

4.6 View down the Huangpu River, Shanghai, from the Pearl Television Tower.



In response to this, the city started an aggressive remaking of itself. Capital was created through the “transfer of land rights,” which became the prime source of raising money in the late 1980s. Land rents replaced extractions from state firms as the primary means of municipal capital generation for urban construction. Revenue generated in this way was equivalent to sixty percent of Shanghai’s total fixed investment for 1993 (White and Li, 1998). In addition, in the late 1980s Shanghai borrowed US\$1.4 billion, with approval from Beijing, for urban construction projects such as the Shanghai Metro and the new Huangpu Bridge.

### **Remaking the image of the city**

The appearance of Bilbao, characterized by a harsh relationship between its built fabric and its topography, is one of extremely dense urban areas, industrial complexes, a mixture of domestic architecture and layers of transportation facilities standing in stark contrast to the rolling green landscape. The remaking of the city involves the removal of the former industrial facilities strewn along the riverfront. This will change the nature of the role of the river in the city. The backbone of the city will be the Nervión River, a waterway that is already starting to lose its harsh and polluted character. The port of Bilbao was originally located in the center of the city, but recently activity has been shifted to the outer port. The old sulphurous shipyards will disappear and most of the port and industrial activities will relocate to the El Abra Bay, transforming the Nervión Ría into a linear core for the new metropolitan territory. This stitching of the city will bring together the communities along the riverbank, from Casco Viejo to Algorta on the right bank, passing through Deusto, Las Arenas and Neguri, to the left bank from Ensanche to Santruce, passing through Baracaldo, Sestao and Portugalete.

The Nervión Ría will no longer be a physical and social boundary in the city. The recently completed subway system, whose tunnels run next to the watercourse, will tie the river along its length and introduce seven new bridges. The recovery of the riverbanks, by the removal of obsolete struc-