

**Richard Hu and Weijie Chen**, *Global Shanghai Remade: The Rise of Pudong New Area*. London: Routledge, 2019. 290 pp. ISBN 9780429316180

A large part of the present literature on China's urbanisation and modernisation is focused on Shanghai. That the city has played a unique role in Chinese modern history and its connection to the West and the Rest since the nineteenth century hardly goes unnoticed, as exemplified in the numerous historical sites in the Concessions, the famous Bund and a waterfront area running along the Huangpu River. Yet, little research has been done on the other side of the river, namely the Pudong New Area (PNA), which is now the largest geographical area and economically the most important among the thirteen municipal districts of Shanghai. PNA, moreover, serves as one of the engines of economic growth in China's opening-up strategy since 1979. In this respect, *Global Shanghai Remade* offers a rare comprehensive analysis of the rise of Pudong, revealing the often-observed process of remaking Shanghai into a global city from the end of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Both authors, Richard Hu and Weijie Chen, have more than 20 years of experience in urban planning and design. Chen himself has spent the entirety of his working life on planning and designing Pudong. This book is based on the data they have collected from both primary and secondary sources, including archives of planning and policy documents, statistics and economic censuses, administrative data, memoirs of key actors and other informants, fieldwork, interviews and the authors' direct participation and observation. The experiences *in situ* are worthwhile in the way that the topics involved in the present work are often developed with careful presentation of rich materials, including maps, photos and graphic illustrations of data, helping the reader to understand the entanglement of historical, political and technical factors in the establishment of PNA.

The book is composed of eight thematic chapters. In the first introductory chapter, the authors discuss three broad stages of the history of modern Shanghai, namely colonialism, socialism and globalism, to illuminate the emergence of PNA using the expression 'If Shanghai is known as the "dragon's head" city in China, then Pudong's role is the "dragon's eye"' (p. 2). Chapter Two focuses on the decision-making processes in the early 1990s around the development of Pud-

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This article can be accessed at <https://doi.org/10.22439/cjas.v38i1.6060>.

ong by China's reformist leader Deng Xiaoping and his political ally Zhu Rongji, Shanghai Mayor and the Party Secretary at that time. It examines the strategic meaning of PNA in Deng's national agenda of 'reform and opening-up', and describes the 'financing first', 'planning first', 'international learning' and 'special policies and governance' approaches to making development zones in Pudong. Chapter Three examines the planning of Greater Shanghai over nearly a century, which starts from the two *Greater Shanghai Plans* (1927-1937 and 1946-1949) developed under the Nationalist Government (Guomin Dang), through the Maoist planning in the 1950s and 1960s and the reformist planning across the late twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, to the latest *Shanghai 2035* plan approved in 2017. The analysis of the evolution of planning Shanghai reveals distinct patterns of Chinese urbanisation and the influence of international planning in China. In Chapter Four, the authors move on to deal with the interaction between Pudong's development and its planning. Their observations on the planning ideas for Pudong in the 1980s and on the four master plans of 1992, 2003, 2011 and 2017 lead to the claim that Pudong's planning has often been development-driven. They also claim that the experimental and pioneering approach to planning Pudong has both conceptually and methodologically advanced Shanghai and China's planning system. Chapters Five, Six and Seven are dedicated to specific cases studies, tracing the planning and development of Lujiazui Financial City, Zhangjiang Science City and several iconic projects in PNA. While the building of Lujiazui is characterized by its spatial form of verticalisation and by the financialisation of its economic activities, Zhangjiang has evolved from a hi-tech park first planned in 1992 to a global innovation brand through four distinctive stages of planning and development (Zhangjiang 1.0 to 4.0). Furthermore, the completion of urban icons in Pudong, such as the trio of super high-rises (Jinmao Tower, Shanghai World Financial Centre and Shanghai Tower) in Lujiazui CBD, Expo 2010 and Shanghai Disney Resort, marks milestone achievements in the development of PNA and announces Shanghai's re-emergence as a global city. In Chapter Eight, the authors reflect on the city-making experiences of Pudong with 'Chinese characteristics', a term borrowed from the Chinese political discourse about 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. These characteristics are summarized as five themes: nation building, design-led planning and development, the globalisation-urbanisation interaction, international urbanism diffusion and sustainable development. In the conclusion, the authors

claim these themes provide a theoretical framework for understanding China's urbanisation and modernisation in recent decades.

The work done by Richard Hu and Weijie Chen has many merits. Firstly, its originality lies in the manner the authors address the rise of Pudong in association with Shanghai and China's great transformations in modern history. In spite of its rapid growth, PNA has often been overlooked by observers in contrast to their emphasis on the 'old towns' of the city: research has mainly been conducted in the 'traditional' residential areas which have been undergoing urban gentrification during the last few decades, in which researchers pose questions to 'native Shanghaiese' and relate their stories regarding the memories of 'authentic local lifestyles'. As Sharon Zukin (2011) has pointed out in the case of the United States, the craving for authenticity should be understood as a social and cultural reaction to the homogenisation of cities, which took place in the 1950s and 1960s. One cannot really grasp the substantial and subtle experiences of the development of Chinese cities without considering the complexity of urbanisation, which takes many forms. Thirty years ago, Pudong was nothing more than a vast expanse of semi-urban and mostly rural land. The emergence of PNA is closely linked to China's 'reform and opening up' strategy since 1979, to the shift in international relations (e.g. China's further integration with the globalised world) and to the role attributed to Shanghai as a new global city by the Chinese authorities. Recently, the work of Chen Yang (2019) raises similar questions regarding the making of 'workers' new villages' (*Gongren Xincun*, modern communities for industrial workers) in suburban areas in Shanghai and other cities in the 1950s and 1960s, and to its influence on China's city-making ever since. These works contribute to a broader view and understanding of Chinese urban development.

Secondly, the book should be acknowledged for its detailed descriptions based on solid materials, and for its pithy and clear writing. The authors pay attention to various sources of information and have put great effort into illustrating data in a clear way. To give an example, the discussion on the planning of greater Shanghai and PNA (Chapter Three to Four) is organised in a diachronic manner: the authors carefully present the highlights of each plan and compare their characteristics, highlighting both the continuity and the innovative ideas behind these plans. Readers, especially those who are not familiar with urban planning, will appreciate the lucid style of this book.

The major reservation one may have regarding *Global Shanghai Remade* arises from two aspects. Theoretically, the authors claim that

the association with five themes such as nation building, design-led planning and development and so on, is key to interpreting Chinese city-making, but by merely enumerating these themes seems insufficient to construct such a framework. Rather, they should be seen as interconnected factors, which have had various impacts on the decision-making and production of discourses, often depending on national and regional interplays of competing modes of development. Besides, there are other important themes such as the patrimonialisation of natural and cultural resources, which are equally important in Chinese urbanisation; we can observe these, for example, in the countless national and regional campaigns, planning projects and social movements of place-making related to the UNESCO's 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' (Chen 2017; Demgenski 2019). Furthermore, although the book claims to 'provide a holistic examination of the rise of Pudong' (p. 19), and the authors often mention 'a top-down and bottom-up interaction' (p. 33) or the 'social dimensions of the contemporary sustainability imperative' (p. 173), the descriptions and analyses are largely limited to the top-down practices of planning. The rich body of interdisciplinary scholarship by both international and Chinese scholars on the social and cultural transformations of local communities in Shanghai and other Chinese cities (Debra et al. 1995; Lu 1999; Xiang 2000; Li 2004; Zhu 2011; Zhang 2013, just to name a few) have not been considered in relation to the 'human costs' of urban development. Particularly relevant here are Yingfang Chen's (2006; 2012) works on immigrants in Shanghai and urban development in China focusing on the lives and landscapes in Shanghai's 'bidonvilles' (*Penghu Qu*, outskirts of the city for immigrants) that explore the social and political consequences of urban regeneration since the 1990s. In order to fully apprehend the development of a vast area such as PNA, and to keep a critical account of what has been done and how it has been done to make Shanghai a leading global city, it is pertinent to not forget that the land of Pudong is not only inhabited by planning experts and city administrators, but also by hundreds of thousands of workers, farmers, artists, educators and their families. After all, as we have learned from Marx (e.g. Marx and Engels 1970: 57-58), 'it is man, real, living man who does all that, who possesses and fights'.

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