

The Adaptation Of Ideas In Urban Development
Case Study: Expo 2010, Shanghai, P.R. China

MATTHEW SKOGSTAD-STUBBS

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Department of Globalization and International Development
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ottawa

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LEGEND

ADB – Asia Development Bank

BCBC – Bilateral China Business Council

BIE – Bureau International des Exhibitions

CBBC – China-Britain Business Council

CBC – China Business Council

CCP – Chinese Communist Party

Expo (2010) – World Exposition 2010, Shanghai

FDI – Foreign Direct Investment

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

P.R.C. – People Republic of China

Pudong – Pudong New Area

SMG – Shanghai Municipal Government

Steering Committee – Steering Committee of Commissioners General, Expo 2010, Shanghai

UBPA – Urban Best Practice Area

USCBC – United States-China Business Council

WB – World Bank

ABSTRACT

This thesis begins with the hypothesis that the role of ideas in urban and global development is understudied and understated in comparison to studies that privilege economic and political analyses. The thesis generates two related models that seek to provide a comprehensive means of analyzing both the political economic constraints of development as well as the ideational limits that are overlooked by conventional models.

The political economic model adapts constructivist principles to explain the structural limits on urban development that emerge from the contemporary global political economy. The second model draws on previous work done in the field of policy diffusion to posit four relational ways in which ideas are adapted and localized. The thesis argues that political economy analyses provide a comprehensive but mostly macro-level analysis and often fail to adequately understand individual thinking outside of the rational actor model. The ideational adaptation model corrects for this, providing a detailed micro-level analysis that is founded on the political economic framework. Together, the two models provide a comprehensive understanding of the ideational limits and political economic constraints at work in any given development scenario.

In order to demonstrate the utility of the combined models (termed combined conceptual approach), the thesis applies the models to four different applications. Three examples are historical secondary source examples (educational philosophy, international business councils, and water sanitation) related to the history of Shanghai and China, and the impact of foreigners on their development vision, strategies, and practice. One application is

a case study of Shanghai's Expo 2010, which uses original data established through high-level interviews with Expo participants.

The use of the combined conceptual approach shows how the interpersonal and inter-institutional adaptation and localization of ideas affect the way we understand the concept of legitimate best practice in urban development. The combined conceptual approach highlights the role that human thought, emotions, and psychology play in urban development. It links political economic activity to constructed bonds of trust, learning, the mentality of competition, and soft forms of coercive power (hegemonic ideas, leadership, and conditionality). Finally, the most important contribution of the combined conceptual approach is that it allows for an analysis of both the macro- and micro-levels of development in a relational and holistic fashion.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse commence par l'hypothèse que le rôle des idées dans le développement urbain et global est sous étudié en comparaison avec les analyses économiques et politiques. La thèse génère deux modèles liés qui cherchent à créer une analyse qui respecte à la fois les contraintes politiques économiques du développement ainsi que les limites de la pensée qui sont souvent négligés par les modèles classiques.

Le modèle politique et économique sert à expliquer les limites structurelles du développement urbain qui émergent de l'économie politique contemporaine mondiale. Le modèle de l'adaptation des idées s'appuie sur des travaux antérieurs réalisés dans le domaine de la diffusion de la politique et sert à expliquer comment les idées de meilleures pratiques dans le développement urbain sont adaptées et localisés.

La thèse soutient que le modèle d'économie politique fournit une analyse qui est surtout au niveau macro, et souvent ne permet pas à bien comprendre la pensée individuelle en dehors du modèle de l'acteur rationnel. Le modèle de l'adaptation des idées corrige pour cela en fournissant une analyse détaillée au niveau micro qui se fonde sur le cadre politique économique. Ensemble, les deux modèles offrent une compréhension globale des limites idéelles et politiques des contraintes économiques à l'œuvre dans tous les scénarios de développement donné.

Afin de démontrer l'utilité des modèles combinés (appelé approche conceptuelle combinée), la thèse applique les modèles à quatre applications différentes. Trois exemples sont historiques exemples source secondaire (la philosophie éducative, les conseils d'affaires internationaux, et à l'assainissement de l'eau) et sont liés à l'impact des étrangers sur l'histoire de Shanghai et de la Chine et la manière dont les idées étrangers sont adoptées et

adaptées par les Chinois en terme de la vision, les stratégies, et les techniques de développement urbain. La dernière application est une étude de cas de Shanghai Expo 2010, qui utilise des données originales établies par le biais de haut niveau entretiens avec les participants Expo.

L'approche combinée conceptuelle met en évidence le rôle que la pensée humaine, les émotions et la psychologie jouer dans le développement urbain. Il liens les activité de la politique économique aux obligations émotionnelle et humaine de la confiance, l'apprentissage, la mentalité de la concurrence, et les formes douces du pouvoir coercitif (idées hégémoniques, le leadership et la conditionnalité). Enfin, la contribution la plus importante de l'approche combinée conceptuel est qu'il permet une analyse à la fois macro-et micro-niveaux de développement de manière relationnelle et holistique.

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INTRODUCTION

a. Context of Research

This thesis begins with the hypothesis that the role of ideas in urban and global development is understudied and understated in comparison to studies that privilege economic and political analyses. The thesis generates two related models that seek to provide a comprehensive means of analyzing both the political economic constraints of development as well as the ideational limits that are overlooked by conventional models.

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The ongoing relationship between Shanghai and the international community has created bonds that go far beyond the political and economic and into how decision makers conceptualize best practice in the areas of urban and global development. For instance, policy as obviously Chinese in origin as the Pudong Development Zone, as Kris Olds showed in his 1997 article, was an international effort at every level, but most obviously at the level of ideas (Olds, 1997). China's experiment with market reforms also represents an adaptation of ideas on the theory of market economic activity between China and the West.

b. Hypothesis

This thesis seeks to contribute to urban development by looking beyond the narrow depiction of Shanghai's growth as a struggle between global capital and local state power. The central hypothesis of this thesis is that the incredible success of Shanghai's urban

development owes a debt to an ongoing adaptation of ideas between the local (Shanghai) and international communities about what constitutes best practice in the fields of urban and global development. This adaptation of ideas, which occurs in its most influential form at the apex of the world's political, academic, institutional, and corporate leaders, has affected how Shanghai understands and applies best practice in urban development. This recognition requires us to rethink our assumptions about and understandings of the factors that affect how huge urban metropoli like Shanghai choose to develop.

c. Research Objectives

As such, the fundamental question that drives this thesis is how the vision of a desirable future city, held by the political and economic elite, can be seen as a foundational impetus for the subsequent economic and political activity that drives forward urban development. Rather than investigate urban development in its architectural, geographic, economic or political sense, this thesis is interested in how the adaptation of ideas among an urban and national elite affects the way that best practice is legitimized in each of these fields of urban development.

d. Methodology and Structure: Two Relational Conceptual Models

The thesis begins by generating two models on which the rest of the thesis will draw. The first model adapts constructivist principles to explain the structural limits on urban development that emerge from the contemporary global political economy. Four relational and limiting factors are discussed: 1) the structural constraints of a state-sponsored market economy, 2) the context of economic globalization, 3) massive and global inequalities of

power and agency, and 4) the physical environment of the built and material world. To explore the political economic model, the paper will apply its conceptual framework to Shanghai's last two decades of urban development since 1990, analyzing Shanghai's contemporary development, its pursuit of global city formation, and the means by which Shanghai has sought to achieve that goal.

The second model is that of ideational adaptation. By drawing on previous work done in the field of policy diffusion, it will posit four different schools of thinking in this domain: constructivism, competition, coercion, and learning theory. It will investigate the strengths and weaknesses of these four schools, and show how their combined application generates a much richer explanation of the development of best practice ideas than any one school could accomplish on its own. This paper argues that in order to properly understand Shanghai's urban development, there must be a recognition of the ideational impact that corporate leaders, urban experts, academics, politicians, and other high-level advisors to Shanghai have had on the vision, strategies, and assumptions that have helped fuel this city's meteoric rise over the past twenty years.

The core idea behind the use of these models in combination is that without a concrete vision for an urban form, without an idea that impels people to work towards a common urban environment, neither capital nor governance can be employed towards efficient and useful ends.

Together, these two related conceptual frameworks form the conceptual and contextual level of analysis that inform the rest of the thesis. The analysis of Shanghai's urban development, in Chapter II, serves as a bridge between this conceptual and contextual level of analysis, and the following two levels of analysis which then apply the conceptual

frameworks in combination. The analysis of Shanghai's urban development also highlights the rationale for using a combined conceptual approach, further integrating the thesis by providing an initial exploration of the conceptual models and their combination.

e. Methodology and Structure: Application of the Combined Conceptual Models to Three Examples and a Case Study

To elucidate the importance of the Adaptation of ideas on Shanghai's development, the paper will analyze a series of three historical examples and one case study, each focusing on different domains of urban and global development. The historical examples form the first level of analysis for the combined conceptual models. The first example examines how the educational philosophy of John Dewey, as well as the revolutionary philosophies of the European and American revolutions, influenced Chinese society following its integration into the international community following the Opium War. The second example explores the links between international business and the Chinese governance system by investigating the activity of international and bilateral lobbying groups (China Business Councils) in China's local political and economic affairs. The third example explores the field of water purification and management in Shanghai's Suzhou Creek. It unearths the means by which international organizations and the international scientific community helped generate best practice in water sanitation in Shanghai.

The thesis then reviews the 2010 World Exposition, held in Shanghai (Expo 2010; Expo; Expo 2010, Shanghai) between May 1 and October 31. This case study looks at the history of the event, and places Expo within both the political economic and ideational

adaptation models. The study utilizes key informant interviews with the Commissioners General and Pavilion Directors of some of the most important pavilions at Expo.

f. Conclusions

The four different applications of the combined conceptual frameworks to China's long-term development, and especially Shanghai's urban development, demonstrate three key features of urban and global development. First, they demonstrate that ideas emerge from a specific political economic context, and that these ideas involve the interaction of the state, powerful political and economic agents, and pre-existing environmental factors that limit the possible outcomes of any given development scenario. Second, the examples provide a detailed depiction of how international ideas become applied in different and distinct political economic and ideational environments. Finally, the cases show the variety of ways by which new ideas about development acquire legitimacy, become best practice, and are applied to generate new political economic and ideational constraints for the following generation of development decision maker.

CHAPTER I

1.1 Historical Context

Shanghai was a unique and highly regarded Chinese city prior to the Opium War (1839-1842). Denison and Ren (2006, p.18) write that “the foreigner did not transform a ... ‘swamp’ into a magnificent city through self-ordained civilizing brilliance, but invaded the gateway to China and exploited a well-established mercantile community by exposing it to international trade” (Denison and Ren, 2006, p.18). The Opium War introduced an era of foreign-funded and foreign-dominated international trade throughout China, with important effects on Shanghai because it became, under the Treaty of Nanjing (29 August, 1842), one of five Chinese port cities open to international trade and settlement.

As a result of the Opium War, the Treaty of Nanjing, and Shanghai's newfound importance in international trade, the city quickly became the premier financial and trading centre in East Asia. In the 1920s, Shanghai was contributing one fifth of China's GDP (Cao et al., 2000) and when the Communists took power in 1949 it was the largest metropolis in all of East Asia (Denison and Ren, 2006).

Since 1842, the urban landscape of Shanghai has been reshaped by a number of conflicts as well as the development ethos of particular eras. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, constant conflicts between foreigners and local Chinese influenced the urban development of the international concessions. Later, the invasion of China by Japan during the Second World War, and the Cultural Revolution under Mao Zedong further changed the urban form of Shanghai. The structure of Puxi, for instance, which is still dominated by

narrow, easily defensible streets, the lack of a grid structure in the city's core, and a stark contrast in the styles and size of housing, is testament to the socio-economic tensions and inequality of the colonial era. It is also a reflection of a definite notion on the part of European and Chinese planners and architects of how a city should look, feel, and operate.

1.2 Shanghai's International History – 1842-1949

1.2.1 The impact of internationalization on Shanghai's cultural landscape

During the era of Shanghai's international settlement, colonization, and commerce, Shanghai's international community was concentrated in the Bund and in the international settlements. Because of its status as a treaty port, the Bund and the docks of the Huangpu river were a hub of international activity. Shanghai's port and in particular the historic Bund area were a focal point of trade and business among foreign merchants, traders and financiers. To this day, the colonial style of the Bund is a pivotal landmark for Shanghai, as much for its prize location on the banks of the Huangpu as for the symbolism it still evokes of Shanghai's glorious financial and commercial past. As recently as 2010, the Shanghai Municipal Government reaffirmed its commitment to ensuring that the Bund continues to evoke in visitors and citizens alike a memory of Shanghai's once internationally dominant commercial and financial status. For Expo 2010, the entire Bund area underwent massive renovations, which have seen the boardwalk extended into the Huangpu and revitalized using environmentally conscious planning and architecture.

The various international concessions that were located along the Huangpu River and its estuaries were also important hubs of culture and architectural innovation, many showing mixing of international styles from America to Europe and Japan, as well as a mix of foreign

styles with those of the Chinese. Achbar Abbas, in a comparative study of Hong Kong and Shanghai's cosmopolitan histories notes the way in which "Tudor-style villas" and "Spanish-style townhouses" were built next to "Shanghai-style lanehouses or Li Long housing complexes." These Chinese-style constructions, notes Abbas, were themselves "built by foreign architects with their preconceptions of what vernacular housing should look like" (Abbas, 2000, pp.774).

In this mix of cultures, styles, traditions and ways of thinking about the world, the cosmopolitanism of the international settlement of Shanghai turned the city into what J.G. Ballard called an "electric and lurid city more exciting than any other in the world" (Ballard, 1985). The creation of new forms of space, new styles of construction, new ways of experiencing existence also arguably introduced the Chinese to new and novel ways of thinking about their city and their country. Cinemas, parks, cafes and horsetrack racing were all introduced to Shanghai during the colonial period, allowing the foreign elite to continue to live as they were accustomed, but also allowing the Chinese to appropriate the elements of the ideas and culture from the international community. We could thus understand that the impact of the international presence in colonial Shanghai was not merely one of cultural domination or economic gain from forced occupation. Rather, because of tangible impact of their presence, the foreign community in Shanghai allowed their culture and customs to become open to appropriation by the Chinese.

1.2.2 Shanghai and Hong Kong – Chinese Treaty Ports in Comparison

As Shanghai's capitalism fell to the groundswell of communist and anti-capitalist sentiment in the early and mid-1940s, Shanghai's elite fled to places that offered them more

security. Many of the Nationalists found haven in Taiwan, while others, with ties to the former colonial nations whose citizens had populated Shanghai during the years of international settlement, fled to Hong Kong. The rise of Hong Kong was dependent on Shanghai's shift to Communism, benefiting from its human and financial resources to build a new international port city, dominated by global trade and finance. It's at this level of similarity that Shanghai and Hong Kong begin to diverge (Abbas, 2000).

While both cities share a history, as well as contemporary standing as two of the most important trading, commercial, and financial ports in all of Asia, their political and colonial histories set them very starkly apart at the local level. Whereas both Shanghai and even Singapore (another city with similar superficial features) share a history of colonial struggle for independence from international rule, Hong Kong's submission to the British continued without any serious contention to the rule of the Crown up until 1997. Moreover, Shanghai's historic role within the geographic and political structure of the Chinese system has given it advantages and obligations that Hong Kong never faced until their commercial integration with Guangdong. Even at that stage, Hong Kong was never subject to the same political and cultural pressures that were impressed on Shanghai's governing elite throughout the colonial period, the Communist period, and up until the present day.

Shanghai and Hong Kong are intertwined neither by the fact of their international status nor by their colonial rule, but rather by the international cosmopolitanism that disrupted and displaced the historical tastes, customs, artistic styles and architectural traditions of the two cities. What unites Shanghai and Hong Kong, and indeed a great many other cities throughout the third world that were subjected to the foreign domination of their countries by colonization, is that they were introduced to new ways of thinking and doing.

Each city absorbed and assimilated certain elements of foreign culture while ignoring certain others. The process of colonial settlement thus involved an important degree of culture renewal on the part of those being colonized. Informed by the new and novel things they were being introduced to by their oppressors, the Shanghainese and the citizens of Hong Kong re-imagined themselves and their city, each in a different way, but each influenced by the culture and styles of the international community that lived amongst them.

1.3 Shanghai Since 1949

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) defeated the Nationalist Party of China in 1949, with one of the important final battles occurring in Shanghai. The defeat of the Nationalists in Shanghai began a phase of international isolation in the history of China during which foreigners and wealthy Chinese fled the city. Shortly after their capture of Shanghai, the CCP began to appropriate property across the city on the grounds that they were collecting collateral against outstanding debts. The urban landscape of the city was transformed at once by the forced relocation of citizens; the rapid, poor, and widespread construction of mass housing for the proletariat; and by the relocation of manufacturing, which moved inland and into the city's core because the CCP felt that the Cold War could lead to an attack on the Eastern seaboard (Denison & Ren, 2006).

The Chinese political climate privileged a Communist social, economic and political philosophy in the years following the end of the civil war in 1949. The resulting policies, which prioritized local manufacturing, socio-economic equality, and full employment, reflected prevailing communist ideas about economic and political best practice, such as the *danwei* system (or work commune system). It also led to an entirely new urban strategy and

spatial structure for major urban centres like Shanghai, which were transformed by the predominant best practice norms for economic and social development of the time (Wu, 2002).

During the economic reforms of 1978 to 1989, Shanghai arguably never really reached its full potential, held back by high rates of pollution, high population density, and a lack of adequate infrastructure among other conditions (Cao et al., 2000). At the same time, Shanghai's history during the Maoist years meant that it had a poor reputation and troubled connections with the central government in Beijing. It was therefore denied the opportunity to become a 'Special Economic Zone' (SEZ) as Shenzhen did, despite its continued economic strength and a direct request from Shanghai's mayor, Wang Daohan, to develop Pudong during his term (1981-1984).

It wasn't until Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour¹, and the subsequent rise to national power of a group of former Shanghai leaders in the late 1980s that the city retook its former place at the heart of the Chinese economic system. These two leaders, Jiang Zemin (Mayor of Shanghai, 1985-1988, and Secretary to the Chinese Communist Party for Shanghai, 1987-1989)² and Zhu Rongji (who succeeded Jiang as Mayor of Shanghai from 1989-1991)³, allowed Shanghai to reclaim its role at the centre of China's growing economy.

1.4 Pudong New Area and the Rebirth of Shanghai

It is in the early 1990s that a new Shanghai emerges under a new national leadership. The city of Shanghai begins to reform itself, most importantly, by developing the area east

¹ Deng Xiaoping visited the Pearl River Delta in spring 1992, finishing his tour in Shanghai where he petitioned for Shanghai to develop on the same development zone model that the south had used in its phenomenal growth. This arguably paved the way for Pudong's emergence onto the national stage and for a renewed openness to foreign capital in all of China

² General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (1989-2002) and President of the People's Republic of China (1993-2003).

³ Premier of the People's Republic of China (1998-2003) and First Vice Premier of the People's Republic of China (1993-1998).

of the Huangpu River known as Pudong (see Figure 1.1). Pudong New Area, which translates literally as east (*dong*) of the Huangpu (*pu* as an abbreviation of Huangpu) is rapidly developed into four themed development zones (finance, trading, logistics and hi-tech) comparable to those that then existed in Southern China (Olds, 1997; Wu, 2003). This major action on the part of the state is an early indication of the important role the CCP and the Shanghai Municipal Government (SMG) would continue to play in Shanghai's pursuit of reclaiming its international city status.

Figure 1.1 shows a map of downtown Shanghai. The body of water that runs north-south, cutting the city in two, is the Huangpu River. The top of the map denotes North, placing Puxi on the West (left) side of the city, and Pudong on the East. There are three ring roads that surround the central part of the city. These highways are delineated on the map in three different colors: dark red for the inner ring road which most tightly circles the city's core, pink for the middle ring road, and green for the outer ring road. Before 1990, the entire region to the East of the Huangpu (Pudong) was disconnected from the Puxi side because of a lack of accessible transportation across the river. The Puxi side, and in particular the sections of the city's core that are circumscribed by the inner ring road, represent most of the area developed by foreign powers during the era of international settlement. This area is the historic locus of finance and trade in Shanghai. The map, which was created in 2008, shows quite clearly the extent of Pudong's integration into Puxi, as well as the substantial development it has undergone since 1990.

FIGURE 1.1
MAP OF DOWNTOWN SHANGHAI



Source: Howard Johnson

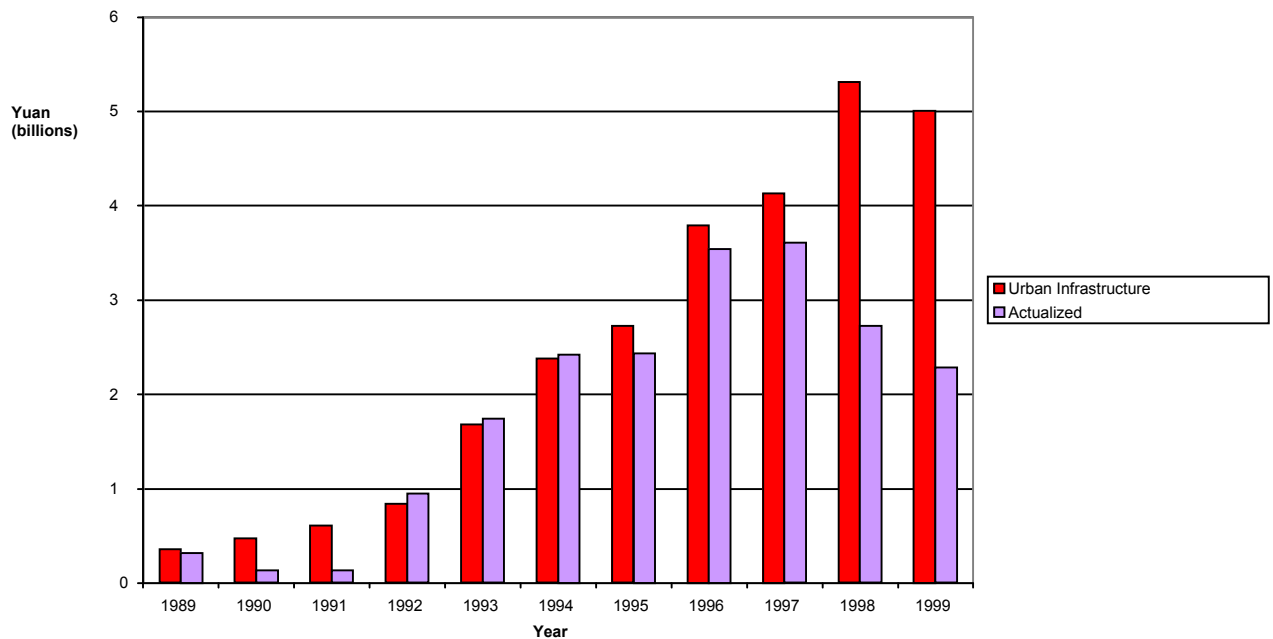
The central and municipal governments invested heavily in the development of Pudong, both discursively (Wu, 1998) and financially. In addition, Pudong New Area also received funding from the World Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and revenue generated by leasing land in Puxi (Wu, 2006). Land leasing, above all other sources of investment, was a testament to the successful urban entrepreneurialism of the SMG. According to available data, Shanghai raised as much as 100 billion RMB through land leasing between 1992 and 1998, the most important years of its leasing scheme (Wu, 2000).⁴

Figure 1.2 shows the impact of Pudong New Area, initiated in 1990, on the influx of FDI into Shanghai. Of note, however, is that as FDI declined through the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, Shanghai's leadership actually increased its investment in urban infrastructure. Figure 1.2 highlights the success of the city and the country in generating local funds for development through land leasing and taxes when foreign funds dried up. It

⁴ However, we may never actually know the real revenue attributed to land leasing, as the data is “so sensitive that local governments tried to disguise the actual figure” (Wu, 2003, p.62).

also shows that funds generated through land leasing and other avenues were heavily reinvested into urban infrastructure projects, allowing for further rounds of land leasing and preparing the logistical foundations for Shanghai's economic development.

FIGURE 1.2
URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT
AND ACTUALIZED FDI IN SHANGHAI 1989-1998



Source: Shanghai Statistical Yearbook, 1997
 From: Wu (2003)

Since the first planning stages, Pudong's Lujiazui Financial District was conceived as an extension of the central business district of Puxi, with the landmark Oriental Pearl TV Tower finishing construction in 1997 right across the river from Shanghai's historic financial centre, the Bund (see figure 1.3). Very quickly after 1990, the city moved forward on the construction of Metro Line 1 in 1994, linking north and south Puxi⁵, and finished Line 2 linking Puxi to Pudong in 1999. Line 2 was completed at the same time that Lujiazui, the

⁵ Finished in 1995

financial themed development zone in Pudong, was starting to really take the shape we see today. Pudong's development was managed in order to quickly and explicitly integrate its activities into central Puxi through the construction of the inner ring road in 1994, as well as four bridges, three of which had been completed by 1996⁶ (Olds, 1997; Wu, 1998; Marton & Wu, 2006). Today, the links between Puxi and Pudong are extensive, allowing Pudong New Area to properly fulfill its function as a viable extension to the city's historic core. Figure 1.4 shows Shanghai's subway map as of 2010, with the Huangpu in light blue.

FIGURE 1.3
MAP OF LUJIAZUI (PUDONG NEW AREA) AND THE BUND (PUXI)



Source: Ramada Inn, Pudong

⁶ Nanpu Bridge (1991), the Yangpu Bridge (1993) and the Xupu Bridge (1996)

Alongside the growth of Pudong and the rapid development of the tertiary sector, the re-invention of Shanghai since 1990 has also seen a concerted push by the SMG to redevelop Puxi. Since 1990 the SMG has helped engineer the creation of entirely new high-end neighbourhoods on the Puxi side of the Huangpu River. Moreover, commercial areas such as Xintiandi and the numerous ‘Times Square’s in Shanghai, are prime examples of commercial and residential redevelopment amenable to the growing local and prevailing foreign upper-middle class (He, 2007; Wang & Lau, 2008).

It is from this historical context that most contemporary analyses of Shanghai’s urban development have been drawn. The resulting focus has rightly been on uncovering how the various strategies pursued by the local and national governments, as well as the financial and commercial impact of international involvement, have been combined to successfully trigger the incredible prosperity that Shanghai has seen over the last two decades. This thesis supports these conclusions, which have been well documented and confirmed by the majority of academic study on urban growth in the city of Shanghai. At the same time, it will add another layer of academic investigation to this analysis, namely that of the role of ideas. In particular, this thesis will investigate the various ways by which international ideas about development have been adopted and adapted in Shanghai and in China, and it will seek to shed light on some of the implications of the localization of these international ideas about urban best practice.

CHAPTER II

A CONCEPTUAL POLITICAL ECONOMIC MODEL FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction: Urban Development in Shanghai from 1990-2010

There is a general consensus throughout the academic literature that the development of Shanghai was the result of two prevailing forces: local political power and economic globalization. Since 2000, economic studies of Shanghai have emphasized the importance of economic liberalization and the huge sums of foreign direct investment (FDI) into Shanghai, claiming these as the core impetuses for the city's incredible growth (Wei & Leung, 2005). The Shanghai Municipal Government (SMG), for its part, is argued to have successfully harnessed the volatile forces of international capital and international corporate activity in Shanghai through its “local entrepreneurship.” The basic consensus for this analysis is that “global forces” have been “conditioned by indigenous political economic change” in a “dialectical” process of “global-local” interaction (Wu, 2003).

Victoria Wu, in one of the earliest studies of Shanghai's Pudong New Area, stresses the interrelationship of economic and political power (V. Wu, 1998). She writes that the development of Shanghai and the Pudong New Area from 1990 onwards owes as much to the “strong central support” of the Communist Party of China (CCP) as to the FDI that enabled and propelled its growth from the earliest stages (V. Wu, 1998). Fulong Wu, echoing the sentiment, noted that while global economic power may have put Shanghai on the map, the success of Shanghai's development was just as dependent on the ability of a central and municipal state power to control the explosive danger inherent in foreign investment capital (Wu, 2006). In his words the “global dimension of place-making” led by

the Chinese government served as a basis for “the penetration of foreign investment into the sphere of urban development” (Wu, 2000, p.1360). In this interpretation, Shanghai’s urban development can best be considered as a process wherein global capital is manipulated and controlled by the SMG through ingenious policies, clever promotion, and most importantly through the construction of Pudong New Area (Pudong) as an Economic Development Zone (EDZ) at the heart of the Shanghai Metropolitan Area (Wu, J. & Barnes, 2008).

In contrast, this thesis will argue that the narrow depiction of the economic role of the international community omits the very real ideational impact that business luminaries, urban experts, academics, and other high-level advisors had, and continue to have, on the vision, strategies, and assumptions of Shanghai’s decision makers in the city’s three decades of incredible urbanization.

Describing Pudong in 1997, urban theorist Kris Olds wrote that in addition to the Shanghai Municipal Government's (SMG) efforts, “a steadily increasing number of foreign institutions and firms” are “assisting the SMG in its efforts to strategically plan the city’s restructuring” (Olds, 1997, pp.113). He writes that their combined aim was to turn the city into a new “international standard Shanghai” (ibid). Zhu Rongji, Shanghai’s Mayor in the late 1980s, and later Prime Minister of China, wrote of the key role that “foreign monks” could play in contributing to Shanghai’s ideas about how best to develop Shanghai into a global city that could match and exceed those in the West in terms of size, scale, and success (quoted in Olds, 1997). In this sense, the international community was playing an invaluable part in helping Shanghai realize its own vision for global city status even before the FDI started to make its mark on the city’s landscape in the early 1990s.

Moreover, the very existence of other “model” cities has influenced Shanghai's urban development options, particularly in the context of global urban competition. Olds, in one of the most telling portions of his 1997 article, writes that the development of Pudong was informed by French urban theorists and planners who had been instrumental in the construction of La Défense in Paris. La Défense is an ideational and practical precursor of Lujiazui insofar as it too was envisioned as an addition to Paris' existing Central Business District (CBD) and was built from scratch in a suburban location that then extended the city's existing CBD (Olds, 1997).

Image 2.1 shows a conceptual map of downtown Paris, with the primary tourist destinations highlighted. La Défense is shown on the map in the top left hand corner, well outside and across a river from the historic centre of the city. Today, la Défense is the financial heart of Paris and of France, just as Pudong has become in Shanghai and in China.

FIGURE 2.1
CONCEPTUAL MAP OF TOURIST DESTINATIONS IN PARIS



Source: Uniqlo.com

The close, consistent, and engaged cooperation between corporate actors in the market economy system and state actors in the legislative and political system has been instrumental to Shanghai's pursuit of global city status. The ability of Shanghai to engage with the lessons of the international community continues to require the active support of the national and local governments in expediting the city's urban redevelopment. In China, the national government's staunch promotion of Shanghai's status as the chosen commercial and financial centre of the Chinese economy has been essential to the rise, resilience, and

contemporary success of Shanghai.⁷ The SMG, for its part, holds vast and sweeping powers over its municipal area, a fact that has facilitated much of Shanghai's urban development over the last 20 years (He, 2007).

2.2 Applying the Political Economic Model to Shanghai's Global City Formation

2.2.1 Introducing the Conceptual Model

In order for Shanghai to ascend to the top of the global urban hierarchy (Sassen, 1991), it has been forced to contend with the same structural, agential, contextual, and material factors as every one of its competitors. This thesis argues that the most compelling political economic perspective from which to view Shanghai's urban development requires examining the inter-relationship among four factors: 1) a state-sponsored market economy (**structure**), 2) economic globalization (**context**), 3) massive and global inequalities of privilege, power, and access of an elite few (**agency**), and 4) the built and material world (**environment**) (Hay 2002).⁸

Table 2.1 lists these four limiting factors or pillars and provides a brief account of the principal features of each. These factors constrain the freedoms of both local/national governance regimes and global capital to determine for themselves the methods, priorities, and goals of urban development. The four pillars help inform development analysis in a

⁷ The national government in Beijing continues to hold a tremendous amount of power in financial matters because of the strong centrally allocated power of the Chinese political system. The stated role of Shanghai is thus somewhat at odds with a reality that still privileges the role of the national government in all economic matters. This political-economic tension between the commercial and political centres of national gravity is reproduced in a similar way in the United States, where the economic system is directed through a close relationship between New York and Washington D.C., particularly following the financial crisis of 2008. The support Beijing offers Shanghai is evidenced in its support of Shanghai's Stock Adaptation, real estate market, the privileged position within the Yangtze River Delta, and most recently its support of Shanghai's bid, preparation, and execution of Expo 2010.

⁸ I use these combined factors specifically to speak to development in a context of economic globalization. Moreover, the control of wealth, resources, and power, through economic means, can elucidate a key feature of the constraints of urban development in a manner that isn't overly complicated by the incredible complexity and divergences of social, cultural, and political realities on the ground. Economic globalization is employed first because it speaks more properly to the matter of global cities, and second because market forces are a prevailing reality across all social, cultural, and political spectrums.

compelling and holistic way. The strength of this approach is that it offers a conceptually comprehensive account of a complex political economic reality.

TABLE 2.1
FOUR POLITICAL ECONOMIC PILLARS
OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

FACTOR	PRINCIPAL FEATURE
(Structure) 1) State-sponsored market economy	A state that collaborates with major market players to privilege economic growth through pro-market policies
(Context) 2) Economic globalization	An integrated economic system that forces constant and integrated engagement amongst the world's political and economic powers
(Agency) 3) Growing global and local inequality of power, access, and privilege	A small and shrinking number of key economic and political agents who control and manage the flow of a disproportionate share of the world's power, access, and privilege
(Environment) 4) Existing built and material world	A historical environment of wealth and production concentrated in the West and particularly in major western cities

Note: Adapted from Hay (2002)

The following investigation applies these four pillars to the development of Shanghai since 1990, in order to show how their interaction can help to understand the complexity of the city's urban development.⁹

2.2.2 Examining Wealth, Power, and Economic Globalization Using the Political Economic Model

The defining contextual feature of contemporary urban development is the power and scope of global capital. Marcusse's (2006) framework emphasizes the way that global capital has shaped the development of similar socio-spatial outcomes in most of the world's major urban centres. Marcusse notes that "globalizing cities" that are developing within "the processes of globalization... reflect tendencies that are common to all cities linked to each

⁹ Of note is that depending on the data and information introduced into the analysis, some factors will be more open to investigation than others. This does not mean that other pillars are unimportant in the scenario, but rather that relevant information highlights the value of a given pillar within a given narrative. Every one of the pillars could conceivably be applied to every aspect of Shanghai's development. However, in order to carry the thread of the argument forward, some data and sources have been favoured over others.

other in a global pattern” (ibid, 366). He mentions, following Smith (2002), the global aspect of gentrification, the development of waterfront property, and the creation of financial districts garnished with skyscrapers, which serve as symbols for the power and wealth of a city.

What is crucial to his study is that these similarities are understood to be a result of the pressures of global capital. Other global city theorists have followed this line of argumentation. In their analyses, Sklair's (2001) work on the Transnational Capitalist Class (TNC), and McDonald's (2008) research on global city formation in Cape Town point out that the beneficiaries of global city status also act as enablers of particular elements of its transformation. As the upper and upper-middle class professionals of multinational corporations flock to newly emerging global cities, the cities adapt to suit their tastes and privilege their economic contribution by reorganizing the spatial structure of the city itself (Sassen, 2001; McDonald, 2008). Waterfront properties, suburbanization, and rising real estate prices in this line of argumentation are telling indicators of the impact of these powerful agents of economic globalization.

2.2.3 Examining the Role of the State and Shanghai's Urbanization Using the Political

Economic Model

While global capital is often held up as the most powerful force in shaping contemporary society, the Shanghai example demonstrates the need to recognize the important role of state actors as agents of urban development. The example of Shanghai demonstrates quite explicitly the conscious role that the state can and has played in pursuing the standardized Capitalist City model that has heretofore been widely recognized as the

product and principal feature of a free market system. In Shanghai, the SMG in fact expedited the basic premises of that archetypal Capitalist city. The state's active involvement in this regard emerged because the hiatus in the capitalist history of Shanghai had halted the creation of urban features deemed essential to its aspirations of becoming a global financial and trading centre.

Whereas Babcock (1997), Sassen (2001) and MacDonald (2008) argue that widening socio-economic disparities and gentrification are natural products of global capitalism, Shanghai has in fact generated state-led and supply-driven gentrification in its rush to exploit a prevailing tendency of successful urban centers in market-led systems (He, 2008). While examples like Xintiandi¹⁰ and Gubei New District¹¹ (Wang & Lau, 2008) are telling examples of the impact of the state's push towards creating a new international standard Shanghai, one need only look to Pudong New Area to understand just how powerfully state-led gentrification has affected the last two decades of development (Olds, 1997; Marton & Wu, 2006).

While the Western 'standardized city' emerged from centuries of capitalist imperatives (Olds, 1997; Marcusse, 2006), Shanghai's past two decades of growth have demonstrated conclusively that the proverbial "Capitalist City" cannot always be attributed to market forces acting through the agency of an Invisible Hand. Moreover, as Olds' (1997) work on Pudong demonstrates, the political arm of the market, embodied in Shanghai by the

¹⁰Xintiandi is a commercial district in downtown Shanghai, built with foreign capital and planning and designed to suit foreign tastes, while also attempting to retain a distinctly Chinese architectural style. The site's location is directly across the street from the site of the first congress of the Communist Party of China, and required large-scale relocation of the resident population in order to proceed. It has seen great success since its completion in 2002.

¹¹Gubei New District was conceived in 1986 as the first residential compound on the Western model, aimed at attracting affluent foreigners to live, work and invest in Shanghai. It boasted Western amenities such as garages, stand-alone houses, and gardens. Designed by a French architect, the site successfully attracted mostly East Asian ex-patriots, and served as a model for later developments aimed at luring the foreign elite to reside and purchase housing in Shanghai.

Municipal Government, has been importantly affected by international actors and international ideas about best practice for creating a global city.

Shanghai's particular urban form, in other words, is not the result of self-interested economic actors pursuing their desires through market mechanisms. Rather, in its desire to learn from the large, powerful, and model urban forms of our age – the metropoli of London, Paris, Tokyo, and New York – Shanghai's urban development became the product of a conscious design. What the Shanghai example shows is that given a common desire for global financial and political supremacy amongst the world's most powerful cities, there is a corollary standardization of best practice solutions for achieving common objectives. Global cities are the apotheosis of this model, wherein the standardization of the urban vision has generated a standardization of functions, features, and strategies.

2.2.3 Results of Applying the Model

The urban form of the “standardized capitalist city” is familiar. It consists of a Central Business District (CBD), built up by skyscrapers, and connected to a large and growing suburban population through dense public infrastructure. Neighbourhoods are divided by socio-economic class, and prices for real estate flow down and out from the most profitable economic areas to the fringes. A standardized capitalist city, in its essence, privileges the wealthy with clean environments, convenience, and a standard of living that befits their economic status in order to harness the wealth that they generate. The SMG has aspired to this model because its role in the Chinese urban system is the same as that of New York, London, or Tokyo in their respective market-driven economies.

Fundamental to Shanghai's pursuit of these global city attributes have been the development of Pudong New Area and the constant redevelopment of many residential, commercial, and industrial areas of Shanghai from 1990 to the present day. The development of Pudong, and particularly the Lujiazui Financial Zone, has been pursued with the explicit and conscious goal of creating a competitive global financial centre, in which tertiary industry would play an increasingly dominant role (Marton & Wu, 2006). Gentrification projects in areas like Gubei New District, Xintiandi, and large swaths of what used to be agricultural or manufacturing towns in Pudong, successfully rehabilitated these low-value properties to ensure their amenability to an international, educated, informed, and moneyed class. The success of these redevelopments has widely been credited with being foundational to Shanghai's successful pursuit of global city status (He, 2007). Wu & Barnes (2008) offer a compelling study of the way that Pudong was conceived since its inception as a symbolic "representation of space" that explicitly "sold" Shanghai as the "dragonhead" of the Yangtze River Delta and the next big investment opportunity in China (367).

Table 2.2 links the preceding analysis of Shanghai's urban development since 1990 to each of the four pillars outlined in the conceptual framework. Moreover, in order to demonstrate the relational quality of the model, each of the four pillars is paired with the remaining three. This framework is reproduced later in the thesis, when the conceptual political economic model is applied to the three historical examples and the Expo 2010 case study.

TABLE 2.2

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE FOUR PILLARS OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMIC MODEL IN SHANGHAI'S URBANIZATION

CONTEXT	
ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION	
AGENCY & CONTEXT The wealth of Shanghai, and its place as a key destination for the world's elite within the global city hierarchy, has ensured the success of its gentrification strategies and standardization towards an urban form that privileges the rich and powerful.	STRUCTURE & CONTEXT The power of the SMG and the government in Beijing to reshape the urban environment in the name of the social and economic good has enabled crucial redevelopments of the urban form to create mega projects like Pudong New Area and Expo 2010 that serve to boost market economic activity.
ENVIRONMENT & CONTEXT The redevelopment of Shanghai's urban form now places it firmly within the world's top global cities, ensuring China's continued strength within the global economic system.	
AGENCY GLOBAL AND LOCAL INEQUALITY OF POWER, ACCESS AND PRIVILEGE	STRUCTURE STATE-SPONSORED MARKET ECONOMY
AGENCY & STRUCTURE The Chinese national and local governments have demonstrated that they can successfully improve Shanghai's attractiveness to foreign capital and the world's economic and political elite in ways that are very dramatic and disruptive to the city and its population, thereby ensuring the continued support of the rich and powerful as allies in China's economic development.	
AGENCY & ENVIRONMENT The redevelopment of the built environment in Shanghai has been designed to appeal to the wealthy and powerful, further entrenching their economic and political power, and exacerbating the growth of inequality in Shanghai and China.	STRUCTURE & ENVIRONMENT Shanghai's built environment has been strategically oriented for the past two decades by the desire of the SMG and the Beijing government to turn Shanghai into the world's premiere global city, a task that sets Shanghai apart from the market-led urban development of its Western peers.
ENVIRONMENT EXISTING BUILT AND MATERIAL WORLD	

Note: Adapted from Hay (2002)

2.3 Conclusions Drawn from Applying the Political Economic Framework

When Shanghai chose to pursue global city formation in 1990, it was responding both to the needs of its urban population and the economic and development goals of its country. To become a global city meant that Shanghai could help lead China's development, accelerate the country's race out of poverty, and enshrine the nation's place on the world stage as a legitimate international power. Yet pursuing Shanghai's global city formation was

not simply the preferred way of achieving those goals. The political economic model shows that it may have been the only one available to the city and the country at the time of that decision.

However, while the standardized global city that Shanghai has become came about in part because of the very real constraints of economic globalization, state-sponsored market mechanisms, the growing disparity of wealth, and the conditions of a material and built environment, there is also an ideational component to the development of Shanghai. This ideational component is crucial because it questions to what extent the perceived best practice of standardized Capitalist cities can legitimately be considered actual best practice. A conceptual model of ideational adaptation helps answer the question of whether global city formation as urban best practice should be considered to be only the result of political economic constraints, or whether the very idea of best practice itself is open to interpretation.

Despite the very real disparities of wealth, income and opportunity at work within today's state-sponsored global economy, the decisions made by today's policy makers are constrained by a variety of ideational constraints that are the result of the cognitive limits of being human. Even the best placed decision makers have limits on the availability of relevant and accurate information, particularly about the future impact of current decisions. Decision makers are also subject to the historical beliefs of their societies, families, and institutions of work and learning. Finally, decision makers are constrained by the actions of others, enabling certain ways of thinking while limiting an actor's ability to think and act in other ways. To understand how the city has developed, it is crucial to understand how its principal policy makers have explored and chosen which ideas best serve the interests of

global city formation. The next chapter outlines a theoretical model for the adaptation of ideas premised on policy diffusion theory.

CHAPTER III

A CONCEPTUAL IDEATIONAL ADAPTATION MODEL FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction: Ideas in Urban Development

To emulate a global city like London or New York, leaders must be convinced of the merits of the global city vision. As simple as it may seem to say that best practice can be gleaned from the bottom line of balance sheets, human decisions are inevitably less obvious and linear. This chapter will argue that the ability to consider ideas is constrained by the complexity of a dynamic and volatile human reality as well as the limitations inherent in human understanding.

Four schools of ideational adaptation, adapted from public policy theory and the work of Dobbin et al. (2007) will be discussed in this chapter. The four schools are: constructivism, competition, coercion, and learning theory. They come together on two basic assumptions: 1) ideational adaptation (just like policy diffusion) entails the enunciation of best practice in a given situation, and 2) best practice requires an engagement with experts, with an optimal scenario or an optimal case, and/or with a theoretical position that commands legitimacy. Thus, the shared assumptions of ideational adaptation can be summarized as: the pursuit of best-practice through engagement with a given individual, body of knowledge, case study, or organization, whose particular claims to expertise in the given domain are held as legitimate for the task at hand.

The four different schools of thought are intertwined and compatible when explaining the emergence of best practice norms. By combining key theoretical lessons from each camp, a more complete, holistic, and accurate model of the Adaptation of ideas, and the

diffusion of policy, can be reached. The key elements of each school are summarized at the end of their respective sections. This summary includes the core assumption and the value of each school, as well as links to each of the four political economic pillars using Shanghai's urban development as a frame of mutual reference.

3.2 Four Schools of Ideational Adaptation

3.2.1 Constructivism

Constructivism argues that every aspect of shared reality generated by the human mind is a product of social construction. Ideas, as a social product, can be expressed in a variety of ways manners, such as through conventions, norms, and symbols. These constructions are ubiquitous at every level of human activity, from the political and economic, to the cultural and religious. Ideas in this sense are also subject to change over time, given changing relations within the human community and the material world from which they arise. Because meaning and value are socially constructed, (that is, a matter of consensus among individuals) and constantly subject to reinterpretation, there are limits to the ability of humans to achieve certainty about the world that they inhabit. The emphasis on inter-subjectivity of ideas and cognitive frailty of humans in the constructivist position demands an explicit recognition that the very notion of “best” practice be questioned. Because individuals at every level are constrained by the limits of their cognitive capacities, their access to information, and the bounds of contemporary thought, the certainty of decision makers is hampered by a constantly evolving human reality (March & Simon, 1993).

While a powerful concept, constructivism lacks a degree of rigour and structure, reflecting the often irrational qualities of the human mind. The constructivist camp asserts that ideas are taken up as they acquire meaning and legitimacy in a given society. As such, constructivism is subject to some deficits, such as the risk of generating ideas that are “based on fads, revered exemplars, or abstract theories, rather than solid evidence” (Dobbin et al., 2007, 451) with no assurance that the idea is in fact the best possible means of achieving a given goal. Moreover, bad ideas in this scenario risk spreading. Several authors have noted a history in development and policy making whereby ideas about best practice were improperly applied to situations that were radically different from the one in which they originally proved successful (Boli-Bennet & Meyer, 1978; Meyer et al. 1977).

According to constructivism, ideational transmission occurs across international communities in two ways. First, national and transnational organizations are argued to have legitimate expertise because they possess the means and power to envision and pursue the creation of best-practice scenarios, while simultaneously defending their attempts in a systematic and rigorous way (Krasner, 1993; Ruggie, 1993). Second, ideas and policies can spread on the strength of their appeal alone.

Table 3.1 highlights the key elements of the constructivism school of ideational adaptation. These elements are synthesized from the textual analysis above and the links with the political economic model are drawn from throughout the rest of the thesis, with emphasis on Chapters I and II. A table of this sort is constructed for every school, with an identical methodology followed in each case.

TABLE 3.1
KEY POINTS OF THE CONSTRUCTIVISM SCHOOL

Constructivism	
Core Assumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning and value are socially constructed and constantly subject to reinterpretation. • Each idea, decision, and action involves the constant and relational engagement of many variables in any given scenario.
Value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human claims to best practice are constrained by the context, human cognitive capacities, as well as the society within which they acquire and apply information
Relation to political economic model and to the city of Shanghai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agency and Structure: The structure of state-led markets and the agency of the elite are determined by pre-existing socially constructed norms, assumptions and expectations. • Context: In order to pursue a given competitive urban form (global city status) or the construction of a competitive urban project (Pudong New Area / Expo 2010), there must be a social consensus on the project's value and legitimacy. • Environment: The built and material world is changed by the construction of current beliefs about best practice activity, which feeds cyclically back into how society is then constructed in the future.

More often than not, the ability of incredibly powerful institutions to create, defend, and recreate their conception of best practice serves to enshrine the legitimacy of the idea, as well as the legitimacy of their expertise. This would suggest that legitimacy in constructivism is grounded in some element of existing power relations. The next two schools of thought, Coercion and Competition theory, speak to this issue directly.

3.2.2 Coercion Theory

Coercion theory posits that ideas, policies, and practices are literally forced on others through the exercise of power.¹² In the domain of soft power, the coercive imposition of ideas and policies is achieved through 1) Conditionality, 2) Policy Leadership, and 3) Hegemonic Ideas (Dobbin et al., 2008). In each case, coercion creates a radical redefinition of local priorities forced by the dominant power onto the subjected one.

¹²This use of power can be “soft” political/cultural/social power, or “hard” military power. Whereas coercion from threats to physical security is generally considered to be an exercise of hard power, coercion through other means, such as “persuasion, loan and aid conditionality, and unilateral policy choices that shape the choices of other countries” is understood as an exercise of soft power (Dobbin et al. 2007).

3.2.2.1 Conditionality

Conditionality holds that the fact of inequality between two actors serves as a legitimate reason for the strong actor to impose its models of best practice on the weak. Under soft conditionality, the economic imbalance of global wealth, economic power, and economic obligations impel one party to accept the terms of another in order to avoid a negative outcome or to pursue a positive one. Conditionality can thus also be understood as a scenario in which an individual or a group chooses to join an organization in order to receive benefits that are conditional on and constrained by the membership itself. Legitimacy in this case of conditionality stems from the willingness of individuals to accept the membership conditions of the organization, rather than face the consequences of refusing to become a member.

3.2.2.2 Policy Leadership

Policy leadership is the ability of an actor to promote unilaterally an issue or an idea, and by this act, influence other decision-makers whose priorities reflect a similar desire for a solution in a given arena. In the case of global city formation, policy makers in New York and London can enact legislation that has an enormous effect on the global flows of human and financial capital. Policies undertaken in these jurisdictions resonate outwards to all cities and countries subject to their influence. Their actions determine the norm of best practice in a given scenario (e.g. bonus schemes in the financial sector), and the timing and scope of their activity constrains and impels other cities to respond accordingly. Policy leadership speaks to how the world of possible activity (the emergence in actual reality of a possible set

of rules and dispositions) is controlled by leaders whose ideas and actions determine how others behave. As such, the extent of our possible thoughts and actions can be understood as determined by our sense of the desires, allowances, and limits imposed on us by the leadership of our society.

3.2.2.3 Hegemonic Ideas

Hegemonic ideas are, in a basic sense, the limits of possible thought. “The thrust is that dominant ideas become rationalized, often with elegant theoretical justifications, and influence how policy makers conceptualize their problems” (Dobbin et al., 2008, 456).¹³ The coercive nature of a hegemonic idea is not that the idea itself is self-evidently ubiquitous and uncontroversial, but rather that we take as natural and irrefutable certain assumptions underpinning the hegemonic discourse within which only a limited series of ideas are allowed to emerge (Chomsky & Herman, 1988).

Table 3.2 highlights the key elements of the coercion school of ideational adaptation.

**TABLE 3.2
KEY POINTS OF THE COERCION SCHOOL**

Coercion	
Core assumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas, policies, and practices are forced on others because of an imbalance of power.
Value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conditionality: Scenarios are accepted because they are seen to represent some degree of best practice in pursuing a given goal, be it growth or another development ideal. • Policy leadership: The actions of policy leaders determine the norm of best practice for a given scenario, and the time and manner in which they act constrains and impels other cities to respond to their activities. • Hegemonic ideas: Free choice without some element of limitation or purpose can be difficult at any level, and it is because consensus requires a basic need for constraints on limitless choice that hegemonic ideas can also acquire legitimacy.

¹³ To Dobbin et al.’s postulation of the policy maker being the core problem-solver, we could expand the demographic to all decision makers. More particularly, at the level of ideas themselves, we could expand the notion of problems in the already broad sense, to an understanding of how we could best lead our lives. Namely, what are the ideological limits to our imagination of a core problem of human existence: what is the good life?

Coercion	
Relation to political economic model and to the city of Shanghai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure: The leadership of the local and national state to shape public opinion and the rule of law ensured that the forced relocation of residents and the disruptions to Shanghai caused in the name of economic growth could successfully take place. • Agency: The political and economic power of China, especially throughout the third world, enabled the SMG to ensure that every single nation in the world had an active presence at Expo, with most parties attending out of fear of future punishment from the world's rising superpower should they not finance a presence. • Context: China's rising power in the global economic system was evident during its Expo bid, and constitutes no doubt an important reason why it won, as well as an important reason why the Expo was well attended by foreign dignitaries as well as economic and trade missions from major countries across the world. • Environment: Shanghai's transformation of its urban environment in order to host Expo 2010 was a response to the hegemonic belief in the importance and value of global city status. The redevelopment of Shanghai's CBD was the SMG's response to existing and successful urban forms, and its transformation will now be looked to by others because of its particular place in the network of built environments.

Every type of coercion mentioned in the above analysis may be desired, however, as much as they may be unwanted. Free choice without some element of limitation or purpose can be difficult at any level, and it is because consensus requires a basic need for constraints on limitless choice that hegemonic ideas can also acquire legitimacy. Competition theory suggests a similar rationale for legitimacy. By producing results that threaten the viability of previous behavioural and ideational norms, success by one party forces the hand of another to remain relevant.

3.2.3 Competition Theory

Competition theory suggests that policies and ideas diffuse across competitors when the direct political and economic activity of one competitor threatens the viability of other parties. Competition theory admits a very basic sharing of assumptions about the genuine functions and goals of whichever competing elements are considered to be legitimately at play. As such, it entails a competition in real-time, where changes in economic and social policy by one party (financial liberalization, subsidies for health care and entrepreneurial

ventures, free-trade areas, forced relocation, etc.) create immediate and/or delayed shifts in policy by another party in order to pre-empt economic and political loss.

Since the emergence of market hegemony in the West, competitive economic growth as an overarching premise of urban, national, and global development has radically reshaped the reality of every element of human activity. Ideas about human education, creativity, interpersonal relations, and the pursuit of happiness itself are now all coloured by a belief that (economic) competition underlies and motivates almost all human activity. The first weakness of competition theory is a potential overreach of its ability to explain human activity. For instance, if competition is taken as the foundational drive of human existence, able to explain in an objective and universal manner the total complexity of human nature in the economic realm or elsewhere, it may be overreaching its own potential. The second weakness of the theory is that if competition is measured on too long a time frame, innovative and creative activities that require long periods of gestation become impractical. On the other hand, and in the same vein, if competition is measured on too short a time frame, myopic activity can be preferred, regardless of whether the activity may be unsustainable in the long term.

Table 3.3 highlights the key elements of the competition school of ideational adaptation.

TABLE 3.3
KEY POINTS OF THE COMPETITION SCHOOL

Competition	
Core assumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct political and economic activity by a party threatens the viability of previous norms for other parties.
Value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What works, or forces a situation in the market, polity, or society, that benefits the acting party over its direct competitors, is both best practice and legitimate simply because it proved most effective in that time and place.
Relation to political economic model and to the city of Shanghai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure: The strength of the Chinese political system to affect drastic and sometimes disruptive changes in economic and political policy, as well as in urban and regional planning of all kinds, has forced other nations to consider the competitive advantage of China's authoritarian market system. • Agency: Expo 2010 was an important event for building the prestige and attractiveness of the city of Shanghai amongst the world's elite. The competitive ability of Shanghai and China to tap into the network of powerful friends and allies that were created and strengthened at Expo secures it a competitive edge. • Context: Shanghai's position as the next financial and trade nexus of China and east Asia has been improved by the competitive decisions taken by the SMG to position the city as China's primary international financial hub. Other cities will be forced to adopt urban redevelopments that respond to those undertaken in Shanghai. • Environment: The improvements to infrastructure due to Expo 2010 have made Shanghai more competitive in the global city hierarchy. In turn, other cities will be forced to alter their urban form to ensure they do not lose talent or capital to Shanghai.

3.2.4 Learning Theory

Learning theory argues that institutions shift course in policy, and individuals revise their ideas about the world as a result of “new evidence” that “changes [the] beliefs” of decision-makers (Dobbin et al. 2008). In learning, best practice becomes verified and legitimated through observations about what has worked elsewhere in a three step process:

1. First, individual experts draw on “the sum of technical information and of theories about that information” which “commands [sic] sufficient consensus” within a group of other legitimate experts, who then share this knowledge with others (Haas, 1980, pp.367-68).
2. Second, learning occurs by increasing the amount of available data about a given problem through either subjective experience (Levite et al., 1994) or individual interaction and observation (Powell, 1988) in order to revise prior assessments.
3. Third, observation and interaction becomes statistically verified and legitimated through a large number of observations about what has worked elsewhere.

This process of Bayesian learning says that by finding more and more evidence consistent with a given solution, that solution gains legitimacy in the mind of the decision-maker,

generating new models of thought and action. However, herd-behaviour, the observation of non-relevant activities, and the suppression of internal knowledge in favour of other cases can lead to non-optimal results (Dobbin et al. 2008; Banerjee, 1992; Bikchandani et al. 1992).

Table 3.4 highlights the key elements of the learning school of ideational adaptation.

**TABLE 3.4
KEY POINTS OF THE LEARNING SCHOOL**

Learning	
Core assumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The process of learning emerges through a relational judgment of a subject's experiences and previously unknown information about a given case-study, theory, or expert position through encoding individually learned inferences from experience into organizational routines.
Value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By finding more and more evidence consistent with a given solution, that solution gains legitimacy, generating new models of thought and action.
Relation to political economic model and to the city of shanghai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structure: Shanghai benefitted from prior data and experiences to become a standardized global city that could catalyze national and regional development. Agency: Shanghai is unique throughout China as a truly international city that can engage with the world's elite in a way that is culturally sensitive and understanding, increasing its economic edge, its capacity to innovate, and its ability do business. Context: As China's position within the global economic system has changed over the last 30+ years, it has adapted to its new position as a global superpower. Environment: The SMG looked to its peers to understand the criteria for generating a global city, as well as the ways in which Expos have helped their host cities refit urban environments to boost long-term economic development.

3.3 The Relational Quality of the Four Pillars of the Ideational Adaptation Model

The following table shows how the four schools of ideational diffusion should be understood as necessarily intertwined. Just like the political economic model, this framework will be reproduced for each of the three examples and the case study. The framework serves to summarize and simplify some of the key ideational components of each of the four applications. It also allows a graphical display of the ways in which the four schools of thought (constructivism, coercion, competition, and learning) are relational to one

another. This strategy is the same one that was employed for the political economic framework produced in Chapter II (see Table 2.2).

TABLE 3.5
THE RELATIONAL QUALITY OF IDEATIONAL ADAPTATION
ACROSS THE FOUR SCHOOLS

CONSTRUCTIVISM	
Ideas as matters of social consensus about the meaning of phenomena, are relative to factors of time, place, and historical context.	
<p style="text-align: center;">COERCION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Coercion can control the conditions of a given society's existence and impede the ability of its citizens to construct reality outside of the influence of the coercer. Coercion can only be efficient and relevant when it can relate to the social reality of the person or peoples it is seeking to coerce.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COMPETITION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Competition requires a construction of assumptions about the rules of the game and a consensus of victory. In turn, declaring a winner or loser in competition is dependent on a social construction of how the game is won or lost.</p>
LEARNING & CONSTRUCTIVISM	
Learning is informed by available data and ideas that are socially constructed. Learning enables new ideas and new ways for society to understand the world and alter its existing constructions of phenomena.	
<p style="text-align: center;">COERCION</p> <p>Coercion constrains the potential ideas of other agents by exploiting an imbalance of power.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COMPETITION</p> <p>Direct political and economic activity by a party threatens the viability of previous norms for other parties.</p>
COERCION & COMPETITION	
Competition provides a rationale for the use of coercive mechanisms given that coercion can be applied successfully to winning a game, for instance, through the mechanism of policy leadership.	
<p style="text-align: center;">COERCION & LEARNING</p> <p>Coercion is informed in best practice by the accumulation and application of new data by those who utilize coercive mechanisms. Learning, for its part, may be difficult or impossible should coercive mechanisms limit access to new or truthful data.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COMPETITION & LEARNING</p> <p>Competition determines what constitutes relevant data and prioritizes the accumulation and processing of data, improving the ability of individuals to compete.</p>
LEARNING	
Learning is a feature of individual agency, controlled by assumptions and expectations amassed through an accumulation of data / experience.	

By graphically presenting the four pillars and providing spaces to demonstrate how they combine, the thesis provides a short summary of some of the relationships between the four pillars of the two models. Each of the four applications of the models (three examples in Chapter V and one case study in Chapter VI) will reproduce these frameworks, using text from the examples and inserting them into the appropriate pillar to highlight how the models

relate to the example. The combination of the models is done in text, because of the difficulty in graphically representing the relationship between the two four-pillar models.

3.4 Conclusion

The process of generating, exchanging, transferring, diffusing, and applying ideas is at its heart complex, relational, and adaptive. The various limiting factors of human thinking, drawn out by the four schools, demonstrates the potential constraints faced by decision makers in achieving relevant notions of best practice. Each of these schools necessarily informs the others in profound and unavoidable ways. Just as Chapter I created a relational table for the political economic model, Table 3.5 showed how to conceptualize the interaction of the four pillars of the ideational adaptation model.

This chapter has argued that understanding the process of ideational adaptation is an important part of understanding development activity in general. It showed that the adaptation of ideas involves every element of human reality, from the social and cultural, to the psychological and biological, and on to the political and economic. It argued that humans share ideas through a combination of learning, the construction of meaning, the exercise of coercion through power relations, and the generation of new realities through competitive struggle.

Each of the four schools was shown to inform the analysis of the other three. Learning was shown to be a feature of individual agency which sees an agent's assumptions and expectations determined by his/her ability to pull together available and relevant data. At the same time, however, the process of learning is informed by the pressures of contemporary society. An agent, for instance, inevitably arrives at conclusions through data

and ideas that are themselves social constructions about human existence. These ideas are also affected by coercive mechanisms, which shape reality by exploiting existing relations of power to achieve the desired ends of the powerful. Finally, competition in human activity was shown to be an important determinant of best practice norms once the assumptions, means, and goals of that activity have created a consensus on how to achieve victory in the competition.

CHAPTER IV

APPLICABILITY OF THE CONCEPTUAL MODELS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE FOLLOWING FOUR APPLICATIONS

4.1 Synthesis of the Conceptual Models

The previous two chapters have outlined two conceptual frameworks that the remainder of the thesis will flesh out. Chapter I elaborated a political economic model, and Chapter 2 elaborated a model of ideational adaptation. In the following two chapters, three secondary source examples and one primary and secondary source case-study will provide a means of applying the two conceptual models to the Chinese and Shanghainese context, with a focus on Shanghai's urban development.

4.1.1 The Political Economic Model

Chapter I developed the political economic model, a conceptual framework that borrowed from constructivist principles and explored how urban development is constrained by the contemporary global political economy. Four relational and limiting factors were discussed, each adding a level of depth and complexity to the model. The four factors discussed in this model were: 1) the structural constraints of a state-sponsored market economy, 2) the context of economic globalization, 3) large global inequalities of wealth, and 4) the physical environment of the built and material world. In order to explore the conceptual framework, the context of Shanghai's development since the 1990s was woven into the discussion and elaboration of the model.

This first model provides a means of explaining how certain political economic constraints have limited the potential urban development paths of Shanghai. It showed how

economic globalization, the pressures of a small group of immensely wealthy and powerful people, the power of the state in promoting pro-market policies, and the existing built environment all limit the ways in which a city can choose to develop. As a result of these political economic constraints, Shanghai has been pressured into adopting a standardized urban model of the global city in order to successfully achieve economic growth. The model also demonstrated the manner by which the global city model has become standardized. It argued that because the political economic demands and the means by which cities can respond to these demands is identical across every major urban centre worldwide, much of urban development has consequently assumed a similar form and function.

4.1.2 The Ideational Adaptation Model

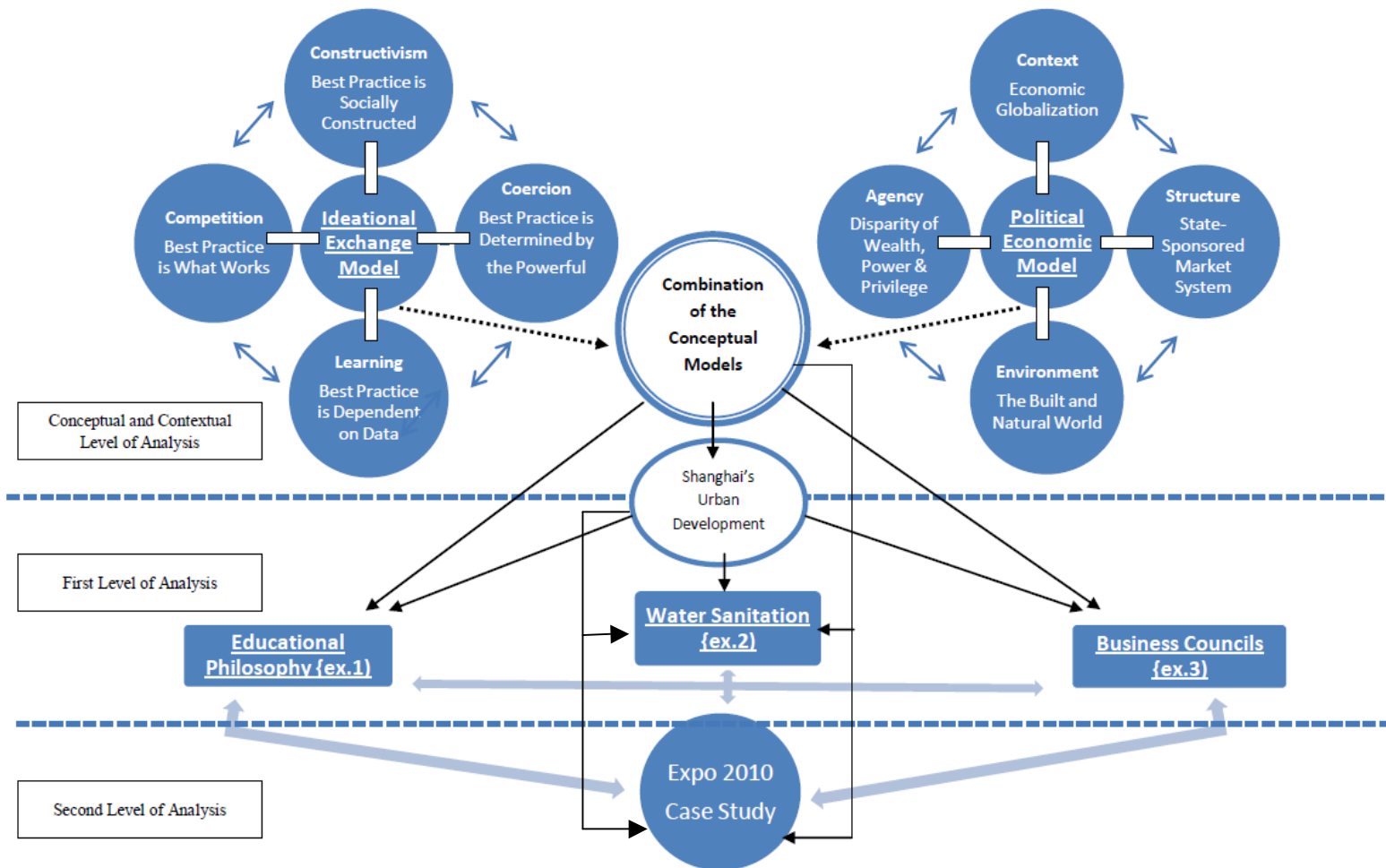
The second chapter investigated four schools of policy diffusion and adapted them to the realm of ideational adaptation. The four schools of constructivism, competition, coercion, and learning theory were shown to be necessarily intertwined, and each school was shown to inform the others in profound and unavoidable ways. The ideational adaptation model emphasizes to what extent the diffusion and transmission of ideas is constrained by a variety of structural and social factors. These limiting factors directly affect the potential of the human mind to pursue new or alternative ideas that don't correspond to their current notions of best practice. This ideational adaptation model posited that the localization of international norms of best practice occurs through discussion and agreement with others (constructivism), relevant local and international experience, as well as historically relevant data (learning), a desire for a stable, cohesive, and harmonious urban environment (coercion) and finally from a need for economic innovation, the growth of domestic

entrepreneurship, and high rates of economic growth and international investment (competition).

4.2 Combination of the Two Conceptual Models

The combination of the two conceptual models is by necessity a complex operation. Because each model contains four elements, the amount of potential interaction within and between the frameworks is large. Moreover, each of the eight elements is dependent on variables that emerge from a time and a place that is specific to the particular application - for instance Expo 2010's relationship with the past two decades of urban development in Shanghai. The combined framework of the conceptual models and the applications of those models throughout the thesis is shown in Figure 4.1. This figure shows the degree of interaction that takes place between the two conceptual models, as well as between the three examples, the Expo case study, and the analysis of Shanghai's urban development since 1990.

**FIGURE 4.1
COMBINED FRAMEWORK FOR
THE TWO CONCEPTUAL MODELS AND THEIR APPLICATIONS**



4.2.1 Conceptual and Contextual Level of Analysis

The discussion in Chapter I, which explored Shanghai's conscious decision to emulate the global city model of Western metropoli, laid the analytical foundation for the political economic model. Because the political economic model alone could not adequately explain this decision, the ideational model was developed. Shanghai's urban development combined the two conceptual models to fully explore the relational roles of political economic and ideational constraints in pursuing urban development. Figure 4.1 employs the use of a form that reads “combination of the conceptual frameworks” to clarify that each application of one conceptual model also involves the use of the other.

In order to further explore the combination of the two models, as well as the standardization of Shanghai's urban form in line with existing norms of urban best practice this thesis has organized two levels of analysis, and explores four different ways of applying the model. These examples all build on the conceptual models, and draw on the investigation of Shanghai's urban development that was pursued in Chapter I.

4.2.2 Three Levels of Analysis and Two Bridges

Because one of the key arguments of this thesis is that the four elements of each of the two models are both intra- and inter-twined, the three examples and the case study of this thesis have all been designed to be relational and supportive of each other. The analysis of Shanghai's urban development and the standardization of its urban form (Chapter II) is a core bridge in the thesis, linking the conceptual models to the first and second level of analyses. The three examples in first level then proceed to form a new layer of conclusions that are integrated into the second level of analysis, which deals with the primary source

case study of Shanghai Expo 2010. This integration helps bridge the gap between the second layer of analysis and the first layer, but it also serves to draw the Expo 2010 case study back into the combined conceptual approach and the analysis of the urban development of Shanghai.

This relationship is explained in Figure 4.1 by the use of the two horizontal dotted lines that break the figure into three sections. The conceptual models are shown to link into a combined conceptual approach, which then informs the next two levels of analysis and the analysis of Shanghai's urban development. Each application of the combined conceptual models informs the following layers, bridging the analytical distinction between otherwise different applications of the conceptual framework. Finally, each application of the model, including the analysis of Shanghai's urbanization, the three historical examples, and the Expo 2010 case study all inform each other by providing further clarification on the use of the combined conceptual approach.

4.2.3 First Level of Analysis

The first level of analysis investigates three key sectors of the development community through three separate secondary source examples. In order to conduct an appropriate and critical analysis of each one, the thesis prioritizes certain models in each case so as to better analyze the particularities of a given example. The example of educational philosophy in China and the role of the epistemic community is analyzed with emphasis on the ideational adaptation model. The example of business councils and the role of the international business community is analyzed with emphasis on the political economic model. The example of water sanitation in Suzhou Creek is analyzed with equal emphasis on

both models. Of note is that each example still applies both models in combination. Without combining the models, the study would not be able to fully explain the dynamics involved in the respective examples.

4.2.4 Second Level of Analysis

The second level of analysis investigates Expo 2010, Shanghai. This case-study seeks to combine the two models as closely and as fully as possible, applying a combined conceptual framework to the creation, operation, and post-operation stages of Expo's activity. As a second level of analysis, it also looks to build on the lessons that were drawn from the first level of analysis, adding contemporary relevance and primary source data to the conclusions that were drawn from secondary source historical examples.

By employing two levels of analysis and building on the conclusions of the first level to add value to the second level of analysis, the thesis provides a means of exploring the soundness of the conceptual models, the claims of the first three examples, and the richness of the combined application to a variety of examples which support, defend, and improve the analysis of each separate case. This is the richest application of the combined models, with secondary sources supplemented by primary source data obtained while Expo was ongoing.

4.2.5 Applications of the two Conceptual Models

Together, the models clarify how urban development decisions are a result of political and economic constraints as well as the realities of subjective experience, cultural context, power relations, and the ideational imperative of competition. By applying these

two models together, the thesis allows for a better recognition of the impact of ideas. It also provides an explicit and detailed recognition of the importance of the political and economic macro-level constraints that influence the entire realm of development activity and thought.

4.3 Methodology of the Three Secondary Source Examples

In Chapter IV, three historic secondary source examples will serve to further examine the worth of the conceptual models that were developed in the first portion of the thesis. These three examples form a first level of analysis that further explains and clarifies the potentials and limits of this thesis' two conceptual models. In turn, they explore three powerful demographics in the development community: the epistemic community, the business community, and the intergovernmental community.

These three communities all operate in different ways, across different sectors, and with different aims. By applying the conceptual models to these three secondary source examples, the thesis succeeds in demonstrating the commonalities across each of these groups while doing justice to their unique positions within the development community.

4.3.1 Example 1: Epistemic Communities and Educational Philosophy

The example of educational philosophy in China examines the role of an epistemic community in development activity. In particular, it investigates the influence of Western ideas on Chinese society before 1949. This example explores how the localization of foreign (and primarily American) ideas about education in China affects the most basic assumptions, expectations, and ideational norms of successive generations of Chinese youth. In particular, the study of China's interaction with Western theories of education and

understanding allows for an in-depth investigation into the foundational, generational, and systemic impacts of the adaptation of ideas on development.

This example begins with an historical sweep of Chinese educational philosophy, proceeds by highlighting the work of several Chinese academics who have written about the impact of Western philosophical thought on Chinese society, and finishes with some conclusions about the impact of this ideational adaptation on Chinese and global development. This first example underscores the ideational model more obviously than the political economic one. The political economic model, however, is still relevantly applied throughout the study, proving its worth and importance in contextualizing the adaptation of ideas and supporting the analysis of the ideational adaptation model.

Research on this section draws from secondary sources. The source material from this example comes from Western and Chinese academic articles. Approximately half of the articles provide a historical perspective, with emphasis on the adaptation of ideas between China and the West that occurred before 1949. The other half are mostly from contemporary Chinese academic studies, emphasizing the way these adaptations have influenced the current mainstream of Chinese philosophy of education, and its practical applications in Chinese society. This example was also influenced by first-hand experience with the Chinese post-secondary education system.

4.3.2 Example 2: International Business Community and China Business Councils

The second example investigates how the international business community engages in dialogue with political leaders and how this access helps improve the understanding of what constitutes legitimate best practice in developing cities, regions, and countries. The two

models highlight the ways in which political economy and ideational adaptation work hand in hand to promote a certain vision of development which favours those that already exert a great degree of influence and power in the political and economic realm. The ideational adaptation model supports the political economic model by demonstrating to what extent the pro-market policies of the world's political and economic elite require strong bonds of trust between decision makers, a desire for cooperation between groups with common interests, and a heavy reliance by both sides on the legitimate expertise of the other.

The section begins with an overview of the role and importance of Business Councils in political economic affairs. It then proceeds to explore the relationship of the International Business Leaders' Advisory Council (IBLAC) with the leadership of Shanghai, and finally investigates the role of the US-China Business Council and the Britain-China Business Council in China's development and Shanghai's urban development.

Research on this section draws from secondary sources. The source material for this example comes partly from documents made available by the organizations themselves, generally accessed through the Internet. However, because International Business Advisory Councils (IBACs) do not release public accounts of their activity, data were assembled through exclusive interviews conducted by journalists (e.g. Asiaweek) with IBACs leaders, as well as official releases from their partners in government. The study was also informed by the author's participant observation as an employee for the Canada-China Business Council in both Toronto (2007) and Shanghai (2010).

4.3.3 Example 3: International Organizations and Water Sanitation

The third example explores the field of water purification and management in Shanghai's Suzhou Creek. It looks at the role of international organizations, international consulting firms, and the international scientific community in generating new norms of best practice in water sanitation for the city of Shanghai. In order to appreciate the impact that the project had on local norms of urban best practice in the field of water sanitation, special attention is paid to the local government agency (Shanghai Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation & Construction Company {SSRCC}) that was created to manage the project, and the future of Shanghai's water sanitation, by the SMG.

This example covers the project in chronological fashion. Beginning with the impetus for the redevelopment of Suzhou Creek, the study moves on to the financing and preparation stage, and finally on to execution and a summary of the lessons to be drawn from the example. The Suzhou Creek example emphasizes the combined use of both the political economic model and the ideational one. Without applying the ideational adaptation model, the political economic analysis shows itself to be lacking a means by which to critically reflect on the new best practice norms emerged from this project or the ambiguous role of international consultants in the project.

Research on this section draws from secondary sources. The source material for this example is partly drawn from documents made available by the Asia Development Bank (ADB), which carried out the water sanitation project in Shanghai in the 1990s. Academic studies in this domain are also relatively plentiful, and helped contextualize the initial problems faced by the ADB's international team. Finally, the work of consulting groups

°involved in the project is investigated through their own accounts, as well as critical reflections on the project that were published in the ADB's final report (ADB, 2005).

4.4 Methodology of the One Primary Source Case Study – Expo 2010, Shanghai

The fourth application of the combined conceptual model is a case study of Expo 2010, Shanghai. Expo 2010 serves as a contemporary example of how the two conceptual models apply to urban mega projects. The case study argues that Expo 2010 can only be fully understood by analyzing the complex relationships between political economic imperatives and ideational adaptation amongst the decision makers involved in the management of those imperatives.

As a concrete extension of Shanghai's pursuit of global city status, the Expo 2010 case study allows for an in-depth look into the ways in which ideas about best practice in urban and global development are culturally-, historically-, and socially-specific. Furthermore, by introducing key informant interviews, as well as insights gleaned from the author's participation in a large number of formal and informal events involving leading figures from Expo 2010, this thesis provides rare access to information not available to other researchers.

The Expo 2010 case study employs 14 first-hand accounts from international participants who were interviewed by the author in a semi-structured fashion over an average of 30 minutes for each interview. In addition, 12 informal meetings and discussions were conducted that served to direct and inform the analysis. In order to properly acknowledge the different sectors involved in Expo 2010, the interviews and informal discussions targeted the highest-level bureaucrats involved in Expo 2010, as well as

representatives from the business community, and urban experts involved in the debates over urban best practice held through Expo-related fora throughout the course of the 6 month event. Of the total number of formal (recorded) and informal (not recorded) discussions, 7 were held with business representatives, 15 with top- and mid-level bureaucrats involved in organizing the participation of their countries at Expo (USA, Canada, NZ, Japan, and Australia), and 4 with urban experts operating through national or urban pavilions to communicate culturally specific understandings of urban best practice. Details regarding the names, positions, form letter requesting an interview and the timing of interviews can be found in the Appendix.

The case-study also includes data garnered through the author's active participant observation in the day-to-day administration of the Canada Pavilion as the Executive Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner General. As an employee of the Canada Pavilion, the author enjoyed privileged access to the Expo Park, to the Expo Organizers on the Chinese side, and some of the highest ranking international participants at Expo 2010.

The study begins with an analysis of Shanghai's winning bid for the right to host Expo. It uses the four political economic factors as subtitles to separate the study into four thematic groups. Using the four political economic factors as subsections of the analysis allows each factor to serve as the central node from which the remaining three political economic elements and the four ideational elements can link in to the analysis.

The study weaves interviews with international participants into the analysis throughout. It also uses secondary source data to incorporate the views of the Chinese organizers, who were not available for comment. The lessons of the first level of analysis and the lessons of Shanghai's urban standardization are both employed because they form an

inescapable backdrop to the political economic and ideational context of Expo 2010 and Shanghai as a whole. In this fashion, the Expo 2010 section provides the most complete application of the conceptual models possible.

CHAPTER V

THREE SECONDARY SOURCE APPLICATIONS OF THE COMBINED CONCEPTUAL MODELS

5.1 Introduction

The following three examples have been constructed in an attempt to highlight the interconnectedness of the two conceptual models. The three examples provide a platform for the application of the two models, and serve to demonstrate the strength of applying them in combination. The ideational model supplements the macro-level political economic model with a tool for understanding the way that human-to-human interaction impacts the way in which development is actually thought and understood on the ground. Together, these two models allow for both a macro-level (drawn primarily from the political economic model) and micro-level view (drawn primarily from the ideational adaptation model) of development activity, without forcing an obvious compromise or an antagonism between the realm of human thought and urban or global development as a whole.

The three examples explored in this chapter form a first level of analysis that further explains and clarifies the potentials and limits of this thesis' two conceptual models. In turn, the examples explore three powerful demographics in the development community: the epistemic community, the business community, and the intergovernmental community. These three communities all operate in different ways, across different sectors, and with different aims. By applying the conceptual models to these three secondary source examples, the thesis succeeds in demonstrating the commonalities across each of these groups while doing justice to their unique positions within the development community.

5.2 Example 1: Education's Impact on Development and Development Theory

American Educational Philosophy and Western Revolutionary Philosophies in China

5.2.1 Social and Historical Context

The importance and value of education is highly lauded in Chinese society, and was so long before the arrival of Westerners or the colonial and imperial domination of the Chinese Mainland starting in 1842. Chinese society is widely acknowledged to have discovered and invented many technical and technological foundational elements of modern society (such as gunpowder, pottery, and writing) well before many West civilizations. Yet the impact of Western domination in China could not help but affect the values and vision of how the Chinese would pursue their future development as a society.

The modern mechanisms of domination and production that the West brought to China, through Shanghai and the other treaty ports, were artifacts that expressed new ways of thinking about the world. Objects like automobiles, airplanes, refrigerators and modern electric innovations like light bulbs and movie projectors were Western novelties brought to China by the foreign elite. Moreover, the introduction and acquisition of foreign languages, which promised a new and better life among the foreign elite, foreshadowed the eventual rise of English as a global language of commerce and finance. The contemporary practice in China of teaching English as a second language is a telling example of the lasting influence of international economic and political power on the Chinese educational system.

The very presence of the international settlements and the international elite that populated them demanded an adaptation of ideas, which saw the Chinese adopt and adapt those things that were the most useful and constructive to their own ends. As a result, the

drive for modernization that swept China and the rest of the developing world in the post-war period could not help but draw lessons from the West. The value of good chemical and engineering facilities, strong centers of learning in the sciences and mathematics, a prioritization of industrial production and later, after 1978, technological prowess; all of these principles permeated the educational philosophy of China in the years following their independence from imperial power.

The globalization of the world economic system has not simply involved the spread of trade, technology and financial capital. It has demanded that nations speak amongst each other, as well as amongst themselves, about how best to build a better future. The developmental ideals of modern China owe a great deal to the ideas about modern industrial and technological development that were brought to their shores through force of arms and through commercial contact.

5.2.2 Educational Philosophy in China: Dewey's Philosophy and Economic Globalization

Chinese philosophy of education in the modern era can be traced back along two lines of thinking about education. One line of thought is a product of Chinese bureaucratic training. It emphasizes “literacy education” and “recitation education,” with a focus on Chinese history, classic literary and philosophical texts, and the lessons of prior imperial regimes (Lu & Chi, 2007). The second line of thought, emerging in China at the end of the 19th and the start of the 20th Centuries, goes back to the Enlightenment, when a host of Western ideas began to mark the psyche of the Chinese intellectual community in such a profound way that they have gone on to indelibly shape the social reality of contemporary China.

The influx of ideas from the Western world brought to China new theories of political organizing (for instance Republicanism, Democracy, and Marxism), a strong sense of the power of the scientific method to shape the material world, and a large body of literature, from the Greeks on to the German Idealists and the Anglo-Saxon Empiricists, that engaged Chinese society with new ideas about core philosophical concepts such as epistemology, metaphysics, and ontology.

Two Chinese professors teaching Education Science in the Mainland of the PRC have examined the historic Sino-Occidental adaptation of ideas in educational philosophy (Lu & Chi, 2007). They conclude that the history of the Chinese education system since the Republican Era has had deep and profound linkages with the West's educational philosophy. Most importantly, they note that the vision for China's contemporary educational system is premised on the ideas of American philosopher John Dewey¹⁴. Writing in the beginning of the 20th Century, Dewey argued that education at its best is a means of creating complete individuals: people who are not simply educated, but whose education could enable them to operate as socially-engaged citizens in as full a manner as possible. Dewey's view that the experience of learning should itself be "a process of living and not a preparation for future living" (Dewey, 1981) became a radical pronouncement in favour of an engaged critical education. This vision for educational reform bled into many of the revolutionary grassroots movements in China and promoted the education of the poor and disenfranchised (Lu & Chi, 2007).

Dewey's educational philosophy also pushed strongly for a recognition of the invaluable insights of the scientific method. However, he stressed the need to view the

¹⁴John Dewey (1859-1952) was one of the most important intellectuals of the early 20th Century. His work in education and social reform had a great impact in America and consequently throughout the world. His most famous work is in the philosophy of pragmatism, which emphasized a scientific and experimental approach to learning and human progress. His interests and writing cover a wide range of inquiry, including religion, art, poetry, and language.

scientific method, a core component of modern learning regimes in China and across the world, as originating in individual experience. More precisely, the scientific method intertwines itself throughout the experience of education inasmuch as it is directed by the very real problems that confront individuals in the course of their daily, social, and particular lives. Explicit in this view, which has been adapted into the Chinese context by a host of contemporary Chinese academics (notably Hu Shi¹⁵), are the core concepts of Learning theory.

If education is the means by which we engage with society, with ourselves, and with others, the assumptions that we derive from our education form the basis for our interaction with the world. Contemporary expectations of individual learning are closely linked to a social education system heavily influenced by market economic competition. Given that competition is bred into the very means by which students find self-confidence, assurance, and praise at every level of intellectual achievement, the future leaders of our societies risk perpetuating the same antagonistic and competitive assumptions about successful development onto the world stage.

Contemporary innovations in the Chinese education system are also closely tied to recent innovations in Western thought. Chinese educational “innovation primarily benefited from using modern Western philosophy methods to understand and study educational philosophy” (Lu & Chi, 2007). Inspired by the insights of continental philosophy¹⁶, today’s critical Chinese scholars highlight a need to reflect on our assumptions about the proper

¹⁵Hu Shi (simplified Chinese: 胡适) was born in Shanghai in 1891, and was a student of John Dewey’s during his time at Columbia University in the early 1900s. Upon his return to China, he taught at Peking University and was a leading advocate of liberal reform. He also became known as one of the leading voices involved in the May 4th Movement. The value of his work has been criticized since his death, most notably by the highly lauded Chinese scholar Ji Xianlin.

¹⁶ Among the philosophical traditions mentioned in Lu & Chi (2007) are phenomenology, existentialism and hermeneutics. Respectively, the philosophical traditions stress the subjectivity of truth, the rejection of any human’s ability to successfully and completely explain human reality (let alone for another person), and the need to realize one’s true potential by critically engaging in the world by constantly overcoming one’s deficiencies.

function of education. Jin (1997), a Chinese scholar commenting on the standardization of Western and Chinese education, noted its potentially inadequacy in creating what Dewey called complete individuals.

In another study, Lu and Chi (2007) note that the future of Chinese educational philosophy is one of “increasing internationalization” premised on enhancing “the adaptation and dialogue with international academia” and pursuing “joint-study projects” to increase learning and generate a shared understating. However, their concern is that this adaptation may not be able to escape the coercive power of leadership, the influence of economic power, and the reach of hegemonic ideas. Lu and Chi (2007) conclude their analysis in an insightful and idealistic diatribe that deserves to be read in as much of its entirety as possible:

The reflection and critique [sic] function of educational philosophy are [sic] to review the presupposition [sic] embedded in educational problems... To exercise the critique [sic] function of educational philosophy is not to deny the reality of education completely, but to form a kind of condition or direction at the conceptual level and mental activity level [sic]... Under the conditions of a market economy... an extreme pursuit of material desires will replace one’s high level needs, suffocating the value and meaning of human existences... The reason why educational philosophy cannot be “dismissed” is that human beings cannot “dismiss” their self-consciousness pursuing the meaning of human existence (pp. 27-28).

The foundational argument presented by these Chinese scholars is that the entire liberating, humanizing, and socially promising premise of Dewey’s thought risks being lost in a situation where education transforms itself into a standardized instrument that refuses to reflect on itself. More profoundly, the very concept of social education as being of inherent value to human existence is made prisoner when it cannot alter itself to suit the changing needs of society.

Recent ethnographic studies have given credence to the concerns voiced by Dewey's Chinese disciples regarding the corrosive effects of market influence on the field of education. The market's restrictive and potentially harmful impact on education has since been examined by a number of contemporary analysts and academics who have documented the effects of market competition on Chinese classrooms and Chinese teachers. Lai and Lo (2007), in a revelatory comparative study of Hong Kong and Shanghai teachers, discovered that teachers in both cities were increasingly frustrated by educational reforms that demanded standardized testing, as well as a standardized model of how to educate and what to teach (Lai & Lo, 2007). They argue that teachers in both cities have been forced to provide a one-size fits all solution to education. The results have been that certain students, whose predispositions of how to be educated are counter to the requirements of the new educational mandate, are left behind as a result of market reform. Lai and Lo write: "Our research had the same findings as Webb et al.'s (2004) research, which found that a market rationality weakened the ability of teachers to innovate, to renew and to respond to students" (Lai and Lo, 2007).

Other researchers (Cole, 1997; Day, 2000) have drawn similar conclusions from their ethnographic studies, finding that teachers harboured an important degree of guilt and disappointment brought on by the demands of teaching a strict standardized curriculum that could not reach all of their students. These last findings are particularly important. The structural imperative of the market system has infiltrated the manner by which teachers educate their students. While the consequences to the future economic and cultural development of marketizing educational systems are more or less understood (restrictions of education on arts, culture, literature and other callings that are not directly relevant to

economic activity), the political economic model of ideational adaptation provides a solid basis for understanding the human impact of educational reform on teacher and students.

In the West, public administration of public goods began to dissolve in the early 1980s, as Reagan and Thatcher spearheaded governmental reform aimed at improving market-efficiency and profitability through the use of public funds and public goods. Education became subsumed within the corporate-market system, benefitting from private funding while at the same time increasingly depending on it to finance their basic operational costs. Since 1978, the education system in China has undergone a similar transition as the one that took place through neoliberal reforms in the West.

In China, the decentralization of economic power, the privatization and marketization of public goods and public institutions, and finally the requirement of building internationally competitive companies and individuals have all had profound impacts on the public education system (Chan and Mok, 2001). China's own internal political and economic reforms have thus resulted in changes to the manner by which education is perceived as well as the means by which it is provided. Yet these changes must also be observed within a larger context of economic globalization and the state-sponsored market economic system that existed prior to China's opening and reform, and which provided a basic model from which the Chinese state drew ideas, absorbed certain basic principles and practices, and whose premises and functions were then adapted to suit the particular context of the transition from Communism to market-socialism.

The following section employs the two combined conceptual models to analyze the political economic impact on education and how it can be seen to reflect on the adaptation of ideas more generally.

5.2.4 Summary of the Analysis

The success of the global economic order and the sustainability of global economic growth are indelibly linked to the manner in which education is conceptualized, enacted, and innovated upon. Concurrently, the very activity of human innovation rests upon the manner in which the process of learning, questioning, and applying our foundational assumptions can be adapted in order to re-conceptualize social understanding. Education that standardizes the limits of individual learning amongst a global population may in fact obfuscate crucial insights necessary for the future of human progress.

5.2.4.1 Summary of the Application of the Ideational adaptation Model

The ideational adaptation framework of Table 5.1 uses quotes drawn directly from the textual analysis of this section on ideational adaptation in the field of education. The following Table 5.2 reproduces the strategy using the political economic model. In the following three examples, this same procedure is reproduced at the end of the textual analysis in order to summarize the key findings of the combined application of the two conceptual models.

The adaptation of ideas has clearly seen a substantial impact on the application and theory of education in Chinese society. Foundational to the story of China's changing educational philosophy is access to foreign ideas and ways of thinking about the world. The West's epistemological and ontological insights, which became available to Chinese society in the years following the Opium War, proved to be hugely influential in the revolutionary and social movements that emerged in Chinese society over the course of the following

century. Each of the four pillars of the ideational adaptation model has important things to say about this process.

The ideational adaptation pillar of **Constructivism** provides a solid initial analysis of the international adaptation of best practice ideas in educational philosophy. Its emphasis on the importance of shared understandings about the world, as well as the structural similarities and limits of the human mind, provide a good foundation from which to understand the receptivity of one culture to the ideas of another. Moreover, Constructivism provides a good framework from which to appreciate the limits to the adaptation of ideas across cultures and the possibility for potential misapplications of ideas in a new setting. Because this pillar argues that ideas find worth through consensus rather than merit, it explicitly encourages a critical analysis of misguided applications of foreign notions of best practice.

The ideational pillar of **Coercion** supports the last two aspects of the Constructivist school. It speaks to both the application of new ideas about best practice as well as the limits involved in an adaptation of ideas that emerges from within imbalanced power relations. In the example of educational philosophy, Coercion highlights the importance of power relations that structure the social reality within which ideas are adapted and localized. The examples of best practice in educational philosophy that have been assimilated and localized by the Chinese population contain elements of the colonialism, imperialism, and market-hegemony that have historically coloured thought in the Western countries from which these ideas emerged. At the same time, the Chinese political and economic leadership have exerted a degree of coercion on the Chinese population, influencing the application of educational philosophy within China according to their

understanding of legitimate best practice. The condition of learning from state institutions in China is the same as it is in other countries: educational policies determined by the national and local leadership present a hegemonic view of the world that supports the interests of a particular vision of future development in that society.

In China, as in the United States, the country whose best practice in educational philosophy served as a case-study for the Chinese system, public education places a heavy emphasis on economic competitiveness. **Competition** theory very successfully supports an ideational analysis of the education system, and the adaptation of ideas about education in particular. This is particularly the case in today's context of global economic development, where market activity is the primary and hegemonic determinant of success when measuring the progress of urban or national development. Moreover, the active involvement of the Chinese state in market promotion means that the coercive power of the political system increasingly favours policies that help increase market competitiveness and economic growth. The analysis of educational philosophy in the preceding sections of this chapter examined in some detail the concerns of Chinese educational theorists on the merit of turning education into a means by which to feed the market system. They argued that if education became wholly a means by which to increase national economic competitiveness, the society as a whole would suffer from a lack of social criticism and reflection of its prospects and circumstances. Moreover, they expressed a decided concern for the fate of the individual, echoing Dewey's sentiment that education is best employed as a tool to make more complete human beings, rather than a more materially prosperous society.

Learning theory occupies an obviously central role in the adaptation of ideas about educational philosophy. Education at its most basic is the instruction of students, but it is

perhaps more usefully considered as the instruction of oneself. Humans never stop educating themselves about who they are and what it means to be in the world. The example of educational philosophy is of crucial importance when viewed through this lens, because it highlights the dangers of creating a narrowly hegemonic standard for education centred around the market system, or the economic system in general. Limiting the potential of education means constraining the ability of humans to understand the world in its proper complexity, limiting the potential of humanity as a whole. More concretely, Dewey's contention that the scientific principle is the result of data garnered from individual experience begs the question as to whether future innovation in development can be actually achieved without creating the “complete individuals” that his educational philosophy calls for.

TABLE 5.2.1

**FOUR SCHOOLS OF IDEATIONAL ADAPTATION
AT WORK IN CHINESE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY**

<p>CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Chinese philosophy is one of “increasing internationalization” premised on enhancing “the adaptation and dialogue with international academia” and pursuing “joint-study projects” to increase learning and generate common knowledge.</p>	
<p>COERCION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>The localization of Western norms of education in China carries with it a baggage of assumptions, expectations, and limits that require a critical reflection. Education that standardizes the limits of individual learning amongst a global population may in fact obfuscate crucial insights necessary for the future of human progress.</p>	<p>COMPETITION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Given that competition is bred into the very means by which students find self-confidence, assurance, and praise at every level of intellectual achievement, the future leaders of our societies risk perpetuating onto the world stage the same symptoms of their childhood.</p>
<p>LEARNING & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Dewey’s view that the experience of learning should itself be “a process of living and not a preparation for future living” (Dewey, 1981) became a radical pronouncement in favour of an engaged critical education that bled into many of the revolutionary grassroots movements in China and promoted the education of the poor and disenfranchised (Lu & Chi, 2007).</p>	
<p>COERCION</p> <p>Individual learning is a positive adaptation of ideas that attempts to localize and optimize the insights of others. Because of this, it is tightly bound up with the requirement of a leader, or more precisely in the example of education, a case-study of relevant best practice.</p>	<p>COMPETITION</p> <p>One assumption and expectation that the Chinese educational system shares with the American one is the core American value of competitive struggle in establishing a meritocracy in the marketplace.</p>
<p>COERCION & COMPETITION</p> <p>Under the conditions of a market economy... an extreme pursuit of material desires will replace one’s high level needs, suffocating the value and meaning of human existences...</p>	
<p>COERCION & LEARNING</p> <p>The entire liberating, humanizing, and socially promising premise of Dewey’s educational philosophy risks being lost in a condition where learning becomes a standardized instrument that refuses to reflect on itself.</p>	<p>COMPETITION & LEARNING</p> <p>Contemporary expectations of individual learning have become one in which the educational system is a reflection of a larger system of competition contextualized by the market economy.</p>
<p>LEARNING</p> <p>The process of individual learning through experience, trial and error, as well as the accumulation of new information and more and better data were foundational to the development of Chinese education.</p>	

5.2.4.2 Summary of the Application of the Political Economic Model

The following table describes the potential political economic impact of the standardization of educational philosophy. It also highlights the way each of the four political economic pillars is involved in the adaptation of ideas surrounding educational philosophy. By employing the political economic framework in this manner, the thesis supports and expands the ideational adaptation analysis in educational philosophy. In so doing, it also raises questions about the future of development and of educational philosophy.

The **Context** of economic globalization serves as a backdrop not only for incentivizing and allowing the adaptation of ideas between nations, but as a platform wherein future generations of students will apply the lessons of their education. While technology and economic opportunity have created a means by which nations and their citizens adapt ideas with one another, they have also had limiting effects on education by legitimating a constrained educational philosophy dedicated to producing adults who will be successful in a competitive global economic system. The results for development seem clear: standardizing education to privilege students that show promise in the competitive market system provides the basis for furthering a hegemony of assumptions about development that may be unsustainable. More to the point, if education is limited to such a role, the very ability of humanity to cope with obstacles that may arise from the hegemonic model of development become constrained.

The political economic pillar of **Agency** supports the analysis of this point. By emphasizing the ability of a small and powerful elite to effectively control the narrative of global economic development, the pillar of Agency underscores the potential inability of

today's elite to re-imagine development in a way that would overcome some of the economic, environmental, and security obstacles that face today's global economic system. Crucial to this point is that today's economic and political elite share a number of key assumptions about development that stem not only from their similar socio-economic standing in society, but also from common educational philosophies that prioritize competitive market growth as the central feature of development activity.

The **Structure** of modern political economic systems emphasizes the close and cooperative interaction between the state and the market. In the example of education, the state's central role in determining educational policy for the nation acts as means by which to prioritize certain aspects of educational philosophy over others. Today's context of economic globalization, and the close and increasing relationship between the Chinese political and economic elite, has meant that the Chinese educational system focuses heavily on creating young professionals who can contribute to the nation's economic well-being. Thus, the educational example demonstrates a potential flaw in the Structure of state-led market activity, namely that as the government becomes more closely and ideologically aligned with the market, it limits its ability to off-set the potential harm of short-term myopic economic activity with long-term planning for the good of future generations. The power of economic globalization and the interests of the economic and political elite become interwoven with those of the government, constraining its potential for action.

The built and natural **Environment** has provided a means by which to test and explore new ideas in the field of educational philosophy. The Western ideas about educational philosophy that have been arriving on the shores of China since the early 1900s have dramatically shaped the Chinese environment in ways that are hard to synthesize.

Every major democratic and socialist movement since 1842 has some roots in Western social, political, and revolutionary philosophy. More concretely, however, China's built and natural environment serves as a basis for the citizens of China to question their reality and evaluate for themselves the lessons that must be drawn from the changes they are living through. China, moreover, is a source of inspiration and critical reflection for development theorists from around the world. In both these respects, the pillar of environment is perhaps the cornerstone of educational philosophy. The environment of our lives provides not only the most compelling source of reflection that we have on our current society but it also provides a forum through which we act on those ideas, test them, and arrive at new ideas about ourselves and our world.

TABLE 5.1.2

**POLITICAL ECONOMIC FACTORS AT WORK IN
CHINESE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY**

<p>CONTEXT</p> <p>The success of the global economic order and the sustainability of global economic growth are indelibly linked to the manner in which education is conceptualized, enacted, and innovated upon.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY & CONTEXT</p> <p>The very activity of human innovation rests upon the manner in which the process of learning, questioning, and applying our foundational assumptions can be adapted in order to re-conceptualize social understanding.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE & CONTEXT</p> <p>Chinese educational “innovation primarily benefited from using modern Western philosophy methods to understand and study educational philosophy” (Lu & Chi, 2007).</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT & CONTEXT</p> <p>The influx of ideas from the Western world brought to China new theories on political organizing (for instance Republicanism, Democracy, and Marxism), a strong sense of the power of the scientific method to shape the material world, and a large body of literature from the Greeks on to German Idealists and the Anglo-Saxon Empiricists that engaged the Chinese epistemic community with new ideas about core philosophical concepts such as epistemology, metaphysics, and ontology.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY</p> <p>The reason why educational philosophy cannot be “dismissed” is that human beings cannot “dismiss” their self-consciousness pursuing the meaning of human existence.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE</p> <p>Zhou (2000) explored the reconstruction of the very process of theoretical research, and questioned the idolatry that surrounds our contemporary theoretical assumptions, remarking that theory is a tool and cannot practice itself.</p>
<p>AGENCY & STRUCTURE</p> <p>The soft coercion of leadership risks eroding the bounds of educational possibility by defining it in a narrow and standardized manner that is becoming increasingly ubiquitous.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>Learning theory, like Dewey’s conception of the scientific method, stresses a need to centre education on the basic dilemmas that arise out of individual experience.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>The history of Adaptation in ideas about education has led China into its current regime of Scientific Development under President Hu Jintao (12th Five-Year Plan), premised on the core principles of the scientific method, and has underscored many of the linkages in outlook that bridge Chinese education, development, and ontology, with that of the Western world.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>At its heart, if education is the means by which we engage with society, with ourselves, and with others, the assumptions that we derive from our education form the basis for our interaction with the world.</p>	

5.2.4.2 Summary of the Key Findings of the Combined Conceptual Approach

The example of educational philosophy, and the adaptation of best practice in this domain between China and the West, provides a good platform for the application of the combined conceptual models. Ideational adaptation reveals how the generation of legitimate best practice is achieved through the supportive relationship of the four pillars. Each pillar enables the investigation of particular components of the adaptation of best practice ideas in educational philosophy. Constructivism allows a basis from which to understand the success and limits of adaptation, producing an analysis that invites researchers to question the legitimacy of best practice in any circumstance of ideational adaptation. It produces a foundation for criticizing the educational hegemony that has been achieved in most market systems through a combination of coercive power and the legitimacy of competitive success. Coercion theory emphasizes how the state's collusion with the competitive market system produces policy leadership for education that prioritizes learning geared towards achieving better economic development and competitiveness. Competition theory reinforces this analysis, while also suggesting that the very process of learning may be limited as a result of the coercion by the state and the market system. By constraining the education of individuals towards successful activity in a competitive market system, Learning theory suggests that parallel constraints could be achieved in the potential of human thought and personal development. The results could be counterproductive not only for human development, but for overcoming obstacles created by the market system. By limiting the potential of human thought and education, the innovation and adaptability of human development as a whole could also potentially suffer.

The conclusion of the ideational adaptation model is supported and expanded in the political economic model. While the Context of global economic development has created a useful platform for the adaptation of ideas through better technology and increasing prosperity, it has also incentivized the standardization of education in order to increase national and regional competitiveness in the global economy. The Structural pillar in this model reinforces the claim of the coercive example, providing a foundation from which to understand why political leaders are interested in standardizing educational policy to promote success in the market system. Because the economic and political spheres are increasingly linked together, particularly in China, the interests of the state are best served when educational policy aims at producing adults who can help the country pursue best practice in urban and national development. The Agency pillar adds another layer to this argument, providing a political economic counterpart to the combination of learning and competition in the ideational model. An educational system that serves the interests of the market economic system will create adults who cannot think beyond the hegemony of market competition, reproducing an elite whose interests require the continued standardization of a constrained educational model of best practice. The Environment pillar provides the one political economic pillar that looks beyond the power dynamics involved in this particular model. The Environment created by an educational model that rewards individuals whose activity benefits existing power relations and economic growth may generate resentment amongst certain members of the population who feel overly limited by what their leadership and their economic system allows. Both the political economic model and the ideational adaptation model therefore support the conclusion that education's place in development is vast and important. They emphasize the power dynamics involved in

standardizing the limits of education amongst the general population while also finding obvious places where changes may yet occur, most likely out of a sense of necessity or an inability to overcome development obstacles from within the current educational model.

5.3: Business-Government Dialogue in Global City Formation

The Case of IBLAC and Bilateral China Business Councils

5.3.1 Social and Historical Context

The adaptation of ideas between the international community and the city of Shanghai requires that representatives of political regimes, multinational corporations, and advocacy groups engage in a recurring dialogue on core issues of interest to economic and social development. Doing so requires an appropriate international setting for this dialogue. Business Councils, composed of influential corporate actors that advise cities on urban best practice, are an increasingly recognized institution for securing relationships between urban regimes and corporate executives at the highest levels.

China Business Councils (CBCs) engage with political appointees to ensure that relations between political communities and business communities are strong and political bodies provide attractive marketplaces for the private sphere. Though many bilateral business organizations are present and active in Shanghai and throughout China, the International Business Leaders Advisory Council to the city of Shanghai (IBLAC), and the handful of Bilateral China Business Councils (BCBCs) active in the city play the most important roles.

The two types of Business Councils highlight the different types of interactions between the business and political elite. IBLAC serves as a prime example of the importance of interpersonal trust and the assurance of legitimate expertise in high-level political economic discussions. The CBCs help support that analysis while also allowing an

exploration of the role of lasting friendships and the importance of access in securing actionable results from dialogue.

5.3.2 The International Business Leaders Advisory Council of Shanghai (IBLAC)

5.3.2.1 Foundations for the Adaptation of Ideas Amongst the World's Political Economic Elite

Set up by Zhu Rongji in 1989, Shanghai's IBLAC was originally conceived as a platform for the leading business figures of the time to share their ideas about the ways in which Shanghai could quickly, efficiently, and properly develop into a city that would capture the imagination and attention of the global economic elite. Over the twenty years of its existence, IBLAC has been composed of an exclusive few who have benefited from direct contact with the highest levels of the Shanghainese government. In the words of former IBLAC Chairman Jeancourt-Galignani speaking to Asiaweek magazine in 1999, "The idea was to have a restricted group, including the mayor, vice mayor and a few businessmen, to discuss the development of Shanghai and how to make it a great commercial center of the East" (Asiaweek, 29/09/99).

5.3.2.2 Foundations of Trust and Legitimacy

This elite grouping of the world's most powerful financial and commercial concerns "all know each other," "know the mayor," and engage each year "for one day and a half" in general discussions regarding "how business works, what [the members of IBLAC] require and what [the members of IBLAC] can bring to the city." The goal is not only to help boost economic development, but more broadly to help the political body know "how to respond

to the challenges and opportunities of globalization,” according to Gordon Brown’s office upon establishing the International Business Advisory Council (IBAC) for the UK (IBAC website).

Meanwhile, the corporate side of the IBLAC alignment acts as an economic policy leadership community. Their legitimacy stems from their competitive and coercive ability to shape the actions of thousands of other businesses, and the movement of billions of dollars in investment. Moreover, these individuals are without question emissaries of a view of the world that is hegemonic insofar as it obfuscates and ignores certain concerns because they fall outside those that are proper and profitable to the corporate sphere.

5.3.2.3 Foundations of Cooperation and Mutual Aid

At the level of urban regimes, IB(L)ACs are generally concentrated around cities that serve as hubs for the regional and global economic system. As a result, Seoul and London have established prominent IBACs on the same model as Shanghai. The goal in each of these situations is to advise the city on how to “secure” a position “as a top global city” (The Greater London Authority, 2008a) or a “world-class” city (SIBAC). Seoul’s IBAC leaders thus “provide advice and recommendations,” to realize the vision “for the expansion and transformation of the municipality” into an economy that generates “high-value added” products (SIBAC webpage). London IBAC’s vision is “that great cities and great companies need each other, that companies need good people and the best people are happiest in the best places” (The Greater London Authority, 2008a). In the London case, its core concern of creating a “great city” that responds to the needs of “great companies” serves as a

foundational principle in their role as a powerful advisory group for city policy (The Greater London Authority, 2008a).

5.3.2.4 Foundations for Action and the Generation of New Norms of Best Practice

At the same time as bridging important transnational business relationships, engagement with the leaders of the global economic system brings all of the tools of these well-oiled, well-educated, and well-funded machines to the disposal of an often information- and experience-poor urban government. Each meeting of IBLAC focuses on a given theme. A series of seminars is organized to generate discussions on what constitutes legitimate best practice for a given issue under that theme. The issues and the theme are chosen to reflect the prevailing development concerns of both the SMG and the international business community.¹⁷

As a result of these discussions, the Shanghainese government becomes engaged in the process of courting multinational corporations to learn from their understanding of what constitutes legitimate best practice for competitive urban regimes. The SMG also becomes engaged in an internal process of active learning through access to more and better information regarding innovations ranging the gamut of development practice and theory.

Moreover, IBLAC consults with Shanghai on “what other great cities have done in different fields so they can take inspiration in that” (Asiaweek). The capacity of IBLAC members to express their ideas on the promises, shortcomings, and successes of other major cities at the centre of the global economic order in an intimate two-day closed-door setting

¹⁷ Over the past two decades IBLAC has met yearly with the top political brass of the SMG while some incredibly momentous shifts took place in the city, the country and the region as a whole. IBLAC consulted with the SMG while they were involved in Pudong New Area from 1990 onwards, the Asian Financial crisis in 1997 and its echo throughout Asia, China’s inclusion into the WTO in 2001, and the bid proposal for Expo 2010 as well as the following redevelopment of the urban core to prepare for the historic event.

has enabled Shanghai to understand and adapt to the concerns of the foreign financial community.

5.3.3 Bilateral China Business Councils

5.3.3.1 The Place of Friendship, Legitimacy, and Access among the World's Political Economic Elite

Where IB(L)ACs engage in a dialogue that is closely related to the function of business within the specific jurisdiction of a global city, Bilateral China Business Councils (BCBCs) are often engaged at multiple levels of the nation's economic and political processes. Like IB(L)ACs, BCBCs are intimately linked into their own national political-economic hierarchies, benefitting from the operations of their national government's Consulates in China, as well as their Embassy in Beijing. Unlike IBLACs, BCBCs boast day-to-day operations in offices working in most of the major cities of China, as well as in offices in their own native countries. As such, BCBCs have a vast reach in Chinese economic affairs, covering a good stretch of the entire country's economic and political developments.

5.3.3.2 Lasting Friendships in Political Economic Decisions

Bilateral China Business Councils have played an instrumental role in shaping nation-to-nation economic and political relations in China since the very start of Opening and Reform in 1978. These mostly non-profit and often member-based organizations act as intermediaries between their governments, major national businesses, and the Chinese state. A good number can claim that they were some of the first movers in China before and after

1978¹⁸, a fact of great importance in China where strong personal, political, and business ties to China's political hierarchy are absolutely necessary for the success of economic activities. The importance of strong and lasting personal ties with key figures in Chinese politics is potential influence with State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), the four major banks¹⁹, real estate activity, and other key aspects of China's economy. Close political contact with the government is also crucial insofar as the Chinese state as a whole is undergoing incredibly rapid growth, and thereby causing constant changes in the policy arena.

5.3.3.3 Legitimacy in Political Economic Decisions

The role of the political establishment in BCBCs is three-fold: 1) to facilitate activity in China through coordination with government institutions devoted to the development of trade and investment, 2) to allow for proper engagement with the Chinese hierarchy, which necessitates strong political backing to give legitimacy to constructive dialogue and 3) to facilitate the ability of business members to actualize agreements quickly through dialogue and diplomacy with the Chinese government. A quick glance at the list of the Boards of Directors of the United States-China Business Council (USCBC), and the China-Britain Business Council (CBBC) demonstrates the links between business and politics that are necessary for productive engagement in Shanghai and throughout China as a whole.

¹⁸The United-States China Business Council was established in 1973, as was the Australia China Business Council, both following the promise of President Richard Nixon's visit to China in '72. The Canada-China Business Council was established in 1978 immediately after a small number of Canadian firms had organized the first international business delegation to China in the wake of Opening and Reform. The China-Britain Business Council dates its original involvement in China back to the 1950s.

¹⁹These banks are: the Bank of China (BoC), the China Construction Bank (CCB), the Agricultural Bank of China (ABC), and the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC)

TABLE 5.3.1

**SUMMARY OF KEY MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
FOR THE UNITED STATES-CHINA BUSINESS COUNCIL**

The Honorable Barbara Hackman Franklin President and Chief Executive Officer Barbara Franklin Enterprises	The Honorable William M. Daley Vice Chairman and Head of Corporate Responsibility JPMorgan Chase & Co.
The Honorable William S. Cohen Chairman and Chief Executive Officer The Cohen Group	William N. Dudley President and Chief Operating Officer Bechtel Group, Inc.
Paul D. Conway Senior Vice President Cargill, Incorporated	William R. Rhodes Senior Vice Chairman, Citigroup Senior Vice Chairman, Citibank

Source: USCBC Web Page

Table 5.3.1 lists some key members of the USCBC's Board of Directors, which boasts some of the most powerful individuals in the entire global economic system. The three leading figures of the organization, for instance, are the Chairman and CEO of Dow Chemicals, the Chairman and CEO of Coca-Cola, and the Chairman, President, and CEO of Proctor and Gamble. In addition to these economic titans are key individuals whose organizations and whose personal networks include crucial connections to the US government. William Dudley and Paul Conway both hold the highest corporate position in firms (Cargill and Bechtel) that were heavily involved in the Iraq and Afghan wars. William Daley and William Rhodes are both major figures in the banking industry, and their two companies (JPMorgan Chase and Citigroup) were both instrumental in funding President Obama's election campaign, respectively contributing the 7th highest (USD \$695,132) and 6th highest amount (USD \$701,290) to his campaign through their employees and their political action committees (PAC) (Center for Responsive Politics).

5.3.3.4 Privileged Access in Political Economic Decisions

Table 5.3.2 shows that the China-Britain Business Council provides a much more straightforward example of the links between politics and economics. Perhaps most obvious is the fact that the Chairman of the Council also acts as a senior consultant for Asia to the International Financial Services of London, a group that directly advises the office of Mayor Boris Johnson. Moreover, two other members, Mr. Perry and Mr. Barlow, are intimately linked to two other public development agencies controlled through the Office of the Mayor of London: London Export Corporation Ltd., and Think London. Interestingly, in the British case, the historic involvement of the UK in Hong Kong introduces a range of personal and power relations that do not exist in any other case. The presence on the Board of Directors of representatives from both Standard Chartered and HSBC offers an insight in this regard. Together, the two British banks to this day still control the printing and back the value of most of the currency in Hong Kong.

TABLE 5.3.2

**SUMMARY OF KEY MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
FOR THE CHINA-BRITAIN BUSINESS COUNCIL**

Sir David Brewer CMG Senior Consultant, Asia International Financial Services London	Mr Stephen Perry Managing Director London Export Corporation Ltd
Mr David Shaw Adviser to the Board HSBC Holdings Plc	Mr Ian Barlow Senior Partner, London, KPMG LLP (& Chairman of Think London)
Mr Lance Browne CBE Vice Chairman Standard Chartered Bank	

Source: CBBC Webpage

Without political involvement at the highest levels, the capacity of BCBCs to function effectively as business organizations would be deeply impaired, leading to the collapse of their legitimacy. For instance, BCBCs regularly host dinners, roundtables, conferences, and receptions for high-level political figures from China and from their own country. Moreover, Presidential or Prime Ministerial visits often include forums organized by the appropriate BCBC for their own members. Political strength supports economic success, and both generate recognition at home and abroad of the organization's power.

5.3.4 Summary of the Analysis

BCBCs and city-specific counselling initiatives like IBLAC provide a forum for dialogue between the most important and influential players in the political economy of development. On the one hand, international elites participate in order to have their interests voiced and heard by the leaders and policy-makers in large, influential, and internationally relevant urban centres like the city of Shanghai. On the other, politicians, bureaucrats, and key actors in the business community come together to discuss the ways in which a city can most effectively engage with the global economy actors. Together, these discussions promote a meaningful construction of mutual expectations regarding a possible and desirable future for the city in question. At the same time, the intimate and ongoing nature of these interactions serves to create bonds of trust between individuals and organizations. The two sides also share a sense in the legitimate expertise of the other, allowing for constructive and actionable dialogue that actually alters the prior suppositions held by all members privy to the discussions. Meanwhile, links between the business and the political sphere enable and expedite whichever consensus for action is drawn during these meetings and serve to

reinforce the legitimacy of the undertaking.

5.3.4.1 Summary of the Application of the Ideational adaptation Model

The textual references of this section, reproduced in Table 5.3. 3 and Table 5.3.4, alongside the appropriate ideational pillar from each conceptual model, help bridge the divide between the adaptation of ideas and the political economy reality that they influence, and are inspired by. **Constructivism** emphasizes the fact that not only are the meetings between business leaders and political leaders held in order to generate friendships, bonds of trust, and relationships of legitimate expertise, but also that the ideas adapted and localized in these meetings are themselves social constructions about the world, which are but one of many interpretations of urban best practice. In this example, the ideational pillar of Constructivism serves as a useful reminder that development best practice is always a constructed matter of agreement among individuals and thus can be contested by other individuals. It helps underscore how the power of multinational corporations rests on a vision of a future that does not yet exist. As such, it also helps emphasize how any vision of future development requires the cooperation of the political and economic elite, a relationship that is built on trust, interaction, and mutual understanding of legitimacy. These basic social constructions form the most important basis for cooperation and dialogue amongst the world's political and economic elite.

Coercion highlights the power relations inherent in the process of ideational adaptation, adding depth to the constructivist pillar by incorporating the lessons of policy leadership, conditionality, and hegemonic ideas. The leaders of the business world have access to financial and human capital, as well as advanced technology, to a degree that is

unavailable to the political community. They also constitute a dominant force in the economic system, particularly when acting as a community. As such, their ability to dictate best practice, through first mover advantage, and the conditions of their participation in a given economic system, allow them to construct a vision of economic growth that is hegemonic because the business community can ensure, through exerting economic power, that the vision comes to pass. This last point is a combination of the lessons of constructivism and coercion, but it is also a domain that speaks clearly to the ideational pillar of competition.

The legitimacy of the business community in the eyes of the political sphere rests heavily on its proven effectiveness in the marketplace. In particular, multinational corporations, which make up all of the membership of IBLAC and the BCBCs, have proven the worth of their ideas about development by their net worth as a company. The ideational pillar of competition provides a more subtle analysis than simply explaining how the business community draws its legitimacy in the realm of urban and global best practice. It helps investigate how this legitimacy allows the business community to say which cities are “great,” what the key demographic of development should be, and how to properly understand the very notion of development. **Competition**, as a foundation for legitimacy in determining best practice, allows IBLAC and the BCBCs to construct an entire narrative of development that privileges their institutional and individual interests. Moreover, the business community coerces political institutions by its actions in the marketplace, entrenching its development vision through the exercise of power, which then brings the political sphere in line to support the narrative so as to profit from a cooperative relationship, rather than suffer from an antagonistic one.

Crucial to the Shanghai case study is that the Chinese government exerts an incredible amount of power in the marketplace. As a result, the two sides can boast coercive, constructivist, and competitive power of a similar degree in China. The Shanghai/China case is also instructive because the Chinese governance system has actively attached itself to the international business community since Pudong New Area in 1990. As a result, the adaptation of ideas between the SMG and the CBCs on economic best practice in an urban environment begins from a mutual understanding about the basic assumptions, expectations, and prospects of development in Shanghai. As Chapter II showed, the pursuit of global city status on the part of the SMG is proof of the agreement between the political and economic community on the form, function, and future of the city of Shanghai.

The process of active and constructive **Learning** between the two sides is well entrenched in the domain of urban economic competitiveness. IBLAC meetings, for instance, have occurred annually since 1989. BCBCs have been around in China since before the Reform Period began in 1978. The SMG and the business community have learnt from each other over the course of this reform, helping each other understand the Chinese development paradigm in relation to the development of previous countries and the patterns of other economic success stories. Shanghai is no different, benefitting since 1990 from a substantial amount of interaction with the leaders of the business world on how to best construct a global city that would attract their interest.

The danger inherent in the process of learning, however, is that certain data are omitted in favour of other data, or worse, that certain sources of data dominate so much of the learning process that they limit the bounds of potential thought by ruling out other data sources that may be equally credible. In the realm of economic best practice for an urban

setting, the data from multinationals involved in IBLAC and the BCBCs occupies a position of the utmost legitimacy, because of their competitive edge in the marketplace, and their ability to actualize their economic visions through the exercise of economic and political power.

TABLE 5.3.3

**FOUR SCHOOLS OF IDEATIONAL ADAPTATION
AT WORK IN BUSINESS COUNCILS**

CONSTRUCTIVISM	
Seoul and London have established prominent IBACs, on the same model as Shanghai. The goal in each of these situations is to advise the city on how to help a particular urban regime “secure” a position “as a top global city” (The Greater London Authority, 2008a) or a “world-class” city (SIBAC).	
COERCION & CONSTRUCTIVISM	COMPETITION & CONSTRUCTIVISM
At the same time as bridging important transnational business relationships, engagement with the leaders of the global economic system brings all of the tools of these well-oiled, well-educated, and well-funded machines to the disposal of an often information- and experience-poor urban government.	Each meeting of IBLAC focuses on a given theme, or series of issues that reflects the concerns of both the SMG and the international business leaders.... IBLAC [also] consults with Shanghai on “what other great cities have done in different fields so they can take inspiration in that.” (Asiaweek)
LEARNING & CONSTRUCTIVISM	
The capacity of IBLAC members to express their ideas on the promises, shortcomings, and successes of other major cities at the centre of the global economic order in an intimate two-day closed-door setting has enabled Shanghai to understand and adapt to the concerns of the foreign financial community.	
COERCION	COMPETITION
Together, these two groups of public and private elite decision makers are able to create and enforce policy that other groups must then follow. Moreover, their cooperation renders the decisions of the SMG hegemonic insofar as other potential development paths are ignored because they fall outside what is profitable to the interests of IBLAC's members	IBLAC was originally conceived as a platform for the leading business figures of the time to share their ideas about the ways in which Shanghai could quickly, efficiently, and properly develop into a city that would capture the imagination and attention of the global economic elite.
COERCION & COMPETITION	
Meanwhile, the corporate side of the IBLAC alignment acts as an economic policy leadership community. Their legitimacy stems from the competitive and coercive fact that their organizations have the power to shape the actions of thousands of other businesses, and the movement of billions of dollars in investment.	
COERCION & LEARNING	COMPETITION & LEARNING
The Shanghai government becomes engaged in the process of courting multinational corporations to build ideas about the best practice of competitive urban regimes that is hegemonic insofar as it obfuscates and ignores certain concerns because they fall outside those that are proper and profitable to the corporate sphere.	The SMG also becomes engaged in an internal process of active learning through access to more and better information regarding innovations ranging the gamete of development practice and theory.
LEARNING	
The goal is not only to help boost economic development, but more broadly to help the political body know “how to respond to the challenges and opportunities of globalization” to use the words of Gordon Brown’s office on establishing the International Business Advisory Council (IBAC) for the UK (IBAC website)	

5.3.4.2 Summary of the Application of the Political Economic Model

The application of the political economic model to this example is shown in Table 5.3.4. The model supports the ideational adaptation framework by providing the necessary macro-level analysis that informs the political economic interests of the actors investigated in this example. More specifically, the **Context** of economic globalization provides a platform from which to understand the crucial and powerful role of the international economic and political elite in the global economy. Today's economic globalization has come about as a result of decades of deepening international integration between sovereign nations and their corporate actors. China's 1978 Reform and Opening initiatives signalled its decision to enter into the global economy dominated by the Western powers. Today, the effects of that decision have been a drastic change in China's position within the global economy.

BCBCs and IBLAC provide a specific historical example from which to understand how China successfully negotiated its transition into a market-economy. More particularly, it highlights the interactions that occurred, and still occur, between the Chinese political and economic elite, and the elite of the international business community. This ongoing interaction provides a means by which to understand China's rise in the global economy which recognizes the crucial role played by an international economic elite, with ties to its own national polities, and with the ability to influence the global economic system as a whole.

The **Agency** of a small and powerful group of people, with vast resources at their disposal in the economic realm, as well as close connections to political power, is a critical component of international, urban, and global development in an era of economic

globalization. In the case of Shanghai's urban development, and the development of China as a whole, membership groups like IBLAC and the BCBCs have the ability to influence key agents on the Chinese side through privileged access not available to less powerful people. This agency provides a means by which to understand the adaptation of ideas amongst the most highly-placed decision makers in the Chinese system. More importantly, however, it extends the network of these elite economic and political actors, tying the Chinese elite to the political and economic elite that already dominates the world system. The discussions that take place between the SMG and the members of IBLAC, for instance, allow each of the discussants the chance to introduce new sources of legitimate expertise, economic power, or political privilege, just as much as they serve to introduce new ideas of legitimate urban best practice.

The **Structure** of a state-led market economy, which dominates the political and economic realities of China and virtually every other country in the global economic system, is therefore intrinsically tied to both the political economic pillars of Context and Agency. In this example, CBCs have been designed to coordinate exclusively with the Chinese political system. Because the Chinese government is the primary source of market activity in the Chinese national economy, the international economic and political elites have carefully crafted strong, cooperative, and trusting relations with the Chinese political and economic elite. Moreover, given the power of the Chinese government within its own national economy, the Chinese elite biases relationships with other international actors who can provide legitimate and secure access to the political elite of their own national systems.

The lasting effects of CBC involvement in the Chinese economic system since 1978 have had profound impacts on the built and natural environment of Shanghai and of China.

This impact is as much the result of political and economic policy as it is on the very vision of a future Chinese urban and national system. The pursuit of global city status in Shanghai is a prime example of the ideational impact that the international business elite has had on the vision of urban best practice which has impelled the SMG's urban economic policies over the last 20 years. The changes in the urban environment since 1990 have subsequently required further discussions between business organizations like IBLAC and the BCBCs in order to revisit and revise best practice ideas. These organizations have learnt from the SMG just as the SMG has learnt from the international business community, each helping the other adapt to the new challenges posed by Shanghai's constantly evolving urban form.

TABLE 5.3.4

POLITICAL ECONOMIC FACTORS AT WORK IN BUSINESS COUNCILS

<p>CONTEXT</p> <p>Bilateral China Business Councils have played an instrumental role in shaping nation-to-nation economic and political relations in China since the very start of Opening and Reform in 1978. These mostly non-profit and often member-based organizations act as intermediaries between their governments, major national businesses, and the Chinese state.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY & CONTEXT</p> <p>BCBCs and city-specific counselling initiatives like IBLAC provide a forum for dialogue between the most important and influential players in the political economy of development.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE & CONTEXT</p> <p>In addition to the presence of these economic titans are key individuals whose organizations and whose personal networks include crucial connections to the US government.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT & CONTEXT</p> <p>In the British case, the historic involvement of the UK in Hong Kong introduces a range of personal and power relations that do not exist in any other case. The presence on the Board of Directors of both Standard Chartered and HSBC offers an insight in this regard. Together, the two British banks to this day still control the printing and back the value of most of the currency in Hong Kong.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY</p> <p>The USCBC's Board of Directors... boasts some of the most powerful individuals in the entire global economic system. The three leading figures of the organization, for instance, are the Chairman and CEO of Dow Chemicals, the Chairman and CEO of Coca-Cola, and the Chairman, President, and CEO of Proctor and Gamble.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE</p> <p>Political strength supports... economic success and both generate recognition at home and abroad regarding the strength of the organization. Without political involvement at the highest levels, the capacity of BCBCs to function effectively as business-oriented organizations would be deeply impaired, leading to the collapse of their legitimacy</p>
<p>AGENCY & STRUCTURE</p> <p>International elites participate in order to have their interests voiced and heard by the leaders and policy-makers in large, influential, and internationally relevant urban centres like the city of Shanghai. On the other [hand] politicians, bureaucrats, and key actors in the local business community come to discuss the ways in which the city can most effectively engage with international actors.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>Together, these discussions promote a meaningful construction of mutual expectations regarding a possible and desirable future for the city in question.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>Close political contact with the government is also crucial insofar as the Chinese state as a whole is undergoing incredibly rapid growth, which is causing constant changes in the policy arena.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>China Business Councils have played an instrumental role in shaping nation-to-nation economic and political relations in China since the very start of Opening and Reform in 1978. These mostly non-profit and often member-based organizations act as intermediaries between their governments, major national businesses, and the Chinese state. A good number can claim that they were some of the first movers in China before and after 1978, a fact of great importance in China where strong personal, political and business ties to China's political hierarchy is absolutely necessary for the success of economic activities.</p>	

5.3.4.3 Summary of the Key Findings of the Combined Conceptual Approach

The example of China Business Councils speaks well to the combination of the conceptual models. The ideational adaptation model successfully shows how the international business community acquires legitimacy in the eyes of China's political leaders from its competitive success in the market system. This legitimacy is further entrenched by the coercive power of large multinational corporations, represented in IBLAC and the BCBCs, to shape development according to their own interests. Constructivism emphasizes how all visions of urban best practice that emerge from discussion between the business community and China's political community are likely to be contested by others outside this community, but it also explains how these contested visions of best practice are considered legitimate best practice within the business and political community. Learning school further explains how ideas garner legitimacy, providing a base from which to investigate how ideas about development become hegemonic when a society's key decision makers emphasize the worth of certain data, and certain data sources, over others that cannot provide the same sense of legitimacy.

The political economic model supplements this analysis by providing a more historic, macro-level perspective. It shows how the Context of global economic development and the power of a small number of incredible influential and well connected people feed into the ideational framework. These powerful and well connected people are the ones that can prove their ideational legitimacy to the Chinese political and economic elite. These leaders of the international economic and political community can claim the competitive and coercive legitimacy that was expressed in the ideational model. Through their power and influence, they can garner access to China's key decision makers, and the institutions they

represent can provide a forum through which to construct trust and legitimacy in the minds of the Chinese elite. Once the ideas about urban best practice that emerge from these discussions are enacted, the changes in the urban environment require more dialogue and consultation with legitimate experts, creating a cyclical relationship of ideational adaptation centered on a mutually constructed notion of urban best practice.

5.4 Cooperation between Governmental and International Organizations

The Case of Suzhou Creek and Water Sanitation in Shanghai

5.4.1 Social and Historical Context

The following case study of Suzhou Creek's water management sheds some light on how cooperation between Shanghai, China, and the international development community has generated ideational adaptation on norms of urban best practice. The ideational adaptation involved in Suzhou Creek inevitably raises its own red flags²⁰, but it was accomplished through a cooperative and shared desire for best practice on both sides. The project applied the scientific expertise of the West to a matter that arguably offered positive gains across every political, economic, and social constituency.

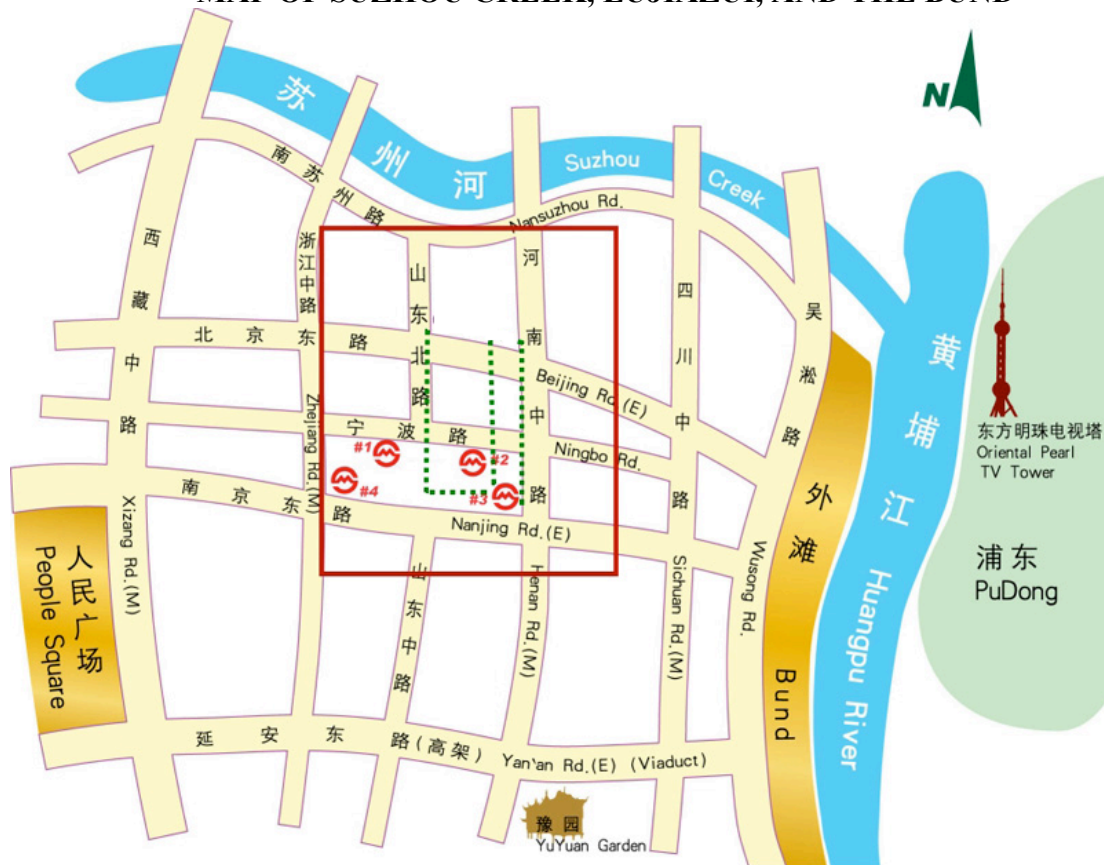
5.4.1.1 Social Context of Suzhou Creek

Suzhou Creek is the main tributary of the Huangpu River. Together, these two waterways form the major source of Shanghai's water supply, and the primary destination of its effluents (Ward & Liang, 1995). The Creek flows east into the Huangpu, meeting the river in the middle of the historical Bund area, to this day one of the most important commercial and tourism landmarks in the city (see Figure 5.1). Figure 5.1 shows the proximity of the Suzhou Creek to the Bund, the historical financial centre of Shanghai. Moreover, the Creek also meets the Huangpu just across the river from Shanghai's new financial district in Pudong, known as Lujiazui. Finally, the Suzhou Creek also runs

²⁰ The water sanitation projects, like many of the major urban planning projects that have taken place in Shanghai create a host of resettlements. Suzhou Creek in particular affected 11 districts, and forced the resettlement of 2,647 households and 465 factories and public institutions, according to the ADB's final report (ADB Final Report). Another major consequence of water sanitation projects in Shanghai is the rapid increase in the presence of foreign and Chinese private enterprises involved in water management. As a result of the need to generate profit, the costs of the project, included now in the cost of the water, are passed on to the consumer (WB Final Report).

east/west along the very centre of the downtown core of Shanghai, identified by the yellow box representing People’s Square in the lower left of the figure. This location is the heart of the city, housing most of the highest offices of the Shanghai Municipal Government.

**FIGURE 5.4.1
MAP OF SUZHOU CREEK, LUJIAZUI, AND THE BUND**



Source: Bund Riverside Hotel

5.4.1.2 Historical Context of Suzhou Creek

The heavy industrialization that became concentrated on the banks of Suzhou Creek during the Maoist period and up until the de-industrialization of Shanghai’s core in the 1990s created an incredible amount of waste. The waste was discharging into the water system, causing the water at the meeting place of Suzhou Creek and Huangpu River to

blacken and stink from the pollution (Xu & Liao, 2006). In a decade of almost unparalleled growth, Shanghai's water had become "highly toxic," with "minimal oxygen available", and "bubbles of gases along its entire course" (Ward and Liang, 1995).

5.4.2 The Adaptation of Ideas in Pursuing Global City Formation

The pollution of the entire Creek threatened not only the health of Shanghai's citizens, but the liveability of the entire riverfront, including the most financially important parts of the city. For Shanghai to successfully achieve a global city on the same level as New York and London, Suzhou Creek would have to be completely rehabilitated. In order to properly rehabilitate Suzhou Creek, Shanghai required not only an investment of foreign capital, but also an investment of foreign expertise. Given its relative position of need, the power dynamics for the Suzhou Creek project were already balanced in favour of the international participants who were willing to invest the required time, energy, and money.

The story of Suzhou Creek's rehabilitation flows along two parallel streams. The first stream highlights the commitment of the SMG to building Shanghai into an attractive and competitive global city that can attract the world's financial elite. This part of the story has already been established in the historical and social context of the project, and in the preceding pages of this thesis. The second is one of compromise and cooperative engagement with the international system in times of need, a situation that forced Shanghai, in this example, to engage in a slight powerplay with international consultants and the Asia Development Bank (ADB) on matters of financing and legitimate expertise. In the end, however, the Suzhou Creek project produces positive results for the city, and a positive outcome for the ADB, a fact largely due to a mutual understanding of the desired results, a

commitment to achieving a common objective, and an agreement of the ultimate vision for Shanghai's urban form

5.4.2.1 The Asia Development Bank, Financing, and International Consultants

In 1998, the ADB initiated three measures aimed at rehabilitating Suzhou Creek. The Bank issued a loan for 300 million USD that was matched first by Shanghai's Municipal Government and then again by co-financers. The total raised amounted to almost 1 billion USD in funding for the Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project (SCRCP). The ADB's loan included conditions that required the use of international consultants. These conditions were accepted by the SMG because the benefits of rehabilitating Suzhou Creek were seen to outweigh the costs of international leadership in parts of the project.

CDM, an American-based firm²¹ with a history of over 50 years in the business of national and international consulting, helped secure the funding for the project. CDM would later act as one of the primary consulting firms engaged in its strategy and implementation (CDM Website). In their words they provided: "expertise in program management, planning and procurement, financial and institutional management, fund management, corporate accounting, and management information systems" (CDM website). CDM's participation in the project was vast, operating at high levels of vision and strategy, as well as participating in the implementation of the project at the management and accounting levels.

Within an initial policy brief describing the technical assistance required to properly undertake the rehabilitation project, ADB notes that "the total input of the consultants is estimated at 54 person-months, consisting of 23 person-months of international inputs and

²¹This firm was up by three partners, one who joined the firm after leaving his position as a former Chair of the Department of Sanitary Engineering at MIT

31 of domestic” (ADB, 2005). In the final report, ADB writes “under the Project, 75 person-months of international and 20 person-months of domestic consulting services were provided... to support SSRCC in project management, implementation, and capacity building” (ADB, 2005). By the end of the Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project, the amount of hours worked by international consultants had increased almost by 50%, while the domestic side saw its participation decrease by more than a third. Engagement with the international community was a prerequisite of the project’s basic vision, strategy, and implementation in pursuit of effectively solving the problem of water sanitation in Shanghai.

5.4.2.2 The SMG and the Localization and Adaptation of International Best Practice Ideas

Despite the intense use of consultants requisitioned by the ADB, the SMG and its various agencies maintained high levels of control in the basic operations of the rehabilitation project. While the ADB notes that the efficiency of the project was in many ways due to the fact that “consultants were recruited on time,” it also lauds the work of the Shanghai Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation & Construction Company (SSRCC), which had been created specifically by the SMG to implement the goals of the project.

Despite the delay in loan effectiveness, all project activities were implemented as scheduled or ahead of schedule because SSRCC made good progress on preparatory works prior to loan effectiveness, including preparation of detailed engineering design, preparation of draft prequalification and bidding documents, recruitment of consultants, and land acquisition and resettlement. A comprehensive management information system (MIS), established by SSRCC, contributed to efficient project management. The MIS covered contract management, including disbursement, human resources management, documentation control, financing and accounting, and corporate management and operations (ADB, 2005).

However, just as critical as the ADB's recognition of the SSRCC's support in the success of the project is the fact that the functions of the SSRCC overlap with those of CMD's functions as a consultant in the project.

5.4.2.3 Adaptation of Ideas from the Overlap of Responsibilities and Expertise

A majority of the components of the management information system (MIS) that were "established by SSRCC" (ADB Final Report) overlapped directly with the areas of expertise that CMD state as their principal consulting contributions to the project.

Specifically, the CMD notes explicitly in its project summary it was heavily involved in the creation, design, and implementation of the entire MIS (CMD website).

The adaptation of ideas about best practice is crucial to understanding the intangible changes that form a core part of the process of development. For instance, the ADB's Project Completion Report in September of 2005 notes that "six government officials from SSCRPHO, SEPB, and the Water Authorities were trained in Denmark for about one month" to learn about water quality modeling. The Appendix on "The Overall Assessment and Rating" of the Project moves on to note that while "a water quality model had been developed" through the combined efforts of local and international experts, "further calibration" would be the responsibility of the "SMG," which is now recognized as capable of putting into practice the lesson that it had learnt from experts in Denmark. Such an adaptation, characterized by the introduction of new data, new information, and the creation of new ideas through the generation of shared meanings and understandings about the world, is crucial to generating innovation and consensus among development practitioners.

5.4.3 Summary of the Analysis

The cleanup of Suzhou Creek was an important environmental problem for the city that could very clearly be understood as necessary for Shanghai's pursuit of global city status. The rehabilitation project that emerged was a cooperative endeavour between the Asia Development Bank (ADB), the SMG, the national government, and a host of local and international private consultants. It addressed a basic problem on three fronts: 1) human health, 2) the quality of life for huge portions of the Shanghai citizenry, and 3) the city's future economic prosperity. The Suzhou Creek project engendered an actual dialogue, where the transfer of competitive best practice was introduced and successfully diffused into Shanghai through 1) a mixture of coercive conditionality and policy leadership; 2) creation of shared assumptions and expectations between the parties involved and 3) local active learning of technical, technological, and scientific expertise that was shown to solve the problem at hand.

5.4.3.1 Summary of the Application of the Ideational adaptation Model

The Suzhou Creek Project is said to have “strengthened institutional capacities for environmental management; increased public awareness; and established environmental baselines and water quality monitoring capabilities for Suzhou Creek” (ADB, 2005). These issues speak to all four of the pillars of ideational adaptation. Table 5.8 highlights the way in which the application of the ideational adaptation model relates to the Suzhou Creek Project.

Constructivism enables an analysis into the way that dialogue and cooperative engagement redefine how development is pursued and understood. For instance, the Suzhou Creek Project not only increased public awareness about water sanitation issues, but also re-

prioritized and redefined the very way in which environmental concerns are understood in the Chinese context. Shanghai's interaction with an international group of experts on environmental issues introduced Western theories about best practice in environmental management to the Chinese, while also introducing the international development community to a Chinese governmental structure that demonstrated definite strengths and advantages.

Coercion is perhaps the most essential pillar of the water sanitation analysis. It provides the ideational justification for many of the exercises of power that cannot otherwise be adequately explained by the political economic model. There were two types of coercion practiced in this example: conditionality and policy leadership. Conditionality sets the foundations for cooperative engagement in this example. Because the ADB brought much of the money and the expertise, its conditions for engagement were for a strong international presence that could offset any undue Chinese influence. The Chinese, for their part, set as a condition for ADB involvement that it deal with a single Chinese government agency (the SSRCC) that would represent the interests of the Chinese and Shanghainese governments. In this manner, the strength and legitimacy of both sides was preserved, with each party in the negotiations showing tact and competence in setting out the conditions for cooperative engagement. The second element of coercion, policy leadership, changes over the course of the project. The SSRCC efficiently handled the forced relocation of Shanghainese residents in the beginning of the project, as well as the bureaucracy of local affairs throughout its entire duration. Meanwhile the ADB and foreign consultants demonstrated worth by providing expertise not available to the Chinese. As the project neared its completion, and the Chinese side took over, there was a transition of expertise that provided the SSRCC with

the legitimate expertise necessary to take over the entire leadership of water management in Suzhou Creek.

Competition forms the unavoidable background of the entire project. Because water sanitation is crucial for the formation of a global city, this foundational impetus combined with the context of economic globalization pushed both the ADB and Shanghai to establish a Chinese example of urban best practice that could compete with the global cities of the West. More specifically for the ideational model, competition provides the ideational impetus that legitimizes the restoration of Suzhou Creek. If Suzhou Creek weren't such an important part of the global city formation of Shanghai, and if global city formation weren't an integral part of the vision for Shanghai and China's future development, it seems unrealistic to think that so much effort would have been made to sanitize it.

Finally, the ideational pillar of **Learning** theory provides an insight into the value of technical and technological cooperation in the adaptation of ideas around water sanitation. More broadly, and more importantly for a broad ideational study of development rather than a technical and specific one, the Suzhou Creek project highlights the crucial role that increased data and information can play in changing our understanding of the world. Learning theory, in this instance, provides lessons from the Suzhou Creek project that could also apply to other engineering projects. What it teaches is that when the members of one society adopt, adapt, and apply the lessons of another, they not only benefit from solving their development problems, but their very ideas about development change in tandem with access to new data.

TABLE 5.8

**FOUR SCHOOLS OF IDEATIONAL ADAPTATION
AT WORK IN SHANGHAI'S WATER MANAGEMENT**

<p>CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>The Suzhou Creek Project is said to have “strengthened institutional capacities for environmental management; increased public awareness; and established environmental baselines and water quality monitoring capabilities for Suzhou Creek” (ADB, 2005).</p>	
<p>COERCION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>From the money secured, the ADB initiated two technical assistance programs that were tasked with expediting the project’s success. These technical assistant programs ensured that the SCRP was closely linked to the international community from the moment of the project’s inception.</p>	<p>COMPETITION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Engagement with the international community was a prerequisite of the project’s basic vision, strategy, and implementation in pursuit of effectively solving the problem of water sanitation in Shanghai.</p>
<p>LEARNING & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Engagement with the international community was a prerequisite of the project’s basic vision, strategy, and implementation in pursuit of effectively solving the problem of water sanitation in Shanghai.</p>	
<p>COERCION</p> <p>The ADB’s loan included conditions on the use of international consultant.²² These conditions were accepted by the SMG because the benefits of rehabilitating Suzhou Creek were seen to outweigh the costs of international leadership in parts of the project.</p>	<p>COMPETITION</p> <p>The pollution of the entire Creek threatened not only the health of Shanghai’s citizens, but the liveability of the entire riverfront including the most financially important parts of the city. For Shanghai to successfully achieve a global city on the same level as New York and London, Suzhou Creek would have to be completely rehabilitated.</p>
<p>COERCION & COMPETITION</p> <p>By the end of the Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation Project, the amount of hours worked by international consultants had increased almost by 50%, while the domestic side saw its participation decrease by more than a third.</p>	
<p>COERCION & LEARNING</p> <p>The transfer of competitive best practice was introduced and successfully diffused into Shanghai [despite the fact that] water sanitation projects, like many of the major urban planning projects that have taken place in Shanghai, create a host of resettlements.</p>	<p>COMPETITION & LEARNING</p> <p>This foundational purpose of Shanghai’s urban development combined with the context of economic globalization generated the impetus that pushed both the ADB and Shanghai to establish a Chinese example of urban best practice that could compete with the global cities of the West.</p>
<p>LEARNING</p> <p>The ADB’s Project Completion Report in September of 2005 notes that “six government officials from SSCRP, SEP, and the Water Authorities were trained in Denmark for about one month” to learn about water quality modeling.</p>	

²² A basic contention is that the increase in the man-hours of international consultants may not actually be justifiable solely on the basis of expertise.

5.4.3.2 Summary of the Application of the Political Economic Model

Table 5.7 describes the political economic factors at play in the rehabilitation of Suzhou Creek. It examines the political economic rationale for instigating the project, as well as the substantial cooperation across private consulting firms, multilateral and international institutions, and local state officials that generated a win-win scenario for all these participants.

The political economic pillar of **Context** proposes that the Suzhou Creek project emerged almost solely in response to the pursuit of global city status in the city of Shanghai. The context of economic globalization has created a situation within which global city status provides the only option available for cities and countries that wish to properly compete within the global capitalist system. Because of Suzhou Creek's key geographical location in the downtown of the financial district of Shanghai, as well as its key function as primary estuary for the Huangpu River, the Creek necessarily became an important target of rehabilitation. Moreover, because of Shanghai's position as the chosen financial and trading city in the P.R.C., both the national government and the Asia Development Bank had an interest in upgrading the core of the city in order to boost national and regional development, and increase the economic competitiveness of East and South East Asia in the global system.

The state's role in the Suzhou Creek project is pivotal. Without the **Structural** support of a state that could oversee the engineering mega-project involved in rehabilitating Suzhou Creek, Shanghai's urban environment could never have successfully achieved the aesthetic and functional characteristics required of a global city. While Suzhou Creek's rehabilitation was aimed at improving the functionality and sanity of one of Shanghai's

primary water sources, the project also aimed to improve the competitiveness and economic viability of the city as a whole. The improvements to Suzhou Creek's water quality occurred in tandem with a massive forced relocation of a large number of Shanghai residents. Because of this improvement to the water system, the increased attractiveness of the downtown core allowed Shanghai to reproduce some of the key attributes of Western global cities, such as high downtown real estate, high standards of living for the wealthy, and the suburbanization of the poor.

It is at this point that the pillar of **Agency** can most properly be introduced into the analysis. By focusing on the manner by which Suzhou privileges certain people with higher standards of living, while displacing those with less power and wealth, Agency provides an insight into the ambiguous qualities of even the most desirable development projects. Moreover, the role of international consultants in the Suzhou Creek project highlights an important imbalance of technical, technological, and financial power between the international and Chinese elite. This imbalance, however, may be reduced through more cooperative engagement between the Chinese development community and the international development community. Another core lesson that emerges from the Agency pillar is that the adaptation of ideas at the most technical and technological level in the Suzhou Creek example must have been done between the most educated and capable engineers in the Chinese state. As such, the disparity of understanding may be reduced between nations, but kept within an educated elite at the national level.

Finally, the political economic pillar of Environment ties the Suzhou Creek example together, bridging the analysis from beginning to end. The poor environment of the Creek provided an impetus for its rehabilitation, engendering changes in the urban landscape

that increased the city's economic competitiveness and accelerating its pursuit of global city status. Finally, the ideational lessons that emerged from the cooperative engagement of international consultants and government agencies were learnt through the active application of best practice in water sanitation in a real world scenario.

TABLE 5.7

**POLITICAL ECONOMIC FACTORS
AT WORK IN SHANGHAI'S WATER MANAGEMENT**

<p>CONTEXT</p> <p>The cleanup of Suzhou Creek was an important environmental problem for the city that could very clearly be understood as necessary for Shanghai's pursuit of global city status.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY & CONTEXT</p> <p>CDM, an American-based firm with a history of over 50 years in the business of national and international consulting, helped first to secure funding for the project, and later acted as one of the primary consulting firms engaged in its strategy and implementation (CDM Website)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE & CONTEXT</p> <p>The rehabilitation project that emerged was a cooperative endeavour between the Asia Development Bank (ADB), the SMG, the national government, and a host of local and international private consultants.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT & CONTEXT</p> <p>The heavy industrialization that became concentrated on the banks of Suzhou Creek during the Maoist period and up until the de-industrialization of Shanghai's core in the 1990s created an incredible amount of waste, which discharged into the water system causing the water at the meeting place of Suzhou Creek and Huangpu River to blacken and stink from the pollution (Xu & Liao, 2006).</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY</p> <p>In the final report, ADB writes "under the Project, 75 person-months of international and 20 person-months of domestic consulting services were provided... to support SSRCC in project management, implementation, and capacity building" (ADB, 2005).</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE</p> <p>The cooperative project also entrusted the SMG and its various agencies with a central role in the basic operations of the rehabilitation project. [The ADB]... laud the work of the <i>Shanghai</i> Suzhou Creek Rehabilitation & Construction Company (SSRCC), which had been created specifically by the SMG to implement the goals of the project.</p>
<p>AGENCY & STRUCTURE</p> <p>The substantial cooperation between private consulting firms, multilateral and international institutions, as well as the local state generated a win-win scenario for all these participants. Each party contributed in organizing the funding, human capital, technology, and political support that ensured the success of Suzhou Creek's rehabilitation.</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">AGENCY & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>A majority of the components of the management information system (MIS) that were "established by SSRCC" (ADB Final Report) overlap directly with the areas of expertise that CMD state as their principal consulting contributions to the project.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">STRUCTURE & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>The SMG, in this case, is recognized as capable of maintaining the complex task of constant recalibration of its water quality model, the very lesson that had been tasked to the government officials to learn from experts in Denmark.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>Suzhou Creek's rehabilitation addressed a basic problem on three fronts: 1) human health, 2) the quality of life for huge portions of the Shanghai citizenry, and 3) the future of the city's economic prosperity.</p>	

5.4.3.3 Summary of the Key Findings of the Combined Conceptual Approach

The Suzhou Creek rehabilitation project provided a means by which to analyze briefly the cooperative engagement of national and international development practitioners. It was a targeted project with a very clear goal, providing an improved water quality to the downtown core of Shanghai. This region, which mainly serves the financial and elite downtown neighbourhoods that form the economic and political heart of the city, is a crucial component of Shanghai's global city strategy.

The ideational adaptation model provided a means by which to understand that the impetus for rehabilitating Suzhou Creek is just as properly one of **Construction** as it is obviously a result of the economic impetus of **Competition** that provided an impetus for the project's initiation. The pillar of Constructivism also draws clear links into how the changes to the urban environment caused by the Suzhou Creek project draw back into the social understandings of legitimate best practice in water sanitation and urban development, creating new norms for water management in the city. **Coercion** theory shed light on how the project's many actors ensured that their legitimate expertise was recognized by the other, and how these same actors used the tactics of coercion to ensure that they could achieve the goals set before them. Finally, **Learning** theory highlighted the fact that as much as ideational adaptation involves the adoption, adaptation, and application of others' best practice ideas, it also involves education about the very context of ideational adaptation itself. The adaptation of ideas does not only relate to the task at hand, but also to the broader theme of development, and to the cross-cultural adaptation of ideas itself.

The political economic model parallels and supplements the insights of the ideational

adaptation framework. The **Context** of global economic development supports the ideational analysis by providing a political economic basis for the pursuit of global city formation, the characteristic of existing global cities in the West, and the importance of a clean, comfortable, highly liveable financial sector that can attract the world's political and economic elite. The political economic pillar of **Structure** highlighted the ideational lessons drawn from the ideational schools of Coercion and Competition by providing a framework from which to analyze the state's integral role in promoting Shanghai's economic competitiveness and international appeal. The pillar of **Agency** supports the ideational adaptation analysis by emphasizing the economic importance of catering to the international elite to ensure that it remains relevant and competitive in the global system. In this vein, it highlights how the adaptation of ideas in the Suzhou Creek project helped create an environment more suitable for an elite class living and working in the downtown core. Finally the pillar of **Environment** provides the material foundations for the application of ideational adaptation as well as the evidence of its success. The urban environment in the Suzhou Creek project is the most foundational piece of the combined conceptual model, if only because the adaptation of ideas in this example relates explicitly to an engineering project applied to one of the most important water sources in Shanghai. This fact, as well, places the Environment pillar at the heart of the analysis by supporting the claims that the project was an attempt to increase the capacity of Shanghai to attract foreign political and economic elites and improve its standing as a premier global city.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has applied the combined conceptual model to three historical examples. The first example studied the role of educational philosophy in China. It investigated how ideas about education can be shown to weave directly into the domain of development, influencing a society's foundational assumptions, expectations, as well as the long-term vision of future progress. This example also argued that ideas can influence the development of a society by bounding off the domain of knowledge and innovation available to citizens.

The second example investigated the impact of China Business Councils in Shanghai. It showed that these business organizations provide a vessel for the international business community to gain privileged access to the highest strata of decision makers in the city. This access was argued to be based on the perceived legitimate expertise of the international business community in development affairs, a belief that was shown to be grounded in their competitive success in the global market system. Together, privileged access and legitimate expertise provide a ground for trust and cooperative engagement that warrants the construction of forums for dialogue between these political and economic elite. Moreover, given the constantly evolving nature of political economic development, these forums are regularly recurring, forming a foundation for the adaptation of ideas about urban best practice based on the friendships and trust that are built over time between these individuals.

The third example analyzed the Suzhou Creek rehabilitation project, which was a cooperative effort on the parts of the ADB, the SMG, and international consultants. It used the combined conceptual approach in a time-specific and project-specific application. This

example provided a means by which to understand how the conceptual models could shed light on an urban mega project designed to increase the competitiveness and global city status of Shanghai. In so doing, it explored the relationship between the local state and international actors. These international actors were argued to be able to claim technical and technological best practice expertise not held by the SMG, but required for the success of the project. The pillars of coercion, state-led market promotion, competition, context, and learning were pivotal in this analysis, as was the foundational pillar of environment.

The following chapter examines the most detailed application of the combined conceptual models. The case study of Expo 2010, Shanghai employs primary source data collected during the final months of Expo, providing new and original sources from which to analyze Shanghai's most recent urban mega project. The chapter investigates the origins of Expo 2010 in Shanghai, and proceeds to an in-depth study of the event by applying the two conceptual models as well as the lessons drawn from the rest of the thesis. The insights of Shanghai's global city formation, as well as those that emerged from the three examples in this chapter are all used to help support and deepen the analysis undertaken in Chapter V.

CHAPTER VI

URBAN MEGA PROJECTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THE CASE OF EXPO 2010, SHANGHAI

6.1 Introduction

The 2010 World Exhibition in Shanghai was operational for six months, from May 1 to October 31, 2010. Its impact on Shanghai's urban form, however, extends as far back as the early years of the new millennium. Moreover, the extensive urban developments that resulted from Expo 2010 can be expected to have a profound effect on Shanghai's future development at almost every level.

This case study of the 2010 World Exposition in Shanghai (Expo 2010, Shanghai; Expo; or Expo 2010) investigates what this urban mega-project can teach us about the driving motivations, constraints, and pursuits of Shanghai's decision to host Expo 2010. It provides a political-economic rationale for the city's decision to host Expo, and to host it in a way that was conducive to achieving the city's long-term agenda of becoming the premier global city in China, Asia, and throughout the world. The Expo 2010 case study shows that in order to properly understand the rationale behind the conceptualization and execution of Expo 2010 we should recognize the ideational component in the urban development decisions that surrounded Expo 2010.

This discussion proceeds in three parts. First, the case study places Expo 2010 in its historical context, documenting the bidding process for Expo 2010 that took place at the beginning of the decade and moving on to May 1, 2010 when the project officially opened to the public. This section investigates the rationale and vision for Expo 2010 that emerges from official documents and interviews with members of the Expo Bidding and Organizing

Committees. Second, it places Expo 2010 within the conceptual models that were formulated in the earlier sections by analyzing the political and economic forces, as well as the role of ideational adaptation in determining legitimate expertise in the realm of urban best practice. Finally, this case study brings together these two models and looks to the larger question of how the construction, operation, and long term vision of Shanghai's Expo strategy speaks to the political-economic constraints and the ideational limits of urban development as a whole.

6.2 Social and Historical Context of Expo 2010

Sometimes recognized as the cultural and economic counterpart to the Olympic Games, the World Exposition has been held every five years since the tradition was started in 1851 in London, England. World Expositions fall under the management of a global directorate in Paris, named the *Bureau International des Expositions* (BIE). In order to be chosen to host a World Expo, cities must lobby the most senior members of the BIE, as well as a number of related experts and BIE member countries, to convince these powerful decision-makers that their city is the best choice out of the handful of candidates for a given Expo.

Until Shanghai, no Expo had been held in a developing country. Various rationales have kept Expos in the developed world. Among them are the ability to host such a large-scale event, the ability to attract participants, and the ability to convince the world's corporate and political elite of the strategic merits of a given country's bid. In November 2001, Shanghai announced its intention to host the 2010 World Expo. In December of 2002, after a year of planning and lobbying, Shanghai won the bid.

6.2.1 The Winning Bid

Shanghai's year-long campaign to host Expo 2010 provides a compelling glimpse of what Shanghai sought to gain from the experience. At the top of its list were "not only [to] learn from the experiences of other countries to further its reform and opening-up endeavour, especially in areas along the Yangtze River, but also [to] enhance [China's] friendly relations with other countries" (Xiaosong Interview, Xinhua, 2001/11/01). Explicit in this message is a dual emphasis on economic and political development, as well as increased country-to-country diplomatic relations. Mr. Yu Xiaosong, a Vice-Chairman of Expo 2010, said in September 2002, three months prior to the final BIE decision in Monaco, that Expo will "be a platform for the world business community to conduct economic and trade cooperation and technological adaptation with China" (Chinese Embassy Briefing on Expo, 2002/09/22).

From the very beginning, Expo 2010, Shanghai was conceived as a means by which to adaptation ideas with the rest of the world, learn from dialogue with the economic and political elite of the global economic system, and improve China's economic competitiveness by upgrading its technology and increasing its international trade. Evident here are the ways in which learning and competition in the ideational realm complement the political and economic ambitions of China. These ambitions are crucially linked to China's place in the context of global economic activity. Moreover, Expo has helped abet these ambitions by providing Shanghai with a site for networking between key agents controlling access to global capital and technology from around the world.

6.2.2 Redeveloping Shanghai for Expo 2010 – Building for the Future

In the period following their bid win, the local government oversaw some of the most drastic changes to Shanghai's urban environment since the development of Pudong New Area in the early 1990s. Since 2002, the city of Shanghai has constructed 8 new subway lines, built a new international airport, radically expanded their highway, bridge, and tunnel network, and begun upgrading their rail facilities, including the construction of new high speed railway lines from Shanghai to Beijing that are scheduled to be finished in 2011. The fact that the high speed railway will be finished after Expo 2010 is important because it underscores Expo's ability to help justify large capital expenditures on disruptive mega projects aimed at improving the city's long-term success and competitiveness.

Just like the many World Expositions that have come before, Expo 2010 allowed the local government to legitimate public investment in infrastructure and real estate through large stimulus programs sold to citizens as a necessary part of their Expo responsibilities. Denny Gélinas, Special Adviser to the Canada Pavilion at Expo 2010, remembers the way in which the Vancouver and Montreal Expos instigated the construction of “rapid transit systems that... have provided a legacy that has gone on for years and years.” He also mentions, however, that each Expo poses a series of cost/benefit scenarios. Among them are: the “displacement of communities and the decisions made in the interest of the greater good,” “budget and funding issues,” and the disruption of pre-existing timelines for urban development. Despite the inevitable concerns that arise out of such large and ambitious projects, Gélinas believes that events like Expo have “provided the beginnings of what modern cities need to make [them] healthier and better.”

Many people interviewed by the author, including the Deputy Commissioner General of Australia, and the Deputy Pavilion Director of the United Kingdom, saw the redevelopment of the Expo site as an important means of improving the real estate value of the site and the surrounding area. When work on the Expo site began, the entire area had to be cleared of its existing residents and reworked from the foundations up to ensure that every Pavilion could have access to hot and cold water, air conditioning, and electricity for their 184 days of operation. Now, given the site's prize location on the banks of the Huangpu River, Expo 2010's legacy, and its newly constructed transport connections to the rest of the city, (3 subway lines, two tunnels and two bridges, and a couple of private harbours on both sides of the river), the land could well be extremely valuable once the participants return their plots to their original condition in 2011.

As a state-led initiative, the large-scale changes that have been wrought on the urban environment of Shanghai are ready to pay dividends to the city's global competitiveness and the appeal it holds for the world's elite. The four pillars of the political economic model are well balanced in this particular element of Expo, where gentrification by the state helps garner elite support and economic gain. The ideational side of the coin is equally well balanced, namely that the historical lessons of real estate development in successful global cities like Hong Kong can be forced on a population through coercive means (e.g. forced relocation) to become a standardized global city, which contemporary social construction agrees makes cities optimally competitive in the global economy.

In order to clarify the interplay of multiple factors from each of the two conceptual models in the Expo 2010 case study, the following sections are divided according to the four pillars of the political economic model. Because each of these pillars is intertwined with the

remaining three, as well as with the ideational adaptation model, the headings serve as an indication of the prevailing theme rather than implying the analysis of only one of the factors at a time.

6.3 The Role of the Government in Expo 2010's Success (Structure)

Shanghai's bid was successful in large part because of the incredible support the city received from the central government in Beijing as well as the state's special power in the authoritarian market system of China. In order to enhance the attractiveness of the Shanghai bid, the Central Government created a Business Supporting Council in 2001, consisting "of 50 domestic and foreign-invested enterprises... to actively participate in the bidding and provide every necessary support" to the bid committee (ibid). Furthermore, the Chinese Government in Beijing, represented by the Deputy Secretary General of the State Council, pledged "to provide Shanghai with all kinds of financial support and preferential taxation policies to host the Exposition" (ibid). This last statement, from Deputy Secretary General Xu Shaoshi, acting in his dual role as representative of the national government as well as Vice-Chairman of Expo 2010 Shanghai, emphasizes the strong commitment of the Chinese Central Government to supporting Shanghai's successful bid.

Two Chinese government organizations were responsible for controlling Shanghai's bid through a newly minted agency named the Shanghai Expo Bidding Commission. The first was the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT); the second was the Foreign and Economic Affairs section of the Shanghai Municipal Government.²³ These two institutions were chosen to oversee the logistics, administration, and management

²³ Many of the key members of the bidding committee came from an organization originally termed the Shanghai Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Commission. This section of the SMG was disbanded in the years following the bidding of Expo 2010.

of the bidding process for at least three reasons. First, they had a good grasp of foreign cultures and customs. Second, the CCPIT in particular is incredibly well networked within the global corporate community due to the fact that since 1978 it has acted as the primary point of contact for all high-level economic, corporate, and financial delegations from foreign countries (CCPIT Website). Third, the particular SMG employees who were chosen to advance the Expo bid were experienced in the logistics of high-level corporate and political events in Shanghai. They had organized yearly International Business Leader's Advisory Council (IBLAC) visits since 1989 as well as major events like the Fortune 500 CEO meeting and APEC's annual meeting in 2001.

These two institutions were chosen, in other words, for their ability to understand and engage constructively with international actors because of a long history of learning how to negotiate with foreigners and achieve the required political and economic results while remaining culturally and socially sensitive. Moreover, the fact that both the governing bodies were economic institutions emphasizes the importance that China placed on creating an Expo that would boost economic performance and competitiveness in Shanghai and throughout the country.

Without political involvement at the highest levels, the capacity of business institutions to function effectively would be deeply impaired, leading inevitably to the collapse of their legitimacy. The importance of implicit and explicit cooperation between polity and economy can never be overstated. It lies at the heart of all the constructed bonds of trust and understanding between global decision makers. Moreover, in China the entire concept of competitive legitimacy in the economic realm is intertwined with a recognition of the financial and political support of high-level government officials and offices, a condition

that has forced other countries to learn to be more open in their political and corporate partnerships with China in order to act properly in the Chinese cultural environment.

Expo 2010's success was widely understood to hinge not merely on the incredible agency of the Chinese and Shanghainese governments, but also on Shanghai's contextual position as the economic and financial nexus of one of the most vibrant and promising environments in the world – the Yangtze River Delta in the People's Republic of China. In 2010 the World Bank estimated that before 2020, Shanghai could be the centre of a region more economically vibrant than any other urban corridor on Earth, including the north-east corridor of North America and the high-tech hub of the Western United States (Leman, 2010).²⁴ The following section will examine how China's power in the global economic system played a role in the operational and preparatory periods of Expo 2010.

6.4 The Place of Economic Globalization (Context) at Expo 2010

Because of China's global economic strength, as well as the power of its political system, Expo 2010 served as an environment built to support constructive dialogue and networking between China and the international community's most important political and economic players. As described in the history of Shanghai's Expo bid, Expo 2010 was conceived and operated as a forum for the adaptation of ideas and the creation of trusting and cooperative partnerships throughout the international community. An additional purpose of this forum was to allow the international community to get a better grasp of how to compete on the world stage now that the USA's ability to effectively coerce other nations may be fading with China's rise.

²⁴ Already in 2007, the Yangtze River Delta was growing at an average 14.7% GDP year on year, and accounting for 18.9% of China's total GDP. (Jiangsu Statistics Bureau, quoted by HKTDC, 2007).

Countries like Japan saw Expo 2010 as a chance to improve their relationship with China, while China used Expo to similar ends, courting potential allies and competitors. Japan's Commissioner General noted that while China's sense of responsibility for the success of its Expo at times prompted a somewhat paternal and antagonistic relationship with the international participants on the Steering Committee of Commissioners General (Steering Committee), the power dynamics of security and management soon allowed for countries with legitimate expertise in hosting Expos to voice their concerns as equals. Because of China's new position as a global superpower, Commissioner General for Japan Tsukamoto considered the World Expo “a very good occasion for China to think together with other people” and learn how to lead by consensus.

Barbara Helm, Pavilion Director for Canada at Expo 2010, and a regular attendant to the meetings of the Steering Committee, saw a change come from the Chinese side over the course of Expo's operational period. Upon opening the site on May 1, 2010, the Expo Organizing Committee, the Shanghai government committee group responsible for overseeing all activity at Expo 2010, essentially handed down “marching orders” to the international participants, controlling every aspect of a participant’s activity, going as far as to determine their activity within their own Pavilions.

Expo Organizers justified their legitimate understanding of best practice in this case by emphasizing that they “knew their people” better than the international participants. While inevitably true, Expo Organizers were soon confronted with the fact that the international participants also had legitimate claims to expertise in terms of running Pavilions and organizing Expos which drew from organizing and participating in a much larger number of Expos than China. Soon after a series of meetings with the Steering

Committee, Expo provided each Pavilion with the power to determine its own Pavilion-specific policies within the jurisdiction of its site, “a huge step” towards appreciating the interests and expertise of the international community, according to Ms. Helm.

Expo 2010, in this particular instance, invites investigators of international development to view it as a part representing the whole. While not a perfect synecdoche, Expo 2010 is nevertheless one of a number of important fora that serve to establish and strengthen mutual trust, friendship, and understanding among international actors. Maria Accilli, the Secretary General of the Italy Pavilion, noted that initiatives like the Urban Best Practice Area (UBPA), an idea pioneered at Expo 2010, Shanghai, are indications that “the Chinese are genuinely interested in debating the issue of urban development in the future” and that “ideas from participants” are an integral part of that debate.

Moreover, several initiatives by both the Expo Organizing Committee and by international participants actively promoted the creation of forums to adapt ideas on best practice. In particular, Expo spearheaded the organization of four regional forums on urban best practice, which included some of the world's most important urban thinkers including Professor Peter Hall, former Mayor Ken Livingstone, and the forefather of the global city concept, Professor John Friedmann.

Both Louis Dussault, Director of the Montréal Pavilion, and Olivier Sterckx, Protocol Director of the Madrid Pavilion, noted the strong interest from the Chinese and Shanghainese governments to acquire all of the Pavilions in the Urban Best Practice Area after the end of Expo's operational period.²⁵ This interest was based on the understanding that many pavilions, including Madrid's, were themselves examples of urban best practice in

²⁵ This acquisition has in fact occurred. After the end of Expo's operational period, the SMG announced that it plans to keep the UBPA intact, with the site set to become a museum of urban best practice.

sustainability, says Sterckx. The Alsace-Lorraine Pavilion in the UBPA, he noted, was commissioned by the SMG and built to be perfectly carbon neutral. The intellectual property of this marvel of urban design and engineering is now owned by the Shanghai government.

The adaptation of ideas, according to Dussault, was the most crucial element of the success of the Montreal Pavilion. Because the Montreal Pavilion's primary exhibit was a detailed video and montage of an actual environmental mega project undertaken in Montreal's downtown, it was able to attract high-level government officials and urban experts who were not interested in Pavilions that only displayed their cultural heritage. Montreal's project demonstrated to Chinese decision makers a new and innovative way of thinking about improving the environmental conditions of urban areas by redeveloping former landfills, and because of that it was on a short list of must-see Pavilions for high-level delegations of Chinese officials from around the country.

6.5 The Place of the Common Visitor and the Economic and Political Elite (Agency)

The context of Shanghai's growing wealth and power in the global economic arena has enabled it to act as a hub for the world's political and economic elite. These elites are seeking to link in to Chinese society by using Expo as an environment through which to learn the Chinese ways of building interpersonal and inter-institutional ties of trust and friendship (known as *guanxi* in China). At the same time, friendship with China and with its political powerbrokers means accepting certain preconditions to being included as a partner amongst the Chinese. Inclusion in the group of those that China favours is widely considered important to economic competitiveness in the future, while rejection from the group could potentially mean disaster.

The rise of China has reshaped the global political and economic landscape. As this newly emerging superpower exerts increasing influence on global and interregional affairs, more and more countries are eager to build strong and positive bilateral relations with it. Moreover, the SMG and the national government quickly leveraged their unique position in the international community to pressure the entire world's political and economic powers to participate in Expo 2010. Shanghai 2010 was the largest World Exhibition in history, boasting representation from every single nation on Earth, including the poorest countries of Asia, Africa, and South America. Cuba, North Korea, and Palestine were among some of the more surprising participants. The rationale of the international community in this regard was simple: it would have cost them politically and economically to refuse participation.

The prospect of political and economic loss was certainly the impetus for the involvement of the United States of America. The USA confirmed its presence at Expo 2010 last among all participants, and only after pressure from some of its most important multinational corporations who felt they could suffer financially from the USA's refusal to attend. The Pavilion Director of Slovenia, as well as the Commissioner General of Croatia, both admitted that had Expo 2010 not been held in China, and had the Chinese not insisted that they attend, the financial burden of participation would have proven too great. In addition, China's offer to fund the construction of Joint Pavilions for the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Island countries meant that European, North American, and Asian countries that did not attend risked being shamed by the participation of the poorest countries on the planet.

David Martin, Deputy Pavilion Director of the UK Pavilion, called Expo 2010 in Shanghai “a thinly veiled economic trade and political show.” Expo created a platform for

Chinese political, financial and commercial 'heavyweights' to play host to the rest of the world, thereby creating and deepening friendships and interpersonal connections that alleviate uncertainty in international economic and political activity. The key to the success of this platform, says Martin, is Expo's "iconic" importance in providing China with "a legitimate reason," and a legitimate forum "to do business between people who otherwise may not."

The importance of these networking opportunities is that the adaptation of ideas cannot take place without events of this kind. In other words, because decision-makers cannot always adequately understand the cultural and political-economic climate of their partners, they need to create good connections between cultures to provide guidance and assistance in political and economic affairs that are outside of their own constructed frame of understanding. As Barbara Helm, Pavilion Director of the Canada Pavilion noted, the process of dialogue between Canada, the Steering Committee, and Expo Organizers underscored for her the importance of trying "to understand where [the Expo Organizers] are coming from." Despite over 20 years of experience in organizing Canada's involvement in Expos, the Chinese "power structure," and social structure were so dissimilar to Canada's, that she saw herself adapt to a Chinese "way of doing things" over her eight months in Shanghai that was "very different" than her life in Canada. Expos, however, do more than create good connections between host countries and international participants. They are also a venue for countries to improve ties amongst their long-standing friends and neighbours.

The countries of the Commonwealth, for instance, organized a series of networking events to help build relationships amongst themselves and their allies by showcasing their culinary and cultural programs. In one such informal event, hosted by the Canada Pavilion,

the Pavilions Directors of New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada, along with the heads of over two dozen other Pavilions including Spain, Turkey, the United States of America and Saudi Arabia came together to recognize the work of the Department of Canadian Heritage, and the visit of its Assistant Deputy Minister, Nicole Bourget. Events of this kind were supplemented by networking opportunities organized in honour of a given country's National Day. National Days were attended by leading dignitaries of the host country and their allies and were marked by cultural celebrations that helped bridge any potential cultural divide among participants.

Expo 2010 demonstrates in a specific and highly constructed context the ways in which the interests of economic and political actors are carefully interwoven at the highest levels through mutual interests, mutual standing and power, and a mutual rationale for dialogue and cooperation. At Expo 2010, visits by heads of state or ministerial delegations were designed to include meetings with their political counterparts. As well, meetings and networking events facilitated introductions between economic heavyweights who travelled with their country's political leaders. The Canada Pavilion alone hosted the visits of 11 Federal Ministers, over 30 Mayors, 4 Provincial Premiers and the Governor General. Every single one of Canada's wealthiest multinational corporations either hosted or participated in events that were attended by their Chinese counterparts and the presence of a relevant Federal Minister, senior government officials, the Ambassador of Canada to China, and the Consul General of Canada in Shanghai.

6.6 Historical Distributions of Urban and National Wealth and Power (Environment)

The built environment in Shanghai has evolved along with changes in the socially dominant vision of how best to construct a globally competitive city. As ideas about urban best practice have changed, so too has the urban environment of Shanghai, which has also been altered by coercive state-led gentrification designed to attract the global elite and ensure Shanghai ascendance in the global urban hierarchy. Shanghai has put to work new lessons in engineering and urban planning over the course of the last two decades, and Expo 2010 benefitted from the city's wealth, infrastructure, economic prestige and incredible state power to become the largest Expo in history.

Shanghai's specific role in China has generated huge amounts of Chinese financial and political support for its global city formation, a process that has been heavily supported by the financial inputs of foreign multinationals. Shanghai's unique history as a treaty port under the Opium War's Nanjing Treaty has long since prepared the foundations for its rise back to the foremost financial and trading city in all of Asia. In order to re-establish that role and position itself as a financial and commercial superpower capable of championing the Chinese economic and political rise, Shanghai has redeveloped the city dramatically over the course of the last twenty years. Expo is the contemporary culmination of this redevelopment and a stepping stone to greater urban development. The story of Shanghai is vast and complex, and Expo was just six months in one new but small area of a city that annually reaches 20 million inhabitants.

The growth path that Shanghai started back in 1990 with the creation and development of Pudong New Area has seen the urban environment begin to match the historical, national, and cultural expectations that have long since been placed on it and China by the Chinese elite and the general population. In this sense, the built and material

environment of Shanghai at once created the possibility of Expo's success in the minds of every relevant authority. Moreover, Expo can be understood as an effect of Shanghai's long term development strategy, which has catapulted its rise in the global city hierarchy, enshrined its importance in global economic development, and ensured its primacy within both Chinese and international political-economic considerations.

6.7 Summary of the Analysis

Expo 2010 marks Shanghai's latest successful urban mega project, though it may most properly be understood as an extension and addition to the ongoing development of Pudong New Area that began in 1990. Expo legitimated Shanghai's continued large scale redevelopment of the urban form, creating new and improved urban infrastructure, further linking Pudong to Puxi, increasing the value of real estate on both sides of the Huangpu, and improving Shanghai's status as a premiere and rising global city. The following three sections summarize the contributions of the two conceptual models to the case study of Expo 2010, Shanghai.

6.7.1 Summary of the Application of the Ideational adaptation Model

Table 6.1 briefly summarizes the application of the ideational adaptation model. The following Table 6.2 summarizes some of the insights drawn from the application of the political economic model to the case study of Expo 2010. Given the depth and length of the Expo 2010 case study analysis, these summaries and the associated tables serve only to elucidate some key aspects of the model's applicability and utility in analyzing the complex forces at work urban mega projects of this scale.

The ideational adaptation pillar of **Constructivism** highlights perhaps the most crucial and underlying aspect of Expo 2010, Shanghai, and World Expositions as a whole. Expos are constructions from start to finish, designed specifically with the purpose of exchanging ideas, and more recently with a corollary intent to legitimate large-scale urban redevelopment in the name of building for the future. As a social construction, Expo 2010 provided a basis for the world's international political and economic elite to come together and discuss new and emerging ideas about global and urban best practice. Importantly, Expos provided a justifiable rationale for dialogue between individuals who otherwise may never have had a legitimate reason to meet. Like other high level international meetings (G20, Davos, etc.) Expos also allow these national and international leaders to adapt ideas about how best to achieve the vision of future development that is negotiated to a consensus through fora of this kind. Thus, not only is Expo 2010 a constructed fora for the adaptation of best practice ideas, but the participants engage in another level of construction around the vision, strategy, and tactics of applying new and emerging ideas about best practice in urban and global development.

Like all high-level forum created to engender dialogue about the future of political and economic development, Expo 2010 is heavily coloured by the exercise of political and economic power. By applying the insights of **Coercion** theory to the case study of Expo 2010, the analysis shows how China used its growing strength in the international community to successfully pursue some of its short-, medium-, and long-term objectives in the global economic system. The Chinese government in Beijing and Shanghai were actively involved in courting international leaders throughout the entirety of Expo 2010, organizing discussions amongst international experts, hosting international leaders and royalty, and

engaging with international corporations. Perhaps the most important success for the Expo Organizers in Shanghai was their ability to attract participation from every country on Earth for Expo 2010. This was a record for World Expositions, achieved by the Chinese government paying for the participation of the world's poorest nations, and using this to coerce the attendance of richer nations. The ability of the Chinese to lead by example, and then suggest that the Chinese state may not be as warm in the future with countries and companies that refused to participate given the means, was an incredibly powerful display of political and economic power by the Chinese state.

An equally incredible display of coercion, however, occurred simply to make Expo happen. The forced relocation of thousands of former residents of huge swaths of Pudong and Puxi was a necessary prerequisite for the construction of the Expo 2010 site. This state-led gentrification program is a powerful indicator of the importance of that **Competition** plays in the case study of Expo 2010. The rationale for the forced relocation of these residents was that this was a necessary requirement in Shanghai's preparation for Expo 2010. More importantly, Shanghai's preparation for Expo 2010 as a whole was understood to be in the name of building for the future. The short-term disruptions to the urban landscape that took place between 2001 and 2010 were in the name of building a better functioning, more prosperous, and more competitive Shanghai that would improve the living standards of its citizens, as well as those elsewhere in China who are dependent on Shanghai's growth. The pillar of Competition, therefore highlights the economic and political rationale in the huge urban renewal that took place to prepare Shanghai for Expo 2010. More importantly, it also provides a means by which to understand how these huge mega-projects were supported by a sufficient number of the general population, many of whom had their lives disrupted by

the changes. Thus, Constructivism and Competition align at this point to provide an ideational foundation for the support of Shanghainese citizens for Expo 2010, without having to rely on the coercive threat of government backlash or actual economic remuneration in the present. Rather, the promise of a better city in the future, while remaining an idea, provides a sufficient legitimacy to Expo, allowing the government may act in the name of the greater good.

Expo 2010 provides a unique case study in this matter. Because the marketed purpose of Expo 2010 was to adaptation ideas on urban best practice (Expo's slogan was “Better City, Better Life”), the Chinese population perhaps felt comfortable that Expo could provide a forum from which new and innovative ideas about urban development could be applied to improve their lives. The pillar of **Learning** theory speaks to some of the most critical issues of Expo. It provides a framework from which to understand the ways in which ideas about best practice were actually adapted and localized at Expo 2010. It highlights the ways in which cultural differences were overcome and sometimes employed by the Chinese hosts to bring friends closer and keep others at bay. It highlights, as well, that while Expo 2010 was clearly an adaptation of ideas about best practice in development, that adaptation of ideas took place in a variety of ways not always obvious to the outside observer. As Constructivism argued, Expos are constructed fora that contain within them other layers of construction, all intended to provide reasons for the world's political and economic elite to discuss issues of substance when they otherwise may not. Learning fleshes out the means by which trust, legitimacy, and friendship, play into these dialogues, as well as the means by which those things are obtained.

TABLE 6.1

**FOUR SCHOOLS OF IDEATIONAL ADAPTATION
AT WORK AT EXPO 2010, SHANGHAI**

CONSTRUCTIVISM	
Expo 2010, Shanghai, from its beginnings was conceived as a means by which to Adaptation ideas with the rest of the world	
<p style="text-align: center;">COERCION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>Inclusion in the group of those that China favours is widely considered important to economic competitiveness in the future, while rejection from the group could potentially mean disaster.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COMPETITION & CONSTRUCTIVISM</p> <p>The built environment in Shanghai has evolved along with changes in the socially dominant vision of how best to construct a globally competitive city.</p>
LEARNING & CONSTRUCTIVISM	
[Expo 2010 is] a manufactured environment for learning the Chinese ways of constructing interpersonal and inter-institutional ties of trust and friendship (known as <i>guanxi</i>).	
<p style="text-align: center;">COERCION</p> <p>The rationale of the international community [for not attending] was simple: it would have been a political and potentially economic disaster to refuse participation.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COMPETITION</p> <p>Expo 2010, Shanghai, from its beginnings was conceived as a means by which to improve China's economic competitiveness by improving its technology and growing its international trade.</p>
COERCION & COMPETITION	
Among [the coercive effects of Expo] are the “displacement of communities and the decisions made in the interest of the greater good,” “budget and funding issues” and the disruption of pre-existing timelines for urban development	
<p style="text-align: center;">COERCION & LEARNING</p> <p>At the same time, friendships with China and with its political powerbrokers means accepting certain preconditions to being included as a partner amongst the Chinese.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COMPETITION & LEARNING</p> <p>Expo 2010 is a way to improve China's economic competitiveness by improving its technology and growing its international trade.</p>
LEARNING	
Expo 2010 is a way to learn from dialogue with the economic and political elite of the global economic system	

6.7.2 Summary of the Application of the Political Economic Model

The following table summarizes some of the insights drawn from the application of the political economic model to the case study of Expo 2010. Given the depth of the analysis, these lessons serve only to elucidate some key examples of the model’s applicability and utility in analyzing the complex forces at work in this example.

The pillar of **Context** anchors the Expo 2010 case study in the political economic

application. It provides an historical and economic rationale for Shanghai's desire to host Expo 2010, and to host it in the way that it did. Because of China's growing prominence in the global economy, as well as the pivotal role of the Yangtze River Delta in that rise, Shanghai was the obvious choice to host Expos, otherwise and colloquially known as the 'political and economic Olympics.' Moreover, Shanghai's position within the global economic system, bolstered as it is by China's incredible economic performance over the last thirty years as the West has slowly lost pace, meant that Shanghai was a strong contender within the BIE for winning the Expo bid.

The political economic pillar of **Structure** supports and expands on the important role of Shanghai in the global economy and the national economy of China. The strong and visionary leadership of the SMG has proven integral to Shanghai's re-emergence as one of the world's most important global cities. As a result, the BIE and the rest of the international community had confidence that Shanghai could successfully complete the massive urban redevelopment necessary to host Expo 2010, do so on time, and do so to the expectations of the international elite who would participate as VIPS and invited guests to national pavilions and the Chinese government. Moreover, the strong governance of the Chinese state, and its conscious involvement in the affairs of the Chinese market system has launched the pro-market authoritarian political model to the front of urban best practice in governance. This model has achieved legitimacy on the basis of its performance, with the SMG expediting and facilitating the redevelopment of Shanghai in accord with the demands of the national and global economic systems. Thus, Structure serves to highlight the means by which conscious state-led initiatives, such as Pudong New Area and Expo 2010, are the result of a cooperative agreement between the local / national state, and the global economic system on

how best to provide Shanghai with the competitive advantages it needs to attract and retain key agents of the political and economic elite. Expo, without question, has been integral to that pursuit, though it fits seamlessly within the context of the last 20 years of accelerated global city development, improving and expanding the vision of global city status that emerged from Shanghai's political leadership in the early 1990s.

The pillar of **Agency** is perhaps the most obvious link between the political economic model and the ideational adaptation model in this example. If Expo was indeed constructed as an extension of Shanghai's global city formation, as well as a means to generate dialogue and cooperation amongst the international elite on how best to proceed in developing the cities and nations of the future, then the pillar of Agency would suggest that the same people deciding on the fate of Shanghai are also those for whom global cities are built in the first place. At the very least, Agency can justifiably contribute to the analysis of Expo 2010 by pointing out that the political and economic elite will inevitably be the ones to benefit most directly from the gentrification program undertaken by the SMG to prepare the Expo 2010 site for its operational use. Moreover, the entire enterprise of Expo was geared towards two groups, with most of the high-level attention being paid to Expo's foreign dignitaries who were provided with every available comfort, rather than to the local Chinese who waited in line to enter into the public presentation areas of the pavilions. The fora that were organized to discuss the future of urban best practice were closed off from the general public. These invite-only events were supplemented by the work of national pavilions, where a constant stream of dignitaries were entertained through corporate-hosted functions and where the political and economic elite of one country could find reason to mingle and build relations with their foreign counterparts.

Finally, the pillar of **Environment** draws the political economic investigation back to solid ground, linking in the macro-level forces of global economic development and state-led market promotion with tangible effects on the urban form. Crucially, this pillar links the Shanghai's contemporary development back all the way to the Treaty of Nanjing, allowing the researcher to understand Shanghai's global city formation in its proper historical context. Expo 2010 links into this historical development as Shanghai's most recent urban redevelopment project aimed at regaining its status as the foremost financial and trading hub in all of East Asia. Expo also improves on the intended purpose of Pudong New Area, further linking the Central Business Districts of Puxi and Lujiazui, and extending the city's downtown area. Finally, the political economic pillar of the Environment provides an interesting link back into the ideational adaptation model by speaking to the ways in which changes to the urban landscape of Shanghai have changed the perceptions of the local population, as well as the perception of the international community. Local residents of Shanghai have seen the city grow and change dramatically in the last two decades. Their support of urban redevelopments undertaken to launch Expo 2010 says a lot about the perceived merits of Shanghai's recent development. It also speaks to the legitimacy of the SMG, the acceptance by the local population of the enforcement of coercive measures (such as forced relocation) in the name of the greater good, and the competitive success of the city in the global and national economies.

TABLE 6.2

**POLITICAL ECONOMIC FACTORS
AT WORK AT EXPO 2010, SHANGHAI**

<p>CONTEXT</p> <p>Expo 2010's success was widely understood to hinge not merely on the incredible agency of the Chinese and Shanghainese governments, but also on Shanghai's contextual position as the economic and financial nexus of one of the most vibrant and promising environments in the world – the Yangtze River Delta in the People's Republic of China.</p>	
<p>AGENCY & CONTEXT</p> <p>The context of China and Shanghai's growing wealth and power in the global economic arena has enabled it to act as a hub for the world's political and economic elite who are now seeking to link in to the Chinese society by using Expo.</p>	<p>STRUCTURE & CONTEXT</p> <p>In order to position itself as a financial and commercial superpower capable of championing the Chinese economic and political rise, Shanghai has redeveloped the city dramatically over the course of the last twenty years.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT & CONTEXT</p> <p>Expo 2010 benefitted from the city's wealth, infrastructure, economic prestige to become the largest Expo in history.</p>	
<p>AGENCY</p> <p>Shanghai's specific role in China has generated huge amounts of Chinese financial and political support for its global city formation, a process that has been heavily supported by the financial inputs of foreign multinationals.</p>	<p>STRUCTURE</p> <p>As a state-led initiative, the large-scale changes that have been wrought on the urban environment of Shanghai are ready to pay dividends to the global competitiveness of Shanghai and the appeal it holds to the world's elite.</p>
<p>AGENCY & STRUCTURE</p> <p>The growth path that Shanghai started back in 1990 with the creation and development of Pudong New Area has seen the urban environment begin to match the historical, national, and cultural expectations that have long since been placed on it and China by the Chinese elite and the general population.</p>	
<p>AGENCY & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>Every single one of Canada's wealthiest multinational corporations either hosted or participated in events that were attended by their Chinese counterparts.</p>	<p>STRUCTURE & ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>As ideas about urban best practice have changed, so too has the urban environment of Shanghai, which has also been altered by coercive state-led gentrification.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>While 2010 Expo in Shanghai has a specific place in the history of World Expositions it was understood locally as the culmination of a complete redefinition of the metropolis' urban form and spatial structure that had already lasted 20 years.</p>	

6.7.3 Summary of the Key Findings of the Combined Conceptual Approach

This Chapter on Expo 2010, Shanghai showed that by using the combined conceptual models, the analysis of urban development can achieve a substantial degree of

depth and complexity, while maintaining a coherent argument and drawing out clear and useful lessons. It argued that Expo 2010 must be understood as a series of constructed fora for the adaptation of ideas, with the first one legitimizing current changes in the urban sphere, while the others adaptation ideas about how best to proceed in the future. Moreover, the visions of future urban development adapted and localized at Expo showed a decided bias in favour of the economic and political elite. Evidence of this was found through the use of the Agency, Structure, Competition, and Context pillars, which detail the importance of courting the international elite in creating a competitive global city. More interestingly, however, variations of this conclusion were also found through the use of the Coercion pillar, which outlined the tactics of gentrification used by the SMG, the Environment pillar, which placed Expo in a historical perspective where urban redevelopment was shown to consistently favour the wealthy and powerful, and the Learning pillar, where Expo-related forums about the future of development were limited to the international elite.

The scope of analysis at Expo, however, went beyond an analysis of political and economic power. This chapter also dissected the means by which Expos are legitimated in the minds of the general population, the manner by which Expo can serve as a forum for cultural adaptation and the increase of understanding between participants, and the means by which China adapted its engagement with international participants to respond to their legitimate expertise in hosting and participating in World Exhibitions. As a result, it spoke to a broad range of topics that relate directly to the field of ideational adaptation, examining the entire length of Expo 2010 to uncover the means by which legitimate best practice was achieved in several key instances. The bidding process showed how China's political economic strength and the pivotal place of Shanghai in its national system provided

legitimacy to the BIE. It showed how the historical success of the SMG in redevelopment the urban form in favour of market activity assured the confidence of the international community. And it showed, finally, how the redevelopment of the urban form was legitimated because the population trusts that the city will in fact become better for the changes undertaken in the name of Expo 2010.

6.8 Conclusion

Shanghai's Expo 2010 winning bid proposal, as well as the strong national and municipal support for Expo 2010, should both be recognized as almost linear extensions of the initial 1990 vision of achieving Shanghai's global city status for the good of the country as a whole. Perhaps the most commonly voiced theme in the many interviews conducted with high-ranking national pavilion executives was that Expo 2010 fits neatly into Shanghai's existing development paradigm, and therefore not a hugely significant event in the grand scheme of the city's past and future development.

Given the record turnout at Expo 2010, with more than 80 million visitors passing through the site, the assertions that the largest Expo ever recorded should be understood as modest could perhaps only be relevant in Shanghai. While the 2010 Expo in Shanghai has a specific place in the history of World Expositions and the urban renewal of the city, the six months from May to November were understood locally as one more step in the complete redefinition of the metropolis' urban form and spatial structure that had already lasted 20 years.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The foundational theme of this thesis is that the adaptation of ideas in pursuit of best practice deserves a central place in the analysis of urban and global development. In order to elucidate this point, two combined conceptual models were applied to three historical examples and one case study. The first model analyzed the political-economic constraints within which the city of Shanghai has developed over the past twenty years. The second model, that of ideational adaptation in the realm of urban development and urban best practice, explored how the transfer, diffusion, and adaptation of ideas has contributed to Shanghai's current urban development paradigm.

g. The Combined Conceptual Models

g.1 The Political Economic Model

The political and economic model showed that Shanghai's decision to pursue global city status was the result of a series of limiting factors. These factors, the paper argued, emerged from the political and economic reality of our contemporary era of development. The model divided the four factors that constrain Shanghai's urban development according to the relationship of 1. Structure – a state-sponsored market-economy 2. Agency – the great and growing disparity of power, privilege and access across cities, nations, and the global economic system 3. Context – economic globalization, and 4. Environment – the existing natural and built environment within which human development currently operates.

This chapter built the case for the increasing standardization of the urban development. It showed how Shanghai can be taken as one instance of a growing global standardization of what constitutes best practice in the urban form. Through the use of the political economic model, the thesis argued that Shanghai has been influenced by prior cases of globalized cities like New York, London, Paris, and Tokyo. Moreover, it has demonstrated that the advice and support of international experts influenced Chinese leaders in Shanghai and Beijing, who then localized these ideas to create something properly Chinese, albeit with international characteristics. Pudong Development Zone, for example, demonstrates how the SMG's active involvement in urban gentrification efforts helped Shanghai rise into its position as a global city.

The political economic model was used to explore the development of Shanghai since 1990, demonstrating that the ongoing standardization of Shanghai's urban form cannot properly be understood to be the result of Western Capital or the agency of the SMG. Rather, the political economic model successfully showed that the prevailing context of urban development, which operates in much the same way globally, has generated a situation in which the pursuit of economic growth demands that cities ascribe to a certain idea about legitimate best practice. It demonstrated that the urban regimes are becoming standardized because they are all responding to common goals, priorities, and expectations that are reproduced across every major city worldwide. The global city, in such a scenario, emerges as the most capable development model for satisfying the demands of constituents and stakeholders who desire a city that can compete as a primary hub for global finance and corporate power.

The conclusion drawn from the study of Shanghai's urban developments presents the need for a new conceptual model that can explain the ways in which the goals, priorities, and expectations of individuals become ingrained as legitimate models of best practice. The analysis of the urban standardization of Shanghai, in line with other global cities, serves as a bridge between the political economic model and the ideational adaptation model. It also serves as a historical and contextual foundation from which the rest of the thesis could build. By providing both a historical and theoretical foundation for the rest of the paper, the analysis of Shanghai's urban development bridged the conceptual level and the first level of analysis. It also allowed for a more meaningful analysis of the Expo 2010 case study.

g.2 The Ideational Adaptation Model

The second model, that of ideational adaptation, examined how the adaptation of ideas could be said to have a real impact in development activity, strategy, and vision. It sought to create a framework from which to understand how interpersonal and inter-institutional adaptations impose limitations on what can be considered legitimate best practice in urban development. This second theoretical model posited that the localization of international norms of best practice occurs through discussion with others (constructivism), relevant local and international experience and historically relevant data (learning), from the need to create a stable, cohesive, and harmonious urban environment for the political and economic elite involved in urban and global development (coercion) and finally from a need for economic innovation, the growth of domestic entrepreneurship, and high rates of economic growth and international investment (competition).

The framework examined how each of these four schools begins by requiring a belief in the legitimacy of another party's expertise. It also emphasized that all four factors should be understood as necessarily complementary to each other. By employing the four camps in a relational manner, the study allowed for a more complete and holistic understanding of the limits and potentials involved in the adaptation of ideas.

Constructivism and Learning Theory were shown as useful tools for understanding how ideas emerge from dialogue and open adaptation. They showed how achieving a vision of and strategy for urban best practice involves a process of adaptation, of learning, and of reorienting one's assumptions about the world. Through these schools we can understand that the adaptation of ideas about urban development involves a constant reinterpretation of best practice beliefs. Crucially, the adaptation of ideas through these two schools demonstrated the need for a shared context of meaning between the two parties involved in dialogue. The lesson for urban development is that the adaptation of ideas in urban best practice thus requires a shared understanding of priorities, of assumptions, and of expectations about the necessary functioning of a city.

Coercion Theory and Competition Theory examined the fact that even as ideas benefit from the limitless exploration of new domains of human imagination, they must also be constrained within the limits of the real world in order to be relevant. Competition and coercion are limiting factors insofar as they determine the boundaries of individual thought within the demands of the collective. Competition and coercion demonstrated both the strengths and limits of making consequential decisions from which others must follow.

This thesis has sought to emphasize that the adaptation and localization of ideas constitutes a relationship, rather than a straightforward struggle where one side wins and one

side loses. The adaptation of ideas, in other words, cannot simply be viewed as a power play. Rather, power is only one determinant in how some ideas achieve legitimacy and standing over others.

h. Three Historical Applications of the Conceptual Models

The thesis then moved to a series of four case studies to elucidate the potentially promising academic work that emerges from the relational application of the two theoretical models. By employing the conceptual models as a foundation, the three historical examples were used as a first level of analysis. This first level of analysis drew from the two models in combination, as well as from the investigation of Shanghai's contemporary urban development.

The first study examined the localization of foreign (and primarily American) norms of education in China. It served to cement the inescapable impact that ideas, in their most basic form, inevitably possess in structuring the most basic assumptions, expectations, and ideational norms of every successive generation.

The second study sought to investigate the place of the business community in Shanghai's urban development, the second focused on the international development community's impact on environmental innovation, and the third explored the mega-project of Expo 2010. It investigated how a forum for dialogue between the leaders of local states and the titans of international business allowed both sides to improve their understanding of how cities can most effectively attract foreign capital investment. Finally, it showed how these meetings are instrumental to building bonds of trust and cooperation between groups with common interests, and demonstrated how the process of ideational adaptation between

government and the business community relies heavily on a belief in the legitimate expertise of both side.

The Suzhou Creek Project led to technical and technological cooperation, increased Shanghai's access to data and information about environmental management, and served to redefine the way in which the city approached environmental issues in an urban setting. Together, the ADB and the SMG established a Chinese example of urban best practice by localizing the ideas of the international community to the specific context of Shanghai.

i. One Case Study Application of the Conceptual Models

Expo 2010 served as a contemporary example of how the two conceptual models apply to urban mega projects. The case study argued that Expo 2010 can only be fully understood by understanding the complex relationships between political economic imperatives, and the complex process of ideational adaptation. As a concrete extension of Shanghai's pursuit of global city status, the Expo 2010 case study allowed for an in-depth look into the ways in which ideas about best practice in urban and global development can also be shown to involve ideational adaptation regarding cultural and social dispositions. Finally, by introducing key informant interviews, as well as insights gleaned from the author's participation in a large number of formal and informal events involving leading figures from Expo 2010, this thesis provided rare access to information not available to other researchers.

j. Considerations for Future Research that Emerge from this Thesis

The case study of Expo 2010 provides the most complete application of the combined ideational adaptation model and a political economic model in this thesis. Each element of both models was investigated with a substantial amount of depth and subtlety, though more could have been done to flesh out some key elements of the project. For instance, there were a number of fora organized by Expo that invited some of the most valued minds on urban development. These fora were barred to the public and an investigation of their activity would be worthwhile and interesting. An investigation of how the ideas about urban best practice that were presented at Expo 2010 have now been applied in China and throughout the world would be an excellent way to map the contribution of Expo to contemporary urban development. Finally, studies that could focus on the elements of trust, access, friendship, and legitimacy in interpersonal and inter-institutional dialogue would be very worthwhile contributions to the understanding the adaptation of ideas, and their potential applicability to urban development analysis.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Template Invitation for Interview

Dear Mr. / Ms. X,

I hope this letter finds you well. I am a Canadian currently working at Expo as the Executive Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner General of the Canada Pavilion. I am also currently writing my Master's Thesis on Shanghai's urban development, and the place of the international community in contributing to Shanghai's notions of urban best practice. In order to flesh out the international perspective in this regard, I would like to request an interview with you, as the [Title] of the [X] Pavilion.

I would be extremely appreciative if you could find 30 – 60 minutes before the end of Expo to speak to me about the role that Expos play in developing transformative ideas about the future of cities, regions, countries, and the lives of their inhabitants. With specific regard to Shanghai, I am interested in knowing how Expo 2010 has performed as a forum for discussion between the many different political, economic, and social actors from across the world that are represented here.

The major questions on which I would like your views are the following:

1. What is the purpose of World / Universal Exhibitions?
2. Do Expos change the cities / countries / regions in which they take place, and which are present as participants? If so, how?
3. Among the different groups involved in Expos, which ones are the most important in terms of their interactions with one another?
4. In what way can Expos be said to act as a forum for constructive dialogue between countries, and between targeted groups of international actors?

I am available at your convenience, and can meet you either on site, at the[X] Pavilion, or off-site, should that prove more amenable to your schedule.

Appendix II: List of Interviewees

Note: All interviews with participants representing national or urban pavilions were conducted during the last two months of Expo 2010, in either September or October of 2010. All other interviews were conducted within the first month of Expo 2010, or in the preparatory phase, from March to April, 2010.

Former Director, Canada-China Business Council, Margaret Cornish

Director, Shanghai Office, Canada-China Business Council, Helena Chen

Director, Shanghai Office, United States-China Business Council, Julie Walton

Director of Protocol, Madrid Pavilion, Olivier Starckx

Deputy Pavilion Director, United Kingdom Pavilion, David Martin

Pavilion Director, Slovenia Pavilion, Linda Belina

Pavilion Director, Canada Pavilion, Barbara Helm

Pavilion Director, Montreal Pavilion, Louis Dussault

Deputy Commissioner General, Canada Pavilion, Wayne Scott

Deputy Commissioner General, Australia Pavilion, Peter Sams

Deputy Commissioner General, Italy Pavilion, Maria Assunta Accili

Commissioner General, Croatia Pavilion, Ivica Maričić

Commissioner General, Japan Pavilion, Hiroshi Tsukamoto

Consul General of Canada in Shanghai, Nadir Patel

Appendix III: Informal Meetings and Discussions

Note: All informal meetings with participants representing national pavilions were conducted during the last two months of Expo 2010, in either September or October of 2010. All other interviews were conducted in the preparatory phase, from March to April, 2010, except the discussions with representatives of the department of Canadian Heritage (Mme. Bourget) and DFAIT (Mr. Calvert), which were conducted in October, 2010.

Director of Protocol, Canada Pavilion, Evan Medley

Director of Special Events, Canada Pavilion, James Mitchell

Director of Communications, Canada Pavilion, Jennifer Price

Executive Director, Canada Pavilion, Robert Myers

Executive Director, Canada China Business Council, Sarah Kutulakos

Deputy Commissioner General, USA Pavilion, Tom Cooney

Commissioner General, New Zealand Pavilion, Mike Pattison

Commissioner General, Canada Pavilion, Mark Rowswell

Representative of the Québec Government in Shanghai, François Gaudreau

Former Representative of the Government of British Columbia in Shanghai, John McDonald

Director General, North Asia Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Phil Calvert

Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada, Nicole Bourget

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