in ancient China

*Wu shang bu jian*/无商不奸/you cannot be too sly as a businessman

*Wuting*/舞厅/dance hall

*Wuchang*/舞场/dance hall

*Xiahai*/下海/get into the business field

*Xin zuopai*/新左派/new left wing

*Xin zuoyi*/新左翼/new left wing

*Xing yu shi, li yu li, cheng yu yue*/兴于诗 立于礼 成于乐/[to educate somebody you should] first start with poems, then emphasize ceremonies and finish with music

*Xue'er you zeshi*/学而优则仕/he who excels as a scholar can become an official

*Yingjili zhi huijiang gebu youwu hanlu ketong?*/英吉利至回疆各部有无旱路可通? /Is there any route connecting Xinjiang and England by land?

*Yiyangqiang*/弋阳腔/Jiangxi Opera or *ganju*, an old form of regional opera originated in Jiangxi Province, also refers to the kind of vocal cavity used in that opera

*Yueju*/越剧/a traditional Chinese opera originated and popular in southern China

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There are two parts of my bibliography. The first one contains published books, book chapters, journal articles, online sources and so on; the second is mainly composed of first-hand materials and books I gathered during the five-month fieldwork in Shanghai which were referred to in this thesis including reports, newspaper and magazine articles, photographs, data from focus group and interview, digitalized documents from the SSO Archive, etc.. All are listed in alphabetical order and names of Chinese articles as well as some Chinese books are listed in Mandarin *pinyin* followed by English translation in square brackets. Translation is mainly made by the author.

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## Appendix

### Details of Focus Group and Interview with Wen Tan

1. The focus group was conducted on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2012 in Chinese. It involved 9 retired players from the SSO. It lasted for two hours and a half and was under the archivist Mr Yang Ning's supervision. The whole process was also recorded with the participants' permission. The focus group was held in a restaurant near the SSO—Laifu Restaurant 来福小馆: No. 1416 Huaihai Zhonglu, Xuhui District, Shanghai.
2. Interview with Wen Tan was conducted on 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2012. Mr Wen was one of the 9 retired players participated in the above focus group. He once worked at the SSO Archive as a translator too. The interview was made on the ground floor of administrative building at the SSO. It lasted for an hour and was recorded with his permission.
3. Here are some of the major questions asked by the author during the focus group:
  - a. Why foreign players left the SSO when the CCP took over? Was it made by force?
  - b. How were you employed in the SSO? Was it through open auditions?
  - c. Did your income at the SSO match your expectation?
  - d. What is the social status in Shanghai as a player of the SSO? Has it changed in different periods of time?
  - e. There were many more adapted Chinese works than Western works performed at the SSO in the late 1950s. What is the reason? Who made those adaptations and how?

- f. Did you volunteer to go to the countryside in the 1950s and the 1960s?
  - g. What music did you play when you were sent to the countryside and factories?
  - h. How were you treated in the Cultural Revolution?
  - i. Were you able to practice Western classical works secretly during the Cultural Revolution?
  - j. What do you think about revolutionary operas?
  - k. What do you think about the combination of traditional Chinese musical instrument and Western symphony orchestra in modern China?
4. The following questions were asked during interview with Mr Wen Tan.
- a. Who went to the SSO's concerts during the first few years of the PRC?
  - b. What was the composition of audiences during the Cultural Revolution?
  - c. Where did the SSO perform during the Cultural Revolution?
  - d. What did you and other players think about works from other socialist countries in the 1950s?
  - e. Who made the decision to change conductor of the SSO when Cultural Revolution broke out? Why Cao Peng was made the conductor rather than anybody else?
  - f. Who went to the SSO's chamber concerts started in the 1990s?



Figure 34 The author (left) and Mr Wen Tan (right) after the interview

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Shanghai Symphony Orchestra

October 18th, 2013

## **Abbreviations**

CCP—Chinese Communist Party

ETDZ—Economic and Technology Development Zone

KMT—the Nationalist Party

SEZ—Special Economic Zone

SMC—Shanghai Municipal Council

SSO or Orchestra—Shanghai Symphony Orchestra