

## **2010 Shanghai Expo: The Path to “Better City, Better Life”**

George Wei, University of Macau

### **I. Shanghai World Expo: A Dream for One Hundred Years**

As the spectacular grand opening ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Game is still quite vivid in the mind of people, another big event is taking place again in China now: 2010 Shanghai Expo. These world top events, in addition to World Cup Soccer, are usually considered by most westerners as international affairs for culture, entertainment, science and technology. To Chinese, however, they are of great political significance. The selection of the cities for the two events has been done with implicit purposes. Beijing was chosen as the physical competition ground for the 2008 Olympic Game to historically symbolize that Beijing, the capital of both Imperial China and Communist China, is no longer a location from where foreign powers could impose unequal and humiliating treaties on “East Asian sick man.” Shanghai has been selected as the site for the 2010 World Expo to show that the old course of the Western advance into China, started from Shanghai, has been reversed and that the westerner, used to be considered as the unwelcomed intruder, are now welcome to an open China. Moreover, Beijing is an “administrative-cultural city” so that it well suits for political and cultural affairs; Shanghai is a commercial and “metropolis-city” so it is a better place for urban, social and commercial activities on a global scale.<sup>1</sup> As a historical and modern city Shanghai will demonstrate the continuous linkage between China and the world and the significance of such bridging to China. In this sense, indeed, Shanghai is the ideal place for 2010 World Expo.

Initially, World Expo was actually born out of the competition among western powers in the nineteenth century. Having seen that France successfully hosted some expositions attracting world attention, Britain invited many countries in 1851 for an exposition at the Crystal Palace of Hyde Park in London, during which many advanced technology and scientific innovations were displayed. Ever since, World Expo took place in almost 30 countries for more than 120 times, and went through three main stages with their focuses and themes respectively characterized as “Industrialization (1851-1938),” “Cultural Exchange (1939-1987),” and “Nation Branding (1988-

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Redfield and Milton Singer: “The Cultural Role of Cities” (1954), *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. by Richard Sennett (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1969), pp. 210-11.

present).”<sup>2</sup> From 2010 on, World Expo probably will enter a new stage of “Urbanization” because this is the first time that World Expo will be held in a developing country and that “Better City, Better Life” becomes its slogan and theme, to achieve what the Greek philosopher Aristotle described 2000 years ago: “People come to city for life, and to live in city for a better life.”<sup>3</sup>

China’s involvement in World Expo started as early as the first World Expo, at which Xu Rongcun (徐榮村), ~~a Shanghainese businessman originally from Guangdong, won the gold and silver prizes for his “Rong’s Sweet Potato Noodles” (榮記粉絲).~~ ~~Zhang Jian (張謇), a social reformer and industrial entrepreneur of late Imperial China,~~ a comprador originally from Guangdong working at Baoshun Bank in Shanghai (寶順洋行), won the gold and silver prizes for his “Rong Silk” (榮記胡絲). In 1878, Sheng Xuanhuai (盛宣懷), one of the representatives of the Self-Strengthening Movement and Shanghai businessman, managed to send 59 items of products to the World Expo in France, but it’s a total failure because almost none of all the items was sold. Later, another young man from Baoshun Bank, Zhang Jian (張謇) who became the influential industrial entrepreneur and advocate for reform in late Imperial China, visited Osaka Expo in Japan eight times in April-May 1903, winning an award certificate for Yinchenu Wine from the Yisheng Brewing Company founded by him. The Qing Government sent the first official delegation to the World Expo held in the United States in 1904 and another one to Milan Fishing Industry Expo in 1906, from the latter China won 100 medals and award certificates and the first gold award of the Chinese wine. Initiated by Duan Fang (端方), Governor of Liangjiang and organized by Zhang Jian, the Kangyo Expo with a world scope was held in Jiangning, Jiangsu Province in June 1910. Delegations and exhibitions from America, Britain, Germany, Japan and Southeast Asia were sent to the Kangyo Expo and more than 300,000 people visited the expo site. ~~After 1949, the hostility and sanction of the West against Red China prevented her from being involved in World Expos, but China returned to the stage of the World Expo in 1982 and.~~ In 1915 the China Exhibition at the World Expo in San

<sup>2</sup> In fact, all the world expositions could be divided into two main types: the registered comprehensive “Universal Expositions” and the recognized “International or Specialized Expositions.” The former is held every five years since 1995, at which participants usually build their own extravagant and expensive pavilions with the duration from six weeks to six months. The latter occurred in-between the formers and are smaller in scope and investment, with a much shorter opening time.

<sup>3</sup> Website of the Central Government of China: [www.gov.cn](http://www.gov.cn) (中央政府門戶網站) January 22, 2010, [http://big5.gov.cn/gate/big5/www.gov.cn/jrzg/2010-01/22/content\\_1517245.htm](http://big5.gov.cn/gate/big5/www.gov.cn/jrzg/2010-01/22/content_1517245.htm).

Francisco surprisingly had a huge success and returned home with about 1,211 metal prizes.<sup>4</sup> During the wartime of the late 1930s and 1940s China's involvement in the World Expo was suspended. The ensuing hostility and then sanction of the West against Red China after 1949 prevented China from returning to the world family and the stage of the World Expo until 1982. Eventually, China joined "the Convention on International Exhibitions" in 1993, becoming the 46<sup>th</sup> member of "International Exhibitions Bureau" (Bureau International des Expositions or BIE). In 1999, the city Kunming hosted the Garden and Flower World Expo. This year, exactly one hundred years after the Kangyo Expo of 1910, Shanghai is hosting 2010 World Expo, which has been a Chinese dream for more than one hundred years.

In the spring of 1894, Zheng Guanying, one of the most important entrepreneurs, compradors and advocates for reform of the time, published his famous work *Advising Learning* (《盛世危言》). It is in this book that Zheng did not only propose to launch a commercial warfare and a comprehensive reform but he also first advocated that Shanghai host a World Expo. He expounded this view in the chapter "Expositions" that "To richen Chinese people must develop business and host expositions. The selection of the place and preparation for expositions must start from Shanghai" because "Shanghai is the juncture and confluence of rivers and the ocean as well as the Chinese and Western streams, ..." Later, Shanghainese Lu Shier (陸士諤), reformer Liang Qichao (梁啟超) and novelist Wu Yanren (吳研人) respectively described the imaginary scenario of hosting a World Expo in Shanghai in their novels *New China* (《新中國》), *Story of A New China in Future* (《新中國未來記》) and *Story of New Stone* (《新石頭記》), hoping that their country as a soundly sleeping lion would be eventually awaken and their seriously sick nation would be healed.<sup>5</sup> Exactly one hundred years later after Zheng Guanying's suggestion, Shanghai Government reinitiated this proposal in 1984 and began to apply for hosting the World Expo in Shanghai. In 2002, Shanghai

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<sup>4</sup> Website of Shanghai Expo: <http://big5.expo2010.cn/a/20081220/000012.htm>; Phoenix TV Station News, 22:41 PM, April 22, 2010, <http://dailynews.sina.com/bg/chn/chnpolitics/phoenixtv/20100104/22411017738.html>; "Zhang Jian—Founder of World Expo Cause of Modern China," *Cultural China*, History Section, <http://history.cultural-china.com/en/50History6907.html>; "Sheng Xuanhuai's Sorrow at the World Expo," website of *Culture China*, [http://big5.china.com.cn/gate/big5/culture.china.com.cn/zhuanti/xbk/2010-04/08/content\\_19772934.htm](http://big5.china.com.cn/gate/big5/culture.china.com.cn/zhuanti/xbk/2010-04/08/content_19772934.htm).

<sup>5</sup> Website of Shanghai Expo: <http://big5.expo2010.cn/a/20081220/000012.htm>; Phoenix TV Station News, 22:41 PM, April 22, 2010. <http://dailynews.sina.com/bg/chn/chnpolitics/phoenixtv/20100104/22411017738.html>

was granted the mission to hold 2010 World Expo, and, after more than one hundred years, the dream has become true.

## II. Old Shanghai: The Role in Modernizing China

Why did it take so long for the Chinese to turn this dream into reality? How and why has Shanghai won this competition? What and who finally made this happen? These are complicated, controversial and sensitive questions, and their answer could be found only from the history of Shanghai's development. In the early 1950s, an American geographer Rhoads Murphey claimed that modern Shanghai was born out of Western commercial enterprise and that it was the West who made Shanghai westernized and a modern commercial center serving as the key to modernizing China.<sup>6</sup> However, French historian Marie-Claire Bergère defined Shanghai as "the Other China," of a Western breeding and of minority but "just as authentic as the rural China." Shanghai's impact, Bergère believed, "is limited to a privileged area and does not extend to the rest of the country." It even may "accentuate the dualistic structure, the break between Shanghai and the Chinese provinces".<sup>7</sup>

More than twenty years later, interestingly, Murphey changed his mind and echoed Bergère's view. He reclaiming that modern China's economy was actually separated into two parts: the modern sector closely engaged in international markets via treaty ports including Shanghai and the traditional agriculture in the vast hinterland, seldom affected by outside forces including the commercial power of treaty ports.<sup>8</sup> Linda Cooke Johnson, however, opposed all the above views and stated that by 1843 Shanghai was already one of the twenty large cities of China. Shanghai "was deeply involved in China's internal trade" in all kinds of products before and after the First Opium War, and was neither "a creature of the imperialist West" nor "a marginalized

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<sup>6</sup> Rhoads Murphey: *Shanghai: Key to Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 1; Rhoads Murphey: "The City as a Center of Change: Western Europe and China," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, (London: Taylor & Francis Group, Vol. 44, No. 4, Dec. 1954), p. 355.

<sup>7</sup> Marie -Claire Bergère: "'The Other China': Shanghai from 1919 to 1949", *Shanghai: Evolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis*, Ed. by Christopher Howe (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 34, 31.

<sup>8</sup> Rhoads Murphey: *The Treaty Ports and China's Modernization* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1970); *The Outsiders: The Western Experience in India and China* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1977).

city, weakly linked to the Chinese mainland.” Modern Shanghai was an extension of the earlier pattern of the spatial and administrative diversity and commercial achievement.<sup>9</sup>

Yet, it seems that the theories of Murphey and Bergère could apply at least for the situation of Shanghai from 1854 to 1926 when Shanghai was collectively administered by three local authorities, each with its own laws and officials: the Chinese Shanghai Municipality (CSM) in the Chinese walled city, the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) in the international settlement, and the French Municipality (FM) in the French Concession. The SMC and the FM worked together and effectively administered much part of Shanghai, where transnational trade and commercial capital played a major role in modernizing Shanghai. In 1863, over 3,000 foreign ships entered the Shanghai port, discharging a total of 960,000 tons of cargo, 4 times the volume handled in Canton then, which made Shanghai the number one trade ports of China. In 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki granted foreigners the right to establish factories in the treaty ports of China and further led to the consequent investment of foreign capital.<sup>10</sup> From 1919 on “Shanghai model reached its peak” due to a heavy demand for raw materials and food from Western countries and the fall in gold value that lowered the prices to be paid for imports. The new society of Shanghai was exceptionally born of the coincidence between the retreat of the local and central bureaucratic restrictions that freed energies and the creation of an island within and without the Settlement that preserved relative security and order.<sup>11</sup>

As the upsurge of modern Shanghai asserted “the triumph of the West,” however, it simultaneously introduced formidable contradictions, among which the most significant is the growth of the nationalist awareness that was more precocious, more violent and more complex in Shanghai than elsewhere and that led to rejecting the very foreign presence. From 1927 on, Shanghai entered a stage of development with different character because of the Nationalist reconquest of Shanghai. The bourgeoisie there declined due to the Nationalist hostility toward a laissez-faire economy, private enterprise and foreign privileges. The Nanking Government established the Greater Shanghai Municipality in July 1927 to bring all the parts and outskirts of Shanghai

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<sup>9</sup> Linda Cooke Johnson: *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 12, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Tang Zhengchang and et al, eds., *Shanghai's Journey to Prosperity, 1842-1949*, trans. by Lu Yunzhong & rev. by Lu Siyuan (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1993), p. 12; Zhengji Fu, “The State, Capital, and Urban Restructuring in Post-reform Shanghai,” *The New Chinese City: Globalization and Market Reform*, ed. by John R. Logan (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002), pp. 109-110.

<sup>11</sup> Bergère: “‘The Other China’: Shanghai from 1919 to 1949”, pp. , 1, 3-14.

under its authority and regained the part of the deprived China's rights. It took over the most independent General Chamber of Commerce consisting of the most influential businessmen within the Settlement and put the Bank of China and the Communication Band under its direct control.<sup>12</sup> After the Resistant War against Japan broke, Shanghai's destiny was mostly subject to outside China. The Japanese occupation and the renouncement of the extraterritoriality by Western powers in 1943 put an end to Shanghai's international status. Lot of foreign capital fled and the city became island held in hostage. During the ensuing Civil War, the continual monetary shortage of the government and the endless military expending led to the wild inflation that characterized the economy of the time.<sup>13</sup> Shanghai's economy won't regain its normal situation until wars were over.

### **III. New Shanghai: Industrialization without Urbanization**

After the CCP took over Shanghai in 1949, the international relationship of Shanghai with the West was complete cut off and international capital totally disappeared. Most national capital fled to Taiwan and the remaining capital was nationalized. The Western observer predicted that "the Communists will ruin Shanghai and Shanghai will ruin the Communists."<sup>14</sup> On the contrary, however, Shanghai was not ruined but well recovered under the Communist rule. The CCP managed to simultaneously foster industrialization and keep urban expansion under control, which is a process of "industrialization without urbanization," reversing the process of "over-urbanization" that characterized the dysfunctional process of urbanization in many Third World cities. Chinese cities avoided many urban ills and the phenomenal demographic growth that led to unemployment or underemployment and became "shining counter-example to the world in the 1970s."<sup>15</sup>

During its first eight years, however, the policy of the CCP followed Soviet development models that did not favor Shanghai. The Communist Government transformed the capitalist and consumptive cosmopolitan Shanghai to a socialist

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<sup>12</sup> Zhengji Fu, "The State, Capital, and Urban Restructuring in Post-reform Shanghai," pp. 110-11; Bergère: "The Other China": Shanghai from 1919 to 1949", pp. 14-22.

<sup>13</sup> Zhengji Fu, "The State, Capital, and Urban Restructuring in Post-reform Shanghai," pp. 111-2; Bergère: "The Other China": Shanghai from 1919 to 1949", pp. 22-30.

<sup>14</sup> Susan Mann: "New Perspectives on Chinese Urbanization: The Last Two Hundred Years," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 13 No. 1, November 1986, p. 76.

<sup>15</sup> Susan Mann: "New Perspectives on Chinese Urbanization: The Last Two Hundred Years," 72-81; Kam Wing Chan: *Cities with Invisible Walls: Reinterpreting Urbanization in Post-1949 China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 1-3.

productive city based on the centrally planned economic system. The discard of Soviet models in 1956-1958 marked the turning point of Shanghai, which gave way to its rise with an alternative to the common “urban-biased” Western classical model or the Soviet “industrially biased” model that created rural-urban disparities. Restoring traditional features of Chinese urbanization through close linkages between urban and rural areas, Shanghai became one of the new city regions that promoted greater rural-urban balance and agricultural growth blending the “grey” and the “green” within large metropolitan areas with a close coordination of supply and demand for goods, services and labor. This is the new concept of Maoist socialist urbanism, with an attempt to develop middle-range cities and small towns with decentralized industries to absorb mounting labor surpluses from the countryside while preventing massive concentrations of population in city cores. Although the economic growth of Shanghai averaged 8.8% during 1953-1978, Shanghai as all other Chinese cities has simultaneously achieved unusually high levels of stability, equality and security and low rate of poverty through migration restrictions, full-employment policies and the effort to forge solidary bonds within neighborhood and working units.<sup>16</sup>

Recently, however, many scholars challenged the above view and asserted that policies under Mao consistently discriminated against agriculture in allocating investments and settling industrial and agricultural commodity prices. The CCP never had a broad philosophy of anti-urbanism and favored urban development that produced a vast urban-rural gap and led to a constant battle to prevent rural-urban migration.<sup>17</sup> No matter whether this was true during 1953-1978, certainly it was not after 1978. As the matter of fact, the CCP started the reform right from the countryside, by giving peasants great autonomy in production and management and lifting up the price of agricultural products, and unprecedentedly relaxed the restriction over migration.

Indeed, from 1978 on, China has turned into a new direction, but Shanghai still remained as a “rearguard” in the economic reform for about 12 years. Shanghai was

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<sup>16</sup> John Wilson Lewis, “Introduction: Order and Modernization in the Chinese City,” *The City in Communist China*, ed. by John Wilson Lewis (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971), pp. 17, 26; Zhengji Fu, “The State, Capital, and Urban Restructuring in Post-reform Shanghai,” p. 112; Roger C. K. Chan, “The creation of global-local competitive advantages in Shanghai,” *Globalization and the Chinese City*, ed. by Fulong Wu (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), p. 230; Susan Mann: “New Perspectives on Chinese Urbanization,” pp. 76-8; Kam Wing Chan: *Cities with Invisible Walls*, pp. 3-4; Y. M. Yeung, “Introduction,” *Shanghai: Transformation and Modernization under China's Open Policy*, ed. by Y. M. Yeung & Sung Yun-wing (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1996), p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Susan Mann: “New Perspectives on Chinese Urbanization,” pp. 76-8; Kam Wing Chan: *Cities with Invisible Walls*, pp. 4.

listed in 1980 as top in the nation in terms of total industrial output (accounting for one-eighth of the total), total output for export (one-quarter of the total) and the supplies of technical personnel to other regions (1 million over the preceding decades). However, thanks to the rigid government control, as much as 87% of Shanghai's revenue was remitted to Beijing between 1949 and 1983, leaving only 13% for its own use, in contrast to an average of 30% of the revenue for local spending in Beijing and Tianjin. In 1980s, one-sixth of the revenue of the Central Government derived from Shanghai, and Shanghai was described as the "golden milk-cow." As a result, during the period of 1979-1990 the average of Shanghai's annual economic growth dropped from 8.8% to 7.5%, below the national average.<sup>18</sup> That alarmed the CCP leaders. They were going to reform Shanghai.

#### **IV. Shanghai Transformed: A "Better City" for a "Better Life"**

In 1983-1984, the Central Government pointed out the importance of Shanghai for China's modernization and issued policies in favor of Shanghai. Yet, Shanghai's drastic development did take off until the Central Government decided in April 1990 to use Shanghai as the key player for the next phase of reform and Pudong in East Shanghai as the growth platform for Shanghai. The Central Government gave Shanghai more political backup and more preferential policies than the other parts of China. Deng Xiaoping visited Shanghai every year from 1991 to 1994, encouraging the local officials there to be "brave and adventurous" and to "catch up and surpass the old-timers."<sup>19</sup>

That was the very right decision for several major reasons. First, Shanghai has enjoyed its geographical advantage with easy access to the vast domestic market and the outside world. Besides, Shanghai has developed its lasting world reputation as a vital business center of China and broad business network across the world since the nineteenth century. Moreover, Shanghai possessed a cheap and well-trained labor force, modern urban infrastructure and, probably the most important, relatively more capable and less corrupted city managers who played a critical role in rapidly revitalizing Shanghai into a world class city. Through a vertical management system from city government to district government and street office level, Shanghai government has

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<sup>18</sup> Cheng Li, "Rediscovering Urban Subcultures: The Contrast between Shanghai and Beijing," *The China Journal*, No. 36, July 1996, p. 147; Y. M. Yeung, "Introduction," pp. 8-9; Susan Mann: "New Perspectives on Chinese Urbanization," pp. 76-8; Kam Wing Chan: *Cities with Invisible Walls*, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Zhu Hua & et al, *Shanghai in One Hundred Years* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1999) (朱華等: 《上海一百年》, 上海, 上海人民出版社, 1999年), pp. 427, 442-3.



shifted its function from implementing production plans of the Central Government to running the “growth machine.”<sup>20</sup> This is the pattern of the coevolution of politics and markets or “local state corporatism” rather than purely market mechanism that led to the emergence of new capitalism in Shanghai.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, the development of Shanghai in the past twenty years was remarkable. In 1991-1997, Shanghai registered a GDP growth rate of 25%, and its GDP rose to 1,369.815 billion RMB in 2008, more than 20 times that (67.54 billion RMB) in 1982. The per capita gross production of Shanghai rose from 30,047 RMB in 2000 to 73,124 RMB (US\$10,529) in 2008, higher than the standard of US\$8,000 for being qualified to host World Expo. The contribution of tertiary industry to the whole economy of Shanghai jumped from 18.6% in 1978 to 50.6% in 2002. By 1996, the share of foreign-funded enterprises’ gross output value in Shanghai’s industry reached 34.8% of the total, while the share of the state-owned enterprises dropped from the dominated position to 38.8 %. The accumulated foreign direct investment (FDI) in Shanghai reached US\$86 billion from 1990 to 2004. The contribution of foreign or Sino-foreign joined enterprises to industrial output rose from 12.7% in 1993 to 58.2% in 2003. By 1997, 55 of world’s largest 100 industrial enterprises located their regional headquarters or production branches in Shanghai. Meanwhile, Shanghai horizontally expanded its industrial and commercial linkage with other parts of China, and reassumed its role as the nexus for influx of foreign capital and high technology. “Circulating into the Whole Country, Serving the Whole Country”—Shanghai Government proudly and confidently announced in 2004.<sup>22</sup>

Shanghai has gone through a stunning and drastic change in its urban, spatial and social landscape since 1990. Shanghai made an unprecedented investment of 6.138 billion RMB on urban infrastructure in 1991, and the budget became 173.318 billion RMB in 2008, a growth of almost 29 times. The most polluted parts of Shanghai such as the long-stinking Suzhou Creek have been cleaned up. Within the inner ring of the city,

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<sup>20</sup> Roger C. K. Chan, “The creation of global-local competitive advantages in Shanghai,” p. 299-301, 241-3.

<sup>21</sup> L.J.C. Ma, “Urban Administrative Restructuring, Changing Scale Relations and Local Economic Development in China,” *Political Geography*, 24, pp. 477-97.

<sup>22</sup> Roger C. K. Chan, “The creation of global-local competitive advantages in Shanghai”; Steven W. Lewis, “Political and economic implications of new public spaces in Chinese and Asian global cities,” *Globalization and the Chinese City*, ed. by Fulong Wu (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), p. 230-1, 237-9, 281-2; Zhu Hua & et al, *Shanghai in One Hundred Years*, 446-7; Zhengji Fu, “The State, Capital, and Urban Restructuring in Post-reform Shanghai,” p. 113; Rupert N. W. Hodder, “China’s industry-horizontal linkages in Shanghai,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1990), pp. 487-503.

the total area for the secondary industry dropped by 11% during 1978-2002, while more than 5,000 skyscrapers for office and business emerged across Shanghai, 220 of them concentrated within a small space of 1.7 square kilometers in the Finance and Trade District of Lujiazui, which has become the new landmark and icon of Shanghai, in contrast strikingly to the old Western buildings on the west bund of the Whampoa River that used to be the tallest and the most impressive architectures in Shanghai, now “shrunk” under the shadow of the newly exalted skyscrapers on the east bund and giving the viewer a nostalgic feeling about the past glory of the West in China.<sup>23</sup>

With the rapid economic growth, the living condition of Shanghai residents has been significantly improved. Government statistics on the supply of foods, commodities, electricity and water; the expansion of roads, transportations and post services; the number of new hospitals, schools, research institutes, museums and entertainment centers; publication of books, journals and newspapers; the student body of colleges and graduate schools; etc., all recorded enormous increases. The public green space per Shanghai resident shares expanded from 4.6 square meters in 2000 to 12.51 square meters in 2008. The average living space/per Shanghai resident enlarged from 5.4 square meters in 1985 to 16.9 square meters in 2008. During 1992-1997, Shanghai’s investment on cultural institutions increased much faster than its revenue, double of that in the past five years. More than 40 cultural centers and museums were built up. Countless international film, TV, art and cultural festivals and exhibitions have been held in Shanghai, which have successfully attracted a huge number of participants and audience from the world. Accordingly, the average expense of per Shanghai resident on housing, healthcare, education, entertainment and so forth significantly increased, from 8,868 RMB in 2000 to 19,398 RMB in 2008. The average life expectancy of the Shanghai population extended from 78.77 years old in 2000 to 81.28 years old in 2008, symbolizing a “better life” in a “better city.”<sup>24</sup>

“Better City, Better Life” is the slogan of 2010 Shanghai Expo and the goal of Shanghai, which is actually an effort and process with no ending. Since the last century,

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<sup>23</sup> The annual record of Shanghai (上海年鉴统计资料),

<http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node19828/node81801/node81867/index.html>; Roger C. K. Chan, “The creation of global-local competitive advantages in Shanghai,” p. 239; Zhu Hua & et al, *Shanghai in One Hundred Years*, 447-8.

<sup>24</sup> Zhu Hua & et al, *Shanghai in One Hundred Years*, p. 430, 435-9; The annual record of Shanghai (上海年鉴统计资料), <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node19828/node81801/node81867/index.html>.

the world has entered the “urban era.” More than half of the entire population on the earth is now living in cities, and half of the Chinese population will live in cities in two years. Urbanization means the concentration of population in urban centers, accompanied along the process of industrialization and modernization. Urbanization is a complex, multi-faceted process, but fundamentally a spatial manifestation of the economic structural shift of labor from agricultural based communities to industrial based activities. Indeed, urbanization has brought prosperity and good life as well as problems and challenges to Shanghai, in association with migration of people who are looking for a better life in Shanghai, who, especially those from rural areas, have been deprived of many rights such as housing, education, insurance, retirement, social security, healthy insurance, and other social services due to lack of household registration and capital. Thus, the old invisible walls that geographically separated China into the rural and urban areas under the era of Mao are now segregating them economically and socially within cities, which is a continuing dualistic nature of the Chinese society that will not be erased easily.<sup>25</sup> The shadow of the past still looms over Shanghai and other Chinese cities, which will have to continue to solve the lingering problems and deal with new challenges, further moving toward a city and life better than that in 2010.

C.X. George WEI 魏楚雄 is Professor and Chair of the Department of History at the University of Macau, Macau, and “Guest Professor” of the Institute of History Research of the Shanghai Academy of Social Science, China. He earned Ph.D. in History from Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A. and taught at Susquehanna University, Pennsylvania; Walla Walla College, Washington; and the University of Toledo, Ohio, U.S.A. He is author of *Sino-American Economic Relations, 1944–1949* (1997), co-editor of *Challenges to Chinese Foreign Policy* (2009), *Exploring Nationalisms of China: Themes and Conflicts* (2002) and *Chinese Nationalism in Perspective: Historical and Recent Cases* (2001), as well as numerous articles both in English and Chinese.

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<sup>25</sup> K. W. Chan, “Internal Migration in China: An Introductory Review,” *Chinese Environment and Development*, 1996, 7(1/2) pp. 3-12; Wang Feng, Xuejin Zou & Danqing Ruan, “Rural Migrants in Shanghai: Living Under the Shadow of Socialism,” *International Migration Review*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 2002), pp. 520-545.