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### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/76h9j95s>

### Journal

City and Community, 19(2)

### ISSN

1535-6841

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### Publication Date

2020-06-01

### DOI

10.1111/cico.12491

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Peer reviewed

**“Pudong is not My Shanghai”:  
Displacement, place-identity, and right to the ‘city’ in urban China**

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Running head: Pudong is not My Shanghai

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This article would not have been possible without the support and advice from my dissertation supervisor Sharon Zukin, and committee members Philip Kasinitz and Xiangming Chen. I am also grateful to a number of friends at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, Aneta Kostrzewa, Jacob Lederman, and Jinwon Kim, who read the earlier draft of this paper and provided constructive feedback, as well as my friend Sanjeev Routray, a peer urban scholar, for his comments on the later version of this article. Lastly, I want to express my gratitude to reviewers of this journal for helping me greatly improve the work.

## **“Pudong is not My Shanghai”:**

### **Displacement, place-identity, and right to the ‘city’ in urban China**

#### **Introduction**

Existing studies on urban redevelopment and gentrification in China have documented neoliberal urbanism and state intervention as the driving forces transforming Shanghai into a global city (see e.g. T. Zhang, 2002; Zhang et al., 2004; Xu, 2004; He and Wu, 2007; Ren, 2008; Chen, 2009; He, 2010). However, nearly thirty years into building a globalizing Shanghai, how much do we know about the lives of Shanghainese after their displacement?

The urban landscape in the new global Shanghai alienates and disorients native Shanghainese. This new Shanghai is a three-dimensional printout designed by the state, both the central and municipal levels, and is modeled after global cities in the West. Approaches in urban redevelopment and renewal in the West in the 20th century diverged, some built up in their central districts such as New York City or London, the two quintessential global cities according to Saskia Sassen (2001), while others sprawled out such as Los Angeles. It is the former that policy makers in China aimed at, to (re)build an awe-inspiring metropolis of global significance to showcase China's rise (Greenspan, 2014, p.18). In the process, millions of native Shanghainese households were displaced, and millions of internal migrants came to call the city home.

The limited number of studies done on the housing quality of the resettlement neighborhood and displacees' new homes generate positive responses based on quantitative studies (Wu, 2004; S.-M. Li et al., 2009; Day, 2013). A more qualitative approach employed by recent researchers painted a different picture: they acknowledge that displacees experienced a strong sense of loss (J. Li, 2014), and a lingering pain as severe and embodied as domicide (Shao, 2013; Zhang, 2017). Taking recent researchers' investigations into displacees' emotional responses to the resettlement process, and debates on the settlement housing and new neighborhoods as a departure point, my work intends to answer the questions about how displaced Shanghainese have responded to the new urban built environment and strategically adapted to it at different scales.

Peter Marcuse adopts Lefebvre's formulation of the right to the city (1967, p.45) as "a transformed and renewed right to urban life (2012, p.35)" when exploring answers to the question "whose right(s) to what city?" His solution lies in politicizing among the disadvantaged and the disenfranchised, which unfortunately is unlikely to succeed in Shanghai, a global city created and closely monitored by the central government. With limited financial resources to move back to their old neighborhoods, or with previous residential neighborhoods razed and transformed into urban greenery, public transit infrastructure, or commercial zones, how can displacees reassert a place-identity associated with the previous built environment? How to make sense of the new global Shanghai

when old municipal districts have been renamed or merged, and the boundaries of urban Shanghai have expanded into previously rural counties? In this case study of Shanghai, I intend to address *what city* in the deployment of “right to the city.”

Based on qualitative interviews conducted in Shanghai in 2013 and follow-up research in the summer of 2017, my work reveals that native Shanghainese<sup>[1]</sup> develop strategies to reconstruct their urban place-identity, claim their right to the ‘city’ through redefining an urban space against the government’s rhetoric and vision, and challenge the top-down global city building policy by advocating a distinctive Shanghai character based on equal parts historical imagination and lived experience. Some previous studies on displacees in Shanghai tell stories about those who occupied lower socioeconomic status and reportedly enjoyed the more spacious and modern new residency in the resettlement neighborhoods, as mentioned above. Though those native Shanghainese share the same historical imagination of the “Paris of the Orient,” and are proud of their Shanghainese identity, the urban-center-living lifestyle had rarely been their lived experience, in contrary to my research participants. Instead of a story contrasting the haves and have-nots, what I present here are strategies used by the highly educated and relatively better-off native Shanghainese to articulate their versions of Shanghai, based on their geographical, emotional, and imagined distance from the glistening global Shanghai of a long century’s vicissitudes. From this investigation, I argue that the right to the city is not only about housing, but also

right to a perceived urban life associated with different scales of urban space. Furthermore, by differentiating place-identity of a place, and of individuals, I contrast native Shanghainese' responses with those of non-native Shanghainese, the latter apparently enjoy the new urban built environment.

## **Literature Review**

Situated at the intersection of a human geographer's phenomenological concept of place and non-place, an environmental psychological discussion of an individual's place-identity, and urban sociologists' critique of the discriminatory urban political economy and private-public partnership, this work investigates the attachment native Shanghainese have to urban places at different scales: neighborhood, administrative district, and overall city, and how they try to reclaim their right to their perceived city, and sense of belonging to their imagined Shanghainese community.

### *Place Identity of a Place and a People*

Many scholars in urban sociology and geography take a macro-level approach, focusing on the historical context, urban political economy, and institutional actors at work in transforming the urban built environment, with a nod to the agency of local residents in their efforts to imbue the locale with distinctive cultures. Firey (1945, p.144) looks at the symbolic quality and sentiments articulated in Beacon Hill in Boston. Half a century later, Zukin (1995, p.264) emphasizes the "divergent and multilayered cultures of cities", which include

dimensions of ethnicities, lifestyles and images based on her study of New York City. Molotch, Freudenburg, and Paulsen (2000, p.807) in their comparative study of two California cities stress the distinctive local ambience; and David Harvey (2001, p.405) highlights that claims to uniqueness and authenticity rest upon historical narratives, collective memories, and cultural practices.

Taking their work in the United States' context as departure point, I will first distinguish place identity of a locale from self-identification of individuals occupying or claiming the locale to situate this interdisciplinary work. There is a distinction between the place identity of the city itself, and Shanghainese place identity in terms of the self-identification of native Shanghainese. The identity of a place is based on the special characteristics of the place, even though it is nevertheless a social construction (Lalli, 1992); it is different from an individual's place-identity, which environmental psychologist Proshansky defines as "a pattern of beliefs, feelings, and expectations regarding public spaces and places, and even more importantly, a dimension of competence relevant to how adequately the individual uses these physical settings as well as the appropriate strategies for successfully navigating through the settings" (1978, p.167). The distinction is important for my analysis because the two do not necessarily align with each other, and it is exactly in the dynamics of mal- and re-alignment of the two, that native Shanghainese assert their right to the 'city'.

Environmental psychologists studying individual place identity focus on connections between individuals, social groups, and the physical environment

such as a home or a neighborhood. This concept is useful as an analytical tool to understand the daily activities of individuals in a physical setting. Proshansky lists multiple functions of place-identity, which include symbolic and affective associations between the individual and various parts of the physical environment (1983, p.68). Lalli points out the association between self and urban environment entails positive self-esteem, when the symbolic value of a town lends itself to the residents' feelings about themselves, and 'the town becomes the general symbol of an individual's wealth of personal experiences (1992, p.294)." Furthermore, place becomes meaningful to individuals not only because individuals occupy and navigate the physical environment, but social interactions also take place in a physical environment (Agnew, 1987). Based on the Dockland neighborhood in London, Doreen Massey brings in the temporal dimension when conceptualizes geographical places, that "the identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant (1995, p.186)." In their study on residents of the same neighborhood in London, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell exemplify how this sense of pride by association with a 'prestigious' place positively contributes to residents' self-identified distinctiveness (1996). Beyond the neighborhood setting, Cuba and Hummon argue that it is necessary to simultaneously examine individuals' identification with places of different scales to understand how individuals situate themselves in a broader social-spatial environment (1993, p.115). A micro approach to understanding individuals' self-



identification, in terms of their association with a physical environment, gains analytical strengths when we try to understand the sense of alienation and loss among displaced Shanghainese, by looking beyond particular neighborhoods to investigate the symbolic meanings of boundaries between administrative districts, such as those between the west and east banks (Puxi versus Pudong) of the Huangpu River, as well as the definition of ‘Shanghai proper’ pre- and post-1990s.

### *Shanghai's Place-identity*

On the scale of the overall city, Shanghai's unique East-meets-West character, inherited from the early 20th century, was represented and preserved in the urban built environment in Puxi. From a Bourdieusian perspective, this unique character is a type of objectified cultural and symbolic capitals recognized by native Shanghainese as an authenticity, rooted in the city's semi-colonial treaty port history. The temporal dimension is significant for place-identity here because “identity is always, and always has been, in process of formation: it is in a sense forever unachieved (Massey, 1995, p.186).” This ever-evolving formation dynamism is applicable to both the city's and its people's place-identity. The layers of sediment accumulated overtime define a place and a people. Zukin (2010, p.xi) echoes that the distinctive character of a city nurtures a constant dialogue and negotiation between the old and the new; and in the process, produces and reproduces the place's authenticity. In the state-led construction of

Shanghai as a global city, much of the old city has been destroyed; the dialogue between old and new is transformed by large-scale demolition. The removal of distinctive residential neighborhoods in the urban center made way for the construction of a distanced and cold global modernity, forming a new kind of place-identity for Shanghai. "As China's image of growth, Shanghai is pure window display (Greenspan, 2014, p.53)." The new built environment has brought the city on par with global cities in the West, by giving away the cultural and symbolic capitals that the city formerly possessed.

Before the Chinese Communist Party founded the People's Republic in 1949, Shanghai was viewed at home and abroad as a beacon of modernity and cosmopolitan international verve (Rudolph and Lu, 2008, p.164). Shanghai's distinctive urban identity, or the aggregated symbolic capital embedded in Shanghai's urban landscape before the urban redevelopments, is rooted in the historical image of a "Paris of the Orient" metropolis documented in newspaper articles, novels, photos, and movies showing people from all over the world and of every walk of life consuming, mingling, and struggling for a better life in early 20th century Shanghai. Dialogue and negotiation with foreign influences were vibrant at that time, evidenced in architectural features, fashion, cuisine, and ideological trends (See e.g. Lee, 1999; Lu, 1999; Gamble, 2003; Yeh, 2007; Bergère, 2009; Wasserstrom, 2009). That was the period when Shanghai's unique urban place-identity took shape. Current native Shanghainese in their thirties to sixties did not live through the Old Shanghai, but experienced it

second-hand through mediated images, and from anecdotes told by older family members. Thus, the observed nostalgia, or what Ren calls 'forward to the past' (2007) in the globalizing Shanghai, has an imaginative element in it, as my interviews will show.

On the scale of overall city – Puxi, where the historical urban Shanghai was located, contains since mid-19th century a socio-spatial hierarchy associated with imperialist powers. The three-part divided landscape of Shanghai of the semi-colonial era included the French Concession, the International Settlement under British and United States control, and a so-called “Chinese City” under the Mandarin Qing Dynasty’s jurisdiction. The Western-run municipalities were predominately populated by Chinese, and an upper-corner/lower-corner distinction became the new set of internal boundaries within the city. These boundaries overlap the settlement borders in some places, with the industrial northeastern part of the International Settlement and lands under Chinese rule outside of the settlements being the lower-corner, and the upscale and consumerist southwestern and central areas of both the French Concession and the International Settlement being the upper-corner. This divide was not geographical; instead, this socially constructed distinction was based on housing quality, urban amenities, socio-political environment, and the socioeconomic status of inhabitants. Despite overcrowding, dilapidated housing conditions, and narrow streets in the upper-corner in more recent decades, native Shanghainese still firmly root their Shanghainese identity in this socio-geographical distinction

even after former borders of colonies transformed into boundaries of administrative districts post-1949.

Place-identity at a smaller scale, the neighborhood level is hard to pin down geographically, because the built environment in Shanghai has been so completely transformed through both urban renewal projects, similar to the program initiated by the U.S. government between 1949 and 1973, as well as piecemeal gentrification cases selectively preserving and cashing out the distinctive characteristics of urban core neighborhoods since the 1990s. The first step Shanghai's municipal government took toward urban redevelopment was to "adopt a 'global-city-look' by constructing state-of-the-art infrastructure and flagship architectural projects" such as bridges, airports and skyscrapers (Ren, 2011). This uniformity signifies an inauthentic and generic urban place-identity, replacing local and the vernacular traits with uniform glass-façade high rises (Zukin, 2010, p.2). Block after block of void created by the demolished vernacular architecture were quickly filled by a transnational space, which in Sklair's (2010, p.138,142) words, is composed of shopping malls, waterfront development and transportation infrastructure, identical in form to similar cities anywhere in the world, representing capitalist consumerist uniformity. The standardized global city look denies a distinguishable, historically meaningful place-identity, and deprives Shanghai of its distinctive vernacular character. The process not only made Shanghai similar to other global cities, but also wiped out district-level characteristics, which are associated with their upper-/lower-corner designations.

The overall city and district scales are unique contributions this work makes to broaden the usual discussion of place attachment, and individuals' neighborhood-centered place-identity.

This new glistening urban Shanghai, deprived of markers of local history and community, is a type of non-place as Auge describes, which is a space that "cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity" (1995, p.78). In the same vein, Relph (1976, p.29) regards place as a multifaceted phenomenon of experience and individuals' involvement with it. The essence of a place is determined by the people who react to it and act within it. This brings us to Shanghainese place-identity, which was rooted in decades of living in a unique urban built environment that massive-scale demolition and redevelopment has destroyed.

### *Shanghainese Place-identity*

At the smallest but most important scale, the *shikumen* neighborhood is a rather different story, because the material structure and configurations are gone. This is the scale of concrete lived experience, instead of imagined history or mediated images. The many surviving classical style public buildings on the Bund, re-appropriated art-deco apartments, and multi-million-dollar mock Tudor cottages are usually regarded as proof of Shanghai's cosmopolitan past, but the architectural style that represents the soul of the city and the traditional Shanghai way of life is largely *shikumen* housing. This housing style was born in the late

19th century, accompanying Shanghai's growth into a Chinese metropolis under the influences of imperialism and industrial development, and dominated Shanghai's residential landscape for more than a century until the 1990s.

*Shikumen* is a hybrid of Western townhouse with Chinese features that include a courtyard behind a heavy wooden gate (*kumen*) wrapped by stones (*shi*). *Shikumen* units were constructed in compounds occupying entire street blocks with internal alleyways. The units facing outside streets usually have shops on the first floor, selling everyday general goods from toilet paper to matches, and were accordingly named *yanzhi dian* (cigarette-paper store). See Figure 1 for De Qing Li on Maoming Bei Road, one of the few remaining *shikumen* complexes in the urban central Jing'an District. Such structures provided semi-public spaces between the street and domestic spaces within units, which resulted in a unique urban space blurring private and public, residential and commercial (Lu, 1999; Wasserstrom, 2009), a strong sense of communality (Rowe, 2005, p.27), and healthy and vibrant street surveillance, as Bracken applies Jane Jacobs's "eye on the street" to interpret quotidian life in *shikumen* neighborhoods (2013, p.102).

Figure.1 about here

It was in *shikumen* neighborhoods that generations of Shanghainese were born, raised, and for many, spent their whole lives before involuntary displacement. It was the unique physical configuration of *shikumen* neighborhoods that produced a Shanghainese place-identity, which entails not

only a rootedness, a personal history embedded in a physical setting, but also a sense of comfort and stability from familiarity and fluency (see e.g. J.Li, 2014). Citywide demolition of *shikumen* housing wiped out the physical setting of many individuals' place-identity; suddenly they no longer had the alleyways to navigate, or social interactions to "take place" there, thus the reproduction of the distinctive Shanghainese place-identity was halted, pending new material basis to resume.

If involuntary displacement and relocation was as traumatic and life-changing as all the authors argue, one would wonder what happens after the resettlement? Given the fact that most of the displaced could not afford to move back into their old central neighborhoods, where *shikumen* housing complex no longer exists, they would unavoidably pass by and be reminded of the loss and perceived injustice. How do they come to terms with it? Would the displaced eventually swallow the injustice and came to settle into and identify with their new neighborhood, new administrative district, in an authoritarian state where overt protest is suppressed if not prohibited? How do they mentally locate themselves in the global Shanghai? When their current residential address is beyond the historical boundary of upper-corner, or even "Shanghai city proper", how do they understand their right to the city, hence to urban life in Shanghai?

The Old Shanghai's place-identity, imbued with local history and multicultural fabric, has been disrupted and reconfigured to represent a "placeless" (Auge, 1995) city with newly expanded boundaries. My research will show how the displacees respond to this disruption and consequent

misalignment between their Shanghainese place-identity and the global Shanghai at the scale of neighborhood, upper-/lower-corner, and the city as a whole.

## **Methods**

This study is part of a larger research project on the urban transformation of Shanghai conducted in the fall and winter of 2013. It investigates the social and linguistic responses to the massive demolition and resettlement; to be precise, the changing criteria required to be self-identified and publicly recognized as a Shanghainese. I used a mixture of snowball sampling and quota sampling to recruit research subjects, and the preference was given to native Shanghainese who originally lived in the upper-corner of the urban core.

This paper is based predominantly on semi-structured interview data with forty-five native Shanghainese, who, without exception, experienced displacement in the last twenty years. Most respondents in my study were in their late 30s and 40s at the time of the study, were college educated, and lived in Puxi. My respondents grew up in the 1980s and 1990s, and were the last generation familiar with the old built environment in Shanghai characterized by *shikumen* housing. Their articulation of the Shanghainese place-identity and strategies to reclaim the right to the city provide an important understanding of alternative means to counter the state's top-down global city building policies. I supplement the 2013 interviews with twenty additional interviews conducted in



summer 2017 with college-educated, non-native Shanghainese about their identification with urban living in Shanghai, and their current and preferred housing locations. The two groups are similar in terms of age group, educational attainment, family structure, and social economic status. Though not claiming to completely rule out potential influences from these variations, as if used as control variables in a quantitative study, in this juxtaposition, I intend to demonstrate the symbolic capital of Puxi-living is not necessarily sought or appreciated by non-natives and the significance of time dimension in understanding individual's place-identity.

## **Findings**

Significant yet invisible changes to both Shanghai's and native Shanghainese' place-identity started from the re-districting and re-naming of urban districts by the municipal governments in the early 1990s. This little-studied fact does not broadcast itself in the built environment but results in no less alienation and sense of loss among native Shanghainese. In the following, I will first explain the geographical, administrative and jurisdictional changes to the city drawing data from Census and the Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks, and then unveil native Shanghainese's strategies to reclaim their right to the 'city.'

Literature on the right to the city, taken largely from the seminal work by David Harvey (2008) focus on the "right" part of the phrase, from access to and execution of a broadly defined right, in order to tease out different dimensions of

that right; but few have scrutinized the 'city' part of the phrase. Similarly, in the Shanghai case, Weinstein and Ren point out that displacees of urban renewal in Shanghai are not powerless victims, but strategically negotiated and claimed their rights to housing and to the city (2009, p.427). However, the boundary of the 'city' was hardly discussed or scrutinized. Certainly, the term has been applied to gentrifying neighborhoods, but what I am pointing out here was a broader-scale remaking and redrawing of boundaries of an emergent global city. This includes the redevelopment process that razed entire city blocks, merged urban districts, and the urbanization of previously outskirt rural areas.

In this remaking process since 1991, three urban districts disappeared from the map, nine rural counties were transformed into urban districts, and the entire tract of rural land east of the Huangpu River was built into the Pudong New District (See Figure 2).

Figure 2 about here

In Figure 2, the year underneath the district name indicates the date of the rural-to-urban designation. Besides urban expansion, urban districts that had historically belonged to different domestic or colonial powers in the early 20th century, and were perceived to possess diverse cultural, socioeconomic, and symbolic capital in their respective place-identity, were merged. For example, Nanshi, which was historically under imperial Chinese jurisdiction, was merged

with the previously British and American co-ruled International Settlement, upper-corner Huangpu district in 1991. In 2011, the jewel of the former French Concession, the upper-corner Luwan district, was merged north to form the new Huangpu district. Though both are former concessions, their pre-1949 boundaries were as tangible in daily life as following different power outlet standard voltages. More recently, in 2015, another upper-corner district, the Jing'an district of the former International Settlement, took over the lower-corner Zhabei district, Chinese-ruled before 1949, which was predominantly working class and inhabited by the urban poor. The administrative and judicial boundaries between upper-/lower-corners were penetrated and broken down in the process, and the cultural and symbolic capitals associated with each district became muddled, the previous socio-spatial hierarchy of districts inherited from the semi-colonial era demanded reassessment, and native Shanghainese' mental mapping of their own place-identity onto nominal districts and upper-/lower-corner required re-alignment.

The demographic justification for the consolidation was the sharp decline in residents living in the three urban core districts in the last twenty years, when much of that highly sought-after land was redeveloped for commercial use. Comparing the 2010 and 1990 census, the three urban core upper-corner districts that lost the most residents in the demolition and resettlement process were: Huangpu and Nanshi district combined, at 72.4% had the sharpest decrease, followed by Jing'an District at 49.3%, and Luwan District at 47.7%.

Compensation in the form of either cash or ready housing from the developers nevertheless relocated these inhabitants to the periphery, which had previously been lower-corner districts or even rural, but were rezoned as urban districts. One of these, the Minghang district, saw an astonishing fourteen times of population increase over the two decades. The seven new “urban” districts saw sharp population increases during the same twenty-year span. The most impressive numbers are Songjiang’s increase of 209%, Baoshan’s 189%, and Pudong New District, which did not exist in 1990, but had 1.65 million residents in 2000, and then surged to 5.5 million combined with the previously rural Nanhui district (See Table 1).

Table 1 above here
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It makes intuitive sense to merge urban core districts that had significantly smaller post-demolition populations with other urban districts, in terms of administrative management. But for the hundreds of thousands of displacees, they not only lost residency in a familiar neighborhood with social interactions embedded in the physical space, but also the nominal administrative district category within which they can cognitively position themselves in the city, in addition to losing the symbolic capital associated with living in historically important districts. One of the ways Doreen Massey argues about the continuity of places is in names, citing Walter Benjamin, Massey stresses that street names preserve unembodied memories of people, making the past present in an

increasingly rapid succession of changes, and making the places relatable (1995, p.187). In the merging and re-naming of Shanghai urban districts, even that linkage was broken.

In the following, I will explain how a Shanghainese place-identity rooted in the city's cosmopolitan past and vernacular architecture equips the native Shanghainese who cannot afford to move back to the urban core with a rhetorical weapon, waved timidly and insistently against the state's place-making and intervention into urban living in Shanghai. When the "right" part of the "right to the city" is predetermined by the lack of democratic process, or by the absence of venues to voice dissent or to protest, native Shanghainese in my study strive to articulate an alternative, non-official place-identity of Shanghai through rejections of architectural spectacles in Pudong as city symbols, and self-segregation in housing preference for Puxi. Through these processes, native Shanghainese sustain, cultivate, and reproduce the city's distinctive place-identity based on memory-laden, or imagined, meaningful urban places, instead of a global space, re-aligning their individual Shanghainese place-identity with the physical reality and conditions of global city living. On the contrary, non-native Shanghainese's place-identity is comfortably aligned with the brand-new Pudong, the new face of Shanghai with its upscale amenities and non-place outlook.

### *Rejection of Architectural Spectacles*

The vision of a global Shanghai created by national elites and their delegates in Shanghai has disregarded the local urban history, native Shanghainese's lived experiences and the attachment they have developed to particular urban places. With its architectural spectacles and modern high-rise apartment complexes, Pudong stands in sharp contrast to the now largely gone low-rise vernacular *shikumen* housing neighborhoods and historical landmarks dating back to the early 20th century in Puxi.

Prior to 1994, before the Oriental Pearl TV Tower rose on the waterfront of Pudong, all of the city's significant landmarks were located in Puxi. At that time, Pudong seemed, as it had for more than a century, not really part of the metropolis at all, the evidence being not only its absence in natives' mental mapping of the city, but also in historical city maps themselves. The new place-identity of global Shanghai, represented by the non-place of Pudong, is set to replace the former place-identity associated with Puxi, a space imprinted on the lived experiences of local Shanghainese in every brick and around every corner.

Architectural spectacles in Pudong that put Shanghai on the world map alienated and to some, offended Shanghainese to the degree that they proudly reveal that they have never visited the Oriental Pearl TV Tower. Such overt self-distancing and distaste indicate the official place-identity of global Shanghai, which is composed of and accredited by those physical symbols, is neither how native Shanghainese perceive their home city's place-identity, nor how they bound their Shanghainese place-identity. In addition to the disorientation

occurring in the city center, every Shanghainese I interviewed shared their resentment and alienation towards the new landmarks in Pudong.

Over the course of our midday interview at a restaurant on the Bund, with a view of Lujiazui, the Pudong waterfront CBD (see Figure 3), Weiyun, a female native Shanghainese in her late 30s who worked as a senior marketing manager at PepsiCo, was explicit in rejecting Pudong as her Shanghai:

I know it is a very un-Shanghai view, but I want you to see how Shanghai has changed into something I don't like...Look, do you see that the Pudong waterfront skyline is no different from Victoria Harbor in Hong Kong? To the decision makers at the municipal and the central government level, Shanghai doesn't need to have character. China today doesn't appreciate diversity.

For anyone who has traveled to Shanghai, or seen the city in newspapers or on TV, the landmarks in our view at that lunch are easily identifiable symbols of Shanghai; especially the TV tower in the left of the photo, and the Shanghai World Financial Center in the center with the then under-construction Shanghai Tower on its right. However, to Weiyun and like-minded native Shanghainese, they do not represent Shanghai's urban place-identity, but are instead spectacles for outsiders' gaze. Lujiazui's photogenic monumentality is intended to impress from a distance (Campanella, 2008, p.81) but contributes little to native Shanghainese's place-identity. The purpose of the Pudong landscape is to win Shanghai tourists and investors in the global marketplace. Human geographer Yifu Tuan argues that landmarks in one's homeland are "visible signs [that] serve

Figure 3 about here

to enhance a people's sense of identity; they encourage awareness of and loyalty to place (1977, p.159).” It remains clear that even in this newly global Shanghai, when familiar landmarks that native Shanghainese are proud of in Puxi have been overshadowed and symbolically replaced by new ones in Pudong, natives remain loyal to an older Shanghai place-identity.

The creation of identical urban landscapes follows the logic of state-led neoliberal urbanism: rational, functional, and designed for revenue maximization, not to mention granting the urban space a modern, global outlook. When Weiyun compares the waterfront of Pudong to that of Hong Kong, it is apparent that the remodeling has been successful, that the global Shanghai does not look like Shanghai anymore. There is no longer space for less-spectacular configurations which were generated locally and bear vernacular features that communicates a sense of belonging, collective memories, or place-identity etc. In urban China, the prototypical built environment in globalizing cities represents modernity and progress, well-oiled urban growth machines, even if the end result appears rootless, placeless, and uniform.

These newly built architectural symbols articulate a global urban place-identity, and readily present this image to the country and the world. In rare cases when *shikumen* housing was preserved and renovated, it was for re-appropriation for commercial usage, particularly in gentrified neighborhood such as Xintiandi (Ren, 2009), or Tianzifang (Zhong, 2017). The sense of mal-alignment between the two place-identities is most acute among the displaced



who have no means to move back to upper-corner Puxi, which remains the archetypal Shanghai in their minds.

Guorong's family was displaced in 1997, after the Shanghai Urban Housing Demolition Management Plan, issued in 1991, required real estate developers to provide ready housing for displaced people. As a result, Guorong and his parents were relocated from two rooms in a garden villa shared by more than ten households along Nanjing Rd in the Jing'an District—two miles from the People's Square, which has high land values and well-developed social service provisions—to an apartment in the Meilong area, in the previously rural Minhang District (See Fig.2 for locations of the districts). After more than fifteen years, he was still full of anger and frustration recounting his relocation over our 2013 interview:

On that piece of land, the Four Seasons condo was built. In 2004 or 2005 when it entered the housing market, the per square meter price was more than RMB 60,000 [approx. US \$900/ft<sup>2</sup>], and now [2013] has probably more than doubled. At the time of our displacement, the government didn't mention a word of moving back, and the compensation? They gave us an apartment in Meilong and RMB 7,500 in cash. The market price for the apartment we live now, the one the government gave us, is about RMB 2.7 million, but the worth of our old room in our old neighborhood? More than 6 million!

Complaint notwithstanding, Guorong and his parents' apartment is much more spacious than the two rooms the three of them once shared, and the kitchen and bathroom that they shared with three other families living on the same floor. But beyond the monetary disparity between the two apartments is the social, cultural,

and symbolic capitals of upper-corner urban living. The loss or gain of the relocation is not calculated by the size of the apartments, housing tenure, or homeownership, but the disparity in the intangible capitals embodied in the built, social, and cultural environment between the two housing locations. Though living in an extremely crowded dwelling, Guorong's family once enjoyed geographic advantage and pride of association with the upper-corner in the city. It was a physical setting Guorong had his roots in, and his place-identity stemmed from. The concept 'place belongingness,' which "involves the individual's strong desire for and emotional attachment to his or her early childhood home and its related physical settings (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983, p.76) helps us to understanding how Shanghainese place-identity functions, when the resettlement housing quality is higher than the overcrowded and dilapidated ones that most Shanghainese were displaced from.

What is also apparent in Guorong's case is the relative deprivation. Even though their current apartment's market worth is RMB 2.7 million yuan, it is less than half the worth of an equivalent apartment in his old neighborhood. As an IT manager whose annual income is RMB 150,000 yuan, and who is living with his pensioner parents, Guorong does not dare imagine moving back to his old neighborhood. Like Guorong, many displaced local Shanghainese cannot afford to move back because the rapidly rising housing prices in the upper-corner, which experienced large-scale urban infrastructure upgrades and gentrification at approximately same time. Huangpu, Jing'an, and Luwan in central Puxi are the

historical upper-corner areas that embody the quintessential Shanghai place-identity imbued with colonial history, cosmopolitan lifestyle, and *shikumen* housing. Even though the administrative district borders have since changed, the mental mapping of these previous districts remains among native Shanghainese displacees who are reminiscent of urban core living.

All my native Shanghainese interviewees recounted their stories of displacement from the upper-corner to the lower-corner or formerly rural areas. For example, Yujie, the marketing manager for Siemens (China), grew up in Huangpu District, a neighborhood within walking distance of the Bund, but now lives with her husband and two young sons in an apartment at the northern edge of the Zhabei District, which interestingly is the new Jing'an. Similarly, a social science professor at a top Shanghai university in his 60s, who grew up in old *shikumen* housing in the upper-corner Luwan district of the previous French Concession, now lives in Jiangwan, located at the far edge of the Yangpu district. On the land where the professor's old family house once stood, Xintiandi, the upscale shopping and residential neighborhood can now be found.

Their shared center-to-periphery displacement and resettlement experience reinforces a collective social attachment to Shanghai's urban core, which is the only place recognized by native Shanghainese as authentic *Shanghai* or Shanghai proper. Setha Low and Irwin Altman (1992, p.4) point out that attachment to place includes emotional embeddedness, feelings of esteem and belonging, and is especially important to the cultural self-identification and

integrity of individuals and social groups. Furthermore, this bonding is most salient during times of relocation and societal upheaval (Low and Altman, 1992, p.6). The dispossession of urban central living and its associated symbolic capital is most acutely felt by displaced native Shanghainese, to the degree of threatening their self-identification as authentic Shanghainese. To counter the new futuristic landmarks representing a global non-place, and the rhetoric of global Shanghai imposed on them, well-off native Shanghainese create and defend their version of Shanghai by actively participating in housing self-segregation favoring Puxi, their imagined as well as lived historical place.

### *Housing Self-Segregation*

The preference for housing in Puxi was an indirect result of the citywide displacement of more than one million urban Shanghainese households. The unprecedented shift of urban population to the periphery in the 1990s and 2000s created the urban residential landscape of upscale, gated communities in the urban center, and housing segregation based on individuals' financial means.

Active housing self-segregation is a practice more common among those financially well off. Unlike the involuntary relocation to the outskirts by waves of urban redevelopment projects, urban scholars studying displacement and relocation in Shanghai note that residential relocation towards the inner city is normally voluntary and based on personal choice (He and Wu, 2007, p.191). For those better-off native Shanghainese, the housing preference is without doubt

Puxi; as a function of place-identity, individuals express their tastes and preferences in the built environment which satisfies their affective or aesthetic choices (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983, p.68–9).

This preference indicates the widely recognized symbolic capital embodied in a particular urban place, rather than housing quality or local amenities themselves. An old saying among native Shanghainese still popular in the 2000s captures the extreme of this appeal: “rather a bunk bed in Puxi, than an apartment in Pudong” (*ning yao Puxi yi zhang chuang, bu yao Pudong yi jian fang*.)” This emphasis on housing location is more powerful now that there are upscale residential neighborhoods in Pudong. Then what exactly is the appeal of residence in Puxi among affluent Shanghainese, when the international professionals and national elites could easily find all the amenities of a global city in upscale neighborhoods in Pudong, for which I will elaborate in the next section about non-natives’ preference for Pudong?

Yufeng, who is a native Shanghainese in his late 40s, grew up in Jing’an district in central Puxi and works as a financial director for a Fortune 500 company explained it to me in the 2013 interview:

I don’t like Pudong. There were people asking me why I didn’t move to Pudong since I worked in the waterfront CBD (of Pudong). I just don’t like it! Skyscrapers are all over Pudong, making it not my Shanghai. The reason why I don’t like Pudong is that everything, everywhere is new.

On the surface Yufeng’s critique of the urban landscape of Pudong sounds like a Luddite’s rejection of the ‘new’ and fear of progress; but more essentially, Yufeng

points out the non-place and ahistorical nature of the uniform modern office towers and residential complexes. Proshansky argues that urban place-identity is characterized by the freedom and opportunity for individuals to make environmental choices, for example, place of residence (1978, p.164). In Yufeng's eyes, Pudong lacks the physical and aesthetic setting he deems representing Shanghai's place-identity.

You don't see any trace of Shanghai's local culture [in Pudong]. If you go to Madang Road, or Hengshan Road, you would sense the ambience of Shanghai. Or if you go to Jing'an District, along the Yuyuan Road, you can feel the Shanghai character in the air, right there! Pudong, has what? Merely skyscrapers, all identical!

Both Madang and Hengshan Road are located in the upper-corner, the former French Concession area, which displays the character of the former semi-colonial times in its built environment. The Yuyuan Road neighborhood Yufeng mentioned is located at the heart of the urban center, less than two miles west of the People's Square. Home to the Paramount Ballroom, Jing'an Park, the Jing'an Buddhist Temple, busy shopping streets and sycamore tree-lined upscale residential streets of *shikumen* housing, garden villas and art-deco apartment buildings, it was once one of the fanciest and most fashionable neighborhoods in Puxi.

The charm of the old Yuyuan Road neighborhood lay in its cosmopolitan diversity and its integration of East and the West, old and new, which Yufeng defined as the quintessential place-identity of Shanghai. It is this visually multilayered character, the result of cultural dialogue, negotiation, appropriation

and symbiosis with urban communities that Yufeng did not see in the skyscrapers and luxurious residential high-rises of Pudong. In Timothy Beatley's words, such non-places in Pudong are soul-killing, thus native Shanghainese such as Yufeng yearn for "soul-distinctive places worthy of our loyalty and commitment, places where we feel at home, places that inspire and uplift and stimulate use and provide social and environmental sustenance (2004, p.2-3)." Yufeng, Guorong, and their families are the faces of the hundreds of thousands of Shanghainese displaced from the Jing'an, Luwan, and Huangpu districts that appear in the census data of the area's depopulation. Their nostalgia for a cosmopolitan past imprinted in upper-corner districts, and their pledge of loyalty to Puxi, serves as a reaffirmation of their Shanghainese place-identity. This sense of belonging and attachment rooted in a familiar physical environment can be understood as a sense of continuity to personal identity (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996, p.207) or a sense of pride by association (Lalli, 1992).

Regardless of socioeconomic status, Guorong and his family, who cannot afford to move back to an apartment in their old Jing'an district, or Yufeng and his family who have been able to remain in the urban core in Puxi, the identification of Shanghai's unique place-identity is shared among native Shanghainese. The symbolic capital imbued in the names of the old urban districts and in the remaining few historical neighborhoods allows these native Shanghainese to align their place-identity with that of the 'city,' even though the Puxi today looks nothing like what it was merely two decades ago.

Based on a 2006 survey study on the resettlement community in Pudong, Jennifer Day suggests a good transit link to Puxi would potentially mitigate the displaceds' dissatisfaction because Pudong is considered more modern, but less accessible (2013). However, inaccessibility has more to do with urban core living and its associated Shanghainese place-identity, than with commute to work or for leisure. Much was unsaid or unmeasured in survey research like the above, that my qualitative investigation rectifies.

The identical-looking skyscrapers and residential high rises that Yufeng finds distasteful (see Fig.4 for an example of upscale high-rise condominium in Pudong) is where my two affluent non-native Shanghainese research participants have lived since 2008. The rejection of Pudong is not necessarily a class-based sociospatial hierarchy of urban neighborhoods, such as the upper-/lower- corner division in Puxi for the last century. Rather, it largely segregates the natives and non-natives along the Huangpu River. The natives cling to Puxi, and the non-natives favor the recently urbanized and newly-built Pudong. Close to the CBD by the riverfront in Pudong, there are luxury rentals; more into the heart of Pudong, there are upscale, gated communities such as Lianyang Biyun Community (see Fig.4). Both are worlds beyond the means of the majority of native Shanghainese. As Yujie, the marketing manager at the Siemens Headquarters who was involuntarily relocated from Huangpu district to the northern edge of the Zhabei district as mentioned above, described the housing



choice of a college classmate of hers, who is from Shenyang in northern China, and whose husband is also non-native over our 2013 interview:

The apartment Li Zhuo and her husband recently bought is of more than RMB 50,000 yuan per square meter (approx. \$800/ft<sup>2</sup>). It is in the high-end Lianyang Community. There are also quite a few foreign expats living there. The first choice for elites!

Considering that the annual household disposable income in the year of the study (2013) is reportedly RMB 43,851 yuan, according to the Shanghai Statistics Bureau, which is less than the price of one square meter in that housing complex, Yujie certainly gave a vivid depiction of the disparity between the city's new non-native elites and the mass.

In the follow-up research in 2017 on non-native Shanghainese' housing preference, I travelled to the Lianyang Biyun Community in central Pudong and interviewed Li Zhuo and her neighbor M. Both of them had lived in Puxi before purchasing their current apartments. When asked the reason to relocate to Pudong nearly ten years ago, their responses focused on comfort and practicality.

Figure 4 about here

M, in her late 40s and originally from the inland Hunan province, once lived in a luxury condominium with her husband and young daughter in the former French Concession on Sinan Road, explained the move to me over the lunch that the three of us had together in an upscale restaurant within the gated housing complex in the summer of 2017:

We didn't like the Sinan neighborhood much, too many familiar faces from work lived in the neighborhood, foreigners, and my husband's clients, etc... He wanted to keep some distance between work and life, so Pudong became a good choice. It was a brand-new development in 2008. We got a much spacious unit than the one in Sinan. When we moved [to the Phase I building of this complex], there was nothing here, the land on which Phase II and III buildings stand that you see now were just farmland.

Li Zhuo in her late 30s, felt even more removed from Puxi:

Now I live here [in Pudong], I rarely go to Puxi, a few times a year... MAX. Very segregated... Pudong has mostly non-native Shanghainese... The streets are broad and neighborhoods have well-landscaped greenery. Driving in Puxi would make you crazy, those narrow old streets!

The size of the apartment and amenities explained their housing location choices, and neither of them mentioned the charm or unique identity of Puxi neighborhoods. Newly built condominiums and well-landscaped greeneries of the gated community, broad and car-friendly streets built on Pudong's previous farmland, and a community of fellow non-natives drew Li Zhou's and M's families to Pudong. As observed by Greenspan, Pudong has wholeheartedly embraced the car-based urban culture and modern urbanism (2014, p.5). It aligns perfectly with its non-native Shanghainese residents such as Li Zhuo.

As Duyvendak points out about the migrants' initial lack of attachment to their new surroundings in his comparative study about the United States and the Netherland, that newcomers "are not acquainted with the particularities of the places they have come to live in, and are not necessarily interested in them for

they do not help them feel at home (2011, p.31).” The layered local history and their representations in the built environment in Puxi do not necessarily interest non-natives such as Li Zhou or M, who are happy to construct their Shanghai associated place-identity with the upscale neighborhood in the clean-slate Pudong. Conversely, their responses further proved the accumulation process of the formation of place-identity between individuals and built environment. Thus, native Shanghainese such as those in my study had something embodied and ingrained ripped out of them by the displacement from upper-corner Puxi.

The distinction between Puxi and Pudong is no longer an urban/rural divide, as it was before the 1990s, or merely a class-based preference; rather it has a deeper and richer connotation. When my native Shanghainese interviewees mentioned that Pudong does not look like Shanghai and refused to recognize Pudong as part of their Shanghai, they meant that Pudong does not share the Shanghai place-identity that was associated with Puxi’s urban history. The latter is regarded by native Shanghainese as authentic, which “refers to the look and feel of a place as well as the social connectedness that place inspires” (Zukin, 2010, p.220). By rejecting the uniformity of skyscrapers, broad streets, and pedestrian-unfriendly super blocks in Pudong, native Shanghainese like Yufeng strengthen their connection with the historical Puxi, align their Shanghainese place-identity with the physical environment, and articulate their resistance to the top-down global city building process. In this regard, taking up residence in Pudong simply out of practicality, such as commutes or modern

amenities, has no appeal for Yufeng, or many other native Shanghainese who have the financial means to choose.

Global influence filtered through the authoritarian state has shaped the new landscape in Shanghai, in contrast to the direct creation and expansion of urban Shanghai a century ago by imperialist powers. Alas, the Old Shanghai has always been imagined and mediated, instead of directly experienced for the generation under study. Yufeng, Guorong, Weiyun and similarly minded native Shanghainese's attitudes and practices are essentially directed against the central state's top-down developmental policies, instead of the fabricated images and spectacles representing globalization, or global capitals transforming the urban space, as Weiyun's opinion that "China today doesn't appreciate diversity" sustains. By "China" what she meant was not ordinary Chinese citizens like herself, but the central state's vision and policies.

The juxtaposition of the old and the new, the imprints of colonization of the past and globalization in current times, represented by the geographical opposition between the west and east banks of the Huangpu River. The Bund on the west bank, the epitome of early 20th century cosmopolitan Shanghai, is situated directly across from the recently erected spectacles at the waterfront CBD on the east bank. Along the two banks of the Huangpu River, competing images of Shanghai, developed a century apart, are both spectacles telling the story of East-meets-West, as well as the architectural representations of power. Though both are open and free for everyone to view, they are appreciated and

appropriated by and for different audiences. Using place-identity bound with urban spaces at different scales, from vanished *shikumen* neighborhoods, to reconfigured administrative districts, to the century-old upper-/lower-corner divide, and lastly to the definition of the city of Shanghai, native Shanghainese try to claim their right to the 'city,' in ways of making sense of who they are as Shanghainese.

## **Conclusion**

Departing from investigations on the emotional consequences of displacement during urban renewal in the United States, as well as studies on urban political economy during Shanghai's urban redevelopment in the last three decades, I recruited research participants originally from different upper-corner neighborhoods in urban central Shanghai, and delved into their opinions on the transformation of the urban built environment. Studies on gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods often employ geographers Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey's notion of right to the city, to discuss meanings of community and housing rights in specific urban neighborhoods, and then extrapolate arguments to citywide scale. To avoid such generalization, I focus on the attachment and right-claiming to urban space of different scales, neighborhood, districts, and the city of Shanghai itself.

Responses from my native Shanghainese participants are twofold. Firstly, they denounced recently built architectural spectacles and refused to accept

them as symbols of Shanghai. Landmarks such as the Oriental TV Tower, the Shanghai World Financial Center, and the Shanghai Tower which is the second tallest building in the world at the time of writing, are symbols built to represent a world-class city. These are now the symbols of Shanghai shown on postcards, domestic and Western TV news, Hollywood movies such as *Skyfall*, *Mission Impossible 3*, videogames such as *Battlefield 4 China Rising*, and glossy travel magazines. These buildings' quick construction in Shanghai under authoritarian China's economic reform era is a true representation of what Guy Gebord (1983, #24) characterizes as spectacles, that they are "self-portraits of power in the epoch of its totalitarian management of the conditions of existence." They are images for the nation, and the world to consume (Zukin, 1995, p.8). The more those urban spectacles are staged for the world by the state, and symbolize the global place-identity, the less they are associated with local Shanghainese's sense of home and Shanghainese place-identity.

Adhere to Doreen Massey's suggestion that "to think of places, not as areas on maps, but as constantly shifting articulations of social relations through time; and to think of particular attempts to characterize them as attempts to define, and claim coherence and a particular meaning for, specific envelopes of space-time (1995, p.188)" and I will add, for particular social groups. This rejection of architectural spectacles among local Shanghainese focuses on Pudong, where the transformation of the landscape is most salient. Pudong was essentially just farmland before 1992, when Puxi was the de facto and de jure

center of urban Shanghai. Even today, in the mind of millions of native Shanghainese, Pudong is not part of the physical environment comprising Shanghai's urban place-identity. It is this cognitive dissonance that informs the second strategy of native Shanghainese to draw their own boundaries of the city of Shanghai, to align their Shanghainese place-identity with the physical environment they recognize as Shanghai proper. For those with financial means to pick their residential neighborhoods, they actively participate in housing segregation by favoring Puxi. It is where the quintessential "Paris of the Orient" was located. For affluent non-native Shanghainese, without decades of embodying and cultivating the Shanghainese place-identity, Pudong appears to be an ideal home.

This paper provides a much-needed ground-up understanding of Shanghainese displacees' perceptions of urban Shanghai after resettlement. Their alternative definition of the city of Shanghai, and their attachment to a particular physical environment to articulate their place-identity, should be understood as weapons of the politically and culturally weak. Through these strategies, the displaced and disoriented native Shanghainese have constructed a counter version of the global Shanghai and its new global place-identity. To anchor their Shanghainese place-identity elsewhere is an assertion of their right to the "city," against the uniformity and undemocratic building of China's global city. Considering China's economic achievement in the last four decades serves as inspiration for developing countries, and the so-called China's Model of

economic development without corresponding democratic reforms is spreading through the Road and Belt Initiative, this study on the aftermath of urban transformation in Shanghai would be a useful parallel for future studies on global cities in the developing world.

### **Footnote**

[1]. Given the migrant city nature of Shanghai, there is hardly anyone living in urban districts who can be called a native. For the purposes of this paper, I regard those born and raised in Shanghai, with both a Shanghai household registration status and Shanghai dialect as their mother tongue as natives, while internal migrants who settled in Shanghai after the loosening of the household registration system in the early 1990s and do not speak the Shanghai dialect as their mother tongue are considered non-natives, regardless of their household registration status.

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Figure 1. De Qing Li on Maoming Bei Road. Photo by author in May, 2017.

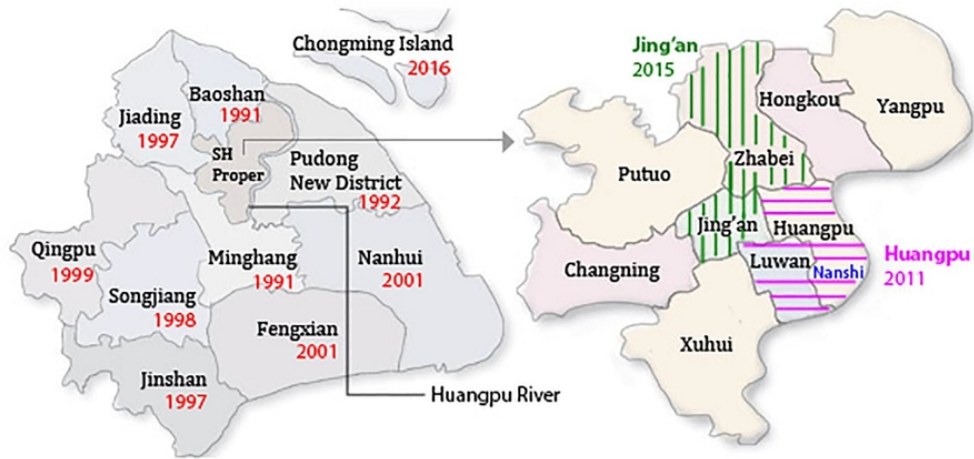


Figure 2. District Map of Shanghai, 2010. Illustration based on the official map of Shanghai, and modified with changes of municipal jurisdiction data by the author.

76x36mm (300 x 300 DPI)



Shanghai (Urban) Districts	1990 Census Unit: 10k	2000 Census, Unit: 10k	2010 Census Unit: 10k	Population change in percentage (1990-2010)	2017 Statistical Yearbook Unit: 10K
Municipal Shanghai	1334.19	1640.77	2301.92	72.53%	2419.7
<b>Huangpu</b>	<b>73.32</b>	<b>66.18</b>	<b>42.97</b>	<b>-72.44%</b>	<b>65.62</b>
<b>Nanshi</b>	<b>82.6</b>	<b>43.5</b>			
<b>Luwan</b>	<b>47.58</b>	<b>35.59</b>	<b>24.87</b>	<b>-47.73%</b>	
<b>Jing'an</b>	<b>48.66</b>	<b>35.8</b>	<b>24.67</b>	<b>-49.30%</b>	<b>106.78</b>
Zhabei	71.29	70.83	83.04	16.48%	
Xuhui	77.66	86.77	108.52	39.74%	108.56
Changning	58.54	60.49	69.06	17.97%	68.87
Putuo	79.62	84.27	128.88	61.87%	128.23
Hongkou	87.97	80.36	85.23	-3.11%	80.5
Yangpu	112.44	107.95	131.3	16.77%	130.94
<b>Minghang</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>65.4</b>	<b>243.12</b>	<b>1429.06%</b>	<b>253.98</b>
Baoshan	65.9	80.95	190.56	<b>189.17%</b>	203.05
Jiading	53.7	48.64	147.2	<b>174.12%</b>	157.96
Jinshan	55.4	53.01	73.25	<b>32.22%</b>	80.51
Songjiang	51.2	49.55	158.34	<b>209.26%</b>	176.48
Qingpu	46.2	45.89	108.19	<b>134.18%</b>	121.49
Fengxian	52.7	50.42	108.41	<b>105.71%</b>	116.74
<b>Pudong New District</b>		<b>165.14</b>	<b>504.73</b>	<b>115.54%</b>	<b>550.1</b>
<b>Nanhui</b>	<b>70.6</b>	<b>69.03</b>			
Chongming Island	73.6	65.36	70.34	-4.43%	69.89

Population Change in Percentage (1990-2016)	
81.36%	
<b>-67.75%</b>	
<b>-10.98%</b>	
39.79%	
17.65%	
61.05%	
-8.49%	
16.45%	
<b>1497.36%</b>	
<b>208.12%</b>	
<b>194.15%</b>	
<b>45.32%</b>	
<b>244.69%</b>	
<b>162.97%</b>	
<b>121.52%</b>	
<b>134.91%</b>	
-5.04%	



Figure 3 View of Lujiazui, Pudong, taken from M on the Bund restaurant by author in October, 2013.



Figure 4 Lianyang Biyun Community in Pudong. Photo by author in June,2017.