# Producing Chinese Urban Landscapes of Public Art: The Urban Sculpture Scene in Shanghai

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#### Abstract

This article uses an "urban landscapes" perspective to examine the urban sculpture scene and its production system in Shanghai. It reviews both the national urban sculpture discourse and urban sculpture planning practices since 1949, and then focuses on Shanghai specifically. It examines three major stakeholders in urban sculpture development and their interactions. The main argument is that Shanghai's urban sculpture scene has evolved due to the proliferation of aesthetic and symbolic sculptures as opposed to traditional monuments; however, urban entrepreneurialism and globalization have been shaped by the continuity of the Chinese ideological framework, which has transformed urban sculptures from explicit into veiled political didacticism under the guise of caring for the people.

**Keywords:** urban sculpture; public art; public art planning; cultural policy; urban entrepreneurialism; Shanghai

#### Introduction

Shanghai is known for the rich symbolic capital (for example, design features of the built environment and public art, termed as "urban sculpture" in the Chinese context)<sup>1</sup> associated with both its colonial golden age and contemporary urbanism. Sculptures first emerged in Shanghai when Western powers introduced bronze statues of European leaders into Shanghai's central areas, appropriating a cultural appearance on building façades. In approximately 1900, realist-style

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- 1 The term "urban sculpture" was initially proposed to describe outdoor artworks by Liu Kaiqu and became formalized in official use in the early 1980s. See SUPADRA 2006; Zhao and Wang 2007; Anon. 2007. The sculptures narrate the Party-endorsed national history or serve city beautification. Community-based new genre public art is not included due to limited tolerance for bottom-up activism. More detailed discussions on this can be found in my research, Zheng 2017a, which is based on interviews with the chief sculpture officer in Shanghai, 16 December 2013. For discussions about community-based new genre, see Sharp et al. 2005. In general, Chinese artists understand "urban sculpture" as outdoor artworks installed in public spaces as opposed to sculptures on the shelves. This is informed by my interview with Shanghai sculptors, Shanghai, 24 December 2013. Chinese public art scholars, for example Sun (2009), point out that "public art" and "urban sculpture" differ from each other conceptually. The degree of "publicness" matters. This understanding is consistent with English-language literature on "public art." See Lacy 1995; Andrews 1984.

memorial statues of Auguste Léopold Protet, Sir Harry Smith Parkes, René Vallon, Sir Robert Hart and Alexander Pushkin were erected. In 1904, the Li family 李氏家族 became the first to erect a bronze statue of a Chinese officer. In 1924, a huge First World War memorial was completed and placed at the Bund. The winged goddess that stood atop of the monument even became the symbol of the Old City of Shanghai.<sup>2</sup>

A revival of interest in outdoor sculptures and the subsequent rapid growth in the city's contemporary culture-led city development programme deserve scholarly attention. Wandering on avenues in Shanghai, you may encounter a number of evocative statues: Lu Xun 魯迅 wears a gown and holds a cigar, while sitting in a cane chair and looking outward. Kanzo Uchiyama is positioned in a deep bow, which symbolizes his Japanese identity with respect to Chinese culture. Cast in bronze, these life-sized figures have become part of the city's attractive urban landscapes.<sup>3</sup> Through state advocacy, the number of sculptures increased from about 80 (in 1986) to 5,000 (in 2015) – see Figure 1.

Recent literature on geographical studies has shown a rising interest in the subject of public art, focusing particularly on the relationships among cultural policies, planning and art.<sup>4</sup> Chinese urban studies recognize culture-led urban development as a new urban development trend<sup>5</sup>; in particular, cultural resources, including cultural infrastructure and cultural capital, in creating development opportunities as part of urban entrepreneurial strategies, has been explored.<sup>6</sup> Symbolism is employed to constitute images of the urban scene transplanted from Europe and the US. It facilitates place marketing catering to the middle-class lifestyle.<sup>7</sup> The literature on public art in China only looks at community-based art projects to discuss the struggle of citizenship.<sup>8</sup> The public art scene in China, however, has not yet been explored or properly understood.

This paper studies Shanghai, the first Chinese city to develop a complete administrative apparatus for urban sculpture planning and an advanced urban sculpture scene with nationwide influences. It aims to elucidate the flourishing urban sculpture scene and its production system; specifically, how urban sculpture planning authorities have been producing urban sculptures, who the stakeholders are, and what their motives are for urban sculpture production. What are the urban outcomes of the urban sculpture production system and how is the urban sculpture scene characterized? This paper applies the "urban landscapes" theoretical perspective to generate an understanding of the urban sculpture scene in Shanghai.

<sup>2</sup> Zhu 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Duolun Road, Shanghai, an area used to accommodate prominent cultural figures in the Republican period. In 2001, the Urban Sculpture Authority commissioned a sculpture scheme of the ten cultural figures.

<sup>4</sup> Cartiere and Willis 2008; Chang 2008; Miles 2007; Knight, 2008; Pollock and Paddison 2010; Selwood 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Wu and Zhang 2008; Zheng 2010, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Currier 2008; Zhang 2008.

<sup>7</sup> King and Kusno 2000; Wai 2006; Pow and Kong 2007; Ren 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Ding and Schuermans 2012.



Figure 1: Distribution of Urban Sculptures in the Inner City of Shanghai, 2004

Source:

SMG, 2004. Courtesy of Urban Sculpture Authority, Shanghai, 2013.

This study utilizes qualitative research methods that are effective for exploring the nature and characteristics of any authority or institution. Semi-structured in-depth questions were used in interviews with government officials, including the chief sculpture officers at both the municipal and district levels. Senior art consultants on the art committee and leading artists in state-led projects were also interviewed. Over thirty case studies were conducted with the involvement of the district or municipal authorities through on-site reconnaissance.

The main argument of this paper is that the formation of a vibrant urban sculpture scene in Shanghai during the last two decades has been the result of the diversification of roles that urban sculpture performs, for example, urban beautification for both entrepreneurialism and international exchange; however, urban entrepreneurialism and globalization take place within the ideological framework of the Chinese government, which has transformed urban sculpture from explicit political didacticism into veiled ideological education under the guise of caring for the people. The sculptural production system involves dynamic interactions among three stakeholders, that is, the state, business sector and the communities.

# Placing Public Art in the Political Economy and the Chinese Context

Urban sculpture can be understood using an "urban landscapes" approach regarding selective and deceptive representation of landscape images,

manipulating their features, and inscribing their meanings. Landscapes can be conceptualized to be texts that bear underlying meanings.<sup>9</sup>

Socially and politically constructed landscapes, or "representational space," <sup>10</sup> bear the values of the populace through the selection and transformation of landscape components, resulting in the ideological inclusion and exclusion of people, in order to perpetuate the existing social order. <sup>11</sup> "Symbolic spaces" often represent centralized power. <sup>12</sup> From this perspective, the notion of public art is both contested and multifaceted. It engages different public and social forces while suggesting how place and public art are constructed.

Urban sculpture has traditionally been associated with the celebration of national and local elites, and national history as a privilege of the ruling class. <sup>13</sup> As exemplified by monuments, sculptures are used as vehicles to convey the dominant or mainstream thinking in society through a state-led cultural hegemony. <sup>14</sup> Culture is considered political in that it is expressive of the social relationships of class power, naturalizes the social order as an inevitable "fact," and obscures the underlying inequality of a society. <sup>15</sup>

On another level, cultural assets have been utilized to advance urban entrepreneurialism: they serve to improve the city's image and enhance residents' confidence, thereby boosting the local economy in adherence to the neo-liberal and entrepreneurial philosophies. <sup>16</sup> The utilitarian functions of public art are explored for city branding purposes as well as image promotion in order to stimulate consumption, property values and tourism development. <sup>17</sup> They soften the brutality of existing structures, create an aesthetic mask to cover up social problems, enhance the attractiveness of places, and boost the value of real-estate properties. <sup>18</sup> On the other hand, entrepreneurial landscapes are underwritten by stakeholders for various speculative interests. They can also be purposefully utilized to legitimize the entrepreneurial policies of the state. <sup>19</sup>

Assessing urban landscapes in China involves the perspective of transnational urbanism which mixes economic activities and cultural forms. This has led to an urban public art scene consisting of geographical images and associated meanings as the outcome of the participatory social processes of urban planners, ideologies and physical materials.<sup>20</sup>

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9 Duncan and Ley 1993; Kong 1997; Cook 2000.
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<sup>10</sup> The term is raised and elucidated in Levebvre 1991.

<sup>11</sup> Levebvre 1991; Zukin 1995.

<sup>12</sup> Zukin 1995.

<sup>13</sup> Lerner 1993; Johnson 1995; Miles 1997.

<sup>14</sup> Miles 1997; Zukin 1995.

<sup>15</sup> Such understandings are based on cultural studies theories – see Barker 2008.

<sup>16</sup> For debates about what type of culture (or whose) urban culture is created through culture-led urban regeneration programmes and whether the city has become more attractive to both investors and workers, see Miles and Paddison 2005; Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Evans 2001.

<sup>17</sup> Selwood 1995; Pollock and Paddison 2010; Roberts 1995.

<sup>18</sup> Miles 1997.

<sup>19</sup> Hubbard 1996.

<sup>20</sup> Cartier 2002.

In the Chinese context since 1980, the orientation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership has transformed from the totalitarianism of class struggle into an entrepreneurial-style authoritarianism. Urban entrepreneurialism in China embodies development-oriented urban policies and strategies. Decentralization of power since 1994 has fostered local autonomy and increased the importance of localities in urban development.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from marketization, "globalization" is recognized as another source of social impetus for China's urban development.<sup>22</sup> The state has imposed transnational cultural sensibilities onto the configuration of Shanghai's cityscape and urbanity through a process of global networking.<sup>23</sup> The process of selective importation operates in a complicated manner involving overlapping and disjunctive orders, resulting from intrinsic differences between economy, culture and politics.<sup>24</sup> Olds points out that the Chinese gatekeepers of global flows are "inviting some 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."<sup>25</sup> The capitalist economy has shaped the physical manifestation of traditional, transnational urbanism in the urban landscapes of China.<sup>26</sup>

Since the 1990s, cultural development in China has been shaped by the institutional lineages and influences of the socialist market economy. Art creation is in line with the ideological control exerted by the Party.<sup>27</sup> But, the autonomy of propaganda officials has diminished and thus selectively loosened control. Consequently, the burgeoning socialist market economy has led to diversified cultural forms, including popular arts, applied art and commercial entertainment, which have been part of vibrant commercial and entrepreneurial urban design practices.<sup>28</sup>

# Discourse on Urban Sculpture Production in China

Urban sculpture production has flourished in the associated discourse in contemporary China. In 1950, in order to strengthen the functionality of the political didacticism of urban sculptures, the Central Committee summoned top sculptors and architects to produce large-scale relief sculptures as well as hundreds of vibrant, life-sized statues of human figures in Tiananmen Square.<sup>29</sup> The sculpture production was discontinued during the Cultural Revolution period and revived in the late 1970s. In 1978, the redevelopment of the Shanghai People's Square

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21 Zhang 2005; Savitch and Kantor 2002.
22 Chan 2006; Wu 2006; Lin 2000.
23 Olds 2001.
24 Appadurai 1990.
25 Olds 1997, 122.
26 Cartier 2002.
27 Kraus 1995.
28 Tang 1993; Kraus 1995.
29 Zhao 1982.
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involved decorating the space with urban sculptures, thereby leading to the establishment of the Urban Sculpture Group. In 1980, the Urban Sculpture Planning Group, organized by the Planning Bureau, Cultural Bureau, Garden Bureau, and Artists' Association, was established as the first specialized urban sculpture planning authority in China. In 1982, the Artists' Association (*mei xie* 美协) advocated advancing sculpture development by emphasizing the symbolic and aesthetic value of sculptures in urban development. The proposal "Suggestions for Constructing Sculptures in a Few Key National Cities" was approved by the Central Publicity Ministry, leading to the emergence of the National Urban Sculpture Planning Group and the National Urban Sculpture Committee. This signalled a new age of state-led urban sculpture development in China. 32

In the late 1980s, discourse on urban sculpture planning was dominated by Beijing. Twelve provinces and cities were designated for urban sculpture experimentation, and a planning approach was proposed that envisioned an exuberant urban sculpture scene.<sup>33</sup> In 1989, a working group to approve the *Beijing chengshi diaosu guihua* 北京城市雕塑规划 (Beijing Urban Sculpture Plan) convened leading national experts and a consensus was reached: urban sculptures should promote national patriotic revolutionary sentiments, a spirit of internationalism, and also exemplify the achievements of the Party.<sup>34</sup> Nationwide awareness of the value of urban sculpture planning (spanning three dimensions, that is, science, ecology and the environment) in guiding and boosting urban sculpture scenes was finally achieved in the 2000s.<sup>35</sup>

Regulatory guidance and financing channels for urban sculptures were created. The national regulatory document "Urban Sculpture Construction and Management Methods," published in 1993, specifies the nature of the urban sculpture authority, the necessary qualifications of sculptors, and the procedures for approval. The official document entitled "Guidance for Urban Sculpture Construction Related Work," published in 2006, urges local governments to explore fundraising channels, methods and managerial modes for urban sculpture development.

China's urban sculpture planning system has inherited the Soviet-style urban planning structure, the Party's ideologies, as well as entrepreneurial urbanism.<sup>36</sup> The first urban sculpture plan on the town level was the *Anhui Tongling chengshi diaosu guihua* 安徽铜陵城市雕塑规划 (Anhui Tongling Urban Sculpture Plan)

<sup>30</sup> Interview with senior sculpture consultant, Shanghai, 12 December 2013.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with the former vice-president of the Artists' Association, Shanghai, 16 December 2013. For more details, see my research in Zheng 2017b.

<sup>32</sup> MUSCO 2012; Cai 2012.

<sup>33</sup> Zhao 1982.

<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, the content and themes of urban sculpture plans should be 1) significant revolutionary incidents and revolutionary figures in modern and contemporary Chinese history; 2) the characteristics of the city of Beijing and its culture; and 3) achievements of socialist construction and national revitalization. See Gao 1991.

<sup>35</sup> Fu and Zhang 2011.

<sup>36</sup> For in-depth discussions about the urban sculpture system in Shanghai, see Zheng 2017a, 2017b.

produced in 1992 as an experimental initiative.<sup>37</sup> In 2002, the Shenzhen Sculpture Academy established the first domestic public art master plan. One year later, the Municipal Urban Sculpture Committee Office (MUSCO) was established in the Planning Bureau in Shanghai and it enacted an urban sculpture master plan. In 2006, the central government issued a nationwide mandatory order to implement urban sculpture plans in local cities.<sup>38</sup> In 2008, Hebei Province headed the call and an urban sculpture production base for North China was established to mass-produce sculptures.<sup>39</sup>

The success of the urban sculpture movement in China is reminiscent of the Great Leap Forward in terms of the dramatic increase in the number of urban sculpture plans (see Table 1). Urban sculptures have been enthusiastically embraced although a mismatch prevails between this Western-style art form and the traditional built form of historic Chinese cities, for example, Beijing and Xi'an, in particular.<sup>40</sup> In the Yangtze River Delta, cities geographically adjacent to Shanghai, such as Wuxi and Qinhuangdao, have explicitly followed the model of Shanghai regarding urban sculpture development. Wenzhou, for instance, is one of a few cities that highlight globalization as a theme to be represented by the city's urban sculptures.<sup>41</sup>

Some experiments have transcended Beijing and Shanghai. Taizhou, for example, was the first Chinese city to implement the "one per cent policy." Under the policy, enterprises that acquire two square hectares of land for industrial and residential development through rental investments (of at least 30 million yuan or above) must put one per cent of their construction fees into urban sculpture projects.<sup>42</sup>

# Urban Sculpture Production System in Shanghai

Shanghai has been a pioneer among Chinese cities in terms of urban sculpture development. This section examines the urban sculpture production system in Shanghai, identifies stakeholders, and explores their interactions. I argue that Shanghai's unique urban sculptural production system has ensured both the prominence of the Party's ideological leadership and the maximum autonomy of professional artists, promoting their artistic practices and experimentation.

Three stakeholders play roles in Shanghai's urban sculpture production system. The government is the leading stakeholder shaping urban sculpture production through planning, direct execution of key projects, and project censorship and approvals. First, urban sculpture planning operates through a two-tier planning structure. The municipal-level master plan sets the goal for total sculpture quantity and proposes an overall pattern of geographical distribution, which is

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37 Dong and Dai 2011.
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<sup>38</sup> Ministry of Construction 2006.

<sup>39</sup> Li 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Wang 2010; An and Feng 2015.

<sup>41</sup> Chen 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Li and Zhang 2006.

Table 1: List of Urban Sculpture Plans in China<sup>43</sup>

Province/ city	Year to initiate the policy	Urban sculpture policy	Urban sculpture planning document	Number of sculptures	Other issues
Hebei	2008	Chinese sculptors' convention; temporary urban sculpture bidding regulations; urban sculpture engineering budget			Baoding, Yuyang, Tang, Yi counties constitute the major production base of sculptures in North China
Xi'an	2002		Xi'an Urban Landscape Sculpture System Plan	2 axes, 3 rings, and 16 functional zones	
Beijing	2008	Temporary regulations for urban sculptures in Beijing, 1988; the outlines of the Beijing Urban Sculpture Plan, 1993	Beijing Urban Sculpture Plan	1,262 (before the enactment of the plan)	
Shanghai	2003	Shanghai Urban Sculpture Construction Management and Methods	2010 China Shanghai World Expo Planning Area Master Plan; 2010 China Shanghai Planned Area Detailed Controlling Plan		
Nanning	2005		Nanning Urban Sculpture Construction and Management Methods		
Shenzhen	2002		Shenzhen Special Area Sculpture Master Plan		
Guangzhou	2001		Guangzhou Urban Sculpture Master Plan 2015–30		
Yuyao shi	2006		Yuyao City Urban Sculpture Concept Plan		
Laizhou shi	To be determined		Laizhou City Urban Sculpture Concept Plan		

Table 1: Continued

Province/ city Changsha	Year to initiate the policy 2003	Urban sculpture policy	Urban sculpture planning document Changsha Urban Sculpture Plan	Number of sculptures	Other issues
Hengyang	To be determined		2004–20 Hengyang Sculpture Plan	Fewer than 1 per 5 sq.	
Ha'erbing	2005		Ha'erbing Urban Sculpture Plan		
Taizhou	2004	The first Chinese city to launch the "one per cent policy"	Taizhou Urban Sculpture Plan		
Tianjin	To be determined	Tianjin Urban Sculpture Construction and Management Methods	Tianjin Urban Sculpture Plan		
Wenzhou	2008		Wenzhou Urban Sculpture Plan, 2007–20	115 prior to planning	
Wuxi	2002		Wuxi Urban Sculpture Plan 2007–20	50 by the year 2000	
Xiangtan	2010		Xiangtan City Master Plan, 2010–20	1 belt, 3 vertical zones, 5 horizontal zones, 3 parks, 10 areas, and multiple points	
Qinhuangdao	2014	Qinhuangdao Urban Sculpture Construction and Management Methods, 1993	Qinhuangdao Urban Sculpture Plan		

<sup>43</sup> A systematic search for Chinese-language urban sculpture planning literature was conducted through the "national knowledge infrastructure" database. The author searched the key words *chengshi diaosu guihua* 城市雕塑规划 (urban sculpture planning) and about forty articles came up. Table 1 compiles the data generated and summarizes urban sculpture planning policies, documents and other issues, from 1993 to the present in China.

Detailed district-level plans govern site selection and design. MUSCO enacts the municipal master plan and is also responsible for reviewing and approving district urban sculpture plans, and coordinating international exchanges. The Artists' Committee, as a consultancy agency, advises on decision making regarding sculpture schemes. Second, when facing the difficulty of implementing planned sculptures, the municipal and district authorities directly execute selected pivotal urban sculpture projects as well as innovative administrative mechanisms. The monumental statue of Chen Yi 陈毅 at the Bund, for instance, was designed and implemented under the direct leadership of the municipal government (see Figure 2). 48

The relationship between the sculpture authority and the business sector is two-fold: on the one hand, the authority censors the sculptural content of private-sector proposals; on the other hand, the authority urges the private sector to implement sculpture plans (see Figure 3). The goal is to boost the quantity of state-desired artworks. In the former aspect, political content is the main issue pertaining to censorship. One noteworthy example is a statue of Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 created by a medicine company in Pudong. <sup>49</sup> Despite respectful motivations and a satisfactory artistic representation, the sculpture was ultimately not approved due to political concerns. <sup>50</sup>

Regarding the latter aspect, in order to facilitate better planning implementation, sculpture authorities frequently reach out to lobby the business sector.<sup>51</sup> A Yangpu District sculpture officer said: "It is important for the government to guide developers toward an appreciation of the value of urban sculptures for transforming land-scape features and increasing property values."<sup>52</sup> The former vice-president of Luwan District, also a sculpture officer, shared the view: "I prefer not to push people to do what they don't want to do; I advocate for a win-win situation."<sup>53</sup>

To reduce political interference with artistic representation, an institutional innovation was proposed: the "curating system" (cezhanren zhidu 策展人制度). It involves the participation of four groups of people: 1) professional artists act

- 45 Zheng 2017a.
- 46 SMG 2004.

- 48 Interview with sculpture officers, Shanghai, 12 December 2013.
- 49 The private sector is entitled to erect sculptures within the scope of its property. If the proposed sculptures are to be located in public spaces, they should go to MUSCO for approval.
- 50 Interview with sculpture officer in Pudong District, Shanghai, 16 December 2013.
- 51 The situation varies across districts. Urban sculpture is a requirement in the real-estate sector in Yangpu District. Sculpture provision has been included in its land lease contracts; interviews with urban sculpture officers in Yangpu District, 17 December 2013.
- 52 Interview with urban sculpture officer at MUSCO, 12 December 2013.
- 53 Interview with urban sculpture officer, 18 December 2013.

<sup>44</sup> It is said that urban sculpture is an auxiliary project; it ought to be incorporated into the zoning districts and should be compatible with overall city development, see HKDPB, and TJUUPDRA 2006.

<sup>47</sup> The duty scope of the urban sculpture authority is restricted to planning; plan implementation is out of this scope. It depends on the internal motivations of executive agencies and the business sector. The lack of any controlling mechanism has led to frequent defaults. In 2011, only six out of 17 districts completed the annual allocated urban sculpture construction tasks, as per the plans. This information comes from an interview with senior sculpture officers, Shanghai, 24 May 2014.

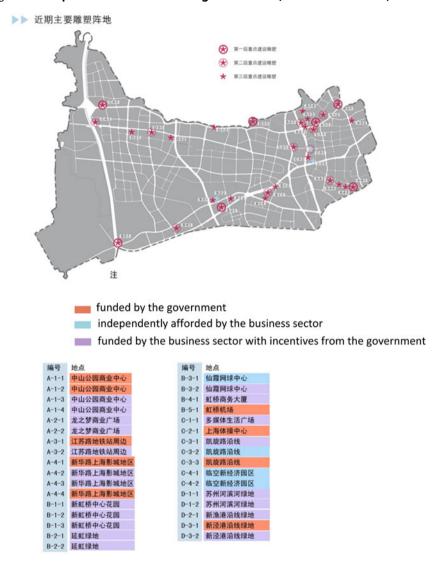


Figure 2: Sculptures Planned for Shanghai in 2006 (with Stakeholders)

Source:

CNDUPDA and TJUDD, 2006, 68. Courtesy of Urban Sculpture Authority, Shanghai, 2013.

as the main body of art producers; 2) art curators evaluate artworks and make recommendations to the Art Committee, serving as a consultancy decision-making mechanism; 3) the general public is entitled to vote for their preferred artworks and supervise the implementation of the plan; 4) MUSCO acts as the coordinator across two levels.<sup>54</sup> The Duolun Road sculpture project, for instance,

54 Zheng 2017a; CNDUPDA, and TJUDD 2006; SMG 2004.

Urban Sculpture Committee Art Committee Urban Sculpture Committee Office District urban sculpture administrative group and office District Civil Other Others District District Developer 1 Developer 2 Defense Garden Subway departments Bureau Bureau Bureau Urban sculpture construction projects

Figure 3: Stakeholders in Shanghai's Urban Sculpture Planning and Administration System

Source: JAUPMB, 2004.

exemplifies the "curating system." This system functions because "sculptural works begin with a definite plan, and because there should always be a professional team to decide what sculptures are to be made, what sculptors are to be employed, and what opinions the masses have." 55

"Public participation" in terms of this proposed mechanism has unfortunately not been actualized; it fails to allow citizens to participate in the decision-making process. An interview with Lü Pinchang provides some of the reasons why this may be the case. According to Lü: "Public participation is more about an attitude and belief ... that everybody could participate in the sense that they could dialogue and feel the sculptural piece; this is the empathy such work exudes" after its completion. While sculptors may be "willing to listen" to public opinion, Lü states that "they may not be able to hear such public opinions." <sup>56</sup>

# Development of the Urban Sculpture Scene in Shanghai

Through this production system, the city's urban sculpture scene has flourished. I argue that the Party's ideological control remains strong; however, explicit

<sup>55</sup> Lu et al. 2011, 17.

<sup>56</sup> Lü 2010, 16-17.

political didacticism has been converted into implicit ideological education that shapes "entrepreneurialism" and "globalization." In other words, current policy has softened political didacticism and diversified the genres and functionality of urban sculptures within the current ideological framework.

# Urban Sculptures for Didacticism under the Guise of Caring for the People

This section shows that on the one hand, the most important urban sculptures in the city continue to be ideologically constrained historic monuments; on the other hand, present sculptural decision-making processes have been masked by a discourse of caring, centring on the three "areas of focus" – "personal employment, the love of the people, and embracing human habitats" (weiwo suoyong 為我所用, weimin suo'ai 為民所愛, weijing suorong 為境所容).57

Didactic monuments remain the most important urban sculptures in the city

Historic monuments for the purpose of explicit political didacticism remain the most important genre; usually they are located in prominent public spaces with pre-existing cultural activities. Districts with long colonial and revolutionary histories, for example, Huangpu, Luwan and Hongkou, in particular, account for a high proportion of historic monuments (25 to 36 per cent). Also, a large number of award-winning sculptures are monumental statues exhibiting explicit ideological themes.<sup>58</sup> Some examples are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

One of the most iconic examples of ideologically explicit sculptures is the massive carved stone statue of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, acclaimed as the most visited sculpture in Shanghai.<sup>59</sup> This monumental statue, 6.4 metres high and installed in a 365-square-metre plaza, features realistic facial modelling and transitions into an abstract-style representation of their bodies in their garments (Figure 4.1). The statue of Chen Yi and the Monument to the People's Heroes are also iconic landmarks on the Bund, overlooking the Huapu river. They symbolize the power of the current regime overshadowing the colonial past of the city, as embodied by a collection of Western, classical-style buildings. The statue of Chen Yi<sup>60</sup> is 6.5 metres tall, cast in bronze, and mounted on a 3.5-metre-tall plinth of polished red granite, situated on the central axis of the plaza. Chen stands up straight, with his chest projecting outward, and clutches a coat draped over his left forearm (Figure 4.2). The Monument to the People's Heroes, completed in 1993, occupies 16,000 square metres of land in the adjacent Huangpu Park. The structure comprises three

<sup>57</sup> SMG 2004, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with the chief sculpture officer at MUSCO, 11 December 2013.

<sup>59</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have been viewed as the founders of Communist theory and as the mentors of the Chinese Revolution. For official comments on the statue, see LDUPMB, and TUPDRI 2006.

<sup>60</sup> Chen, a CCP general with impressive military accomplishments during battles to overthrow the Kuomintang regime, acted as the first Shanghai mayor in 1949.

Table 2: Proportion of Sculptures Representing Different Genres in Eight Districts<sup>61</sup>

District	Community and living	Ecology and environment	Economic development	History and cultural heritage	Art and culture	Globalism and international exchange	Total number
Pudong	25%	2%	19%	8%	42%	4%	503
Luwan (before 2010)	34.15%	12.20%	4.88%	34.15%	12.20%	2.44%	55
Yangpu	15.20%	0	0	15.20%	_55.20%	14.40%	105
Jiangwan* new town plan	12.50%	62.50%	0	0	25.00%	0	8
Huangpu	15.39%	5.10%	0.00%	25.60%	10.25%	43.58%	39
Hongkou	13.92%	13.92%	2.53%	24%	30.38%	6.30%	99
Jing'an (before 2015)	22.50%	6.30%	0	9.90%	12.61%	47.74%	111
Changning	39.18%	12.37%	1.50%	9.20%	19.07%	7.20%	194
Putuo	23.40%	20.21%	5.32%	11.70%	39.36%	0	94

Note:

<sup>\*</sup>Jiangwan is a sub-district of Yangpu.

Table 3: <b>Proportion of Sculptures</b>	Representing	<b>Different</b>	<b>Functions</b>	in Eight
Districts				

District	Symbolic	Decorative	Memorial	Landmark <sup>62</sup>	
Pudong	29%	47%	19%	9%	
Luwan (before 2010)	37.50%	22.90%	25.00%	12.50%	
Yangpu	35.29%	39.22%	17.65%	7.84%	
Huangpu	18.82%	38.78%	12.24	28.57%	
Hongkou	38.00%	32.14%	23.80%	5.95%	
Jing'an (before 2015)	18.20%	59.10%	6.81%	13.63%	
Changning	7.30%	84.00%	8.00%	0.70%	
Putuo	34.90%	44.33%	20.40%	24.49%	

Figure 4: Examples of "Monumental Sculptures" in Shanghai

4.1: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels by Liu Dawei, 1986, Fuxing Park

4.2: Chen Yi by Zhang Yonghao, 1993, The Bund



Source:

Urban Sculpture Authority, Shanghai, 2013.

enormous triangular columns which symbolize the soldiers who sacrificed their lives during three historical periods from 1840 to 1949.

Political propaganda is expressed within monumental sculptures through the manipulation of their historical components – historical themes, events or figures.

<sup>62</sup> This categorization comes from SMG. "Landmark" refers to sculptures with singular historical importance, SMG 2004.

Historic sites are purposively selected; the narrative functionality of urban sculptures enables them to embrace a dimension of symbolic meanings for the venue. The *Hongkou qu diaosu guihua* 虹口区雕塑规划 (Hongkou District Urban Sculpture Plan), for instance, includes a list of key historic sites, figures and episodes – for example, Lu Xun tomb, the Shanghai General Post Office Building, Broadway Mansions Building, and residential buildings of past martyrs – in order to inform prospective sculptures. History is manipulatively represented. For example, at the Party's second nationwide meeting, Zhang Guotao 张国焘 was the actual leader while Mao was merely a follower. However, in one art grouping, the patron (local government) decided to swap the two figures in representation. This example embodies the traditional role of monuments as agents that intervene in history as interpreted by the present-day nexus of power.

#### The trend toward democratized monuments

Despite the continued importance of historic monuments located in prominent locales, a trend towards the democratization of monuments with a veiled didacticism can be observed. 66 Under the CCP, the slogan "for my employment" has been incorporated with "for the people to embrace," in an approach partially consistent with CCP's people-centric strategy for propaganda since the revolutionary era, which co-emphasizes political control and community outreach.

The trend toward a higher degree of democratization and accessibility can be observed. One sculpture in Luwan District depicts a scene of a walking couple encountering a friend riding on a bicycle. Another example is the *Telephone Lady (dadianhua de shaonü* 打電話的少女) sculpture (Figure 5.1) on Shanghai's Huaihai Middle Road. The 1.78-metre-tall, life-sized sculpture is erected on a road of historical and cross-cultural significance;<sup>67</sup> it is used and viewed as a "meeting point" and a landmark for locals. Sans plinth, the cosmopolitan "young woman casually and confidently" striking a pose while on the phone has been transformed from a sculptural "it" to a "her."<sup>68</sup> Its value lies in its being reflective and constitutive as a snapshot of the city's "image, observations, and dialogues," shaping a sense of everyday spatiality.

Artworks are favoured when they are vivid in their portrayal of political-cultural character and "accurately," closely and creatively portray themes of everyday life. A statue of Nie'er 聶耳, a revolutionary composer, is one such case.<sup>69</sup> It is believed that through the democratization of monumental statues, Shanghai sculptures have come to reflect the city's open, multicultural and

- 63 HKDPB, and TJUUPDRA 2006.
- 64 Interview with art consultant, 13 December 2013.
- 65 Miles 1997.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Huaihai Middle Road in Shanghai is deemed by some as the "Parisian fashion street of the East."
- 68 Yi 1999.
- 69 Elaboration on this statue can be found in Zheng 2017b.

Figure 5: Examples of "Democratized Sculptures" in Shanghai

- 5.1: Telephone Lady by He Yong, 1996, Huaihai Road, Shanghai
- 5.2: May 30th by Yu Jiyong, 1986, Nanjing Road
- 5.3: Harmonious Society by Zhongyi Company, 2006, Lane 698, Wuyi Road
- 5.4: Sculpture Depicting Figures Shopping, by Zhang Yonghao and others, 2001, Nanjing Road, Shanghai



Source:
Urban Sculpture Authority, Shanghai, 2013.

encompassing aspects.<sup>70</sup> Zhu references his experiences walking along Duolun Road – "one-of-a-kind cultural street" enriched by sculptures and plaques providing information on monuments of significant figures – which fosters an atmosphere of cultural abundance.<sup>71</sup>

The model of public appreciation and involvement has stimulated an expansion of artistic styles within existing genres, including abstraction and minimalism. The Even monuments for political didacticism are not fixated on allegorical languages. One example is Yu Jiyong's 余积勇 iconic revolutionary monumental artwork "May 30th" (Figure 5.2), representative of abstract modernism. The two Chinese numerical characters are represented with entwining steel spirals similar to the design of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao by Frank Gehry, but created ten years earlier.

<sup>70</sup> Zhu 2006.

<sup>71</sup> Zhu 2007.

<sup>72</sup> Wang 2010.

It should be noted that the diverse genres representing ordinary people's lives are not devoid of "representational space." Many sculptures symbolize the political slogans of propaganda. In one example of sculpture groupings themed around family, each person holds peace doves in hands, symbolizing "harmonious society" (hexie shehui 和谐社会) a slogan promoted by then president Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 (Figure 5.3). Another example of implicit didacticism can be seen on Nanjing Road where a group of sculptures depict the theme of shopping. The sculptures are life-sized, installed on the ground without plinths, and family-based relationships are represented. The human figures all reveal enjoyment and satisfaction (Figure 5.4). A certain concocted underlying ideology concerning economic prosperity and support for the Party is evident.

# Urban Sculptures as a Tool for Urban Entrepreneurialism

The proliferation of "aesthetic sculptures" is another major feature of Shanghai's urban sculpture scene. This section argues that urban sculptures have been serving placemaking and city marketing functions. They have also distracted public attention away from critical social issues.

The entrepreneurial role of urban sculpture emanates from a transition in government policy towards pragmatic goals. The master plan clearly states: "The use of public art and urban sculpture to shape a city's image and fashion city branding, is a significant strategy in modern city development." Accordingly, the "aesthetic sculpture" section has quickly expanded. By 2004, of the 1,034 sculptures in Shanghai, 30 per cent were commemorative and allegorical, while 70 per cent were decorative and mainly for aesthetic purposes. This is consistent with the district-based statistics in Tables 2 and 3, reflecting an increase in genre and thematic variety.

Aesthetic sculptures have been receiving growing recognition, and the criteria include: 1) compatibility of the artworks and their surroundings; 2) the visual effect of the artworks; 3) public reception; and 4) the artistic treatment of details. To none example of a flock of flying birds, the bird wings stick to one another, projecting a dynamic look onto the building façade of a commercial building on Huaihai Road. Running water in the fountain accentuates its sparkling appearance. Innovative artistic languages, novel design techniques and new materials have also been adopted (Figure 6.1). The sculpture *Dancer* on Yuyuan Road, for instance, represents the idea of "movement" through twisted steel bands (Figure 6.2). In another example in Jing'an District, pop art has been overlaid on a group of sculptured figures waiting for the bus; their individualized features have been exaggerated. Pop art evokes a sense of humour, breaking the tedious boredom of waiting (Figure 6.3). Another sculpture *Enjoyable Journey* 

<sup>73</sup> A key concept raised by Levebvre 1991.

<sup>74</sup> SMG 2004, 2.

<sup>75</sup> The master plan classifies sculptures into four major subject matters or genres, including "art and culture," "history and cultural heritage," "community and living," and "globalism and international exchange." See SMG 2004, 7. Additional genres can be found in Table 2.

<sup>76</sup> SMG 2004.

Figure 6: Examples of "Aesthetic Sculptures" in Shanghai

- 6.1: Seagull, Jiuhan Property Ltd, 1996, No. 333 Huaihai Road, Shanghai
- 6.2: Dancer by Shi Yong, 2002, Yuyuan Road, Shanghai
- 6.3: Waiting, Zongyi Advertising and Decoration Ltd, 2007, Nanjing Road West, Shanghai
- 6.4: Red Apple by Zhou Xiaoping, Expo 2010, Shanghai
- 6.5: Dancing Banana Peel by Zhou Xiaoping, Expo 2010, Shanghai
- 6.6-6.7: Enjoyable Journey by Shi Yong, 2000, Nanjing Road West, Shanghai
- 6.8: Ding Ling by Wu Huiming, 1999, Sichuan Road, Shanghai



Source:

Urban Sculpture Authority, Shanghai, 2013.

shows a group of figures cut out of 2-D board and installed perpendicular to the original board through the empty part. The colour fuchsia suggests auspicious omens that may delight the audience (Figures 6.6–6.7). A series of popularly received sculptures called *Dancing Fruit* is an outstanding example of vigour (Figures 6.4–6.5).

Historical urbanity in Republican Shanghai has been exploited as a type of symbolic capital. Hongkou District displays a sense of obsession with Republican urban lives, for example, Shanghai's first cinema, urban life at Suzhou Creek piers, trams in old Shanghai, and storytelling performances in old Hongkou. Through sculpture, historical urbanity informs the images of a city associated with the prevailing modernity of the former alleged "golden age," with attractive results.

A number of sculptures have embraced participatory functionality to engage pedestrians. As one author observes:

far from being static entities, urban sculptures ... not only enrich the material form of the city but also summon residents to appreciate their forms and therefore encourage people to become more involved in the complex tapestry of the city's fabric. 77

In Jing'an and Hongkou Districts, public parks display artworks that encourage sports. Some of the figure sculptures are installed on one end of the chairs, leaving the remaining space to engage visitors (Figure 6.8).

<sup>77 &</sup>quot;Chengshi diaosu: Shanghai de gonggong yishu" 2007, 140-41.

The entrepreneurial features of urban sculptures have been reinforced through site planning and design. Sculptures located on the landscape corridors and in development zones, for example, commercial streets, historic quarters and parks, are of significance. Of the current sculptures in Yangpu District, 20.9 per cent are located along main and minor streets, such as Siping Road, Kongjiang Road and Changyang Road. Moreover, "district," as a spatial design component, has been applied in order to concentrate artworks within certain geographical areas, for example, Jing'an Sculpture Park and Yuehu Park.

With sculpture, the government's intention of developing attractive urban images to boost the local economy is evident. Shanghai's mainstream media that speaks for the state describes the "economic benefits that city sculptures bring" citing the UK as an example of an economy that generates over US\$5 billion every year from tourism as the outcome of its government policy. The highly individualistic and vibrant city sculptures attract tourists to London.<sup>81</sup> A speech at the Shanghai International Sculpture Conference cited Zhuhai in Guangdong as a successful case of a small fishing village and wasteland transformed into a "vibrant and youthful city" after a "seaside sculpture" was erected.<sup>82</sup> The cases above are representative of a distinctive entrepreneurial approach.

# Globalization in the Indigenized Context

The urban sculpture scene in Shanghai has been shaped by the trend of globalization; in the meantime, "globalization" has been politically manipulated through urban sculptures. What follows is an examination of the importation of overseas artworks and a display of Chinese domestic arts to the world.

Selectively importing artworks through global flows

Overseas artworks are selectively invited, accepted and displayed. The primary goal of importation is to educate local people using exemplary foreign figures, aside from promoting urban entrepreneurialism. Dongfang Lüzhou 东方绿舟 (Oriental Land Youth Zone and Holiday Village) for instance, aims to inspire the young through its installation of more than 160 sculptures of artists, thinkers and scientists. Acclaimed classic artworks from different historical periods were imported to enrich people's knowledge of Western art history. With sufficient funds from entrepreneurs, Rodin's *The Thinker*, César's *Le pouce*, Arman's *Cavalleria eroica* and other famous works were purchased for placement in the

<sup>78</sup> SMG 2004.

<sup>79</sup> YDUPB 2007.

<sup>80</sup> SMG 2004.

<sup>81</sup> Gu 2010.

<sup>82</sup> Pan 1998, 8.



Figure 7: Urban Plans that Include International Examples of Sculpture

Source:

CNDUPD and TJUDD, 2006, 56. Courtesy of Urban Sculpture Authority, 2013.

city. Another example of art importation is the invitation in 2006 of the renowned French sculptor, Pierre Marie Lejeune, to the Sino-Franco Sculptor Design Exhibition, where "a total of over 40 pieces of sculpture" were displayed.<sup>83</sup> Lejeune himself fits the criteria of celebrated foreign artist with little associated political conflict.<sup>84</sup>

To this end, the government's efforts are further seen in the Sunshine Urban Garden residential area which contains an assortment of classical replicas (of angels and the goddesses Venus and Luna, for example) in the public open space at the entrance. Modernist-style sculptures adopted from the West also flourish. In the *Changningqu chengshi diaosu zongti guihua* 长宁区城市雕塑总体规划 (Changning Urban Sculpture Master Plan), for instance, to help inform the design of a proposed sculpture at the entrance to an economic park, a picture of Di Suvero's work in New York from 1970 was included. In another case, a picture of Alexander Calder's *The Flamingo* in Chicago was used to guide the design of a sculpture on Tianshan West Road (Figure 7).85 As Zhu describes: "When the manifold streams of modern sculpture are accepted

<sup>83</sup> Xue 2007, 20.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> CNDUPDA, and TJUDD 2006.

by Shanghai, the introduction of world-renowned sculptors becomes a natural consequence."86

Mega events have enhanced cultural exchange through design competitions, thereby importing fashionable design concepts and skills from abroad. In the run-up to the 2010 Expo, a sculpture exhibition included a total of 190 artists from Europe, Canada and the US.<sup>87</sup> More than 200 design teams bid for sculpture projects at Expo 2010. Finally, François Mitterrand Art Centre in France, Taipei Art Association, and the local Shanghai East Normal University teams won the bidding.<sup>88</sup>

The Jing'an Sculpture Park is one case of importing modernist-style sculptures from abroad. It is a collection of around thirty artworks by world-renowned artists. For instance, *Merciful Ferry* by Arne Quinze is made of yellow and red bamboo in the shape of expansive umbrellas, generating a sense of movement such as blowing winds or floating clouds. The music series by Arman Fernandez was installed in prominent fountain locations (Figure 8.1). These artworks serve to shape the perception of the public.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that irrespective of occasion, imported artworks can be banned immediately if they are considered ideologically inconsistent with the party-state. A sculpture team leader at the Shanghai Expo 2010 disclosed that one overseas design team from the François Mitterrand Art Centre proposed design schemes at the beginning of the competition – one artwork combining a dead fish with a fighter; the other resembling a huge medical pill  $(9 \times 3 \times 3 \text{ metres})$  – aimed at questioning the purpose of the World Expo and whether it can relieve the symptoms of political, economic and religious problems. Unfortunately, the proposed designs were considered controversial and officially banned.<sup>89</sup>

Chinese scholars support the government's views in the media. To them, foreign sculptors and their works ought to be chosen and incorporated "with care" – "the government must consider and balance." Even artworks presented as gifts are screened. During the interview, the former president of the Artists' Association gave one example: "Years ago, the French city of Marseille made a replica of *La fontaine de l'espoir* to be placed at the Xu Jiahui Park, as a gift of friendship to Shanghai" (Figure 8.2). In another case, a sculpture gift from the Mexican government was not accepted. 91

# Showcasing national symbols to the world

Urban sculptures are utilized to manipulate Shanghai's image and also international perceptions of China. Both local institutions and the urban environment

<sup>86</sup> Zhu 2006, 28.

<sup>87 &</sup>quot;Communication between sculpture and the city." 2007.

<sup>88</sup> Interview with one sculpture team leader at Shanghai Expo 2010, Shanghai, 12 December 2013; Wu 2009.

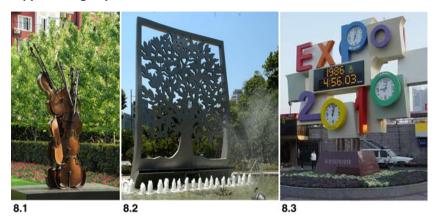
<sup>89</sup> Interview with one sculpture team leader.

<sup>90</sup> Liang 2010, 11.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with the former president of the Artists' Association, Shanghai, 16 December 2013.

Figure 8: Examples of Globalization through Urban Sculptures in Shanghai

- 8.1: Music Series by Arman Fernandez, 2009, Jing'an Sculpture Park
- 8.2: Replica of *La fontaine de l'espoir*, a Gift from France to the Shanghai Government, 2005
- 8.3: Approaching Expo 2010 Anon., 2007



Source:

Urban Sculpture Authority, Shanghai, 2013.

shape the notion of globalization. Urban sculptures are considered as having a far-reaching influence on the cityscape, the urban image of Shanghai, and also on its display of civic spirit.<sup>92</sup>

By this logic, the symbols of the nation and the city are popular sculpture themes. For example, the magnolia is the city flower of Shanghai; it is widely used in urban sculptures to indicate the cosmopolitan spirit of the city (for example, the magnolia sculpture at the South Pudong bridge). The prominent transportation node where this sculpture is located serves as a focal point of transition for traffic routes and underlines the importance of this landmark.

At the Shanghai Expo 2010, a number of symbolic sculptures were created to serve as a welcoming gesture of internationalization, surrounding the theme of the Expo. One example is the landmark *Approaching Expo 2010* installed on the riverfront green area on the Bund (Figure 8.3). Its central element is a clock showing the days remaining until the opening ceremony of the event. The clock was surrounded by white concave and convex boxes. This confluence between global and local, and the socially constructed image of the city, may appear "successful" thus far.

In addition, artworks representing national or city symbols are often presented as gifts in the service of diplomatic goals. Recently, the Shanghai government offered a choice of sculptures as a gift to the city of Basel in Switzerland. The Swiss local government selected a four-metre-long boat sculpture made by a Shanghai artist.<sup>93</sup>

#### Conclusion

This paper presents an interpretation of the flourishing urban sculpture scene and the manner in which it has been produced from the perspective of "Chinese urban landscapes." It argues that political didacticism remains the primary concern concerning urban sculptures, but there is a transition from explicit into soft or veiled didacticism as reflected by a growing number of democratized monuments for people to love, as well as an expansion of aesthetic and symbolic sculptures. In other words, the uniformity of the didactic functionality of sculptures has been broken, but an expansion of existing genres, as well as a higher degree of professional artistic autonomy for the purpose of cultivating entrepreneurialism and globalization, has been shaped by continuing ideological controls.

This paper unfolds discourses on urban sculpture and its associated planning practices since 1949. It also shows that a two-tier planning structure (comprising municipal and district-level authorities) has been operating to enact urban sculpture plans. The interaction between the state and the business sector boosts ideologically controlled urban entrepreneurialism: the state censors sculptures proposed by the business sector and enlists its participation in production. The communities, however, are excluded from decision-making. The outcome of the urban sculpture production system is an ideologically orchestrated and entrepreneurial urban sculpture scene that has generated economic returns along with fundamental contributions to political stability.

Three points about Shanghai's urban sculpture scene justify this finding. First, didactic monuments continue to be the dominant type of urban sculptures, but they are presented in a people-friendly manner. Second, the aesthetic attractiveness of urban sculptures can be observed. Such symbolic capital has been serving placemaking and city marketing functions, while distracting public attention away from critical social issues. Third, "globalization" involves selective importation and display of overseas and domestic artworks in alignment with the Party's interests.

This paper provides theoretical insights into urban entrepreneurialism in China. It introduces the concept "urban sculpture" into the discourse: contrary to the literature, urban sculpture, as one type of aesthetic asset for urban entrepreneurialism, contributes to the power and stability of the national regime in addition to economic development. This article has also introduced the term "urban sculpture" into the discourse of China's globalization. It shows that urban sculpture serves as a medium in China's globalization process, through which the state appropriates artistic language and art forms from abroad and represents the spirits and images of the country and city. "Urban sculpture"

<sup>93</sup> Interview with former president of the Artists' Association.

provides a new perspective to understanding the manner in which "globalization" is ideologically constructed in China.

# Biographical note

Jane ZHENG is a distinguished research fellow at the Shanghai Theatre Academy. Her academic research interests are in modern Chinese art and cultural development in Chinese cities.

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摘要: 近二十年来,在上海城市雕塑规划的推动下,城市雕塑数量剧增,艺术风格趋以多元,为城市构筑起一道靓丽的风景。本文以"城市风景"的理论视角来审视上海的城市雕塑景观,以及这道风景背后的社会机制。文章回顾了1949 年以来在国家层面,有关城市雕塑以及雕塑规划的讨论,然后在地方层面聚焦于上海,研究城市雕塑规划主管机构,以及其他影响城市雕塑发展的利益相关人。文章的主要论点是,上海城市雕塑风景线的形成得益于审美和象征性雕塑的繁荣,而非传统的纪念碑式的雕塑,尽管后者乃是城市雕塑中最重要的类型。与此同时,雕塑折射出上海"城市企业化"以及"全球化"的城市政策,乃是在政党意识形态的框架底下制定以及执行的,其结果是将城市雕塑的角色,从直接的政治说教,转变成了披着"为民所爱"外衣的间接的意识形态的宣传。

关键词:城市雕塑;公共艺术;公共艺术规划;文化政策;城市企业主义;上海

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