

# 21 Excavating the Future in Shenzhen

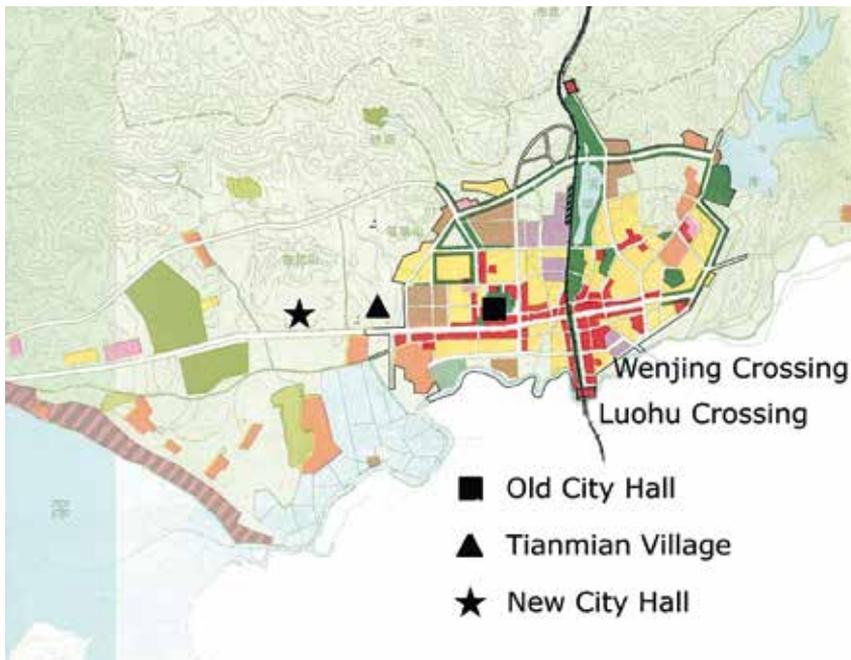
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In the People's Republic of China (PRC), the future has not been a time, but rather an ongoing project to reclaim the country's rightful place in the world. The official construction of China's socialist future began when Mao Zedong announced the establishment of the PRC on October 1, 1949 and continued with the adoption of Deng Xiaoping's Reform and Opening policy in December 1978.<sup>1</sup> Mao and Deng agreed that China's future lay in strengthening and modernizing society, but famously advocated different means for achieving that end. Through practices of "continuous revolution", Mao aimed to develop the country while preventing the consolidation of a class of property owners. This strategy produced large-scale infrastructure projects that integrated the country and serial political movements which disrupted accumulation and allocation of resources. In contrast, Deng allowed "a few people to get rich first" in order to stimulate the economy, stabilizing property ownership and capital accumulation within the context of the Chinese state. Economic liberalization has made China the second largest economy in the world while creating vast inequalities in the distribution of the country's wealth.

Since its establishment in 1980, the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone has played a critical role in the transition from Mao's explicitly socialist to Deng's not very socialist vision of China's future. Indeed, in the 1980s, the Special Zone symbolized the possibility of post-Mao alternatives, while its emergence as China's fourth city and world hub for hardware creatives has consolidated its role as a model of urban development elsewhere in China and the world.<sup>2</sup> Shenzhen thus has had two relations to the future

*qua* project. On the one hand, Shenzhen has existed as a future project; the city's plans and aspirations have been continuously forward looking. On the other hand, the city's success has made Shenzhen the model of desired futures; Shenzhen has become a symbol used to imagine the possibility of a post-underdeveloped future both in China and throughout the industrializing world.

To map Shenzhen's diverse (and often contradictory) futures, I offer a cultural geography of Tianmian Village with respect to the city's development. Located at the border of Luohu and Futian Districts, Tianmian Village is situated between Shenzhen's manufacturing future circa 1986 (symbolized by the old city hall) and its anticipated world city status circa 2007 (represented by the Citizen's Center) (Figure 21.1). In order to reconstruct competing future projects in Tianmian, I place the urbanized village at the nexus of a geographic grid: the east-west axis runs between Huaqiangbei and the Civic Center, while the north-south axis lies between the interior



**21.1** Location of Tianmian Village, 1986. This map of extant construction in Shenzhen circa 1986 shows the location of Tianmian village with respect to the Wenjing and Luohu Crossings, the old City Hall, and the future site of the New City Hall. Of note, the map of "extant (现状)" construction does not include informal development in either Bao'an County or villages within the Special Zone. Source: Image from the 1986 Shenzhen Special Economic Zone Control Plan [深圳经济特区总体规划] adapted by Mary Ann O'Donnell and Xu Ting. Government document: Fair use.

and Hong Kong. I argue that the lay of the land not only allows us to discern the dialectical emergence of the urban village typology, but also can be used to unpack other future projects within the city.

My excavation of Shenzhen's diverse futures begins with the lay of land and announced policies in order to track how different futures have been built into the cityscape. Indeed, the city's shifting landscapes suggest how the future has been consistently re-imagined. This essay also touches upon the difficulties of researching urban futures with respect to three, interrelated issues: (1) the diversity of Shenzhen's built futures; (2) the instability of the future as a project, and; (3) the state-led transition from a relatively independent manufacturing hub to a centralized post-industrial city.



**21.2** Location of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, 1982.  
 Source: Government document: Fair use.

### Luohu: Futures Past

In 1979, Guangdong Province elevated Bao'an County to Shenzhen Municipality and in 1980, the central government signaled its determination to reform and open the Maoist economy by designating four special economic zones—Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen.<sup>3</sup> In Shenzhen, the special zone's territory was too vast to effectively administer and circa 1982, Shenzhen Municipality was redistricted as the Shenzhen

Special Economic Zone and Bao'an County, which were separated by an internal border—the second line (Figure 21.2). Shenzhen Municipality administered the Special Zone, while the new Bao'an County seat was established at Xin'an, which was located just across the second line near Gushu. Nevertheless, Bao'an County's extant tripartite cultural geography—Cantonese, Hakka, and Weitou—critically shaped the construction of Shenzhen futures.

Before its elevation to Shenzhen Municipality, Bao'an County comprised at least three networks of loosely integrated market towns and villages, which were connected through riparian networks as well as paths through rice fields and lychee orchards. In Eastern Shenzhen along the banks of the Pearl River strategically placed docks allowed oyster farmers and fishermen to navigate between Guangzhou and Hong Kong. Western Bao'an villagers spoke Dongguan Cantonese and marketed at Shajing and Gushu. Eastern villagers spoke coastal Hakka and marketed at Guanlan, while beyond the Wutong Mountain range Hakka villagers marketed at Shatoujiao. On the isthmus that connects Luohu and Futian Districts of Shenzhen to the Hong Kong New Territories, villagers spoke Weitou, a language that combined features of both Cantonese and Hakka. They shopped for manufactured goods and sold agricultural products at Shenzhen Market, the County Seat of Bao'an and in Sheungshui, and Yuenlong, markets in the Hong Kong, crossing the border to farm traditional lands.<sup>4</sup>

Construction of the Special Zone began in Luohu District, near the historic Shenzhen Market and extended east to the Shanghai hotel. Located on the Weitou isthmus, the early Special Zone had access to the Port of Hong Kong via the Kowloon-Canton Railway (KCR) and Wenjingdu checkpoint, which provided the initial connection between early Shenzhen industrial parks such as Bagualing, Yuanling, and Huaqiangbei and the world economy. Accordingly, development in Luohu not only adopted Hong Kong infrastructure standards, business models, and language (Cantonese), but also its international consumerism, architectural aesthetics, and Canto-pop entertainment. This area was known as "Shenzhen" after the old market and boasted an array of jobs, goods, and entertainment that were not available anywhere else in China.

Importantly, construction of the Special Zone did not only focus on Luohu, but also occurred as extant collectives began to sell agricultural goods to Hong Kong and set up industrial parks; these were the harbingers of China's post-Mao Township and Village Enterprises. More importantly, this early village and township investment became both the prototype and driver of early industrial development. In a 2009 edition of the Silver Lake

Salon, for example, Zhang Ganfu who joined the Shenzhen Commodity Inspection Bureau in 1984, has stated, “Shenzhen didn’t have an industrial base. At the beginning, over near the China Aviation Corporation Building [the Special Zone] established some famous industrial parks—Shuibei and Huaqiangbei, and China Merchants established the Shekou Industrial Park. These were government-led. However, only small companies invested there. The largest investments were made by locals who had fled to Hong Kong [during the Mao era] and then returned [at the beginning of Reform].”<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, without direct government investment and oversight, Cantonese and Hakka regions of Bao’an County developed simultaneously with, but in significantly different ways than did Luohu. Between the stretch of G107 national highway that connected Songgang to the Wenjingdu checkpoint and the Pearl River coastline, Cantonese townships and villages created an industrial corridor that stretched into neighboring Dongguan. They also exported agricultural produce (especially oysters, chickens and water fowl) to Hong Kong. They imported construction materials from Foshan and Guangzhou via extant riparian networks. In fact, coastal townships and villages also used their docks to smuggle clothing, electronics, and consumer goods, including motorcycles and cars from Hong Kong into China. In contrast, Hakka Shenzhen did not have ready access to Hong Kong except at Buji Market, the second station on the KCR, which was located just north of the second line and in Shatoujiao, which was isolated from Shenzhen and the Chinese interior by the Wutong Mountains. As a result, townships and villages in this area did not urbanize as quickly as elsewhere in Shenzhen and many villagers sought jobs in the Special Zone, working in factories and setting up stalls in the original Shenzhen market area.<sup>6</sup>

This cursory purview of Shenzhen’s first decade indicates that the city took shape amidst political experimentation, economic opportunism, and the capacity of local villages and townships to pursue industrialization and urban development through tacitly approved relationships with Hong Kong investors.<sup>7</sup> The imposition of Shenzhen administrative areas onto Bao’an’s cultural geography catalyzed the contours of the area’s divergent futures. In western Shenzhen, Bao’an townships and villages were restructuring agricultural holdings into collectively held, local manufacturing bases; this area would become the city’s manufacturing core. In eastern Shenzhen, townships and villages found themselves peripheral to both Shenzhen and Bao’an; this area would provide food and labor for Shenzhen’s boom, while in recent years its underdevelopment has enabled experiments in green planning and suburban housing estates. Finally in Luohu, on the previously marginal Weitou isthmus the first version of Shenzhen’s future—a state-

sanctioned manufacturing city that accepted Hong Kong as its international standard—was built.

### **Re-structuring the Future: From Luohu to Futian**

By 1990, it was evident that the Special Zone had already breached its initial boundaries and concomitant future imaginary. Consequently, the city restructured territory both inside and outside the second line, establishing its current four-tiered system of city, districts, street offices, and neighborhoods.<sup>8</sup> In 1992, the Shenzhen government annexed inner district village lands and changed villagers' *hukou* status. The reconstituted villages became neighborhoods (*juweihui*), the basic administrative unit of a Chinese city.<sup>9</sup> Importantly for the construction of the new villages, the transfer of land rights to the city did not include the transfer of built property rights. As part of their compensation villagers collectively and individually were permitted to manage and own buildings. The expression "new village" referred to these settlements and other holdings. Many new villages comprised old and new sections, including industrial parks. Each village enterprise acted in lieu of the state, providing water, electricity, sanitation, and road upkeep within its territorial boundaries. In 1996, Shenzhen promulgated its second Master Plan. Unlike the 1986 Master Plan, the 1996 edition had a comprehensive understanding of Shenzhen as a city, even though it had not yet integrated the villages into the municipal infrastructure grid. At this moment, future Shenzhen was imagined as an independent city, comprising an urban core and a rural periphery.

### **Tianmian: The Postmillennial Transition**

In the early 1980s, Tianmian took advantage of its location to build sixteen factories. Finished products—electronics and toys, for example—were loaded onto pallets into containers and initially shipped abroad via the Wenjingdu checkpoint and subsequently via the Huanggang checkpoint. Individual villagers accumulated the capital necessary to build private homes by working in factories, operating small shops, and smuggling goods from Hong Kong to sell in Shenzhen markets. They also acquired investment capital from Hong Kong relatives and investors. In 1998, Tianmian's location at the border between Shenzhen's first downtown at Luohu and the city's envisaged new central district, Futian made it an early target for urban renewal and by 2004, Tianmian "village" was a neighborhood within the Shenzhen municipal apparatus. It was connected to the

municipality's water and electric grids. Diverse stakeholders, including the village limited corporation, the central park management department of Shenzhen Municipality, the Central Park Gelan Yuntian Hotel, and the Millennium Oasis housing estate legally owned and managed buildings within its boundaries. Over the next few years, its industrial park would be repurposed as City of Design, a rebranding that replaced factories with offices and commercial space.

A description of Tianmian's emplacement within its immediate landscape, circa 2007 reveals how Shenzhen's future was successively reconfigured as the city expanded from its epicenter at Luohu to Futian, standardizing the city according to ratified plans. Specifically, Tianmian's cultural geography reveals how the area's villages have mediated China's post-Mao transition along two developmental trajectories. With respect to China's domestic apparatus, rural urbanization in Shenzhen allowed the planned economy to experiment with marketization of collectively held resources. Additionally, the city's heterogeneous forms of rural urbanization also connected China to the capitalist world via logistics, trade, and changing cultural norms and aesthetics. Indeed, mapping village property owner-



**21.3** Tianmian, 2007. This map shows the layout of Tianmian new village by property ownership, 2007.

ship suggests how architecture has mediated the ongoing capitalization of socialist institutions with respect to the Chinese state and traditional forms of patrimony (Figure 21.3).

Moving east from Tianmian through Huaqiangbei toward Dongmen, for example, we walk through at least two past futures: (1) the stylized remnants of a lychee orchard in the city's Central Park, industrial sites that were already becoming the world's largest electronics market and "ground zero" of *shanzhai* phone production, commercial areas constructed out of stalinesque concrete, and early forms of global consumption, when global hope could be ingested with a Big Mac and fries at China's first Mickey D's, which opened in Dongmen in 1990—the same year that the Shenzhen Stock Exchange formally opened, and (2) just east of Tianmian and west of Dongmen, the city saw the rise of higher end consumption, including the Diwang Commercial Building (1997), Luohu book city (2001), and China's first luxury mall, the MixC (2004) (Figure 21.4).



21.4 Past futures, Tianmian Industrial Building and factories, 2006.

Moving south from Tianmian on our way to the Hong Kong border, we encounter the temptations, illicit desires, and potential dangers of a suddenly wide-open future. Immediately south of Tianmian, the Huanggang checkpoint allowed cargo transport as of December 29, 1989 and individual crossing as of August 8, 1991. The concomitant surge of Hong Kong businessmen and day-trippers into the city resulted in the growth of hair salons, spas, massage parlors, karaoke bars, and “mistress” apartment buildings. Concurrently, Hong Kong commodities introduced Shenzheners to the pleasures of shopping. In 2006, Shenzhen decisively intervened in this landscape on two fronts. First, Shenzhen rounded up and paraded sex workers through the streets of Shazui Village, announcing its intention to crackdown on prostitution within its new urban center.<sup>10</sup> Second, Futian District demolished 17 high-rise apartments that Yunong Village had built next to the checkpoint to make way for officially sanctioned, urban renewal on the Tianmian model (Figure 21.5).



21.5 Illicit futures, anti-drug campaign, Tianmian, 2003.

Moving west from Tianmian, we reach the Citizen Center, which became the political and cultural center of Shenzhen as of May 31, 2004. Construction of the Citizen Center anticipated a new form of Shenzhen dream space: glass high-rises, environmentally friendly buildings, and exquisitely landscaped green space that stretched along 8-lane expressways. To walk from Tianmian to the Citizen Center is to walk through a world where all Shenzhen residents have access to government officials, work white-collar jobs, live in upscale housing, play in clean parks, and relax in shopping malls, and consider ¥RMB 35 cup of coffee to be as cheap as “a side dish”. Moving west, we also see how by grafting “harmonious Shenzhen” onto the dreams of “export manufacturing” Shenzhen, the city presents its global pretensions as if everyone in the city has immediate and easy access to its wealth. “Come,” the city hailed migrants in 2006, “and you are a Shenzhen-er” (Figure 21.6).



21.6 Desired futures, Tianmian city office building, 2007.

Moving north from Shenzhen, we reach the outer districts and *neidi*, China's hinterland, where farmers “wash their feet and leave the paddy”—the first step in their transformation from farmers into floating members of the urban proletariat. Importantly, since its establishment, Shenzhen has been inhabited by two kinds of farmers. Shenzhen's local villagers (or “indigenous residents” as they are now called) were farmers who took advantage of compensatory trade, establishing village industrial parks and building rental properties for the second group of farmers—migrant workers. Consequently, moving north out of Shenzhen, across the decommissioned second line and into Dongguan is to encounter rural spaces in various stages of urbanization. Moving north and further inland, the un-renovated ruins of Bao'an villages are inhabited by Shenzhen's poorest migrants, who cannot be represented by current political categories because they too closely reproduce conditions in “rural China” and not “Shenzhen” (Figure 21.7).



21.7 Discarded futures, Tianmian window convenience shop, 2004.

When we place Tianmian at the nexus of its cardinal points—Dongmen, Hong Kong, Citizen's Center, and *neidi*—we see how different futures have been built into the landscape with respect to different understandings of future possibility. We can also plot different buildings as material expressions of these competing values and implied futures—the free markets of Dongmen, upscale consumerism of Hong Kong, the rational centralism of the Citizen's Center, and the absence of the future in *neidi*. Indeed we see how place names not only orient one in space, but also with respect to shifting access to resources (Figure 21.8).



**21.8** Future extensions. This graph shows future trajectories built into the Shenzhen cityscape, circa 2007. It highlights Tianmian's transitional location between the 1980s Special Zone and 2000s Municipality.

### Baishizhou: Which Future?

Susan Buck-Morss's interpretation of Benjamin's reading of the material culture of Paris in the nineteenth century inspired my exploration of Tianmian and its immediate environs circa 2007, when the city was poised at the cusp of its transition from a manufacturing to a post-industrial city. With the *Arcades Project* Benjamin aimed to create a materialist pedagogy that would allow those of us in the present to awake from our historical slip by excavating the emancipatory potential of the past.<sup>11</sup> This potential was immanent through the inclusion of symbols and forms—such as architectural citations of the agora, for example—that referred to utopian imaginaries of more inclusive societies. I conclude with the suggestion that the multiple futures that converged in Tianmian reveal situated alternatives to the current model of urban development.

Almost immediately after the renovations of Tianmian finished in 2004, Shenzhen finished expropriating village land in its outer districts and passed a series of legislation that made urban village renovation a key component of the city's planned future. Suddenly, the city's imagined future included standardizing its unruly villages. Five years later in 2009, Shenzhen promulgated the Shenzhen Urban Renewal Method encouraging developers to draw-up renovation plans that would bring urban villages into alignment with the city's view of itself as a world city. That year, 93 village renewal projects were approved citywide and caused investment in re-development to triple, jumping from ¥RMB 672.3 million in 2009 to ¥RMB 2.51 billion in 2010.<sup>12</sup>

Unlike earlier versions of Shenzhen's future, the current future disappears the city's working class and its manufacturing past. Post-2009 projects such as the redevelopment of Gangxia<sup>13</sup> and Caiwuwei Villages,<sup>14</sup> for example, as well as renovations of outer district villages, especially along extant and proposed subway lines quickly eclipsed the renovations of Tianmian. Unlike the 2004 model of development, which included at least three classes of housing and locations for mom and pop commercial activities, the post-2009 model entailed massive compensation packages and replacement of the dense, multiuse urban village environment with an upscale, gated community, office buildings, and mall. Indeed, the renovation of Gangxia reputedly created twenty billionaires in a drawn-out negotiation that was staged directly south of the Civic Center, solidifying class antagonisms that had been present, but not dominant in Tianmian style renovations.<sup>15</sup> In the Tianmian renovation, the new village comprised four general areas: high-end commercial, high-end residential, middling commercial and residen-

tial, and low-end commercial and residential. This layout has allowed for a diverse spectrum of residents and livelihoods within the village. In contrast, the redevelopment of Gangxia entailed the construction of high-end commercial and residential buildings. When Gangxia Village was demolished, an estimated 100,000 people were evicted. Only villagers who had equity in the old village received compensation and could afford to move back to the area, while the majority of Gangxia residents relocated to other urban villages that were not as conveniently located.

In retrospect, as high-end developments such as Gangxia have replaced downtown Shenzhen's urban villages, we see that the emancipatory potential of transitional Shenzhen derived not only from mixed-use developments, but also from the way that urban villages accommodated informal, semi-formal, and formal economies. The Tianmian future included rental spaces for working class families and small mom and pop shops, even as the factories were retrofitted as design offices. In contrast, the Gangxia future has been occupied by the financial and commercial elites, with an eye to attracting multi-national capital. Appeals to neo-liberal exclusions in other world cities further buttress this argument. Indeed, mapping Gangxia with respect to its immediate neighbors provides a very different map than did the Tianmian model. East of Gangxia is Shenzhen's Central Park which separates the area from a string of older, not-yet-redeveloped urban villages; South of Gangxia is the recently opened Futian Checkpoint that connects the Shenzhen and Hong Kong subway systems; West of Gangxia is the Coco Park Shopping Mall, and; North of Gangxia is the city's new Citizen's Center. Based on this mapping of Gangxia and in comparison with Tianmian, Shenzhen's future abruptly not only resembles that of the shiny, corporate post-industrial downtowns of New York, London, and Tokyo, but also its "true north" is the Chinese state.

The last urban village scheduled to be redeveloped in Shenzhen's inner districts is Baishizhou, where Tianmian social logics obtain. Formally, the village is connected to the urban water and electrical grids, with state presence via a post-office, two clinics, and three elementary schools. There are Shenzhen based chain stores in Baishizhou, however, individuals rather than state-owned enterprises or multi-nationals run the majority of fresh markets, shops, restaurants and production centers. Start-ups share factory space with logistics companies, car detailing studios, and workshops that assemble small batches of circuit boards to spec as well as hip centers of youth culture—a kendo studio, a hacker space, two micro-breweries, and a bar that has live music. For many Shenzheners, this plethora of entrepreneurial enterprise as well as convenient and low-cost housing represents the op-

portunities that once made Shenzhen a place from which individual futures could be imagined. In Baishizhou and throughout Shenzhen, this kind of small-scale gentrification appears as an alternative and more inclusive future to large-scale redevelopment.

As of March 2014, Baishizhou was slated for Gangxia style renovation and in September 2016 demolition of its western industrial signaled the beginning of its redevelopment, even as Shenzhen began to publicly reconsider demolition as a preferred method of redevelopment.<sup>16</sup>

### Notes

- 1 The futurism of modern China arguably came into being with Sun Yatsen and his revolutionaries, who were inspired by Hong Kong at the end of the nineteenth Century, which represented to them the possibility of the Asian modern in its very material manifestation. There is something about Sun's ideas about self-autonomy and the people's livelihood that was not only manifest throughout Guangdong and Hong Kong during the late Qing and Republican eras, but also evident in the vernacular development of Shenzhen's urban villages. Indeed, as we will see, this form of modernization (and the future it implies) seems destined to be subverted by Gangxia style renovation (Daniel Goh, personal communication).
- 2 See Deborah Brautigam, *China in Africa: The Real Story* (Oxford University Press, 2009) and her eponymous blog for an overview of Chinese infrastructure investment in Africa. For a general introduction to China's growing foreign influence see Lilliana Lorena Avendaño Miranda, "Las Ventajas de la debilidad institucional: Reflexiones sobre la IED China en Africa Subsahariana y America Latina" *Foro Internacional* 53, 2 (2013) 363–96; Lin Cui and Fuming Jiang, "State Ownership Effect on Firms' FDI Ownership Decisions under Institutional Pressure: A Study of Chinese Outward-investing Firms" *Journal of International Business Studies* 43, 3 (2012) 264–84; He Yong and Zhou Hong, "Testing the Asset-seeking Hypothesis: Through the Investments of Chinese and Indian Firms in Europe" *Journal of Economic Integration* 27, 4 (2012) 564–83; Randall Morck, Bernard Yeung and Minyuan Zhao, "Perspectives on China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment" *Journal of International Business Studies* 39, 3 (2008) 337–50; and Peter J. Buckley, Adam R. Cross, Hui Tan, Xin Liu and Hinrich Voss, "Historic and Emergent Trends in Chinese Outward Direct Investment" *MIR: Management International Review* 48, 6 (2008) 715–47.
- 3 In western languages, "Special Economic Zone (经济特区)" is shortened to SEZ. However, in early Shenzhen, "Special Economic Zone" was shortened to "Special Zone (特区)". I have followed the Chinese usage because it highlights Shenzhen's early allure—this was a space where anything was possible.
- 4 For an account of the Shenzhen-Hong Kong isthmus and its role in the formation of Shenzhen, see Mary Ann O'Donnell and Wan Yan, "Shen Kong: *Cui Bono?*" *Border Ecologies: Hong Kong's Mainland Frontier* eds. Joshua Bolchover and Peter Hasdell (Switzerland: Birkhauser, November 2016).
- 5 Jingyi Zhao, "The 51st Edition of the Silver Lake Salon, May 27, 2009 hosted by Xiaoli Shen" *Our Shenzhen, Our City: Proceedings of the Silver Lake Salon* [赵静宜编辑, 我们的深圳] ed., Jingyi Zhao (Beijing: China Economic Publishing House, April 2016), 2–20.
- 6 From roughly 1980 through 2000, township and village enterprises (TVEs) not only facilitated rural urbanization, but arguably jumpstarted the socialist transition, especially in Shenzhen. Assembly manufacturing came into Shenzhen via local relationships rather than official development. Importantly, although TVEs contributed to absolute poverty reduction, nevertheless during these decades rural urbanization and rural-to-urban migration exacerbated spatial inequalities. For discussions of the rise and fall of TVEs and vernacular modernization, see Chris Bramall, *The Industrialisation of Rural China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). For a glimpse into the diversity of futures that have been built and discarded over the past few decades, see Michael Webber, *Making Capitalism in Rural China* (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012).
- 7 The expression "feeling rocks to cross the river (摸着石头过河)" described the uncertainty of the early reform era, while "small happiness (小康)" specified the goals of post-Mao

leaders. Deng Xiaoping pithily characterized the relationship between experimentation and achieving desired results with “cat theory”—“it doesn’t matter if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice (不管黑猫白猫，捉到老鼠就是好猫)”.

- 8 For a detailed discussion of this administrative restructuring and some consequences, see Weiwèn Huang, “The Tripartite Origins of Shenzhen: Beijing, Hong Kong, and Bao’an in Mary Ann O’Donnell, Winnie Wong and Jonathan Bach, eds., *Learning from Shenzhen: China’s Post-Mao Experiment from Experiment to Model City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
- 9 Shenzhen reorganized its neighborhoods and villages into communities (社区) through a protracted process of establishing community centers throughout the city between 2005–2010, and then integrating community and neighborhood offices in 2011. See “Evolving Community Governance of Shenzhen Community Neighborhoods [社会治理演变中的深圳社区居委会]” *people.cn* (Shenzhen) 20 April 2016. <http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2016/0420/c202846-28181193.html>.
- 10 Willa Dong and Yu Cheng, “Sex Work, Migration, and Mental Health in Shenzhen” *Learning from Shenzhen: China’s Post-Mao Experiment from Experiment to Model City* eds. Mary Ann O’Donnell, Winnie Wong and Jonathan Bach (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
- 11 Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Boston: MIT Press, 1989).
- 12 Ying Liu and Yanliu Lin, “Urban Village Social Strata and Urban Power: Evidence from the Renovation of Gangxia [城中村社会分层与城市权利：基于深圳市刚下村改造的实证研究]” *Gangxia Rashomon* [岗厦罗生门] (Shenzhen: ReTumu Institute, 2015), 1–14.
- 13 For a detailed analysis of Gangxia, see the anthology, *Gangxia Rashomon* [岗厦罗生门] (Shenzhen: ReTumu Institute, 2015).
- 14 For a detailed case study of urban renewal in Caiwuwei see, Na Fu, *The Participatory Process of the Urban Village Redevelopment: Case Study in Shenzhen, China* (Master’s Thesis, Texas: Community and Regional Planning, The University of Texas at Austin, May 2014).
- 15 Shi Na and Peng Chao, “The Demolition and Evictions of Gangxia, Shenzhen Created Collective Wealth, Making Ten+ Billionaires [深圳岗厦村拆迁集体暴富，造就十个亿万富豪],” *Shanghai Zhengjuan News* 25 December 2009. <http://news.qq.com/a/20091225/001471.htm>.
- 16 In April 2016, the decision to go forward with the complete demolition of historic Hubei Village in Luohu was met by public protest. A group of concerned professionals and intellectuals called “Hubei 120” successfully intervened in the process, causing the developer, China Resources to pivot on its plan of complete demolition and present an alternative plan that preserved some of the area’s historic features. At this writing, fallout from the “Hubei Event” is still ongoing, with negotiations over what should be preserved and why, as well as who should control the preserved area and toward what ends. Meanwhile, this also came at the same time that the Central Government was rethinking its policy toward urban village redevelopment. Against this larger background, at its 13th 5-year Meeting, the Shenzhen Government proposed a redevelopment plan for urban villages, old industrial parks, and older neighborhoods that emphasized repurposing extant buildings.