

## Museum as a Representation of the City and an Instrument of City Image Making Shanghai's Urban Planning Exhibition Centre

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### Abstract

Since the late 1970s, Chinese cities grew as fast as its economy in a mode of 'Chinese characteristics'. One significant dimension is the concept of 'city image.' Urban planning exhibition is a new building type and social institution among many dimensions of image-making. The facility presents urban planning, functions as a significant show window of the government, and becomes an important device to reveal the urban meanings. With fifty-five examples in an incomplete statistics inside China, urban exhibition has become an essential equipment of the city. Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Centre is the pioneer of this sort.

The paper aims at investigating Shanghai's city image implied in this urban planning museum. With what exhibits and rhetoric the city is represented? What symbolism and meanings the exhibition creates? The discussion begins with a brief background as the introduction, followed by an exploration to interior space and exhibition experience as the first main part. The second part analyses the messages and deciphers the signification of the key exhibits. Lastly, by assemble all the messages and implied urban meanings, the city image and the urban ideology will be disclosed, which also serves as the conclusion.

**Keywords:** city image, representation, exhibition, Shanghai

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Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibition Centre (SUPEC), an urban landmark and a municipal show window in the heart of the central Shanghai, is China's first purpose-designed building to demonstrate urban planning, and regarded as the world's largest one in terms of size and contents (Tang 2000a: 73).<sup>1</sup> With the themes of 'City, People, Environment and Development,' SUPEC condenses the planning stages of *Yesterday* (past), *Today* (present) and in-fact the principal part *Tomorrow* (future), which bases on the developmental planning by 2010. SUPEC is also a project for Shanghai's city image-making, visitors may find the city's new urban development is stressed as achievement through out the exhibition. More precisely, promoting city image can be a significant nature of urban planning and development (the idea is even more significant in China); and SUPEC is evidently a microcosm of such an urban process. In other words, SUPEC is an instrument that all urban construction and development were condensed into a single building and rhetorically presented, through which the state's discourses, *zhuxuanlü* (主旋律 the mainstream melody), can be revealed.

SUPEC is a municipal museum, an institutionalised setting of the city image, with the contents of urban planning and architecture. SUPEC equips social function of producing, conducting and interpreting urban development process into urban meanings. Studies on museum show its natures of

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<sup>1</sup> At least up to year 2001.

ideology, rhetoric and politics. According Luke (2002), museum is a site of strategic rhetorical activity, where a (cultural) power is processed, either to shape collective values and social understandings in a decidedly important fashion, or to build the national identity by exhibitions. Evidences can be found from the universal survey museums (the Louvre, the British Museum), which functions to impress those who use or pass through it the society's most revered beliefs and values (Duncan and Wallach 1980: 449); to the science museums, which had once represented as technologies of progress since its beginning (Bennett 1995), and are 'agencies for defining scientific knowledge for the public, and for harnessing science and technology to tell culturally authoritative stories about race, nation, progress and modernity (Macdonald 1997: 19).' Museums therefore should be understood not just as a place of instruction, but also as reformatory of manners in which a wide range of regulated social routines and performances take place (Bennett 1995), thereby allowing museums to take on a norm-building role in society. Museums, as the embodiment a number of fundamental notions or concepts, which together constitute the basis of an institutional practice or politics, should be regarded as the intricate amalgam of historical structures and narratives, practices and strategies of display, and the concerns and imperatives of various governing ideologies (Sherman and Rogoff 1994: ix-x). Geographically, the decision to locate the major exhibition (usually involving the nationally cultural significance) tends to be made with political intention (Taylor 1999). Major museums always occupy the strategic spots in their cities (Giebelhausen 2003: 5-6).<sup>2</sup> Architecturally, museum building is ceremonial; and those who pass through the doors and spaces enact a ritual that equates state authority with the idea of civilisation (Duncan and Wallach 1980: 449). Recently, more architectural designs, since the Centre Pompidou in Paris, attempt at building museum into a 'funhouse,' moreover, the 'fantasy becoming reality, such as the prestige Guggenheim Bilbao (Perl 2000: 24).'

. In this sense, museum has never been innocent. They are part of society, culture and politics in which we can see wider social, cultural and political battles played out. As Bennett's Foucauldian reading (1995: 87), museum 'stood as embodiments, both material and symbolic, of a power to "show and tell" which, in being deployed in a newly constituted open and public space, sought rhetorically to incorporate the people within the processes of the state.' Museums thus can be concluded as *discourse*, while exhibition is an utterance within, and with which the politics is bound up (Bal 1996: 214). Museum is an arena where the battle of 'meanings' takes place. A particular group of the community tried to define 'the meaning,' also 'the history', through the institution, in which the theme and all artefacts as 'evidences' are selectively organised into exhibition. By asking a classic question 'whose history? (and whose meaning?)' different interpretations of history and culture reveal the hegemonic construction of memory and identity in the society (Yelvington et al. 2002: 343-79).

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<sup>2</sup> The cases mentioned are the Altes Museum in Berlin, the Kupfergraben in Brussels, and the Glyptothek in Munich.

Through the theoretic framework, SUPEC is actually the institutionalised image with several messages underlying the official discourse of the Shanghai City, for it tries to conduct people's understanding and belief of what Shanghai is. The case of SUPEC therefore articulates with the city's image making. The paper aims at investigating what image and with what kinds of representations of the city were revealed in SUPEC before 2004.<sup>3</sup> As a museum, the representations of the city address in two aspects. One is the structure of the exhibition, the sequence of visitors' approaches and the experiences of the spaces and contents. The other is the messages, symbolism and connotation, especially the visual, of the major exhibits. These are also the two main parts of the paper.

### **Experiencing Shanghai's Urban Planning**

Exhibits and space work as two pillars of an exhibition when delivering values, meanings and ideology. The former, including the organised structure, are the contents and text as narrative; while the latter, including the sequence, illustrate the rhetoric. Interior architecture, although normally is regarded as supportive, plays no less important than the exhibits. As a social institution, a competent space co-operate with exhibition may amplify its rhetorical effects.

Before 2004, the spatial sequence in SUPEC followed the structure of the exhibition, which started with the preface hall as the keynote, and followed by the city's historical and cultural significances. With a temporary exhibition (or a former demonstration of the modern life) as transition, it then went to the city's comprehensive plan as the essential part, and ended up with a perspective to the real cityscape. A reproduction of 1930s' Shanghai street provided a supplement of historical aura and a tourist attraction.

#### ***Preface Hall as the Keynote***

Entering SUPEC, visitors leave the urban reality of tower clusters, squares, traffic and move into a ritual and monumental lobby named 'Preface Hall.' The hall, introduced as 'Historical Monument', was SUPEC's keynote statement, addressed to harmony with the state's 'mainstream melody' – *zhuxuanlü*. The hall contained two major exhibits. One was '*Morning in Shanghai*,<sup>4</sup> a golden model-sculpture at the centre that brought together the city's major landmark buildings and significant infrastructure. The other was '*(Relocation of) Millions of Citizens*', a long relief stretching along the east interior wall and depicting the grand relocation for new urban development.

The hall was designed luxuriously to associate a 'sanctuary' of the achievement of Shanghai's urban planning, which also implies the success of the state's Economic Reform. The atmosphere came from several architectural elements: large glass curtain-walled main entrance, fine granite flooring and tall

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<sup>3</sup> Under the same theme and similar structure, SUPEC adjusted the exhibition in 2005. The new one mainly keeps all the significant exhibits discussed in this paper.

<sup>4</sup> For the same title in Chinese, it was translated as 'the Shanghai Morning' in the early version of the English audio guide.

atrium. The *Morning in Shanghai* was even highlighted in golden colour like a gilded 'god', consecrated in a shrine within four colossal pillars and under a 16-metre diameter cupola with a huge chandelier.

Nationalism, or patriotism, was another message to be delivered in this hall. Behind the golden sculpture, a big national flag of China was mounted on the wall between two rear pillars. Previously, there was a television screen displaying images of Chinese and Shanghai leaders, scenes of urban greens and environment, and friendly cities of Shanghai in the world. The change was made for the exhibition to bid EXPO 2010 in 2003. The pure red colour not only made an excellent background for the golden object, but interplayed with the sculpture to be a provocative signification of nationalism.

### **From the Origin to the Eve of New China: *the Hall of Historical and Cultural City***

Taking escalator behind the big red flag, visitors would arrive at the 'Hall of Historical and Cultural City' in a u-shape mezzanine. The floor presented the city's glorious past, which summed up Shanghai's early development from its origin to 1949. In the total 700-square-meter area, the west half illustrated the track of Shanghai's development. The east half is about the significant historical preservation works of Shanghai's urban planning (Li 1999). The exhibits comprised listed historical structures and models of the urban preservation such as the famous 'Site of the First National Congress of CPC' and Xintiandi.

The U-shape mezzanine enhanced the north-south axis of the lobby hall by surrounding the golden sculpture and facing the entrance. The layout stressed the golden sculpture's focal status. The mezzanine therefore became subordinate to the Preface Hall. Examining the mezzanine's subject matter, the history of Shanghai was interpreted according to the keynote, and the material was carefully selected to fit the mainstream discourse.

### **Demonstrating the Modern Lifestyle: *Hall of Planning Achievements***

Up to the second floor, visitors arrived at the hall for temporary exhibition related to urban planning, architecture and other design matters (SUPEC 2003: sec. 14). The 1,800-square-metre floor used to be applied to display the achievements of urban planning and construction under the Reform policy, and was called the '*Hall of Urban Planning and Construction Achievements.*' The function had been carried out for about two years from the opening of SUPEC in 2000.

At the west side of the floor, the exhibition demonstrated a possible new lifestyle in the modern and intelligent housing units, which suggested a bright future of citizens' living condition brought by the new urban planning. Another two special sections allow visitors to experience the city's future by simulations. The message delivered here was to convince visitors, mainly local ones, that the living condition in Shanghai has been improved through the Reform policy. Also, the sense of technology was bringing in to citizens' lives.

**'Our Great New Future by Planning': the Comprehensive Plan Hall-I & II**

The third and fourth floors collectively constituted the *Hall of Comprehensive Plan*, which demonstrated Shanghai's urban future from 2001 to 2020. A huge scale model of central Shanghai (aka the Grand Model) occupied the centre for about a quarter of the floor area and dominated the two floors' exhibition. Other exhibits included the fundamental aspects of Shanghai's comprehensive plan in a macro view, such as the economy, industrial distribution, social welfare and suburban planning (SUPEC 2003: sec.15). On the west side, a multimedia laser sand table presented an overview of Shanghai's future plan. The system highlighted the traffics and dwelling conditions, as well as urban functions of various parts of the city (SUPEC 2003: sec.26).

The fourth floor was the *Comprehensive Plan Hall II*, which demonstrated Shanghai's planning for future development on economy. Targeting the VIP visitors and all the possible investors, the major exhibits here were principal projects of infrastructure, utilities and environments. The mega-project 'three ports' – Yangshan Deepwater Seaport, Pudong International Airport, and the IT informational port – were the VIP visitors' must-see (SUPEC 2003: sec.28-31). The deepwater seaport aimed at the container shipping and has a direct support to the manufacturing industries, while the other two support the tertiary and high-tech ones. Other sections were also economic, but more relevant to citizens' everyday life. They included new urban transport system, the integrated utility channel of water, power, telecommunication and gas (SUPEC 2003: sec.30). Urban greens scheme were displayed with relatively low profile in one area, including the major project '*Renovation and Landscaping of the Suzhou River Area*' that promised the speculative city with an environmental amenity.

As mentioned, the Grand Model extended its dominance to the fourth floor. From a 12x12 metre square void in the centre, visitors were able to overlook the model city from above. The administrative office built a sunken corridor about two-metre lower than the floor level for visitors' clearer view. Unfortunately the corridor was exclusively for the VIP visitors because it was an attached structure and could not bear the load of massive people.

**Observing the 'Real' City: Theatre and Café with Panoramic View**

Ascending to the fifth floor, visitors would encounter a multi-functional theatre of 450 square-meter area. Two corridors laid aside the theatre and functioned as small galleries for minor exhibitions. The corridors led to a scenic café in the south, planned as a lounge for the theatre and the rest spot when visitors finish the main exhibition. In this bright and spacious area, visitors could relax their stimulated moods and engaged minds. The key device here was a wide span (about 12 meters) frameless glass window showing a panoramic view of the People's Square, against the urban skyline with high-rise towers as background. Architects planned to make this window 'the most splendid scene that you may see in the SUPEC, also the exhibit with strongest artistic affection (Tang 2000b: 28).' The power of the scene was emerged when visitors completed the exhibition of considerable information and representations and now came to the 'real things' with all those they just received. Perhaps only few of

them noticed that it was merely a ‘partial reality,’ a well framed modern urban landscape without traffic jams, noises, pollution, and the back street life. The pure urban form of modernity played as an ending of the exhibition, which expressed another climax at the same time, just like many imposing finale of symphonies.

### **Return to the Good Old Days: Shanghai Traditional Street in the 1930s**

Before leaving the building, visitors were invited to a special feature served as an extra attraction, ‘Shanghai Traditional Street in the 1930s,’ to experience a small bit of the old Shanghai aura. The place located outside the ticket area through another exit of the Centre, through which visitors would step into a transitional underground space and reach out to the real high streets or the city’s biggest subway station. The 44-metre long and 11-metre wide *Street* cloned some features of the old Shanghai with replica of traditional ‘Shikumen’ (石庫門) housing alleys. Two lines of stores laid in different styles of local Shanghai architecture along the main street, above which a vaulted ceiling with gentle curve was cast weathers by projectors to simulate the *Street* in the ‘morning glow’ or ‘cloudless sky’ (Tang 1998a, 1998b). SUPEC’s head of exhibition LI Daxin and the architect TANG Lin confirmed that they got the idea from the Fremont Street Experience in Las Vegas. However, the setting was made not just for merriment but nostalgic aura, and trying to bring visitors back to Shanghai’s heyday.

The *Street* functioned as another souvenir retails, where visitors, with or without tickets, would enjoy in a heterotopic milieu and then hopefully bring good business to the Centre. The *Street* was indeed a ‘simulacrum’ (Baudrillard 1994) of good old Shanghai and a ‘hyperreality’ (Eco 1986) of city’s 1930s. Only that the reproduction was far behind Baudrillard and Eco’s perfect model Disneyland. Moreover, the awkward reproduction, either of design or of management or both, could not associate effectively to the real milieu of old Shanghai. Only very few people, sometimes none, could be seen, let alone decent shopping.

### **Exhibits**

In the sense of the city’s representations and image-making, the exhibition and exhibits, which work more straightforwardly than spaces, are the physical carriers that the exhibition applies to narrate the state’s official discourse about Shanghai’s urban planning. Values, meanings and ‘credits’ can be represented and illustrated through the models, pictures, artworks, and settings; with these there can be effective communications between the exhibition and audiences.

The key exhibits in SUPEC included the golden sculpture *Morning in Shanghai* (Fig. 1) and the Grand Model (Fig. 2), whereas the other only second to them was the *Relocation of Millions of Citizens* (Fig. 3). Three reasons can identify them as key exhibits. Firstly, they were the focused contents since SUPEC’s preparatory stage. Secondly, after the opening, they became the most popular sections in SUPEC. Thirdly, their significances might also be comprehended from their location and spatial treatments in the exhibition.



Fig. 1 The Golden Sculpture in the lobby hall.



Fig.2 The Grand Model. Please note the person on the top of the picture.



Fig. 3 The relief *Relocation of Millions of Citizens* (details).

### ***Morning in Shanghai***

'*Morning in Shanghai*', in a size of 8-metre height and 4-metre diameter, was composed of three layers of celebrated Shanghai architecture. The bottom accommodated cultural and sports facilities and urban infrastructure. SUPEC described in the audio guide that the two types of architecture 'show a balanced development of a material and spiritual civilisations.' The middle consisted of neo-classical buildings along the Bund, which 'show you the urban development of the city with a fusion of Eastern and Western cultures.' The top, which occupied more than two thirds of the total height, stood Shanghai's dominant skyscrapers in Lujiazui. Among those, the 'Oriental Pearl TV Tower (OPT)' made tallest at the centre, then followed by Jin Mao Tower (JMT) and the Shanghai World Financial Centre (SWFC) at sides.<sup>5</sup> From the official interpretation by SUPEC, they 'reflect the opening and the development of Pudong new area.' (SUPEC 2003: sec.2)

Architecture, especially the high-rise, is obviously the urban element with fatal attraction to Chinese. For the keynote sculpture, Shanghai Urban Planning and Administration Bureau (SUPAB) assigned two categories of architecture as the elements for the sculpture. One was the new buildings built or planned in the 1990s, which aimed to symbolise the achievement of China's Reform and Opening policy. The other was the prestigious buildings of the 1930s, which evolved one aspect of the historical development of Shanghai (Dong 2004).

<sup>5</sup> In reality, the order of their heights is just opposite. SWFC is the tallest, and the second and the third are JMT and OPT.

Municipal authorities demanded the sculpture should be made in a style of socialist realism. At first, the artist DONG Weixing wanted a work of Russian Constructivism, 'a Tatlinian sort of thing.' The scheme was not accepted, because his clients worried that the dismantling, displacing and re-composing the buildings might mislead the 'correct' interpretation to the sculpture. Also, to dismantle the buildings so as to destroy their integrated beauty may cause a 'bad sign' about Pudong's tumbling down, which would cause an opposite effect from making a propaganda monument. The 'command' not only influenced the sculpture's outcome, but also made Dong reluctant to recognise the sculpture as his work (Dong 2004).

Yet even the realism needed to follow the political symbolism. Although ranked only the third tallest in Shanghai, OPT was asked to be made as the tallest and the central piece of the sculpture, owing to its symbolic status as a beacon of the Pudong's development (Dong 2004). Another demand was requested by the head of the Bureau of Foreign Economy and Trade of China, who visited SUPEC as VIP guests. He complained that their investment JMT, China's number one skyscraper then, 'should not be' looked shorter than the Japanese-backed, higher but un-built SWFC. To satisfy the minister, SUPEC asked the sculpture maker fixing the 'problem' by lifting JMT taller (Dong 2004; Chen R. 2004).<sup>6</sup> Socialist realism was not about 'real' but politically effect of propaganda.

Other ideas applied to this sculpture enhanced its rhetoric further and added more symbolic meanings. For instance, the architectural elements all surrounded a half ellipsoid, which symbolised a rising sun. The device echoed the title *Morning in Shanghai* and suggested the city was not at the end of the development but in the beginning. Many sea birds flying around the skyscrapers signified 'morning' and made the sculpture more dynamic. Some ideas were assigned by the design team of the exhibition. One was the golden colour, which implied wealth and nobility but also revealed vulgarity. Another is to set the whole sculpture spinning, which allowed spectators to view the sculpture in every angle. The decision somehow reduces the monumentality of the sculpture.

### ***Relocation of Millions of Citizens***

*Relocation of Millions of Citizens*, a relief stretching along the west end wall of the lobby hall, praised a great contribution made by citizens to Shanghai's new urban development. In 1990s, millions of local people were forced to move out from their neighbourhoods and relocated into remote outskirts by the municipal government, in order to make room for new urban development. Shanghai Urban Sculpture Committee (SUSC) was assigned the task of searching an open space. Nowhere ideal was found until SUPEC was proposed (Zhang 2004).

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<sup>6</sup> DONG Weixing mentioned, 'The work had its special task for publicising the development of new Shanghai.' Dong's words reveal the function of the ideological communication of the sculpture. 'As a designer,' he said, 'I have my responsibility to society'.



The idea of the relief was not appeared until November 1999, when the deputy Mayor HAN Zheng had his inspection visit to the Centre. Han expressed his dissatisfaction on the west wall photographs and instructed that SUPEC should show the close relationship between the urban development and the citizens' contributions. The mission went to SUSC and was led by its deputy director Professor ZHANG Yong-hao. A new proposal then was raised with a title of the *Relocation of Millions of Citizens*, and the acquisition of its schemes was then carrying out immediately (SUPEC 1999). In order to catch up with the opening of the trial exhibition on 25 February 2000, three artists, JIANG Rong-gen, QU Guang-ci and JIANG Jian-jun, were selected to work together for the design and production. As worried, the relief was not able to complete in time and took six more months to finish (Zhang 2004).

As the golden sculpture, the relief was made in the style of socialist realism, a conventional and effective mean for propaganda, with that the urban manoeuvre was praised and propagated as a harmonious co-operation between the government and citizens. The monument, therefore, became a 'placebo' to citizens and manipulated image to outside visitors, because the relocation was compelled by the government with its power and forces.

### ***The Grand Model***

The *Grand Model*, with a rarely known official title *Model of Shanghai City within the Inner Ring Road*, represented the city in a 1/500 miniature and occupied about 600 square metres floor area. With the aid of sound, lighting and electronic devices, and with the narration, the Model showed Shanghai's physical features according to the master plan up to year 2020. The model became the most popular exhibit since SUPEC's opening (SUPEC 2000a, 2000b), and regarded as 'the treasure' of the Centre by its administration (Li 2004).

The origin of the idea to build a city model was inspired by an urban planning exhibition in Shanghai in 1994, from which SUPAB noticed that the model worked better as exhibit and attraction for audiences than plans and charts. The scale model, just like socialist realism in art, was an excellent instrument to represent a city. According to LI Daxin, SUPAB was asserted about a scale model as premier exhibit since SUPEC project was approved. Party's municipal leader HUANG Ju also mentioned many times that Shanghai's urban planning exhibition should learn much from the exhibition *Minato Mirai 21(MM21)*<sup>7</sup> in Yokohama, Japan. After a study visit, cadres of SUPEC Preparatory Office (SUPEC-PO) found that the speciality of *MM21* was 'nothing but a big planning model (Li 2004).' After that, the premier exhibit Grand Model emerged as a lasting idea from the very early stage of SUPEC's building, while the architectural and exhibition designs had been revised many times.

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<sup>7</sup> Minato Mirai 21 Literarily means 'the future of the port city in the twenty-first century'. See the website <<http://www.minatomirai21.com/english/>> for the contents.

The Model's size and scale were the unexpected results through a struggle between professional and political concerns. With a planned size of 150 to 200 square metres, two suggestions were issued. One was a model of 1/500 scale to show buildings with features. The other, with more planning significance, was a model of 1/2000 for covering the central city within the Inner Ring Road (SUPEC-PO 1998: 4). These two suggestions revealed different ideas behind. The 1/500 one wanted to show the city with architecture realistically, with which the cityscape could convincingly express 'prosperity' and 'economic achievements.' Yet, it would not make sense to define this model as one for 'comprehensive plan' or 'urban planning,' if it displayed only the tiny spot of city's centre.

Political leaders asserted their favour to large scale model with building features, but the planning significance also needed to be concerned (SUPAB 1998: 2). After making sure that the floor plan was big enough, a leaping idea was raised: the model could be made 1/500 and enlarged the size by 400 percent. The new proposal surprised and cheered everyone, especially the leaders, for the model could be made attractive to general visitors and meaningful to urban planning; moreover, could be more imposing. The model could be not only the biggest in China (perhaps also in the world) at the time, but extraordinarily bigger than people's imagination. It would definitely become a great merit for Centre's marketing, and for image of the city and state's Reform policy.

Although being a miniature of the city with a realistic expression, the *Grand Model* was by no mean made 'just as the city is.' Alterations were introduced and made it representing 'the city ought to be.' One treatment called 'visual adjustments': to enlarge the distance between tall buildings because they look closer when viewed from above. The other was to pre-build those un-build urban blocks, which could not leave blank not even showing the present conditions. The model makers therefore needed to 'create' buildings (or, urban form) according to the master plan. The treatment could also 'erase' the unpleasant urban corners from the Model, and offer visitors an 'ideal' Shanghai (Li, H. 2004; Chen, D. 2004).

### **City Image and the Institutionalisation**

SUPEC shows 'what Shanghai is and will be' as the image of the city, which delivers several messages with instruments and rhetoric to different audiences. Firstly, SUPEC claims straightforward that *Shanghai is the economic city for investments*. Many of the exhibits aim at showing Shanghai's well planned and constructed infrastructure that support an excellent environment for investments. The image and message are particularly targeting the domestic and foreign VIP visitors, which can attract Chinese state or private owned businesses and multi-national enterprises. Secondly, with intense rhetoric the image suggests that *Shanghai is a progressive city of high technology*. The high-tech milieu was set as a main brief since the Centre was planned. The exhibition also tried to apply many high-tech devices to deliver such a feeling. The technological rhetoric did not just appeal to some groups of audiences, but enhanced a type of discursive power to all the exhibits, which aimed to different audience groups. Thirdly, by showing the economic performance and high-tech potential, the

image explicitly articulates that *Shanghai is a global city of modernity*, and able to reach the top hierarchy of the global cities. Other exhibits also try to create such a profile. The golden sculpture praise Pudong's skyscrapers as accessories and symbols of a global city. The Grand Model and the virtual reality cruise through the forest of towers made association between Shanghai and cities like Manhattan. Following the attempt, the luxurious lobby hall tried to reach the world's first-class space. The message exhilarated different groups of audiences. National leaders might recognise it as Shanghai's credit of achieving state's Reform policy. Overseas VIP visitors may be convinced this is a great success of Shanghai and China. The locales may also be proud of it, even not exactly knowing what the global city means. Fourthly, SUPEC also reminded audiences that *Shanghai is a cultural city of glorious history*. Shanghai has been regarded merely a city of wealth but not of decent culture. With fewer portions of exhibits, SUPEC displayed history and culture to 'correct' the impression, and excuses that Shanghai is a great city of all aspects. Fifthly, the message that *Shanghai is a sustainable city of amenity* is also addressed as a reference to promote Shanghai's image. The message, however, was vague and weak due to the exhibits' poor design and organisation. Sixthly, many exhibits and setting asserted that *Shanghai is a patriotic city of nationalism*. Despite many implicit signs propagated sense of nationalism, SUPEC had to declare its stand by explicitly displaying more signs. As a key base of patriotism education in Shanghai, the messages targeted common citizens as well as political leaders and visitors from other parts of China, since Shanghai borne a long-term image as 'pragmatic, open-minded but lack of patriotism.' Lastly, the exhibition summoned Shanghai citizens with the message that *Shanghai is a citizens' city of identity; Shanghai is YOUR city*. The relief *Relocation* obviously propagandised about authorities concern on citizens, despite that the policy was against most mobilised people's wills. The exhibit provided comfort and reward for those who suffered, and sense of citizenship, perhaps more obligations than rights, for those who did not. The *Grand Model* also evoked the sense, while citizens found their homes in this giant miniature city and became aware that they are part of it. The message addressed to local citizens to recall the sense of identity, even though it is questionable how much the common citizens could do and care about in the process of new urban development.

Why is SUPEC the microcosm of Shanghai's city image, and a powerful instrument of image-making? It is because SUPEC equips and displays all the factors that also exist in Shanghai's urban planning and development, and they are both generated through same process. They were generated by using architecture and built city as material for representations to produce meanings of the city, and then deliver to the public. The messages, representations and meanings are tightly harmonising with the state's *zhuxuanlü*. What significant here is that SUPEC, as a museum, not only plays a carrier and broadcaster of state's discourse, but naturalises and shrined the constructed ideology into 'knowledge.' This social institution of urban planning represents Shanghai's city image, by showing the selected elements of city, making them compact and more rhetorically directing.

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Chen, Rong. (30 Mar 2004) General Manager of Shanghai Pioneer Model and Advertising Centre.

Chen, Ding. (22 Mar 2004) General Manager of Shanghai Jingwu Model Co. Ltd.

Dong, Weixing. (20 Apr 2004) Artist of *Moring in Shanghai*, associate professor of Dept. of Art and Design, Shanghai University.

Li, Daxin. (22 Mar 2004) Head of Exhibition Department, SUPEC.

Li, Hans. (22 mar 2004) CEO of Shanghai Jianjing Model Co. Ltd.

Zhang Yong-hao. (31 Mar 2004) Deputy Director of Shanghai Urban Sculpture Committee.



