

Awkward Encounters:

Urban Planning, Historic Preservation, and the Persistence of Rural
Forms in Shenzhen

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Learning from Shenzhen Symposium

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The SEZ's master narrative emphasizes the Municipality's rush from rural rags to urban riches.

深圳速度 / SHENZHEN SPEED



Shenzhen Market Liberated, 1949

Greeting the PLA at the Shenzhen Market Train Station. Note the character *xu* (墟) in the sign. At this point, Shenzhen was not yet a Market Town (镇).



The Shenzhen Train Station 55 years later

Looking north toward Guomao, photograph taken November 21, 2005.



**Moment to the Martyrs of the Revolution, erected
August 1, 1955 (photo taken 1978)**

Baoan County Cultural Plaza, Caiwuwei, present day site of Diwang and the MIXc Shopping Mall.



Diwang or “Land King” Building

Photo taken December 10, 2010 from the 37th floor of the Luohu Grand Hyatt Hotel



1978 Meeting, Baoan Cultural Plaza

Headquarters of Baoan County at Caiwuwei Village / Brigade.



The 2008 Olympic Torch

Photo take June 29, 2008 at the Shenzhen Civic Center



1962 Refugee

Refugees from the 1962 mass migration to Hong Kong by way of Baoan County. At the time, *Life* magazine did a story on hunger in Mao's China.



The First Explosion: Shekou, 1979

One of the most famous pictures of the era: Demolishing the old rural system.



效益深圳：Efficient Shenzhen

December 1, 1990, trading begins on the Shenzhen Stock Exchange, shifting the SEZ's economy away from industrial manufacturing towards finance and service.



文明深圳: **Civilized Shenzhen**

The new central axis moved the SEZ's political and cultural center west, away from the early "downtown".



和谐深圳: **Harmonious Shenzhen**

Shenzhen presents itself as China's most egalitarian city – “middle class” in the American sense of “equality of opportunity” and not “equality”.

The idea that the urbane city has transcended its rural origins predicates the SEZ's rural rags to urban riches master narrative. This ideological formulation is most clearly articulated in the Municipality's award-winning urban plans.

URBAN PLANNING AND SHENZHEN URBANE IDENTITY



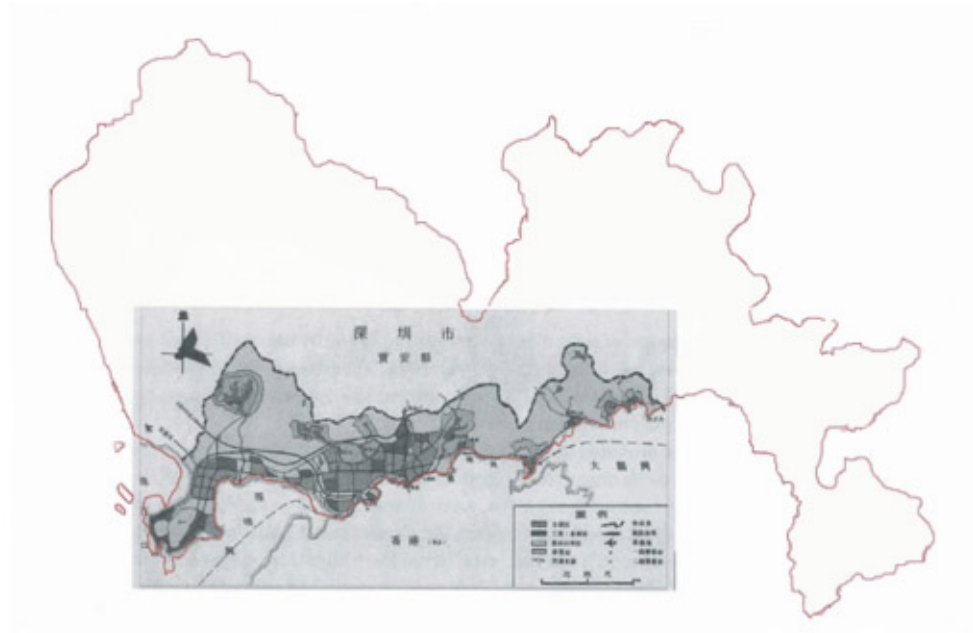
Map of Baoan County Districts, circa 1978

In March 1979, Baoan County had twenty-one communes, two market towns (镇), and 207 Brigades, which in turn were made up of small brigades that would be repartitioned into an estimated 2,000 administrative and natural villages.



Mobilization meeting of cadres, 1979

Meeting to mobilize cadres to support the establishment of the Shenzhen Industrial Export Zone held at location of Diwang building



Plan for the Shenzhen SEZ, circa 1982

The initial plan was to industrialize a thin strip of land between Hong Kong and New Baoan County. Importantly, rural Baoan wasn't even on the initial maps of the SEZ; the assumption was that it would provision the industrial zone.



前店后厂：Store in front, factory in back

Huanggang Road, heading north: Industrial manufacturing for export was the motor of Shenzhen's rapid transformation from a rural hinterland to a city.



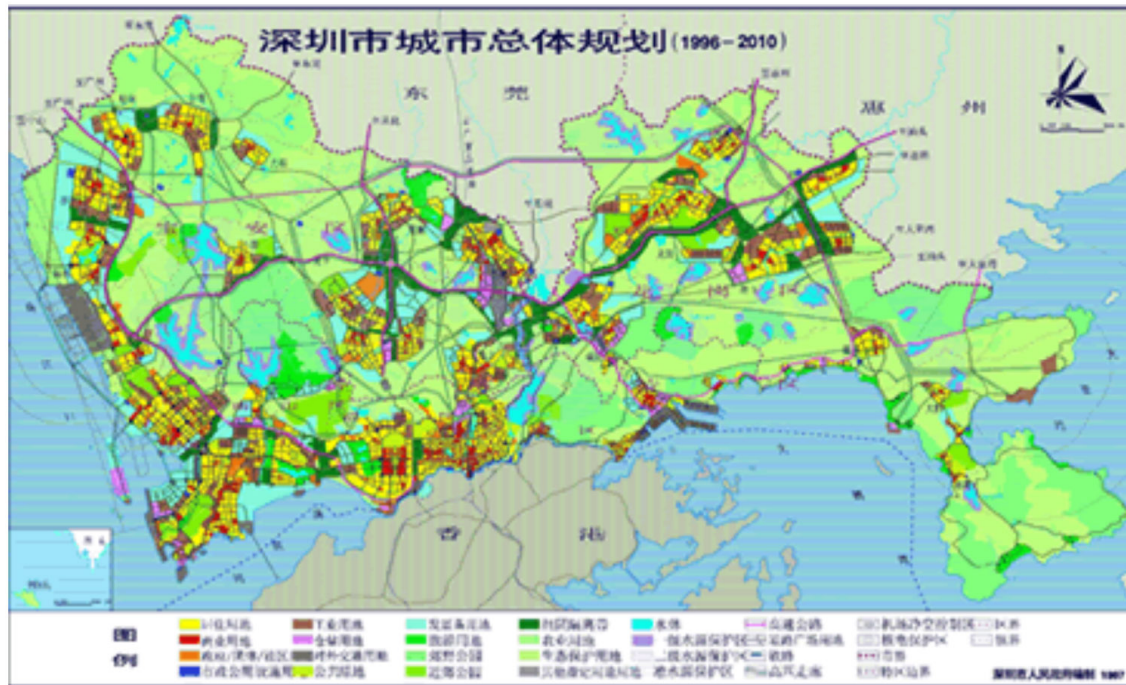
Shenzhen, 1992: The Double Transformation

Shangbu New Village, 1992. Photo by Shi Qing. In 1992, villages in the SEZ were transformed to neighborhoods and villagers received urban *hukou* status. Baoan and Longgang Districts elevated areas (乡) to market towns (镇).



Shenzhen SEZ and New Baoan County, circa 1996

This map from the New Baoan County Gazetteer shows that there was extensive rural urbanization at village, market, and county level. Note also the “downtown”.



The Shenzhen Master Plan, 1996

A comparison of the gazetteer map with the master plan from the same time illustrates the extent to which urban planning ignored extant social infrastructure, most notably the political and economic divisions between the SEZ and New Baoan County.



Fanshen Subway Station, Baoan District

In 2004, Shenzhen becomes the first Chinese municipality to have no rural subdivisions; in twenty-five years Shenzhen occupied and redeployed Maoist sites.

2006: The First Explosion of the Rural Renovation Movement

Yunong [New] Village Before

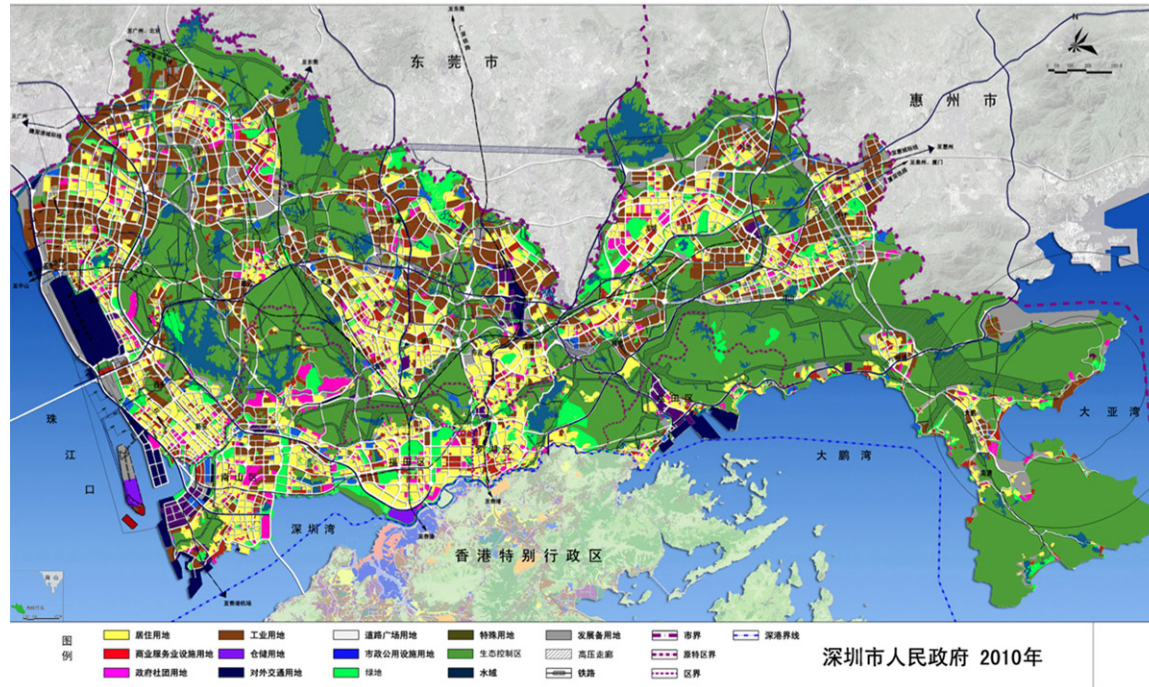


Yunong [New] Village After



THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF SHENZHEN CITY (2010-2020)

深圳市人民政府 2010年



Shenzhen Master Plan, 2010

With the transformation of Baoan and Longgang villages to neighborhoods in 2004, the 2010 urban plan overwrites social infrastructure, presenting the SEZ's history as smooth transition from one state of being to another.

In contrast to the urban planning version of history, when we visit the SEZ's two main historic sites – Dongmen and Nantou – we see that these areas remain recognizably rural. At the same time, we also see the strength of the economic understanding of Shenzhen's history.

THE MAP IS NOT THE TERRITORY

Walking Dongmen



The Rise of Shenzhen Market

1911 The Kowloon-Canton Railway is completed; Shenzhen Market (墟) is the first stop on the Sino-British border;

1931 Shenzhen Town (镇) is established around the area of Shenzhen Market;

1949 Shenzhen Town is liberated on October 19;

1953 The Baoan County Seat is moved from Nantou to Shenzhen Market;

1979 Baoan County is elevated to Shenzhen Municipality;

1980 The Shenzhen Special Economic Zone is established.







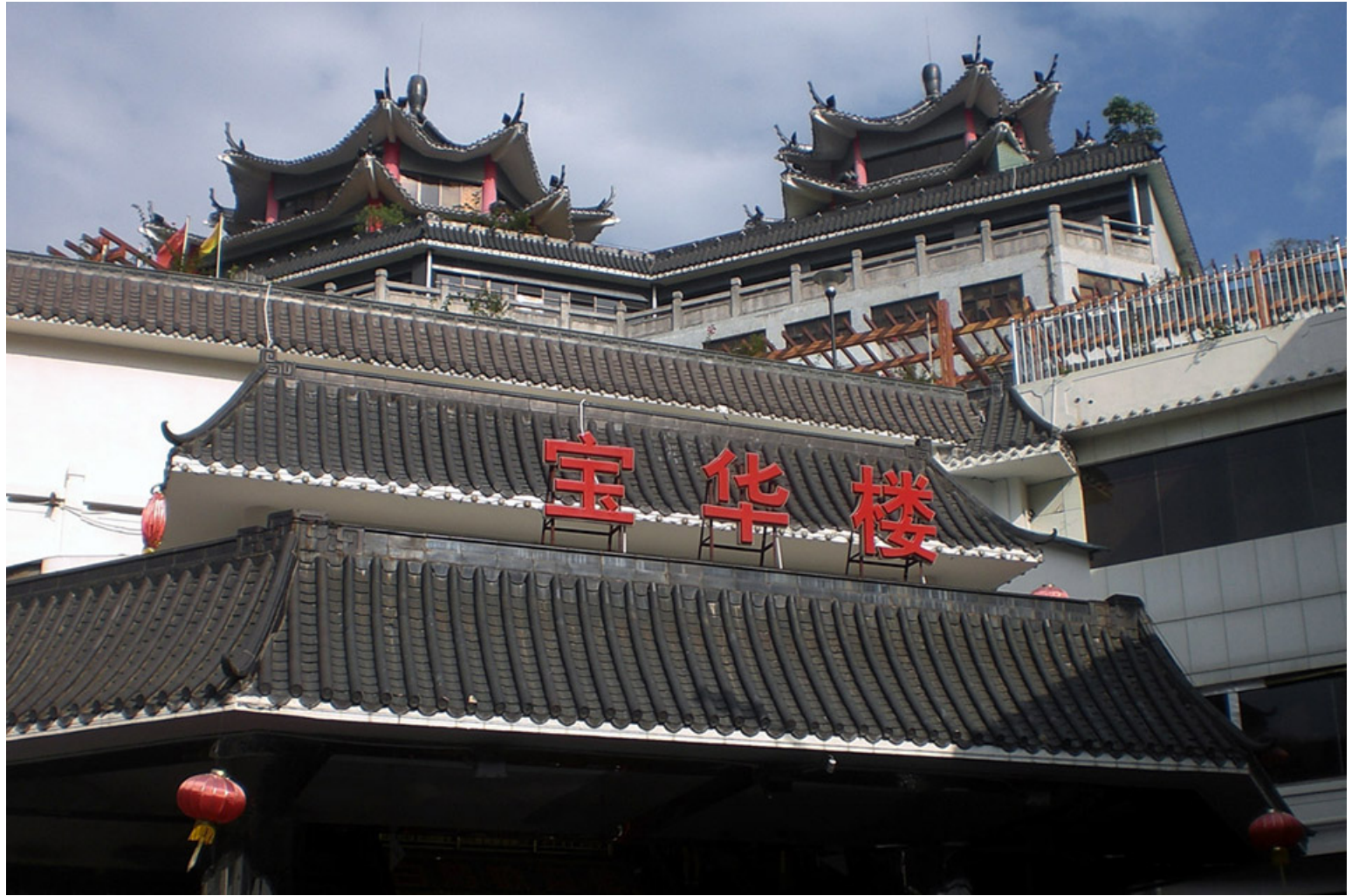






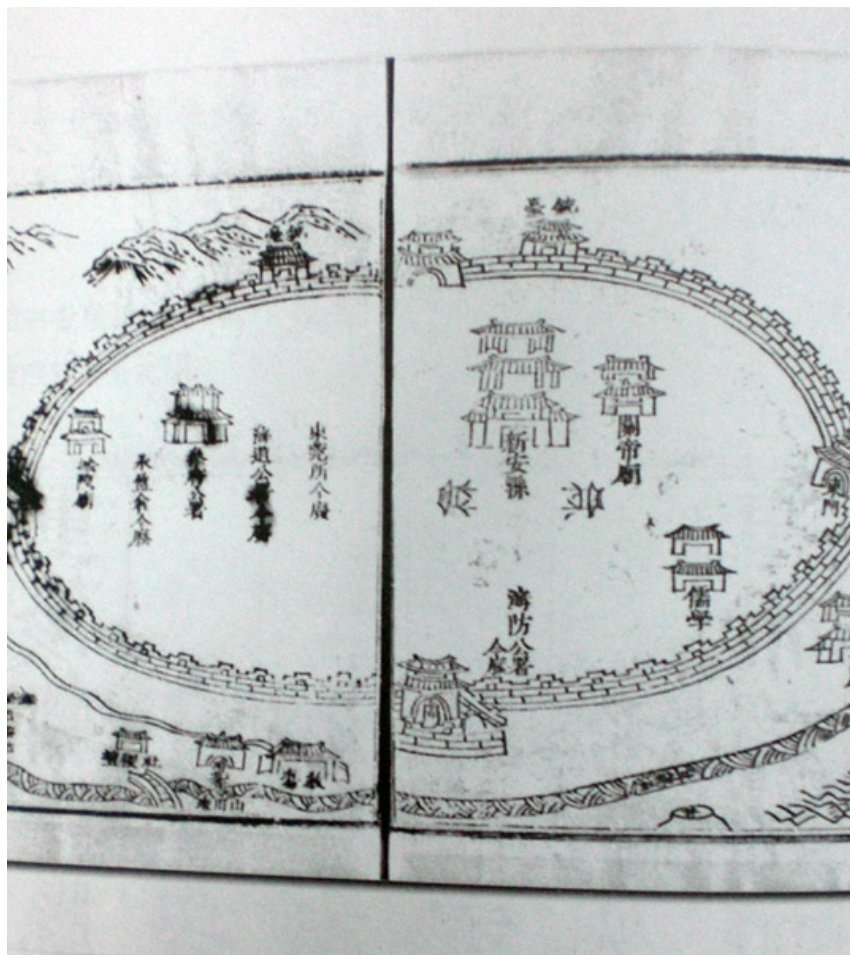








Walking Nantou



The Decline of Nantou

331 Nantou is administrative center for Dongguan Prefecture, an area combining present day Dongguan, Shenzhen and Hong Kong;

1573 Nantou walled city is the county seat of Xin'an; site of Imperial Yamen;

1842 Hong Kong Island ceded to Great Britain;

1860 Kowloon ceded to Great Britain;

1898 New Territories ceded to Great Britain;

1913 Xin'an County is renamed Baoan;

1953 County Seat moved to Shenzhen Town, headquarters near Dongmen or old Shenzhen Market;

1988 Designated a historic site, Nantou Old Town;

1996 First efforts to create a walking museum, "Xin'an Fairy Town"

2011 Preservation upgrade for Universiade, previous name restored "Nantou Old Town".





Marking the Sino-British border, 1899

Historic preservation in Shenzhen became politicized within the context of the Return of Hong Kong.



Entrance to Nantou, 1975

When the county seat moved to Shenzhen Market, Nantou lost its market town (镇) status, becoming a non-rural component of Nantou commune.



Nine Streets, early 1970s

By the mid-1970s many Nantou residents had fled to Hong Kong, abandoning their homes.

July 28, 2006



Nov 7, 2011





July 28, 2006



Nov 7, 2011





Urbane Imperialism:

Granite loadstones, tile floors, and grey bricks







13532442913

[illegible]

小工 杂工
90元/天

90元/天

电话: 13532442913

联系人:李主管

省三農公報

+2

(2) 清漆工：负责油漆、涂刷等。

表 17-1 主成分分析结果

“平定县志”

④企業環境保護

◎ 世界地理知识 1. 世界之最：世界最高峰：珠穆朗玛峰，海拔8848米。

2000年, 中国人口为12.5亿, 其中60岁以上人口为1.5亿, 占总人口的12%。预计到2050年, 中国人口将达到15.5亿, 其中60岁以上人口将达到3.5亿, 占总人口的22%。

其的價值 2000 元。

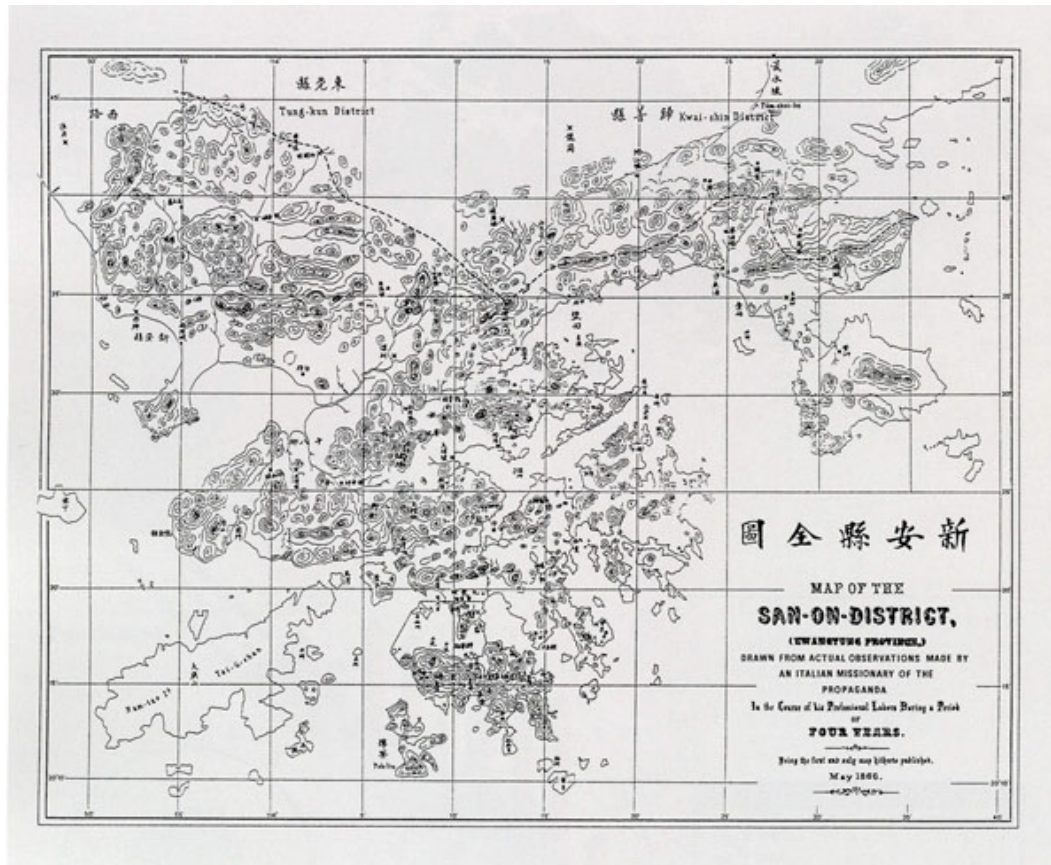
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Shenzhen historic sites

In a city that celebrates overcoming its rural past, the primarily rural inhabitants of Shenzhen's historic sites—whether locals or migrant workers—maintain traditions and lifestyles that contradict the SEZ's claim to have overcome history.

What the persistence of the rural indicates is that Shenzhen's ideological conflicts continue to hinge on the distinction between rural and urban lifestyles even when (or perhaps because) the SEZ claims to have overcome its rural past.

AWKWARD ENCOUNTERS

Urbane versus Rural Urbanization



Concomitant production of urbane and rural identities

**Urbane spaces produce
urbanites**



**Rural spaces ruralize Shenzhen's
urban proletariat**





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