A study on fashion street in Beijing- Through street fashion and its images

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Abstract

Aim: Beijing is one of the top Chinese fashion cities, and this research focuses on the fashion streets of Guomao and Sanlitun in this area.
Method: To do so, they analyzed and researched their own fashion street images, as well as the four influential factors that create images of street fashion: social backgrounds (inferred from bibliographic data), physical environments (based on observation), surrounding factors (including human and cultural factors), and fashion consciousness (based on a survey).
Findings: This research demonstrates that while Guomao has matured into an affluent and tranquil fashion street catering to adults, Sanlitun has evolved into a hip and happening fashion street catering to young adults. However, both locations have relatively recent histories, making it questionable whether or not their respective street cultures emerged organically. Usually, a city's street culture is what gives it its identity, but Beijing's fashion streets were designed that way by the government. In other words, policy factors played an extremely critical role, and they dominated other factors that distinguish Beijing's fashion streets from those in other developing countries. This is in addition to the social backgrounds, physical environments, surrounding factors, and human and cultural factors shown by many previous studies.
Implications/Novel Contribution: The data gathered in this study can serve as a model for other developing nations' economic and cultural advancement.

Keywords: Beijing, Fashion street, Street image, Fashion image, Policy factors

INTRODUCTION

The rising middle classes in China and other emerging markets have increased their spending on fashion and accessories in recent years. The fashion industry is expected to grow by 34% in 2020, according to "The State of Fashion 2020," which is slightly lower than the 3.54.5% growth predicted for 2019. While this year's predicted growth rate for fashion is a modest 6.5-7.5 %, it's expected to increase in emerging markets. For the first time in history, China is forecast to become the most significant fashion market in the world, surpassing the United States (Amed et al., 2019).

Figure 1, displayed by the National Bureau of Statistics of China, National Bureau of Statistics of China (2019), shows that over the past few years, the average disposable personal income in China has been rising steadily. As a result, urban dwellers in China spend a disproportionately large share of their income on clothing yearly Figure 1. Urban areas are crucial to the development of China's fashion industry. Using data from 35 of China's most populous cities, like Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, was able to identify the most influential variables on the growth and evolution of fashion consumption (Wang & Sun, 2013). A thorough evaluation of the size and development of China's consumer cities was included in the study. They categorized the factors into four distinct tiers and then analyzed the factors [1] and characteristics within each tier. The study found that Beijing and Shanghai, with their abundance of international luxury fashion retail stores and chains, rank high on both lists of fashion consumption cities and as entry points for international brands into China's fashion market.

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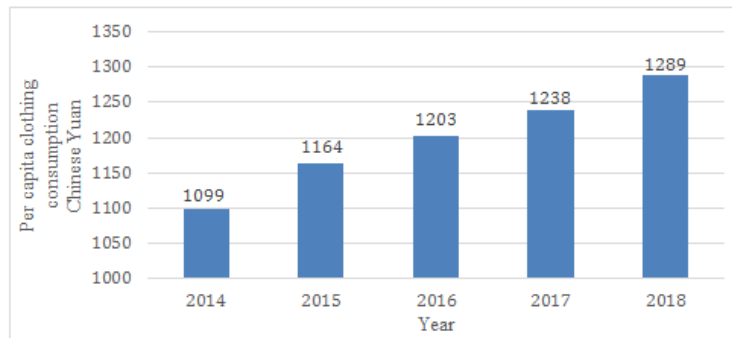[†]Email: wu17da0002@bunka-wu.ac.jp

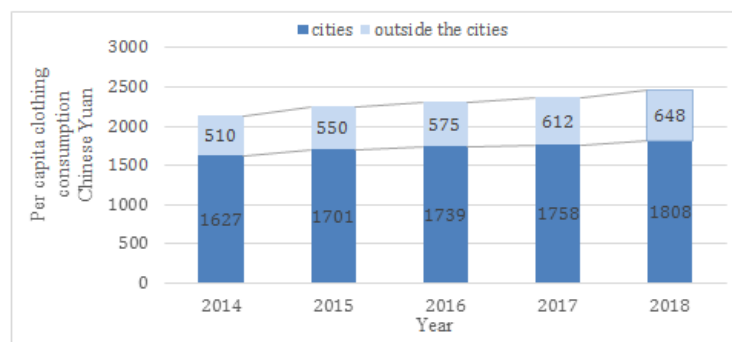Figure 1. Chinese residents' clothing consumption per capita

Figure 2. Chinese residents' clothing consumption per capita in different regions

Beijing is less well known as a fashion capital than Shanghai is. Nonetheless, with the proliferation of high-end designer labels and inexpensive fashion retailers in recent years, Beijing's street fashion has become increasingly eclectic. Established neighborhoods like Guomao and Sanlitun's fashion streets have attracted much attention since the 1980s. People making their way to these locations dress in a way that reflects the vibe of the local street fashion scene. This research looks into fashion street photography in Beijing, one of the most important cities for fashion in Beijing. My research aims to deconstruct the mechanisms behind the emergence of iconic images of street fashion and inquire into the rapid rise of China's fashion capitals. For other countries still on the path to economic and fashion growth, this research should prove illuminating.

LITERATURE REVIEW

With the deepening of China's reform and opening up, fashion culture has been increasingly widely spread in China, and urban fashion districts have also matured, profoundly impacting people's lives. Chinese scholars began to study fashion in the 1990s, and with the development of the fashion industry, the research content is increasingly extensive and in-depth. But most of them focus on fashion product design and marketing, fashion culture and other aspects, and there are few types of research on fashion street and image. Alternatively, scholars' study of fashion from other countries can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century, especially the second half of the 20th century, when western cultural scholars set off an upsurge of fashion research. These scholars conducted in-depth analysis and research on the fundamental theories of fashion from the perspectives of philosophy, psychology, sociology and symbol theory in different periods, which provided theoretical support for studying fashion culture. But since there is almost no research on fashion images in cities, this study explores urban fashion images through theoretical knowledge in other fields.

Researchers of urban studies in Japan have conducted systematic studies on the composition of urban space and place. Kojima (2010) stated that the location and space are composed of humans, goods (stores), things (facilities, buildings and surroundings), and culture (histories, schools, and companies). On this basis, Watanabe and Hogawa (2009) the researchers of fashion studies, summarized the elements of fashion streets through their

historical studies of fashionable areas. They point out that landmarks (buildings), specialty shops, boutiques (stores), fashion-conscious young adults, the areas consumer power, and the area's unique fashion style are critical components of the fashionable areas. Furthermore, Kim (2012) presented the idea that street fashion was strongly related to the sense of location by using the city of Tokyo as an example and concluded that the sense of location was created by the following influential factors: similarities, historicity, community (human factor) and architecture. The above research has analyzed the composition of urban space, place, incredibly fashionable areas, and further proved that street fashion was related to location.

In addition to the Japanese scholars, Chinese researchers analyzed fashion street through Chinese cultural geography and spatial sociology.

Y. Chen and Cao (2016) conducted a spatial sociological analysis of urban commercial centers and verified the close relationship between fashion and urban commercial centers. They considered that inside of the urban commercial center, fashion could be presented in the pure consumption space (shopping place), in the public space (such as street square), in the art space and culture space(such as sculpture, concert), and even in the mixed space for private and alternative display. In a word, although the most prominent feature of the urban commercial center is the place for work consumption, manufacturing and fashion display, its core is always human social relation. People are the key to connecting all these elements.

Furthermore, T. Chen (2013) analyzed the youth fashion street from the perspective of cultural geography. The following characteristics were summarized by analyzing the youth fashion districts in Japan and South Korea: 1. Youth fashion street is not only a fashionable space, but also a civilian space; 2. Youth fashion street is not only a shopping place but also has an entertaining function; 3. Youth fashion street is a place for youth subculture; 4. The youth fashion street is a space for creativity. Additionally, by analyzing the youth fashion streets in Beijing, Dr. Chen summarized the difficulties faced by the youth fashion streets and put forward countermeasures:1. Government support; 2. Market regulation; 3. Promote entrepreneurship education; 4. Increase cultural facilities. From this, we can see that policy factors are also influencing China's fashion streets.

From the above studies, we can learn that the researches have analyzed and discussed fashionable areas or streets from different fields, but none has examined the city's fashion images' composition. Therefore, based on the components mentioned above of the urban space and fashion streets, I categorize them into four: social backgrounds, physical environments, surrounding factors and human and cultural factors. Besides, this study also provides policy factors as the unique influence factors of Chinese fashion streets.

METHODOLOGY

Social Backgrounds, Physical Environments, Surrounding Factors

In terms of social backgrounds, physical environments and surroundings factors which are the backbone of the fashion streets, I extracted street images from bibliographic data. The target research streets data are mainly collected from books, research papers, historical records, articles, newspapers, and magazines.

Human and Cultural Factors

When it comes to human and cultural factors, I conducted the research in Guomao and Sanlitun and asked people who were physically there. I asked participants about their subjective image about each street and their own fashion image and then I analyzed the correlation between them.

Target and study procedure

This study's procedure was as follows. I distributed a smartphone URL for online questionnaires twice from August 10th to 31st 2015 and from December 15th to 30th 2018 respectively both in Guomao and Sanlitun, Beijing. This study was anonymous and I explained beforehand to the participants that there would not be any drawbacks to participation and they had a right to refuse to answer the questionnaire.

I fixed the target number of respondents at 100 per setting to achieve consistency in the resulting statistics. Of the final 365 respondents (Guomao 184, Sanlitun 172), 131 were male and 225 were female. However, because young females in their twenties generally are more interested in fashion than males are, (Yasunaga & Noguchi, 2014) this study analyzes only data from females in their late teens to twenties, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Target respondents and their age group

Items	Guomao		Sanlitun	
	2015	2018	2015	2018
Number of answers (Respondents)	40	61	58	66
Average age	24.5	26	25	23.8
Standard Deviation	3.2	2.8	3	3.3
Age range	18-30	20-30	19-30	18-30

Items of the study

Respondents were first asked the following questions regarding their attributes and characteristics: age, sex, spending habits (category: clothing, accessories, cosmetics, recreational activities, electric appliance, animation and game, sports, and eating out.) My next questionnaire contains the questions as follows: questions about their daily fashion style (8 items), the fashion image of their own on that study day (22 items), and their consciousness towards their fashion on the day and their images about the street. Finally, respondents were asked questions including their frequency of visit and images. The total number of questions is 63 items. All answers except their attributes and characteristics are based on a 4-point scale ranging from 4 (Highly likely/That applies to me) to 1 (Highly unlikely/Not applicable).

Statistics analysis

Continuous variable is provided as an average value (standard deviation) and discrete variable is provided as frequency (ratio%). I conducted correlation analysis for each item regarding the street image and street fashion image analysis. I used a cross tabulation analysis for the fashion styling influenced by the street and the visit frequency to the street, and analyzed them running a chi-square test. I conducted all the analyses using the Statistical Package for the Social Science 23.0 (SPSS) and a value less than 0.05 was considered statistically significant.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Street Images about Guomao and Sanlitun Based on the Bibliographical Research

Findings from analyzing the street images of Guomao and Sanlitun in terms of Social backgrounds, physical environments, and their surrounding factors are as follows.

Guomao

Guomao is the abbreviation for the Chinese name of the China World Trade Center.

Social background of Guomao: In August 1985, Guomao started developing by means of co-investments from Beijing and foreign corporations. In March 1990, the China World Shopping Mall opened up among the first in Beijing, which was the first large shopping complex with brand-name retail stores. In the same year in August, the construction of phase 1 of the China World Trade Center was completed. Tenants included international corporations and trading companies. As a result, Guomao became the new symbol of urban Beijing. This was driven by the policy The Beijing Urban Master Plan of 1991-2010, (2010) in which Beijing was trying to push the construction of the Central Business District (CBD) (Kamal, Leman, & Rufei, 2009). The policy was ratified in 1993 by the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the Beijing Municipal Commission of City Planning planned the scale of the CBD and extended it later on. This was around the time when Guomao started acquiring a modern urban high-end business street image.

Soon after the Louis Vuitton store opened in the Guomao Shopping Mall in 1999, when the second phase construction in Guomao was completed, more and more international luxury brand stores opened up in Guomao. Those luxury brand openings brought an international high-end street fashion image to Guomao. In 2003 the World Bank China office was relocated to Guomao. In 2005, the third phase of construction began, and in 2009 the Communist Party of China Beijing Committee and the city of Beijing decided on a larger expansion of CBD and then the tallest skyscraper in Beijing, the China World Trade Center was built in August 2010. While Guomao was well-known for its high-end business district, it started being recognized as well for its street fashion. The

development of the CBD in Guomao promoted the economic growth of Beijing, the capital city of China, and improved its urban image. Guomao played a critical role in Beijing's establishment in global economics and fashion.

Table 2: History of Guomao

Year	The Development of Guomao
1985	The development of the China World Trade Center began.
Early 1990s	The city of Beijing proposed a new construction plan for the CBD.
1990	The China World Shopping Mall opened. The construction of phase 1 of the China World Trade Center was completed.
1993	The State Council of the Peoples Republic of China ratified the policy.
1997	The Beijing Municipal Commission of City Planning extended the scale of the CBD.
1999	The second phase construction was completed. The Louis Vuitton store opened in Guomao.
2003	The World Bank China office was relocated to Guomao.
2005	The third phase construction began.
2009	The Communist Party of China committee and the city of Beijing decided to expand CBD further.
2010	The third phase construction was completed. The tallest skyscraper in Beijing was built.

Sources: (Guo-xiong & Pi-cheng, 2010; L. Li, 2018; Nan, 2017)

The construction of the CBD by the city of Beijing was influenced by internal factors which include the rapid economic growth, existence of foundational buildings, distribution of various social resources, and the improvement of service quality and also by external factors that include investments from reputable corporations and the rise of the luxury brand market shares (Guo-xiong & Pi-cheng, 2010) Seen from the development of Guomao, political factors play an extremely important role and Guomao has a relatively short history as a fashion street, which is different from the way other countries' fashion streets are created and previous studies suggested.

The social background of the street development of Guomao is highly related with government policy and the communist party. It was developed in a short period of time because of the investments from the government and developers.

Guomaos physical environments and its surrounding factors: Shown in Table 3, Guomao is the center of a rising business district located in Chaoyang, Beijing. Banking and financial services companies such as Standard Chartered Bank and Bank of America, Fortune Global 500 companies and International Monetary Fund are located in the area. These international organizations and expatriates living nearby are big factors that made the Guomao area more international. In the central part of Guomao, there are five-star hotels such as Shangri-Las China World Hotel Beijing and China World Summit Wing, high-end offices, high-rise condominiums, the China World Mall (shopping mall), and China International Exhibition Center. The China World Mall is getting a reputation as a luxury brands shopping complex. The SKP department store in Beijing showcases global luxury brands and is recognized as a luxurious shopping spot.

Table 3: Guomao's physical environments and its surrounding areas

Location	Chaoyang, Beijing: CBD
Transportation	Beijing Subway Line 1&10 Guomao station
Components	Hotels: Shangri-Las China World Hotel Beijing, China World Summit Wing; Office buildings: International organizations, International corporations, Guomao condominium: two high-rise condominiums; Shopping Mall: The China World Mall The SKP department store; International Exhibition Center
Surrounding areas	Embassy district, upscale residential areas, Trading area, SOHO Hills, Financial institutions, Universities, media companies

Sources: (H. Cai, 2017; Nan, 2017; Liu, 2010)

In the surrounding area, there are office buildings and an upscale residential area and a lot of media companies from different countries such as Reuters and the Associated Press are located nearby. Several universities around the area provide human resources to Guomao. All those have given Guomao the image of an innovative upscale international city.

Sanlitun

Sanlitun got its name for being three li (a li is 0.5km and three li is 1.5km) away from the inner city of Beijing. It is well-known for bar streets which are lively places at night.

Social background of Sanlitun: After the establishment of Chinese diplomatic relations in the 1950s, (illustrated in Table 4) the North Embassy District was constructed in 1962 and diplomatic residences were constructed in the 1960s and 1970s. Because of those backgrounds, in 1983, the first bar for foreigners in Beijing opened in the southern part of Sanlitun. In 1995, another bar opened in the north Sanlitun. The first customers were foreigners but soon celebrities and the wealthy became customers. Around this time, Sanlitun became well-known for its bar streets. The increasing number of embassies and diplomats gave Sanlitun an international atmosphere. The fashions of celebrities and the wealthy influenced young people, who began to mimic their styles. Sanlitun became a center of fashion.

Sanlitun areas were reconstructed in 2004 because of their aging bar street and run-down buildings. Under the eleventh 11th five-year plan for the Chaoyang District, the development of the cultural industry and creation of cultural branding were proposed, strongly focusing on strengthening the construction of fashion culture streets in Sanlitun. These proposals offered the city of Sanlitun an opportunity to further develop its fashion culture. In 2007, a more concrete proposal regarding fashion culture was made in the Sanlitun International fashion culture street development plan (2007-2011) for Beijing (Chao Yang District People's Government of Beijing Municipality China, 2016; Kamal et al., 2009), the Chaoyang District. Sanlitun was planned to be the main business district and was expected to be an international fashion cultural city and 24/7 entertainment city. Upon the completion of hard and soft services facilities, the Chaoyang District became the center of the Olympic stadiums district during the time of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The Sanlitun Village project was initiated; the first Apple retail store in China opened in the Sanlitun Village and international fashion brand stores opened up one after another and it soon became a landmark for Sanlitun. The fashion image of Sanlitun gradually came to be seen as more creative among young adults. The Sanlitun SOHO officially opened in 2008, and completed its 40,000 square meters construction in 2009. Sanlitun dramatically changed its reputation from only exotic international bar streets to diverse fashion streets.

Table 4: History of Sanlitun

Year	The Development of Sanlitun
1962	The North Embassy District was constructed.
1960s-1970s	Diplomatic residences were constructed.
1983	The first bar opened in the southern part of Sanlitun.
1995	Another bar opened in the northern part of Sanlitun.
2004	Sanlitun areas were rebuilt.
2005	Development of the Chaoyang District, the development of the cultural industry.
2007	Plan for the construction of fashion culture streets in Sanlitun
2008	The center of the Beijing Olympic stadiums district. The Sanlitun Village opened. The Apple retail store opened
2013	The Sanlitun Village was renamed as Taikoo Li Sanlitun.

Sources: (E. Cai, 2008; X. Li, 2011; Tian, 2011; Wu, 2013)

In summary, the construction of the fashion culture streets of Sanlitun had an internal factor which includes the citizens wealth brought by the rapid economic growth after Chinese economic reforms, and external factors: the increased number of foreigners, introduction of foreign culture, and fashion brand store openings after the normalization of diplomatic relations with many countries. It is clear that the development of Sanlitun was strongly led by government policy and made in a short period of time like GuomaO.

Sanlitun's Physical environments and surrounding factors: The Sanlitun SOHO was designed by Japanese architect Kengo Kuma, combining tradition and modernity which created a unique consumption culture and entertainment atmosphere. Taikoo Li Sanlitun consists of nineteen low-density contemporary buildings and is divided into the Southern district and the Northern District. The Northern district has whole-house leased stores, and features brands such as internationally recognized sports brands, street fashion brands, high-end designers' brands and cosmetics stores. In the middle areas between the Southern and Northern districts, there are open-air restaurants, shopping malls, and designer hotels. As a consequence, Sanlitun is an origin of fashion inspirations and a popular spot for fashion consumption and became the leading latest fashion city for young adults.

Table 5: Sanlitun's physical environments and surrounding factors

Location	Chaoyang District, Beijing
Transportation	Beijing subway Line 10: Tuanjiehu station, Line 6: Dongdaqiao station
Components	The Sanlitun SOHO (shopping centers, 5high-rise buildings, condominium), Sanlitun bar street (night clubs, cafes, bar and pubs), Taikoo Li Sanlitun (Northern district/Southern district)
Surrounding areas	Embassy district, Foreign-related hospital, upscale hotels Dongzhimen area, Yansha area, CBD area, The Beijing Workers stadium and the Workers Stadium Chaoyang Theater, French Cultural Center

Sources: (Liang & Yue, 2016; Yang, 2011; Yu, 2011)

Besides the embassy district, the Beijing Workers stadium and the Beijing Arena are in the surrounding area. These facilities attract those who love foreign culture and watching sports. The Beijing Arena, where a lot of concerts and performances are held, is a big gathering spot for young people. Theaters like French Cultural Center, and Chaoyang Theater attract art and theater lovers. There are banks, hotels, foreign-related hospitals, and commercial complexes in the surrounding area. Those facilities in the surrounding areas, which attract young people who love sports, art, and fashion, support fashion and culture in Sanlitun. Sanlitun and its surrounding areas influence each other creating both the foreign entertainment street image and stylish edgy street image.

Human and Cultural Factors

In the previous section, I analyzed the street fashion images of Guomao and Sanlitun in terms of social backgrounds, physical environments, and surrounding factors. From the perspectives of human and cultural factors, in this section I aim to analyze the fashion consciousness and street image of those who go to Guomao and Sanlitun from the questionnaire results and investigate the correlation with them.

Participants fashion consciousness

Table 6 illustrates the breakdown of spending excluding the living expenses by each location. The main expenses excluding living costs are mainly clothing & accessories and cosmetics, which shows a high consumption of fashion related products. Regarding spending, there is not much difference between Guomao and Sanlitun, which supports the fact that both areas stand out as fashion streets in Beijing.

Table 6: The breakdown of personal expenses

	Guomao	Sanlitun	p	Significant
Respondents [1]	101	114		
Expenses [2) a]				
Clothing & accessories	2.9(0.4)	3.0(0.3)	0.518	n.s.
Cosmetics	2.9(0.5)	3.0(0.4)	0.235	n.s.
Recreational activities	2.5(0.7)	2.5(0.6)	0.765	n.s.
Electric appliance	2.2(0.6)	2.2(0.5)	0.003	**
Sports	1.9(0.7)	2.1(0.6)	0.007	**
Animation and game related	1.8(0.7)	1.9(0.6)	0.291	n.s.
Food/Eating out	2.8(0.5)	1.9(0.4)	0.644	n.s.
Other	1.6(0.7)	1.8(0.7)	0.266	n.s.

1. Number of answers 2. Average value standard deviation a. Chi-squared test *:< .05, **:< .01, n.s.: not significant

To examine a difference in the degree of fashion consciousness between those who were in the Guomao and Sanlitun streets, I conducted the Chi-squared test. The finding shows that there is no statistically significant difference between two locations in regards to the three categories: Love fashion, Care about what other people think, and Have a sense of fashion. Therefore, those who were in both locations have high consciousness towards fashion. However, there is a significant difference between the two places under the categories as follows: High interest in fashion, Frequently check fashion information, Enjoy fashion, Apply fashion trends into your own style, and People often say I am fashionable. It is concluded that those who visit either Guomao or Sanlitun have a high fashion consciousness; however there are differences in the degree of consciousness and amount of fashion information they obtain. As I previously mentioned in the bibliographical research, the result is supported by the different image each street has: While Guomao has the mature street image, Sanlitun has the young street image. In short, each street image matches the individual's fashion consciousness.

Table 7: Fashion consciousness

Fashion Consciousness [1) a)]	Guomao	Sanlitun	p	Significant
Love fashion	3.1(0.7)	3.2(0.6)	0.095	n.s
Care about what other people think	2.8(0.7)	2.8(0.7)	0.903	n.s
Have a sense of fashion	3.1(0.8)	3.0(0.7)	0.141	n.s
High interest in fashion	2.8(0.7)	3.0(0.5)	0.000	**
Frequently check fashion information	2.7(0.8)	3.1(0.7)	0.001	**
Enjoy fashion	2.8(0.8)	3.1(0.7)	0.017	*
Apply fashion trends into your own style	2.8(0.9)	3.0(0.6)	0.017	*
People often say I am fashionable	2.4(0.7)	2.6(0.7)	0.043	*

1)Average value (standard deviation) a): Chi-squared/$\chi 2$ test *: < c.05, **: < .01, n.s.: not significant

Frequency of visits to the street and the fashion style influenced by the street

I exhibited the relationship between visit frequency to the street and fashion styling influenced by the street in Table 8. Those who visit there frequently and less frequently answered that the street is an influential factor for their fashion styling. According to the Chi-squared test, there is no significant difference between those whether they visit there frequently or not in terms of the streets influence on their styling ($x2 = 3.023$, $p = 0.082 > 0.05$). Therefore, I conclude that when people go out they dress for the street image despite the visit frequency to the street.

Table 8: Relation between visit frequency to the street and fashion style influenced by the street

	Fashion Style Influenced by the Street		
	Applicable	Not Applicable	$\chi 2$ Test
Respondents [1)]	170(75.6)	55(24.4)	
Visit frequency [1) a)]			n.s.
High frequency	94(55.3)	23(41.8)	
Low Frequency	76(44.7)	32(58.2)	

1): Number of answers (%) a): Chi- squared/$\chi 2$ test *: < .05, **: < .01, n.s. : not significant

Relation between street image and fashion image by location

The findings on street images of Guomao exhibited in Table 9 are as follows: extremely dressy, drab, elegant, formal, mature, fashionable and also somewhat stylish, conservative, and traditional. Participants' fashion images are mainly elegant, formal, dressy and somewhat fashionable, conservative, stylish and exotic. Consequently, the images of Guomao match the individuals fashion style images.

In addition, I conducted a correlation analysis to further investigate the relation between the street image of Guomao and the people's fashion image on the study day. As a result, there was a significant correlation between the street image and the fashion style image on the day except one item under formal. Those findings showed that the images of Guomao match the individual's fashion style images.

Table 9: Guoma's street image and individua's fashion image

Image [1) a)]	Street	Fashion	Significance Probability	Correlation Coefficient
Dressy	2.941(0.785)	3.109(0.811)	**	0.399
Drab	2.871(0.820)	3.158(0.659)	**	0.415
Elegant	2.822(0.890)	3.356(0.687)	*	0.263
Formal	2.782(0.901)	3.307(0.659)	n.s.	0.145
Mature	2.772(0.859)	3.158(0.674)	*	0.353
Fashionable	2.703(0.819)	2.842(0.977)	**	0.572
Stylish	2.644(0.923)	2.812(0.997)	**	0.569
Calm	2.663(0.816)	2.842(0.821)	**	0.411
Traditional	2.634(0.758)	2.545(0.889)	**	0.520
Uptight	2.584(0.697)	2.693(0.704)	**	0.410
Exotic	2.525(1.045)	2.851(1.024)	**	0.552
Plain	2.554(0.714)	2.406(0.710)	**	0.402
Fresh	2.465(0.795)	2.337(0.765)	**	0.428
Youthful	2.406(0.815)	2.317(0.761)	**	0.333
Loose	2.376(0.733)	2.416(0.863)	**	0.424
Creative	2.366(0.717)	2.574(0.841)	**	0.545
Casual	2.337(0.828)	2.248(0.623)	*	0.282
Active	2.327(0.814)	2.307(0.822)	*	0.242
Ordinary	2.317(0.774)	2.129(0.913)	**	0.452
Sporty	2.119(0.778)	2.228(0.705)	**	0.384
Unstylish	1.990(0.866)	1.891(0.926)	**	0.595
Flashy	1.970(0.768)	2.030(0.974)	**	0.418

1. Average value (Standard deviation) a. Correlation analysis *: < .05, **: < .01, n.s. : not significant
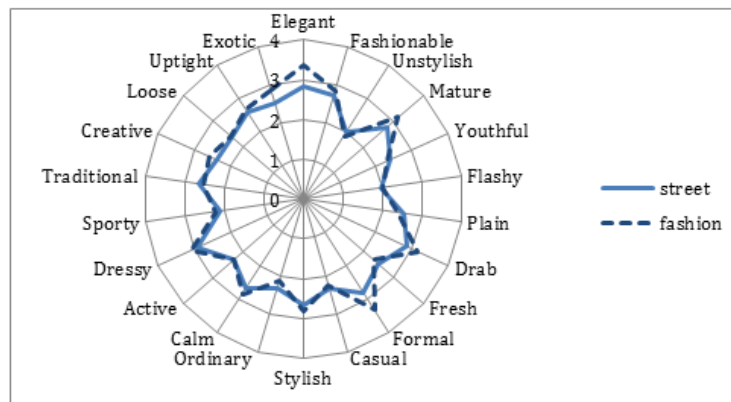

Figure 3. Guomao's street image and individual's fashion image

Based on the findings, the street images of Sanlitun, exhibited in Table 10, are as follows: youthful, fashionable, fresh, active and also somewhat flashy, casual, stylish, creative and loose. The fashion image of their styling are the following: extremely youthful, stylish, fashionable, creative, flashy, and active, and somewhat casual, loose, fresh, dressy, and sporty. In short, the fashion street images of Sanlitun match individual's fashion images.

I conducted a correlation analysis to further investigate the relation between the street image of Sanlitun and the people's fashion image on the study day. As a result, there was a significant correlation between the street image and the fashion style image on the day except under these items: fashionable, casual, stylish, and traditional. Those findings showed that the images of Sanlitun almost match the individual's fashion style images.

Table 10: Sanlitun's street image and individual's fashion image

Image [1) a)]	Street	Fashion	Significance Probability	Correlation Coefficient
Youthful	3.137(0.714)	3.210(0.588)	**	0.654
Fashionable	3.073(0.587)	3.161(0.500)	n.s.	0.129
Fresh	3.056(0.629)	2.968(0.584)	**	0.426
Active	3.000(0.526)	3.065(0.608)	*	0.203
Flashy	2.919(0.619)	3.097(0.562)	*	0.211
Casual	2.976(0.533)	2.992(0.486)	n.s.	-0.010
Stylish	2.976(0.548)	3.177(0.495)	n.s.	0.046
Creative	2.944(0.546)	3.105(0.568)	**	0.284
Loose	2.887(0.529)	2.944(0.429)	**	0.325
Dressy	2.774(0.753)	2.887(0.689)	**	0.534
Sporty	2.516(0.738)	2.815(0.603)	**	0.353
Exotic	2.435(0.913)	2.589(1.012)	**	0.767
Elegant	2.081(0.470)	2.105(0.457)	**	0.263
Traditional	2.048(0.457)	2.024(0.432)	n.s.	0.122
Ordinary	2.048(0.439)	2.032(0.441)	**	0.244
Plain	2.048(0.457)	2.024(0.432)	*	0.200
Mature	2.032(0.525)	1.976(0.450)	**	0.279
Uptight	2.024(0.413)	1.984(0.460)	**	0.438
Formal	2.016(0.477)	1.992(0.486)	**	0.352
Calm	2.000(0.477)	1.968(0.509)	**	0.268
Drab	1.944(0.499)	1.976(0.485)	**	0.297
Unstylish	1.790(0.530)	1.831(0.506)	*	0.237

1. Average value (Standard deviation) a. Correlation analysis *: < .05, **: < .01, n.s. : not significant
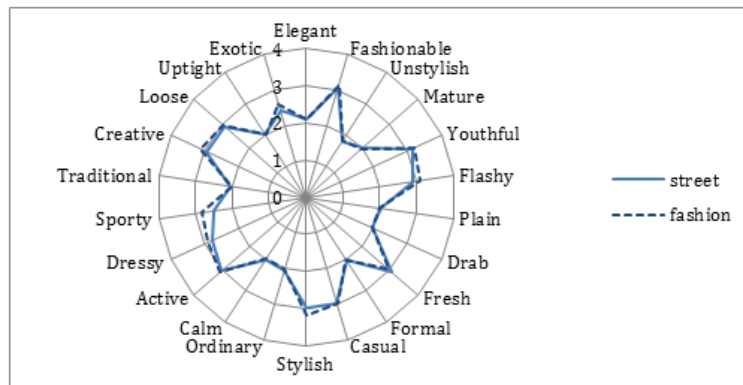

Figure 4. Sanlitun's street image and indivudla's fashion image

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This paper investigates the fashion street images of Guomao and Sanlitun, which have recently drawn attention to their fashion streets in Beijing. I examined four factors which create their images and also analyze policy factors which are unique characteristics of the Chinese fashion development.

First of all, in the 1980s, Chinese economic reform brought rapid economic growth to urban areas like Guomao and Sanlitun and those urban areas were planned and developed by means of the government policy and investments from large corporations. Social and policy factors are all behind the development. Moreover, in this globalized society, the rapid growth of the Chinese fashion market and influences of foreign culture created fashion streets in Guomao and Sanlitun. The Chinese government strongly developed an urban function in both cities and gave Guomao an upscale urban image and gave Sanlitun a fashion culture street image.

Secondly, Guomao and Sanlitun were given different functions as urban areas according to various government policies; therefore, their physical environments have different characteristics. Guomao, which is located in

the center of the CBD, has many office buildings where financial services, foreign companies, exhibition halls, shopping malls, and hotels are located. It has grown as a center of business. All those factors have given Guomao a sophisticated intellectual high-end fashion city image. On the other hand, Sanlitun mainly consists of the SOHO, bar streets and the shopping centers. Taikoo Li Sanlitun, which has domestic and overseas fashion designer shops, attracts trendy fashion-conscious young adults giving a progressive fashion street image.

Table 11: Street image elements of Guomao and Sanlitun

	Guomao	Sanlitun
Social background	Beijing rapid economic growth, Existence of foundational buildings, Distribution of various social resources, Investments from foreign corporations	Cultural industry development Fashion culture development, Plan for the construction of fashion culture streets, The center of the 2008 Olympic stadiums district
Policy factors	City of Beijing ,Business central district planning by city of Beijing ,The Beijing Urban Master Plan (1991-2010)	The eleventh 11th five-year plan for the Chaoyang District, The development of the cultural industry and creation of cultural branding
Physical environment	CBD, good public transportation system, expensive hotels, upscale office buildings, exhibition halls	Embassy district, Sanlitun SOHO hills, shopping buildings, bar area, fashion retail stores
Surrounding factors	Upscale residential areas, office buildings, banking and financial services, foreign corporations, universities, and media companies	Residence compounds for diplomat Embassies, The Beijing Workers stadium (concert hall, Chaoyang theater, French cultural center
Human and cultural factors	A lot of spendings on fashion products, high fashion consciousness, Street fashion image: Elegant, Mature, Fashionable: Urban intellectual street for adults	A lot of spendings on fashion products, high fashion consciousness, Street fashion image:Youthful, Fashionable, Creative, Flashy, Active .Street for fashion-conscious young adults

Thirdly, when it comes to surrounding environments, there are foreign corporations, banking and finance services, foreign media companies, and upscale residential areas around Guomao, which strengthen the image as a leading international city. On the other hand, Sanlitun is located near the embassy district where a lot of foreigners gather and there are sports stadiums, concert halls, and theaters. Those surrounding environments have given Sanlitun diverse cultures and fashion images.

Finally, in terms of human and cultural factors, it is proven that those who go to Guomao and Sanlitun spend a lot on fashion related products and they dress themselves that matches image of the place.

In summary, while Guomao is an urban international business district and grew into an upscale calm fashion street for adults, Sanlitun is an exotic entertainment area and developed as a fashion street for trendy young adults.

However, both areas have a short history and it's hard to say their street culture was born naturally. Generally, one place creates its unique image based on its street image but the fashion streets in Beijing were intentionally created according to government policy. In other words, in addition to the social backgrounds, physical environments, surrounding factors, and human and cultural factors shown by many preceding studies, policy factors played an extremely critical role and they dominated other factors, which differentiate the fashion streets in Beijing from other developing countries' fashion streets.

Moreover, policy factors made Beijing one of the biggest cities in the world as a fashion consumption city, and it is undeniable that the large fashion market contributed to Beijing's establishment as an international city. The example of Beijing can suggest a hint of economic growth to other developing countries.

Notes
[1] Wang, M., & Sun, Y. (2013), classified fashion consumption cites into 4 levels. Beijing and Shanghai are the top level of fashion consumption cities. Moreover, they are the multifunctional cities that have a large number of

international fashion brands and flagships. Top-level cities are the first choice for foreign brands to enter China. The second-level cities are mainly located in the eastern coastal area, and the Yangtze river shelter-forest region, which is cities that have larger scales and contains a higher fashion level. They have fashion centers in a particular area. The second-level cities become the primary approach for international fashion brands. The third-level cities' fashion consumption is relatively lower than in second-level cities. In addition to the capital cities, Wenzhou, Ningbo, Xiamen, and some southeast coastal cities contain a higher consumption level, which became the fashion cities. The fourth-level of fashion consumption cities are mainly the capital cities of western provinces; their development only benefits from their leading position in the province, which leads to the limitation of fashion influence.

[2] The Fortune Global 500, also known as Global 500, is an annual ranking of the top 500 corporations worldwide as measured by revenue. The list is compiled and published annually by Fortune magazine.

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