

# Urban Culture and Identity in an Era of Globalization: The Comparison with Cultural Strategies of Shanghai and Seoul as Global City\*

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Most arguments on the urban space and the urban sociocultural system emphasize a somewhat deep relationship between the two. But the real forms and the dynamics of that relationship are not fully explained in each case, and the comparison with the contents and forms of urban dynamics among the cities are not yet tried to explain. However, it is a fact that the critical studies of urban dynamics among modern cities, such as New York, London and Paris, are more or less established to explain. Those have contributed greatly to the project to rethink modernity. If it is agreed that a definitive component of globalization is the global city, a similar focus on the city should serve the study of globalization equally well. Some scholars have begun to set out the criteria of what qualifies global cities as such.

Shanghai and Seoul City would seem to meet these requirements,

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combining as it does the strong presence of international enterprise with a multicultural landscape, a high concentration of artistic and scientific elite, and a large volume of international tourism.

My concern in this paper is to explore what dynamics of globalization are illuminated by a consideration of the urban transformations that have distinguished Shanghai and Seoul City as global cities.

This paper is to examine the cultural characteristics and meanings of cultural strategies and changing urban identity in East Asian cities, especially in Shanghai, China and Seoul, Korea, in the age of globalization. In this paper, I try to explain the comparison with the contents and forms of urban dynamics with special reference to cultural strategies for development in Shanghai and Seoul as global cities.

**Key Words:** Globalization, urban culture, urban identity, Shanghai city, Seoul city, cultural strategy, global city

## I. Introduction

If it is agreed that a definitive component of globalization is the global city, a similar focus on the city should serve the study of globalization equally well. Some scholars have begun to set out the criteria of what qualifies global cities as such(Hannerz 1996; Sassen 1991, 1994).<sup>1)</sup> Much has been done to characterize the late capitalist

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1) Most arguments on the urban space, urban landscape, and urban sociocultural system emphasize a close relationship among them. But the real forms and the dynamics of that relationship are not fully explained in each case, and the comparison with the contents and forms of urban dynamics among the cities are not yet tried to explain. However, it is a fact that the critical studies of urban dynamics among modern cities, such as New York, London and Paris, are more or less established to explain. Those have contributed greatly to the project to rethink modernity and post-modernity.

and socialist forms of the city in terms of generalizable features. The city is seen as the apogee of commodity fetishism, where consumption rather than production shapes social life(Harvey 1990). Along with the workings of the fetish comes the emphasis on spectacle, on surfaces and appearances.<sup>2)</sup>

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## II. Urban Culture and Urban Identity in Globalization

The one dominant force shaping the world today is globalization.

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2) Patton(1995: 117) suggests that the anonymity of the city makes for a social milieu differently. By contrast, the rural, typically emerging as the dyadic complement of the city, is a place of stasis, of authenticity. It is cities that are portrayed as the settings where new states of mind could come into being(Schein 2000: 227).

3) For example, Time magazine labeled Shanghai a rival to New York City as the "Center of the World" in the 21st century. China's largest city had clearly recaptured the world's imagination.

That is, the increasing integration of markets, economies, infrastructures, and other institutions into one world standard. As a consequence, there is increasingly free movement of goods, capital, services, and ideas across borders. But globalization is not just an economic phenomenon. While the accounting of benefits and costs of globalization depends very much on one's perspective, there is no question that it is a relentless and inevitable tidal wave.<sup>4)</sup>

Globalization does not mean a singly all-powerful world government along the line of a vastly expanded United Nations issuing edicts from New York to remote corners of the world. And it will not mean the decline or end of the nation-state, as some exuberant advocates proclaim and some nationalistic leaders.

As it is like this, when globalization is referred to, we cannot help but associate it with liberalization and integration of the economy, with movements of capital and investments; mobilization of the workforce; transformation of culture, changes of technology, flow of information and a borderless world. Globalization is also characterized by rapid changes to practices and environments that often necessitated actions and interventions, some of which may be radical (Musa Muhamad 2003: 9).

The term of globalization asserts that the basic conditions of the world that we live in have been significantly altered. When globalization began depends on whether one emphasizes the political, economic or cultural aspect of that globalization process. It also depends on the situational experiential perspective, specifically, whether from the U. S. A. or Europe, or East Asia, one brings to bear on understanding that process. Whichever the case, the notion of globalization is in many ways retrospective.

Global can be also used in at least two senses: metaphorically,

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4) And like a tidal wave, one is more likely to survive and even thrive, if prepared. A non-swimmer will be swept away and drowned, but a skillful surfer will exhilaratingly ride the crest. Globalization has two faces like this.

referring to the total whole or, especially since 1980s, more literally as referring to, or encompassing, the entire terrestrial globe. In certain cases, global/globalization seem entirely appropriate-aspects of economic globalization in the 1980s, the reach of satellite broadcasting, global production and marketing of products or, in the realm of ecology, global warming, I agree that Anthony D. King says that he is less convinced about its application in the realm of the human, social and cultural(King 2000: 225). As a term used to further a particular economic and ideological agenda, and one that assumes that which requires to be interrogated, it is at once both too broad and too narrow. Because all 'global' discourses 'stress the importance of transnational forces, the practices of coding and decoding everyday practices that disrupt, disturb, and even deny the identity of the global are not revealed'(cited in King 1997).

Looking at the dominance of urban-based studies in the context of different attempts to grasp a contemporary society in transition, 'Exploring the City' seems to be the thing to do for the contemporary social scientist hoping to grasp at least some features of a social reality increasingly escaping established theories and concepts.<sup>5)</sup> Is there any relationship between the concept of the urban and that of the city? Does this mean then that understanding the city is the same as understanding society?

A selected review of anthropological and sociological ideas will be provided within the context of modernity or postmodernity that link the city and urban culture to developments in wider society(Harvey 1990). This should serve to set the stage for the question that inspires that th argument developed in this article: what is the link between the global city's everyday life and global society(Durrschmidt 2000: 4-5).

Globalization theory stresses the continuity between

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5) Referring to Hannerz(1980), to mention just one of the more intriguing amongst the vast number of studies having 'urban' or 'city' flagged in their titles.

modernization and globalization, and consequently regards the multi-layered dimensions of globalization as 'consequences of modernity'(Giddens 1994). From this perspective, statement about the city as 'carrier' of modernity, it is indeed rather surprising to see the city/urbanization not mentioned as one of the 'institutional dimensions of modernity', and respectively, the system of world cities as one of the 'dimensions of globalization'(Giddens 1994: 59).

Today, it is obvious that globalization is more than the incorporation of an increasing number of the world's population into cities, or the worldwide dominance of an urban way of life, not to mention regional differentiation within this urban way of life, reflected in debates on 'de-urbanization' and 'over-urbanization' (Lefebvre 1997: 78; Smith 1996: 13f; Savage and Warde 1996: 314f). The sense of a new configuration of society beyond modernity is possibly most forcefully expressed in the concept of a 'Global Cultural Economy' as developed in the arguments of Appadurai (1992), Lash and Urry(1994), and Tomlinson(1999). Their approach provides a radicalization of the globalization debate beyond Giddens understanding of it as a 'consequence of modernity'.

The global and the local are terms that derive their meanings from each other, rather than from reference to any specifically describable spatiality. The term 'global', used as a signifier for economic, political, social and cultural processes, does not refer to the globe as a representation of the whole world conceived geometrically. Not only are large parts of the world left out of those processes, but even in those parts of the world that are included in the processes, the processes appear as pathways in networks of one kind or another that leave untouched or even reduce to marginality significant surfaces of what is implied by a term such as global.<sup>6)</sup>

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6) The network character of globalization has been analysed in depth recently by Castells(1996). It is not that globalization has no effects outside the networks, but such effects may best be conceived as 'inductive' effects of networks. We

In this sense, global city can be understood in relation with the borderless global economy. The global city system is a network connecting so called world hub cities, that is characterized by concentration and centralization of global facilities and activities(Friedman 1986). The position and role of Shanghai and Seoul in the global city system are very high and large. The necessity for Shanghai and Seoul to be major global city not only in the Northeast Asia but also in the World requires careful strategies of city management and administration.<sup>7)</sup>

In turn, scholars point to the rising importance of the cultural economy for cities in the era of globalization. There seems to be a convergence of cultural and economic development as the "realm of human culture as a whole is increasingly subject to commodification."(Scott 1997: 323). Local culture helps shape the nature of many urban economic activities and economic development becomes a dynamic element of a place's culture-generating capacity. Although it is difficult to pin down all the sectors in the cultural economy, they are generally engaged in the creation of marketable output whose psychological satisfaction is more important to the

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need also to underline that marginalization is not simply of 'areas', but more importantly of people, who may be marginalized even at their locations within the networks. For a critique of what many among the globalizers have come to describe as the '20:80 society' (that is 20 percent of the population necessary, the rest redundant), see, Martin and Schumann(1997) and Dirlik(1999: 56).

7) In this paper, I propose three strategies of urban development in Shanghai and Seoul. The first is to build infrastructure in relation to urban restructuring, such as hub airport, seaport and teleport. These 3-P facilities make Shanghai and Seoul be one of the hub center in transportation network in the world(Kim 2003: 13). The second is to raise up the appropriate industries in Shanghai and Seoul by restructuring process in industrial sector. The future industries for Shanghai and Seoul should be the high tech industries by combining the major second industry with the third industries. The third strategy is related to historical and cultural inheritance attracting tourism around the world. The globalization of local culture is a feature of the world city. Shanghai and Seoul has long cultural and historical properties and heritages enough to attract international tourists.

consumer than utilitarian purpose(Scott 1997, 2000). As a result, the study of a city's cultural economy may target particular sectors of production, or cultural industries. The core of cultural industries includes a number of creative endeavors producing cultural products: music, motion pictures, television, art, design, books, new media, and architecture.

Cultural strategies adopted by many cities around the world have embraced more issues than the singular focus on cultural industries. Often, the arts and traditional cultural heritages are incorporated into urban redevelopment. There are three different types of cultural strategies, depending on the major intervention targets(Kim 2001). People-oriented strategies emphasize human development, focusing on either principal producers of arts or cultural consumers. Cultural subsidies and funding for artistic activities can be targeted at producers, while cultural classes and workshops serve local consumers directly. Product-oriented strategies emphasize the industrial networks and institutions through which cultural workers are mobilized. They very much resemble industrial policies used in other sectors to encourage agglomeration, increase worker skills, and cultivate a productive social environment. Place-oriented strategies aim at attracting capital investment and enticing tourists. They often involve infrastructure and property development, the promotion of cultural events, and the building of cultural venues. The actual implementation of these three types of strategies can and often do overlap one another.

Cultural strategies are an integral part of the city's modernization drive and a blend of product- and place-oriented approaches. Among them, the key approaches include development of cultural industries, the creation of new cultural venues, organization of cultural events, attraction of international investment, and the transformation of the built environment. Underlying the different approaches adopted by the city is the municipality's strong commitment to cultural regeneration by increasing investment and restructuring institutions.<sup>8)</sup>

Cultural strategies and policy have been pursued with a growing pace by many cities, which often combine different types of strategies. To make a successful cultural policy, some conditions need to be met (Watson 2001).<sup>9)</sup>

Many global cities have capitalized the commercial value of cultural creativity. Several types of function are commonly associated with such cities. They include transnational corporate headquarter functions, global services, transport, information, a site for international conferences, exhibitions and cultural activities (Sassen 1991; Friedmann 1998; Brunn *et al.*, 2003). Governments across the world have begun to promote the advancement of their key metropolises into regional or global hubs by acquiring some or all of these functions.<sup>10)</sup>

In this respect, it is important to keep in mind that we are dealing with a capitalist or postsocialist setting in which state and economy have been closely linked in specific ways. In China, as elsewhere, the rural has signified a kind of class position in relation to the urban. During the Maoist period, this became strictly formalized in the household registration system, which Potter (1983) has characterized as "caste-like" in its consignment of peasants to a geographic and social immobility. Especially after the Cultural Revolution, boundaries marking cities and their surrounding

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8) The complexity of social reality on urbanity has discouraged several attempts to explain the characteristics and meanings of urban space and urban sociocultural system. The city of Shanghai had been principally that of autonomous 'citizens,' apart from the centrality of Beijing government.

9) First is the championship by local officials, particularly those at the senior level. Second, there needs to be sufficient investment and revenue for new capital projects. Third, a coherent government structure needs to be in place to support cultural and creative industries. Last, a regulatory structure should ensure that policies are carried through and implemented properly (Wu, F. 2004: 162).

10) Shanghai and Seoul, as aspirant cities, have followed a similar path in preparing the city's pathway to global cities. These involve regeneration the cosmopolitanism they cultivated earlier in history.

countryside were transformed into inflexible lines of control that were difficult for individuals to cross without extensive documentation(Whyte and Parish 1984: 26). State mobility restrictions also held in check the development of the kinds of large migrant settlements that surrounded metropolises and infused city centers in many East and Southeast Asian countries(Kirkby 1985; Guldin 1992).

### III. Shanghai's Cultural Strategies in an Era of Globalization

Located in the middle point on China's coast, Shanghai is concerned by coastal transport to other developed regions in China, such as the Greater Bohai Region, the Pearl River Delta Region and the southern Fujian province. At the vantage point of the Yangzi River mouth, Shanghai commands a direct hinterland that covers the developed delta region and the watershed of the Yangzi River. With Shanghai as the core, the Yangzi River Delta Region has been linked together by the Shanghai-Nanjing Railway, the Shanghai-Hangzhou Highway and the Shanghai-Nanjing Highway. Shanghai is also connected with central and southwestern China through the Zhejiang-Jiangxi Railway, which stretches to Kunming through Zhuzhou and Guiyang.

In fact, this accessibility Shanghai will enjoy will be much better than other coastal regions in China. More importantly, since Shanghai has the biggest economic hinterland of China, the development of Shanghai inevitably will promote the development of the Yangzi River Delta Region, the Yangzi River Basin and, indeed, entire China.

Therefore, Shanghai is so important that no other place in China can substitute for its functions. The economic evolution of Yangzi River Basin led by Shanghai signifies the economic evolution of

China. Shanghai obviously should open to the whole world. The geographical location of Shanghai has laid the foundation for it to become the economic, trading and financial centre of China.

Shanghai, literally meaning "on the sea", is China's largest city. It symbolizes the clash between Western and Chinese cultures. After it was named one of five open cities, provided by the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 following the Opium War, Shanghai was opened to Western trade and residence. It was a combination of unfettered Western capitalism, boundless Chinese entrepreneurial spirit and an unrivalled geographical location that witnessed more than a century of unprecedented and dramatic growth at the mouth of the Yangzi River.

Old Shanghai, in the narrower sense, composes the 106 years when foreigners enjoyed certain privilege in China. Myths and legends about Old Shanghai are legion. That the port came into international renown as a result of the Opium War of 1840 and long thrived on commerce, including the opium trade and its corollary, vice and gambling, is a fact that cannot be denied. For more than a century, Shanghai was one of the leading port cities in the world where men grew rich by exploiting both opportunities and their fellow human beings. It was common knowledge that Shanghai was a smuggler's paradise where everything could be had for a price. Less well-known was information concerning government: that law-making and administration of the International Settlement were controlled by a few British or Chinese governments. The French government did retain control in the French Concession through its consul at Shanghai. In neither settlement, however, was the Chinese population consulted on legislative or administrative matters until the 1920s.

As a powerhouse of China's modern transformation, Shanghai was a city of tremendous complexity. Most obvious since 1843 was that a large part of Shanghai was foreign concessions. The Taiping Rebellion further restructured the political map of Shanghai, the

autonomous movement initiated by the Qing court, based on local pressures from 1905 to 1911, actually created an opportunity in which an increasingly active, commercialized, and differentiated local leadership ultimately challenged the imperial dynasty and contributed to its overthrow. However, it is during the 1910s to 1930s that a critical period is for both the young Chinese Republic and the international metropolis of Shanghai at that time. At that time, Shanghai had the basic social structure of commercial center in China.

During its semi-colonial period, Shanghai was traversed by economic and cultural movements that stretched well beyond what today the country of China is called. During that period, Shanghai also functioned as a broker of links with European colonizers such as British and French. Until well into the middle of the twentieth century, urban structures and life worlds in these cities were primarily conditioned by their roles as national centers of economics, politics, and culture. Shanghai is a city of anomalies and paradoxes, because, as a semi-colonial city under Chinese soil, it marked the triumph of Western mercantilism and its most successful incursion into Asia in the nineteenth century.<sup>11)</sup> The result was truly startling and remarkable, as in less than a century Shanghai had transformed itself from a third-class, local town to a thriving and leading metropolis of the world.

The importance of Shanghai is to a large degree due to its location midway along the China coast. It serves as an effective link not only between the port cities of North and South China, but for cities in Korea and Japan and in the Asia-Pacific region as well. In air transport, Shanghai is approximately one hour's travel time to Seoul, the capital of Korea, and Hong Kong. While Shanghai's own

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11) It is said that the rise of Shanghai in its semi-capitalist and semi-colonial open mode of trade, as opposed to one of an agrarian empire only semi-open to the world personified by Guangzhou.

market is already quite sizable, its hinterland is enormous and unequalled in China. The recent easing of international relations enables Shanghai to play a more active role in China's continuing open policy and to engage in economic interactions with countries in East Asia and beyond.

In the past, Shanghai was noted for its penchant for keeping abreast of technology and of new ways of economic or social life. Historically Shanghai was quick to adopt innovations. In the history of modern Shanghai, politics and economics have always been intertwined.<sup>12)</sup> Shanghai has been China's business and industrial centre since the 1930s. Its enormous wealth and importance as China's financial centre can be reflected by the office buildings which were built in its prime time before Second World War but still stand elegantly along the Bund(wai tan).<sup>13)</sup> For a long time the Bund has been regarded as a symbol of the city of Shanghai. The world-famous Bund is characterized not only by its beautiful scenery but also by the clusters of buildings of various styles on it.

Whereas Shanghai under foreign capitalism has a monstrous appearance, the hustle and bustle of the harbor also exudes a boundless energy. The English word "modern" received its first Chinese transliteration in Shanghai itself: the Chinese word *modeng* in popular parlance has the meaning of "noble and/or fashionable," according to the authoritative Chinese dictionary Cihai. Thus in the Chinese popular imagination Shanghai and "modern" are natural equivalents. Therefore the beginning point of this study will have to

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12) This is main theme in which Cheung(1996) demonstrates the importance and meaning of political change against the backdrop of economic development in the reform period. He draws attention to the emergence of the political leadership in Shanghai and its close links to the leadership in Beijing government.

13) But Hong Kong, which now outshines Shanghai as a financial and industrial centre in the world, was a small entrepot port when Shanghai was a world city(Hong 2005).

be: What makes Shanghai modern? That is, what constitutes its modern qualities in a matrix of meaning constructed by both Western and Chinese cultures?

The question may be posed to different audiences and may receive different responses. Westerners in Shanghai in that time would have taken the answer to such questions for granted: their presence in their privileged treaty port environs was made this urban modernity possible. For the Chinese residents, by contrast, the responses would have been much more complex. Politically, for a century Shanghai was a treaty port of divided territories. The Chinese sections in the southern part of the city and in the far north were cut off from each other by the foreign concessions (the International Settlement, built by the British and American) and the adjacent French Concession, which did not come to an end until 1943, during the Second World War, when the Allied nations formally ended the concession system by agreement with China.

Shanghai from 1860 to 1949 was an amazing spectacle, a twentieth-century Babylon reverberating in the Western imagination as a place of style, excitement and intrigue. The place where East met West in China, Shanghai was Asia's only modern metropolis and an international crossroads attracting the citizens of over fifty nations. Home to gangsters and revolutionaries, tycoons and political and economic refugees, Shanghai was both the stage upon which every important event in modern China's history was enacted and a place so wicked it inspired Marlene Dietrich to rasp, "It took more than one man to change my name to Shanghai Lily." (Dong 2003: 44-45).

However, after 1949 Shanghai was gone. Twenty-five years later, summing up the decadence of the city in a thumbnail sketch Edgar Snow, author of 'Red Star Over China', mused about the vanished city: "Gone the glitter and the glamour; gone the pompous wealth beside naked starvation. Goodbye to all that: the well-dressed Chinese in their chauffeured cars behind bullet-proof glass; the

gangsters, the shakedown, the kidnapers, the exclusive foreign clubs, the opium dens and gambling halls; the flashing lights of the great restaurants, the clatter of mah-jong pieces, the yells of Chinese feasting and playing the finger game for bottoms-up drinking, the innumerable shops spilling over with silks, jades, embroideries... the peddlers and their plaintive cries; the armored white ships on the Whangpoo... the Japanese conquerors and American and Kuomintang successors; gone the wickedest and most colorful city of the old Orient; good-bye to all that.”(Dong 2003: 32)

It was until 1978, when the New Open Door Policy began in China, that the glory of Shanghai was revived. Economic policy and the open policy adopted in 1978 have had a significant impact on urban development in China, especially on the internal structure of cities. The economic reforms have freed the economy from the total reliance on state investment and planning.<sup>14)</sup>

Shanghai assumed unprecedented the scale economies of great cities and their role as agents in the expansion of economic life, and it became the largest are designated for development to date with the opening of the Pudong New Area in 1990. It now became the model of socialist city that the rest of China's cities were exhorted to emulate. In the spirit of the reforms set in motion in 1978, policies were formulated that allowed for the experimentation in market economies by the creation of one of SEZs as well as recognizing that foreign investment was a powerful too for development. Shanghai was recognized, making it a provincial-like urban unit, specifically to obtain a wider tax base and to provide for some local autonomy in decision making for the region.

As I mentioned above, contemporary urban development processes in Shanghai are directly related to the end of Maoism in the late 1970s, and the establishment of a new order by the Chinese

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14) The New Open Door Policy enables the use of foreign investment for economic development(Yeh 1996: 275).

Communist Party through the implementation of the New Open Door Policy. This new order has placed a greater emphasis upon the goals of enhanced economic efficiency, rapid economic growth, and “an increasing role for markets in labour”(Cannon 1995: 4). These reform goals have resulted in the implementation of a wide variety of initiatives in all-sections and levels of China's political economy(Olds 1997: 110). These goals and initiatives therefore lie all of the processes effecting urban change in Shanghai today.

Shanghai's role as an agent of modernization has at best been controversial and mirror Shanghai's unique history in its rise as a world class city. That is, by virtue of the status the city has attained over the past century and a half, not only as the centre of China's industrial or financial capacity, but also as the locus of the country's most influential political and intellectual activity. One of the most striking and interesting themes of cultural strategies for urban development in Shanghai is Xintiandi.

Xintiandi(新天地, New World), situated in the center of Shanghai, near both Huaihai Road(淮海路) and People's Square(人民廣場), is famous for its successful combination of Shi Ku Men(石庫門, a style of Shanghai's traditional buildings) and modern Western style architecture. No wonder people always say that Xintiandi is a typical manifestation of “Hai Pai”(海派, Shanghai Style) civilization as well as a good reflection of Shanghai's historic culture in architecture. The first phase of the construction scheme covers an area of 30,000 sq.m. The scheme includes the preservation and transformation of some blocks of the old lanes(in Shanghai they are called “Long Tang”) and the typical Shikumen situated to the south of Huaihai Road.

The structure of Shikumen in Xintiandi retain its original style, even the materials used are of the original kind, e. g. the ancient-style brick walls, clay tiles, the doors, etc. Shikumen architecture is an emblem of the urban landscape in Shanghai and a symbolic anchor in Xintiandi's place promotion efforts. It can be roughly translated into “stone portal” and is distinct by a wooden

door set within a stone frame.

Once walking into Xintiandi, one cannot but have a feeling of going back to the past, as if he were in 1920s again. In 1997, Hong Kong's Shui On Group announced a 50 million USD scheme to construct a hub of culture, art, entertainment, shopping, dining and leisure by renovation the original Shikumen to the south of Huaihai Road, with a view to building up a London's Piccadilly Circus or Paris's Arc de Triomphe in Shanghai.<sup>15)</sup>

However, the interior of each building is completely modern and all kinds of relaxing facilities can be found, such as cafes, restaurants, galleries, boutiques and bars. It is often thought of by both local people and visitors as one of the most attractive place for nightlife. If a visitor likes to know how people in Shanghai spend their nights, he'd better go round Xintiandi after sunset.

There are three main social groups that frequent Xintiandi: local elites, expatriates and tourists. Local elites in the form of white-collar workers are prominent in Starbucks, Luna Cafe and Stareast(a restaurant with a Chinese popular music theme). For the expatriates, they tend to prefer high-end retail establishment like Kabb, T8 and Paulaner Brahaus. Domestic and foreign tourists are easily discernible by their eager acts of photo taking and their language. There are two basic reasons that privilege these groups of consumers over others. Firstly, the retail mix in Xintiandi is decidedly upper-middle class in orientation. The cheapest meal costs at least 15 yuan in MacDonalds. This automatically excludes consumers with

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15) The Group was invited by the municipal government to conserve the houses on the current Xintiandi site. The agreement to develop Xintiandi only ran four pages. The neighborhood consisted mainly of Shikumen houses that were built in the early 20th century, and by then had fallen in disrepair. Although some local leaders from the street offices were included in the design process of Xintiandi, views of the local residents did not influence the planning process. Rather, water and electricity was cut in a bid to force residents to move out(Wai 2004: 3).

lesser purchasing power. Secondly, as Chen(2003) points out, while Xintiandi introduces quality urban public space to a city increasingly reliant on indoor shopping malls, it is a semi-private space under the burden of heavily automated surveillance and guards who will exclude shabby-looking locals. Strict surveillance carried out by security officers along the periphery of Xintiandi provides an almost impermeable buffer for people who are not that well dressed. Together, these mechanisms sift out 'undesirable' consumers who do not fit into Xintiandi's upper middle class image. In this respect, Xintiandi is a space that caters to consumers with significant social and cultural capital(Zukin 1989), as these consumers are able to consume the associated place meanings of "Old Shanghai" that Xintiandi aims to bring back to the contemporary urban landscape. The politics of exclusion becomes possible through a selected portrayal of history that calls out to a specific clientele. Xintiandi is a product that transports consumers back in time to a different era in "Old Shanghai", as well as letting them stay in the present at the same time. Let me introduce the information on Xintiandi in Shikumen Museum, Xintiandi.

"Xintiandi is a place where older people find it nostalgic, younger people find it trendy, foreigners find it Chinese, and Chinese people find it foreign. It is a place where everybody finds something of his or her own. Xintiandi belongs not only to Shanghai, but to China and the world."(Shikumen Museum, Xintiandi)

As cities strive for globality, flagship developments play indispensable roles by signaling message of economic development and cultural vibrancy. In Shanghai, as aspiring global city, Xintiandi is one of the flagship developments that embody the ambitions of a post-industrial city. Xintiandi today is one of the most vibrant landscapes in metropolitan Shanghai. As an upper-class commercial node, the thematic of development conjure images of "Old Shanghai". It is a landscape imbued with grandiose promises where everyone ranging from local Shanghainese, expatriates, and tourists

find it fascinating. Xintiandi consists of spaces of exclusion that ironically marginalize fragments of “Old Shanghai” that the redevelopment process of Shikumen houses in Xintiandi seeks to preserve. Taking iconography as a device of place promotion, it is important to explore how these icons shape consumption practices in Xintiandi, and to elucidate the fragments of “Old Shanghai” that have been foregrounded and muted by the Xintiandi landscape after urban regeneration.

The boundaries of Xintiandi are clearly delineated by various icons in the landscape, for these icons invoke feelings of nostalgia in “Old Shanghai” as well as notions of upper-middle class consumption practices.

Shanghai is not on the fringes of dominant urban hierarchies. In fact, there is generally a sense of optimism for the future economic development potential of the city. Not only is it seen as a gateway to one of the fastest growing economies in the world, it is also touted as a potential global city in future. In fact, the promotion effort in Xintiandi is not designed to address issues of urban regeneration in Shanghai as a whole. It is part of the strategy of an entrepreneurial city.

As Shanghai changes from a mere production site to an entrepreneurial city, new urban spaces are created. One type of these new urban spaces are what is called spaces of consumption, where “consumption is glorified and glamorized through promotional strategies, for example using decontextualized heritage development and globally branded images. These new spaces are carefully designed to reawaken historical memories and to stimulate a new way of life.” (Wai 2004: 12). If Xintiandi is a new urban space, it is a new urban space that embodies a particular kind of consumer culture. This consumer culture is one that values Western influences in general, and possibly French culture in this case. It is also a kind of consumer culture where “Old Shanghai” as a kind of nostalgia takes on special meanings.

Under socialism, China was a country where consumer culture and materialism were discouraged. On the other hand, a post-socialist China has seen the proliferation of consumer culture. Xintiandi is a site where the proliferation of consumer culture is played out. It is a site for local elites, expatriates and foreign visitors to sit side by side and engage in collective conspicuous consumption, thus transforming urban spaces in this process. Indeed, if nostalgia is part of Xintiandi as a product, representation of space through icons reminiscent of "Old Shanghai" shape the place-making processes of consumers. Simultaneously, consumption practice in Xintiandi also shape how "Old Shanghai" is understood and remembered.

As Shanghai undergoes urban restructuring in its quest for global city status, various flagship developments have been built with amazing speed to create a pro-development atmosphere. Xintiandi is one such project. With a theme of "bringing old Shanghai back", Xintiandi is a product that embodies representations of "Old Shanghai" in various manners. Its place promotion efforts act as "both an awareness-raising exercise, and an attempt to change people's attitudes towards a place in order to influence their behaviour"(Young and Kaczmarek 1999: 184). It has been discussed how the various icons in the material landscape act as place promotion devices to promote Xintiandi as an attractive place to visit and hang out for groups of local elites, expatriates and tourists. In addition, these devices influence the behaviour of consumers by inducing certain understandings of "Old Shanghai". However, these devices that create myths of elsewhere generically marginalize fragments of history.

The modernization program Shanghai has embarked on since the 1980s involves regenerating a vibrant cosmopolitan culture formed in the early 20th century. Standing for adaptability, popularity, and modernity, this culture offered a contrast of old and new, elite and ordinary, and Chinese and Western. In particular, the city obtained

a kind of sophistication with a strong merchant character and commerce served as the primary motor of society. The built environment clearly reflected the commercial nature and Western influence.

Today in an era of globalization, the regeneration of this cosmopolitanism takes on primarily place-based strategies aimed at recreating a sense of place, in combination with the cultivation of key cultural industries. To put itself back onto the map of great world cities, Shanghai has opened new cultural venues, prompted high-profile events, built infrastructure for attracting foreign investment, revived public and commercial spaces. The transformation of the built environment and urban space is clearly a focus, involving both preservation and creation.

Cultural development now intrinsically links with commercialism, particularly for the younger generation, as rising income has fostered a consumer boom (Gamble 2003). As Shanghai's cultural institutions and industries move steadily towards modernization and globalization, Western influence has begun to take hold again. In some ways, the state-directed vision of a cultural city also overwhelms Chinese traditionalism. Many old artistic and cultural forms are losing audience and slipping into obscurity. Even some city officials recognize that Shanghai's progress is all about commercialism and has less to do with history. Cultural diversity may have steadily deteriorated over time as early migrants become assimilated into the local culture and the new generation of urbanities is no longer tolerant of the millions of recent migrants.

To truly rejuvenate the cosmopolitan culture so prided by Shanghai natives in the early 20th century, the city faces a daunting task of blending Chinese and Western to create a new, unique identity and evolving beyond the commercial market dictated by non-Chinese tastes. Shanghai's reign as China's financial and commercial center, nevertheless, bodes well for the funding of cultural activities.<sup>16)</sup>

The context of Shanghai's development as a special city, in comparison with some of the world's largest and most famous cities, is traced from the nineteenth century through the reform period to the present. The "Shanghai model" is unique in the history of China.

A major factor that sets Shanghai's development apart from other cities in modern China is its entrepreneurial spirit and its bold drive for innovation. Some scholars emphasize entrepreneurship as the driving force for the economic dynamism. And others maintain that Shanghai still lacks an external pattern of entrepreneurship as found in Hong Kong. While Hong Kong and Shanghai each display their own style of entrepreneurship, in this respect his prognosis for Shanghai is mixed. This may be contrasted with Shanghai emigrant entrepreneurs in Hong Kong, who have been highly successful and have helped launch Hong Kong's postwar transformation into the vibrant economic entity in the Asia-Pacific region it is today.

#### IV. Seoul's Cultural Strategies in Globality

Seoul, the capital of Korea, is located in the middle of Korean Peninsula. The boundary of Seoul has been extended since it became the capital of Choseon dynasty in 1394. The role of Japanese colonial policy was decisive in stimulating the transformation of characteristics of Seoul city. During its Japanese colonial occupation period, Seoul City had experienced entirely destroy of economic and social infrastructure by Japanese economic and political control.

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16) For instance, much of the cash flow for the arts has come from a leading Shanghai businessman. With money to import top stars, Shanghai may have the potential to be an international arts capital as it boasts a functioning modern cultural production sector, the supporting networks and the necessary fund of skills. Also promising are the city's efforts to host cultural festivals and attract foreign names(Wu, F. 2004: 177).

Seoul was built as a modern city by Japanese colonial power. Like other colonial cities of East Asia, Seoul functioned as a regional capital and as an articulator of links with Japan. The Japanese attempted to build Seoul as a colonial city as her likes. Wages received by Korean urban labourers in Seoul in the domestic sector appear to have declined during the period, while real wages received by Koreans in Japan seem to have risen(Ha 2001: 386-387).

Although it was severely destroyed by the Korean War(1950-1953), the main street configuration of Seoul did not change. According to the economic development of Korea after Korean War, the industrial resources were concentrated in Seoul, and the restoration and development of suburbs extended the city size. Now over 10 million people live in Seoul, and the worth of real estate has been rising according to the continuous urban development(Kim and Sohn 2002: 410).

Government policy toward urban development in Seoul has usually been based on the assumption that it is oriented by economy-centered logic. As in many other Asian cities, the city center of Seoul was occupied by many traditional market places that had formed as a spontaneous aggregation of individual merchants at suitable points. The rapid modernization of cities in this developing country has caused the traditional market places to decline in importance. Traditional markets dealt primarily with goods produced or distributed personally by the merchants themselves and were not adaptable to modern mass production and distribution systems. The appearance of chain stores and supermarkets that originated in developed Western countries were a determining cause of this decline. As a result, many traditional market places disappeared, and the remaining ones showed a clear decline in economic vitality. Also, traditional markets began to disappear as the pressure toward redevelopment increased. In Korea, much of the traditional city center has been changed and transformed into office buildings or modern commercial facilities by central city

redevelopment.

However, Seoul has one of the special area with traditional cultural features. This is Insadong. People who visit Insadong can find traditional tea-shop and restaurants to enjoy Insadong Street culture and festival and events to have local culture in there. They have meeting and visit exhibitions. Visitors can enjoy the various traditions and events of Korean culture, especially be showed and displayed in Seoul. Let's investigate Insadong Restoration Project.

What is identity of Insadong? To answer this question, above all it is necessary to note small shops in Insadong to orient the direction of urban design and culture for this area. Small shops in Insadong have contributed to the formation of its unique character. As large scale development rapidly went on, the small shops were faced with a withdrawal problem. It created need for small shops restoration campaign. The restoration campaign stopped small shops from disappearing in Insadong and provided direct motivation for making a district unit plan(Bae and Jung 2004). To make Insadong desirable place, it is necessary to fulfill social consensus from Seoul people. While maintaining its own identity, it has to reflect public interest and reach agreement among residents, publics, developers and citizens. The development plan of a highly characteristic site such as Insadong has to consider not only Insadong's shop keeper but also the public value.

Besides the making of Seoul culture in the case of Insadong culture, the another of the most striking event in Seoul is the reconstruction project of Cheonggyecheon(Cheonggyeo Stream). Cheonggyecheon is the important stream that flows through the center of Seoul. It was built the beginning of the Choseon Dynasty and played the role of the life stream of the city(Kim 2004). It was covered since the Japanese colonial period. And now it is going to be reconstructed. The restoration project of Cheonggyecheon should resolve many problems for the best result in the use of the future. The restoration project have to revive historical and cultural heritage

of Cheonggyecheon, because there have been the center of the capital and the most famous place of markets.

In addition, Cheonggyecheon region has long been a traditional complex region of Seoul, being troubled by deterioration, traffic jams, and environmental degradation as most inner cities experience. However, recently this region has developed the most dynamic and productive area by apparel and fashion activities(Nahm 2001: 80). In this respect, Cheonggyecheon has take strong pride in itself as a ritual-authoritative and commercial-industrial center, and is often characterized as another city within Seoul, with full of Korean historical and cultural features. Its good old days still remain alive in the people's memory and daily experience.

The way of Cheonggyecheon people's lives had been changed into a different form as a result of the covering of the stream and the nation-wide modernization of Korea, and rejoiced the prosperity as a hub of industry in Seoul. The emphasis of its role as a commercial-industrial center has also radically modified the regional people's culture and mentality. With the recent reconstruction of Cheonggyecheon, has begun with from 2004, the people began to experience another great revolution in their lives(Sung and Kim 2005). In accordance with the new demand of the international trend, globalization, the reconstruction of the magnificent culture and history of Choseon Dynasty and the memorable days of Cheonggyecheon people should harmonize with the reservation of eco-environment and the plan of economic activation. However, just as the covering of Cheonggyecheon transformed this region, its reconstruction will inevitably change it again(Lee 2004: 172-173). Now the tradition of Cheonggyecheon culture experiences in the process of continuation, change, and recreation to keep its own various cultural features.

On the other hand, in order to develop Seoul culture as global culture, Seoul must overcome its bureaucracy's effective control over creativity and its difficulties in retaining domestic talent. As the

experience of its rival shows, a livelier creative atmosphere attracts more artists and generates a virtuous cycle. In nearly all places, creative people need a creative environment that encourages street-level and informal artistic expression and need diversity of gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Hence investment in the creative talent and liberalization of the cultural climate need to be a key element of Seoul's future strategies, since creativity is a vital economic force in itself.

The importance of openness cannot be over-stated as Seoul strives to become a regional or even global hub. Existing world cities draw upon a range of economic, geographical and institutional strengths, but in addition they rely upon the energies released by openness as it is seen in the case of Shanghai(Yusuf and Wu 2002). Generally speaking, openness will provide the traffic in ideas needed to deepen Seoul's cultural development, created the vibrant milieu to attract talented people, and give artists and alike the space to explore creative possibilities.

## V. The Comparison with Shanghai and Seoul as Global City

Is there any difference between urban culture of Shanghai and that of Seoul? Shanghai's spoken language is different from Pu Tong Hua(Chinese Common Language) to a great degree though the written languages are about the same. Generally speaking, Shanghai people speak a little faster; perhaps this is why people from other regions or countries find it difficult to understand even though they may have learned a little of Shanghai dialect beforehand. In the recent years, some new-born Shanghai words have been popularly used, some of which have already been spread to some other cities or provinces.

What is striking when looking at the plethora of literature on the global city like Shanghai and Seoul, is the fact that very little has been researched or written regarding the life world of the global city. Perhaps this is not surprising, considering that the debate on global cities/world cities, like the wider discourse on globalization, emerged from world system theory. Accordingly, emphasis in these studies is given to the linkage between global cities such as Shanghai and Seoul as centers of global banking and finance, and subsequently, to the manifestations of this function in their respective socio-economic, institutional, and even cultural environment(Sassen 1991, 1994; King 1996).

Macroshopping centers and transnational hotel chains have concentrated in the midst of the Cities, bringing with them satellite telecommunications and information and entertainment services including cable and digital television and multiplex cinemas. While this form of development radically alters cultural and communicational offerings, it simultaneously reorders the meaning of urban life and traditional modes of using space. Perhaps most visible is that the state has ceded its role as the leading cultural agent to private business and transnational corporations.

Shanghai had the most rapid change in the 1990s. There were lots of pictures which embodied Shanghai's experience most to reflect the hard work carried out by Shanghai people in the 1990s to realize the national strategy of turning Shanghai into a dragon head and three centers and promoting Shanghai's rising as an international metropolis.

No doubt, Shanghai in the 1990s is an epitome of China's reform and opening towards the outside world(Kang 2001: 11). Built by Shanghai residents, Shanghai constructed the basis of its urban civilization with residents who were mostly immigrants from hinterland in China and its neighbor areas. Having cosmopolitan characteristics within the city, Shanghai developed its urban culture based on the two poles of economy, including commerce, trade and

finance, and culture, including traditional art and contemporary popular culture. The relative autonomy of citizens under the commercial hegemony and cultural pride allowed the continuity of urban spatial and social world with the appearance of "economic hub of China", which is symbolized the logic and value of any central power which regulated and dominated.

Shanghai has embarked on an ambitious course of reform, including industrial restructuring, housing reform, and infrastructure rebuilding. One of the major determinants of Shanghai's success will be the speed with which urban infrastructure is updated. The city's current infrastructure cannot accommodate the needs resulting from rapid growth. Many parts of the infrastructure system need to be repaired, particularly in the old central city(Wu 1996). Authorities are banking on some new urban districts, such as Pudong, Minhang and Hongqiao, as the future of the city. Especially, the most important district is Pudong in the development of Shanghai in the future.

Shanghai, with the Pudong development plan, will become the focal point of development for both the region and China as a whole by virtue of its strategic location. To that end, Shanghai will have to catch up with other international metropolis cities in East Asia in the coming decade in a number of ways. It is important to know that a strategic development objective to be attained by the municipality by the year 2010 is that Shanghai will be a metropolitan and global city, contented with the cosmopolitan spirit and value.

If we are to understand the growth of cities as the "turning point," or "watershed of human history" that provides us with a yardstick or a means of measuring society, the economy, as well as the political and cultural order, an historical examination of the Shanghai "model" may raise or resurrect vital questions as to the problems of metropolitan and global growth that have marked Shanghai's rise to pre-eminence. It may also yield insights into the genesis of modern urban planning-hence the evolution of an urban vision in China-a vision, that may confront us all.

The critical issue Shanghai faces is how the city can revive its old, build its new, and integrate them to create a metropolis accommodating modern industrial, commercial and cultural activities on the one hand, and providing a rising quality of life for its residents on the other. Shanghai will be on its way to alleviate its current problems and become a world class city.

Shanghai may be a post-socialist city, but the microscopic and broad processes of place marketing have similarities to other cities (Wu 2003). Contestations over representation of 'authenticity', flagship developments and consumer culture, as well as urban planning and social inequalities are issues that replicate in other urban spaces both in the developed and developing world. As China attempts to create more flagship developments for its booming economy, and repositions itself to tourism markets, it is interesting to see if urban heritage developments such as Xintiandi in Shanghai would create new urban spaces with distinctive forms.

On the other hand, Seoul has been rebuilt by Japanese colonialism. Since Seoul's population passed over 1 million in 1946 (1,266,057), it had doubled every 10 years or so, and increasing tenfold over 42 years, reached 10 millions (10,286,503) in 1988. A major source of population growth was in-migrants from rural areas, whose largest number amounted to 3 million in 1988, contributing to Seoul becoming a world-class metropolis with 10 million inhabitants. Seoul's population reached a peak (10,969,862) in 1992 and since then has decreased steadily (10,373,234 in 2000).<sup>17)</sup> This means that Seoul's

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17) This implies that Seoul was at the phase of concentrating urbanization till the early 1990s, but afterwards has entered a phase of dispersing urbanization. During the 1990s, Seoul has got more people moving out than those moving in. The largest share of migrants has moved into its neighboring cities, new towns and Gyeonggi province (City of Seoul 2001). This means that Seoul's urbanization has spread over its adjacent regions, giving rise to an extended metropolitan region surrounding Seoul. Nowadays the urbanization of Seoul is not confined into its own region, but, through complex inter-city connection, takes place across this extended metropolitan region (Cho 2003: 183).

urbanization is continuously processing up to now.

The intensification of urbanization is simulated by the expansion of consumption which accompanies urban dwellers' income rise and lofted desire for better life. Though there was a period of slowdown after the 1997 IMF Crisis, consumption on an individual level has greatly expanded, becoming the most important epitome for post-modern urban life in Seoul.<sup>18)</sup>

Seoul has experienced a restructuring process of economy, which has been promoted by the development of producer services as well as knowledge-based or high tech industries. The autonomy of Seoul also has increased after the introduction of local self-government, with relatively higher self-management of local finance than other cities, strengthening the tendency of entrepreneurialism, empowering civil movements, and increasing the political participation of women. In the socio-cultural aspect, the material wants to gain a certain identity through consumption, using urban environments culturally, varying consuming attitudes and ways of leisure times in relation with the rapid development of transportation and information communication. In the environmental aspect, Seoul has tried to introduce the concept of sustainable development in terms of increasing wants on the quality of life, and to develop a pro-environmental eco-city with environmental rehabilitation, constructing green space and eco-park. In the spatial dimension, Seoul has shown a structuration of multi-centers, with highly spectacular urban landscapes and seemingly authentic urban planning(Lee *et al.* 2003).

On the other hand, economic and communicational globalization typically fosters cosmopolitan urban development, but this does not happen evenly in all cities. In the academy and other regions of intellectual life in principal East Asian cities, international visits and

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18) Stimulus for this is the rampancy of urban neo-liberalism with ideological favor toward individualist consumption and market competition(Cho 2002).

information flows have multiplied. However, in some cities like Shanghai and Seoul, that were very cosmopolitan, shrinking states and scarce private financing have reduced the diffusion of foreign art, as demonstrated by impoverished visual art exhibitions by multiplex cinemas in Shanghai and Seoul. Although moviegoing has revived with the proliferation of ultramodern multiplex cinemas, the distribution of theaters and multimedia systems generally is ever more controlled by monopolized cinema producers and distributors.

At the same time, it must be pointed out that in almost all the these fields, new urban administrations are promoting the improvement and diversification of cultural offerings. Not only the metropolises of Europe and U. S. A but also large East Asian cities like Shanghai and Seoul are central to this work. Sometimes this happens because of state initiatives, such as intercity festivals or international film and theater cycles; at other times it happens through the association of private businessmen or independent producers.

## V. Concluding Remarks

This paper deals with an important topic, that of the relationship between urban culture and identity in terms of urban transformation in East Asian cities, focusing specifically on Shanghai and Seoul. It reflects the growing research attention that has focused on the interrelationships between economy, polity, society, and culture, and how urban landscapes shape and are shaped by these relationships. I takes a long view of Shanghai's development from semi-colonialism to socialism to the current capitalist-driven city. This paper examines how a symbol of state power to a domain of civil society does works in Shanghai and Seoul, thus representing an accumulation and a

chronicle of Chinese and Korean cultural history. In the part of Seoul culture, this paper examines the set of redevelopment projects such as Cheonggyecheon reconstruction project pursued by Seoul City.

In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize that the impacts of globalization processes are clearly heterogeneous, sometimes contradictory, and unevenly experienced in cities like Shanghai and Seoul. What this study demonstrates is the role of individual personalities and extended social relations in facilitating the globalization process, the importance of understanding the changing nature of these 'stretched out' social relations(Olds 1997; 122), and the fundamental role of local actors and local regulatory regimes in mediating this complex process. While the Chinese and Korean gatekeepers of global flows are certainly operating within the context of a global political economy, they have played a fundamental role in inviting these flows in, guiding them into a specific territorial 'window' shaping them into a specific form, and subsequently exploiting them for a myriad of political and economic purposes. Questions on the urban impacts of globalization processes should really address the urban dynamics of the global-local nexus, rather than posit simplistic dichotomies where global institutions unleash global forces that seamroll and homogenize 'the local' in a straightforward relationship of dominance.

It can be said that the paradoxical coexistence of a very individualistic way and a highly collective way in physical constructions such as streets, residences, and market place in Shanghai and Seoul demand a closer observation of their social management network and cultural logic of the urban system. In this respect, retrospective study of Shanghai and Seoul would allow us to find out types of modern or postmodern urban world which are different from European or American models.

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전 지구화 시대의 도시문화와 도시 정체성: 세계 도시로서의  
상하이시와 서울시의 문화 전략 비교연구

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도시공간과 도시의 사회문화체계에 대한 대부분의 논의들은 주로 이 양자간의 밀접한 관련성을 강조해왔지만, 실제로 도시문화와 도시 정체성 사이의 역동적인 상호작용에 대해서는 상대적으로 덜 관심을 기울여 왔다. 특히 도시문화의 형성과 변모 과정을 탐색할 수 있는 대도시의 문화전략에 대한 비교연구는 거의 시도되지 않았던 것이 사실이다. 또한 이제까지의 도시연구는 주로 서구의 대도시들을 중심으로 전개되어 왔기 때문에 아시아의 대도시의 특성과 도시문화의 의미를 도시정책이나 도시 거버넌스(governance) 차원에서 접근한 기존의 연구는 거의 찾아보기 힘들 정도다. 이는 아시아 대도시의 형성과 변모 과정에서 근대성이 어떻게 작동해 왔는가에 대한 상대적인 무관심과도 밀접한 관련이 있다.

이런 의미에서 전 지구화(globalization) 시대에 세계 도시(global city)의 특성을 보유하고 있다고 간주되는 상하이시와 서울시의 문화 전략에 대한 비교연구를 통해 아시아 대도시의 근대성에 대해 재고해 볼 기회를 갖는 것은 학술적인 측면에서나 실천적 측면 모두에서 의의가 있다고 할 수 있다.

오늘날 아시아의 대도시에 대한 이론적, 실천적 관심은 전 지구화 현상과 불가분의 관계가 있다는 사실에서 출발해야 한다. 논의의 초점이 전 지구화 과정과 도시문화의 형성과 변모 과정에서 도시 정체성이 새로이 구성되는 측면에 깊은 관심을 기울일 필요가 있는 것이다. 상하이시와 서울시는 이러한 시대적 요청에 부응하여 다문화적인 도시 경관

을 만들어내는 데 문화전략을 집중시키고 있다. 그 대표적인 예가 상하이시의 경우에는 ‘신티엔디(新天地, Xintiendi)’ 개발 사업이며, 서울시의 경우에는 ‘인사동(仁寺洞Insadong)’ 조성 사업과 ‘청계천(淸溪川)’ 복원 사업이다.

이 논문에서는 전 지구화 시대에 도시문화와 도시 정체성의 특성과 의미를 파악하기 위해 상하이시와 서울시의 문화 전략을 비교, 검토함으로써 세계 도시로서의 양 도시의 형성과 변모과정을 도시 정체성의 형성과정으로 이해하고자 한다. 도시의 문화 전략의 특징과 의미를 검토함으로써 아시아, 특히 동아시아의 도시문화와 정체성이 전 지구화 과정에서 어떻게 형성, 변모하는지를 고찰한다. 이를 통해 동아시아 도시문화와 도시 정체성의 역동적 성격을 강조하고자 한다.

**주제어:** 전 지구화, 도시문화, 도시 정체성, 상하이시, 서울시, 문화전략, 세계 도시