“Villages” in Shenzhen

Persistence and Transformation of an Old Social System in an Emerging Mega City

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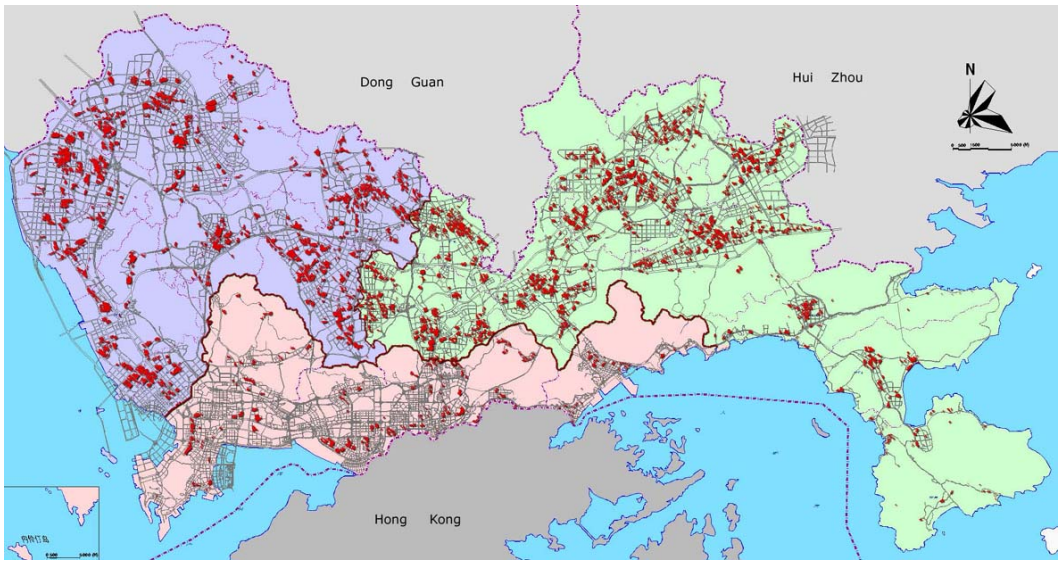
Introduction

"*During the past century, the slow evolution of agriculture, unlike the accelerated progress of industry, gave the impression of reassuring stability and perpetual equilibrium. In contrast with the fever of industrial growth, the dependability of the peasant seemed eternal; the city and its industry absorbed men's energies, but the country continued to nourish bucolic dreams of peaceful happiness, security, and continuity*" (Mendras 1970,4).

Under the effect of surge from urbanization, the urban land of the developed

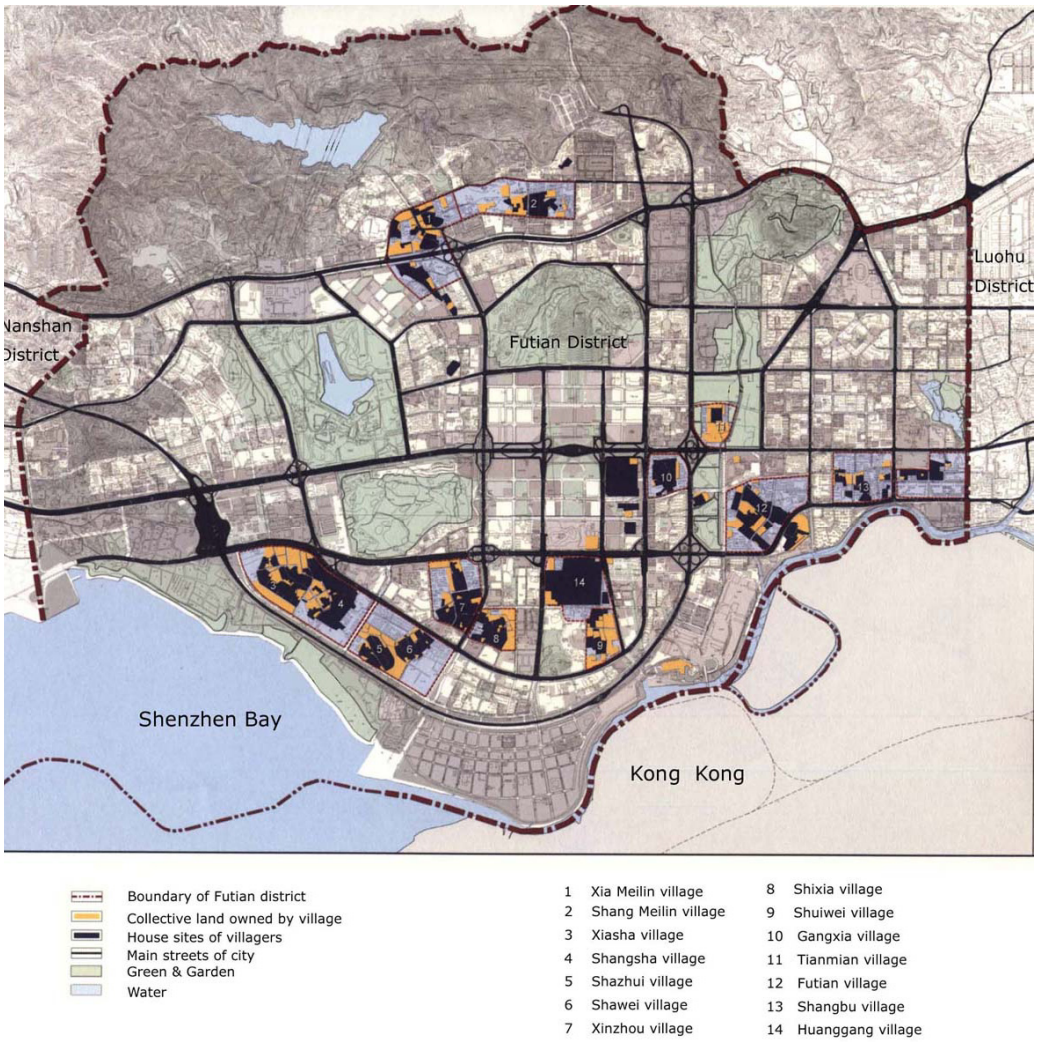


(Source: Urban Planning & Design Institute of Shenzhen)

Figure 0-1: Locations of "villages" in Shenzhen

regions in China expands around at an incredibly fast speed. Large area of farmland and thousands of villages in mere twenty years disappeared and were replaced by concrete high-rise buildings. The strong urban expansion can instantly swallow the farmland and villages, and quickly make the layout and sight of villages change. As a result it unnecessarily makes the villages with long history dissolve and melt during the transition. Even though under the certain conditions, the villages will regain unprecedented developing space and subsistence of vitality during the process of urbanization. This vitality is embodied not only in the transition of industries and occupations, but also in the informal conversional process

of role of former villagers. The social transforming background mentioned above provides the most important base for the inspiration and enlightenment of my study.



(Source: Research Group of Futian District in Shenzhen 2005)

Figure 0-2: Locations of "villages" in Futian District

(Source: “Die Stadt der Mädchen” *Der Spiegel.* 2005, 6:60)

Plate 0-1: A “village” in Shenzhen

This dissertation focuses on the most prevalent social fact in the China’s urbanization process - the phenomena of "villages",[1] and specifically puts more emphasis on typical "villages” in Shenzhen (*Figures 0-1 and 0-2, Plate 0-1*). My living and working area is located in the Southern city of China - Shenzhen (*Figure 0-3*), and "villages"[2] in Shenzhen is a widely discussed topic. Shenzhen is the

[1] Villages plus double quotes means that “villages” in Shenzhen now are different from the original rural villages, only borrowing the name. The actual meaning has changed greatly.

[2] The conception of “village” in city here is different from the concept of “slums”. The slums puzzle the west countries since 19th century and last for more than one century. Currently these slums mainly concentrate on developing countries, especially South America, south-east Asia and other over-urbanization regions and countries. “villages” in city in substance are different from the slums, including the following three points: 1. “Village” in city is constructed on the house sites of original villages by villagers, but slums are completely constructed by the floating populations and take up public lands of the cities; 2. “Village” in city is a village community based on consanguinity, clan, earthbound relations, folk beliefs, traditional regulations and other deep configuration of social relations and it possesses cohesion of blood and historical ascription of traditional villages; relatively, the slum is provisional and stochastic, and constantly changed its locations with the reconstructions by the governments; 3. To some degree, “village” in city has already formed social, economic system, as an effectively operated “unit” adapting to the need of market. Collective Economy of village based on collective joint-stock company as management institution, roundly takes

(Source: Shenzhen Municipal Government)

Figure 0-3: Map of Shenzhen city

fastest growing city in the whole Pearl River Delta Region concerning economy development. Shenzhen's national gross product in the year 1980 was no more than 1950 million, and by the year 2003, this number sharply increased to 286 billion, while the urban construction area was predicted to increase from 2 km^2 in the year 1978 to 480 km^2 by the year 2010.[3] In the process of over-speeding

charge with the matter of community, which forms integrated basic facilities and system of maintenance and serve villagers and lessees (Wei Lihua, Yan Xiaopei 2005). Here "village" in city is a special urban fringe. In 1936, H. Louts studied regional structure of Berlin from urban morphological aspect, and then found that, original land located in urban fringe was swallowed continually and became parts of urban land. He firstly gave the definition of "urban fringe", and pointed out its distinctions of space, dwelling types, service facilities, compared to those of urban land. "Village" in Shenzhen is located in center of the city, since Shenzhen was developed from a small fish village (Liu Hongtao, Yang Kaizhong, Feng Changchun 2005, 3f).

[3] The statistics are from *China Statistical Yearbook 2004*.

expansion of cities, many villages with large population of villagers are quickly surrounded by the ever-expanding cities (*Figure 0-4*). Driven by the force of interest maximization, the phenomena of dense "village" buildings that strike for the maximum use of construction space and issues behind these phenomena make "villages" not a so comfortable topic for the government and the public. Instead, it consists of a kind of heaviness and disgrace, maybe even some negativeness and helplessness in such heaviness.

Acting as the object of this study, "villages" in fact derive gradually from natural villages and marginal villages. While describing the horizontal and historical clues of the transformation of “villages” in the urbanization of Shenzhen, this paper also compares homogeneity and differences of the built-in structure between the original natural villages and "villages" in the modern cities undergoing rapid city transformation from Chairman Mao period to current time. On the other hand, while presenting the contradiction and conflicts between expanding modern cities and the traditional villages, this paper also analyzes the reason behind the establishment and transformation of such idiosyncratic space, through the analysis of differences with modern cities.

The unique view of "villages" can hardly harmonize to the surroundings in cities. However, "villages" and the cities they rely on have very close relationship. The most obviously evident to this kind of relationship is the existence of house-renting market and the massive floating population. On one hand, Shenzhen is a city with

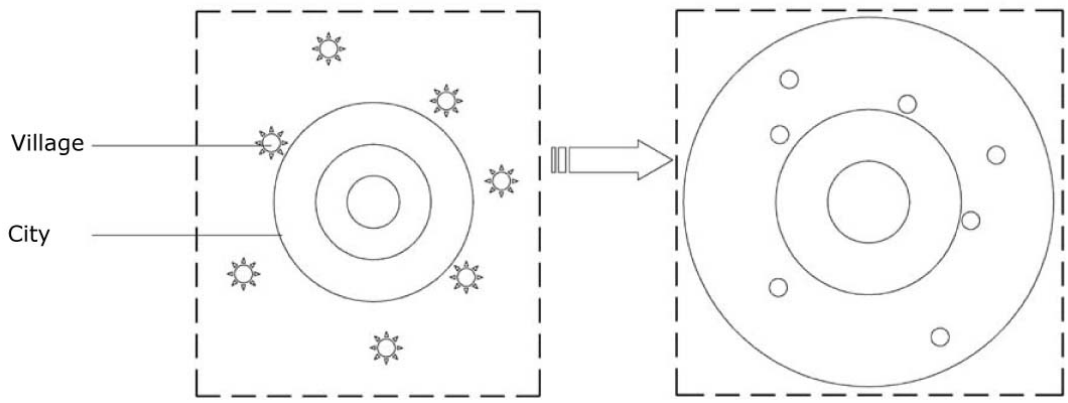


Figure 0-4: The sketch map shows villages swallowed up by cities

substantial floating population who generate strong need of rental houses; on the other hand, villagers have the land use right of house sites, which enables them to build private houses on the house sites. Consequently these private houses become the corresponding strong supply in the stimulating rental-house market. In "villages", each villager owns at least one private house and the ground floor or second floor reserved for own use while other floors are for rent. In the dynamic balance of demand and supply, "village" attracts large number of floating population (*Plates 0-2 and 0-3*). Now, almost every "village" is housing a non-local population that is many times of the local population. Such "village" raises a range of problems that relate to the entering of massive floating population, such as short-term behaviour of floating population, difficult management and high crime rate. As a result, while villagers who live by rent in the "village" are called "*Ershizhu*" (the offspring of original villagers), the "villages" are considered to be dirty and the "origin of evil" responsible for urban problems in the public mind.

Plate 0-2: Airscape of Huang Beiling Village

Plate 0-3: One alley in Huang Beiling Village

At the same time, in order to cooperate with the government to regulate and transform such "villages", the mass media play an important role in publicizing these "villages" and related problems. The government media *Shenzhen Special Zone Daily* had made a series of reports about problems and the dark side of these "villages". From the viewpoint of mass media, "villages" are the reproduction of "hell of evil". Drugs, thieves, robbers are prevalent and underground factories (referring to those non-registered business units, such as family workshops that undertaking secret producing and selling activities, privately or collectively undertaking producing activities that have not been proved by the government) are everywhere, and fake products or products of poor quality are also astonishing. All these add up to the reputation of "world outside laws" for these "villages". Those true or semi-true stories that happen in "villages" become the "fixed" awareness and memories in the public mind after refining by the media. Public awareness of "villages" is mainly from such intentional and multi-dimensional propagandas that cooperate with government's renovation on these villages. “Dirty, disorder and bad" is the most eye-catching label for the current "villages", and buildings in such "villages" are "buildings of crap" (*Plates 0-4 and 0-5*).

Plate 0-4: One alley in Shangsha Village

Plate 0-5:The Children playing in Shangsha Village

In fact, the disharmony in landscapes between "villages" and urban surroundings, the social dirtiness contained in such "villages" and the "imputation" process of "villages" driven by the media will finally fall on and reflect on a single question, that is, the question of the objective existence of "villages". As a result, no matter what public awareness of "village" is and what social comment about "village" is, getting closer "reality" knowledge only by placing it into the field studies.[4]

After the field study in the "villages" in Shenzhen, however, my opinions on the phenomena of "villages" are different with the viewpoints of the mass media.

Based on these thinking I will put on such hypothesis: This study indicates that urban corporate community[5] has become a unique field on which rights and interests of a special community -"villager" that have entered into city life - are highly

[4] Field study is also called study on the spot, which deeply goes into living background. The researchers normally select materials by participating, observing and carrying on interviews on the spot. Moreover, qualitative analyses focus on understanding and explaining phenomena. The outstanding advantage of field study relies on its straightforward and reliability, which can afford abundant first-hand materials that embody the kernel of "micro-sociological study".

[5] Urban corporate community is a central concept that relates to the logical and social existence of "villages" in Shenzhen, more clarification on the concept of urban corporate community, see *1.2 Concepts of Villages in Shenzhen*, in *1 Study Background*.

relied. It becomes the reliance for the existing of such community as well as for the realization of county-urban harmonization. What needs special emphasis is that, under the great contrast of gaming powers between the big government and the disadvantaged villagers, this unique community, embodying the operational logic such group, is becoming the most convenient intermediate and "bridge" on which the "local villagers" gradually transform to city dwellers, "rural community" turns into "urban community" and becomes a "new type of social space" in the process of urbanization. During the reconstruction of “villages” in Shenzhen recently, the government should adopt “soft reconstruction” rather than “hard reconstruction”, in order to preserve and protect social system and cultural heritage within the “villages”, and gradually make the coordinative development of “great tradition” represented by cities and of “little tradition” represented by “villages”.

Urban corporate community possesses such important practical rationality, then how to explain the "abnormality" in its appearance? How to preserve and protect the valuable rationality of urban corporate community and achieve the realization of county-urban harmonization in the recent reconstruction process? Those will be described and explained primarily in the following chapters of the dissertation.

1 Study Background

1.1 Concepts of Villages in China

1.1.1 Traditional Villages in China

Stability, isolation, shared values and multi-layer social relation were the main characteristics of traditional village society. Firstly, the traditional village was a relatively stable society, with gradual modification in its structure, social relation, ecology and technical environment. Secondly, compared with outside environment in economy and politics, traditional villages tended to be relatively isolated. Villagers were highly independent in economy. When Philip Huang described pre-liberated China, he said, "*…even in the 1930's, all but the most highly commercialized villages of the North China plain were still relatively insular communities. Villagers had minimal social intercourse with outsiders, and village affairs were governed largely by endogenous leasers, despite the state's repeated attempts to bring the countryside under its administrative control*" (Huang 1985, 219). But he neither negated the fact that they did take part in the market competition nor meant that the village was completely separated from the outside world. Market fairs in the middle of certain districts, where villagers sold self-produced agricultural produce and exchanged daily goods and production facilities, were the main sites where they could communicate with outside world. Most of the fairs were also used to hold temple fairs. On one hand, fairs, as a junction of district social relation, were the place where villagers could widen their communication room and join district activities. On the other hand, as a centre of gathering and distributing district materials, fairs melt villagers' production life into part of a large market; it was the start of agricultural produce and handicraft's entrance into a higher market system, and the final of external product 's entrance in the country. Thirdly, that every villager getting to know other members' history and current situation reflected the small size of the village. Villagers understood each other, communicated face to face and passed down this custom by

generations. Fourthly, traditional villages represented many shared values (value of family, morality and justice, religion, etc.), and their corresponding organizations (clan structures, temples, politic institutions).

The same behaviour and shared values found in Bali maintained by religious faith and rituals could not guarantee a successful collective behaviour, but they could help to punish behaviour that had violated collective values and enhance the drive to guarantee collective behaviour. *"The ceremonial system provided a general coordinating frame within which the subaks could regulate their work without intensive applications of coercive power from a centralized state, but it did not in itself resolve the day-to-day problems of adjustment which inevitably arose within that frame…The number of these 'customary laws' was extremely great, and their content varied widely from place to place"* (Geertz 1980, 82f). At last, traditional villages' social relation was multi-layered, for villagers had multi-layered social relations, such as clan relation, religious faith, mutual-benefit economy affairs, politic tradition, successful experiences of collective behaviour, closed relation between neighbours, etc. Village leaders managed the country with the help of resourceful internal network, faithfully and responsibly.

Generally, there are two kinds of typologies in Chinese traditional settlements: traditional cities and traditional villages. Villages are basic type of settlement units, in which people settle together in immobile and clear-boundary region for long terms. Moreover the people are mainly engaged in agricultural productions.

More importantly, Chinese traditional villages fully embody and reflect the integral conceptions of "harmonies between nature and mankind."

1.1.1.1 Spatial Characteristics of Chinese Traditional Villages

Rural settlement form, usually referred to the term "physical environment," is normally taken to be the spatial pattern of large, inert, permanent physical objects in a city: buildings, streets, utilities, hills, rivers, perhaps the trees. To these objects are attached a miscellany of modifying terms, referring to their typical use, or their quality, or who owns them. A good settlement should be an open one: accessible, decentralized, diverse and adaptable. In detail, including four rudimental

elements as following:

(1) Vitality

The degree of the settlement form supports the vital functions, the biological requirements and capabilities of human beings. An environment that benefits to health, good ecological functions and existence of life-forms is composed by three important characters:

(a) Sustenance

Sustenance is affected by the physical systems of supply and disposal, the density of occupation relative to sources, the location of settlements, the effect of buildings and landscape on air environment, and the way space, soil and vegetation are conserved and are adapted to produce the required supplies. Crop lands, greenhouses, soil conservation, managed forest, sewer systems, wells, coal mines, stream control, interior ventilation, food markets, aqueducts, latrines, and site dispositions are some of the spatial devices used to achieve this.

(b) Safety

A good settlement is one in which hazards, poisons and diseases are absent or controlled. In order to reach the targets, there are some specific aspects should be paid attention to, such as the pollutions of air, water and foods; management of poisonous substances; control of diseases and infections; prevention of accidents, control of violence, and prevention of flood, earthquake and other disasters.

(Source: www.etownc.com, 17th, August 2004)

Plate 1-1: The sunken courtyard carved into the earth in Shanxi Province

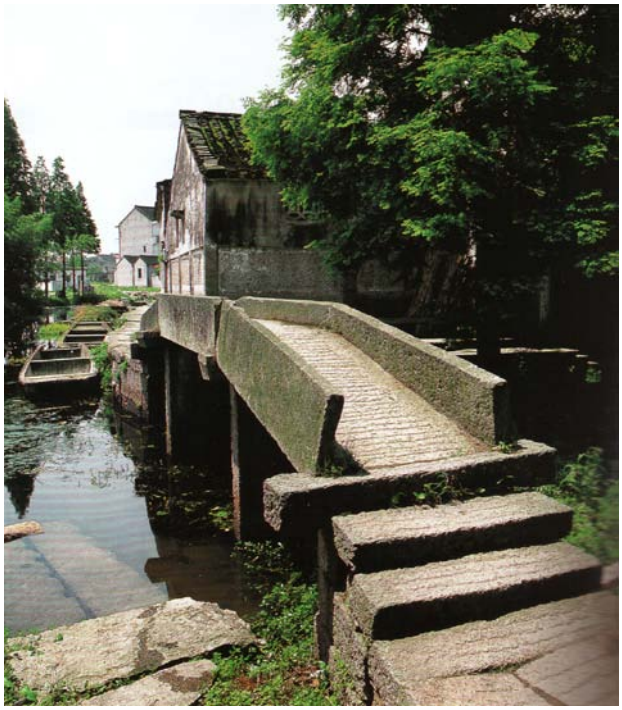
(c) Consonance

Consonance embodies the degree of harmony between environment and human, such as temperature, physiological rhythms, feelings and functions of body. The traditionally regional characteristics make the villages in different regions present diverse cultural connotations. Furthermore, climate, geography, local materials and other natural characteristics endow the layout and architectural styles with distinct identities (*Plates 1-1, and 1-2*). Generally, "blocking out" is spatial character existed in folk houses of the Han nationality in China. In spite of this, "openness" did exist in settlements of minority in faraway mountain lands.

(2) Sense

Sense is the degree to which the settlement can be clearly perceived and mentally differentiated and structured in time and space by its residents and the degree to which that mental structure connects to their values and concepts- the match between environment, our sensory and mental capabilities, and our cultural constructs.

"The simplest form of feeling is identity… Identity is the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places- as having a vivid, or unique, or at least a particular, character of its own" (Lynch 1981, 130). Some important and distinct basic feelings could be accepted commonly by most of villagers. The same basic feelings come from common structures of physiology and skills of cognition. Common cultural temperaments come from the same group who



(Source: Dong Jiancheng 2003)

Plate 1-2: An ancient bridge in Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province

are used to use certain space. Normally, the feelings in some sites are stronger, but weaker in other sites.

For example, the square in front of the temple is the place where worshippers gathered before and after the service and where processions were organised and mystery plays performed. The environments of villages are media of communication and interconnection, which embody explicit and ambiguous symbols, such as greens, banners, porticos, roves and balusters. Above-mentioned come into being of feeling and largely outcomes of society as a whole. It is not recognizable for outsiders who are not familiar with the connotation of local culture. Generally, a good settlement makes people understand well the community, their past, social networks, and the world of time and space, by through felicitous methods studying about culture and human. These symbols are not only the outcomes of specific cultures, but also common experiences expressing the living.

(3) Fit

It is the degree to which the form and capacity of spaces, channels, and equipment in a settlement match the pattern and quality of actions that people customarily engage in, or want to engage in-that is, the adequacy of the behaviour settings, including their adaptability to future action.

For instance, movement in traditional Chinese villages was largely by foot and transport of goods was by pack animal, hence the street patterns were dictated by the quickest route from market place to the gate in the wall, and the most convenient routes to the pedestrian. The result was a complex pattern of little irregular lanes which united public and private spaces, temple, and market place. There are no formal communication patterns, but rather a web of organically evolved lanes. Later, narrow passageways would form off the street, providing access to minor streets or

(Source: www.nanfangdaily.com.cn)

Plate 1-3: One narrow passage way

courtyards (*Plate 1-3*). Normally, passageways form a fishbone pattern. There was also a tendency for buildings to encroach over the streets with bridges or upper floors projecting out over the street. The resulting scene was informal, organic and full of surprises, which produces its charm.

Of course, except for former landmarks, historical spaces have preservative values only when their maintenance charges are lower than those paid for copying original ones, which is to say, if the existence of historical space could not satisfy the activities by effective fashions, it will be dismantled. Or else, there are no other meanings, except that historical spaces become more and more distinct.

(4) Accessibility

It is the ability to reach other persons, activities, resources, services, information, or places, including the quantity and diversity of the elements. To some degree, an ideal settlement can be imaged as central regions by which people can get large numbers of goods, service and other group of people.

The market place was the most important public space in Chinese traditional villages. Unlike the narrow streets, which soon lost their functional usefulness, in many cases the market place was large and flexible enough to survive today. Three types of market place were created: firstly, where the market occupies a square to itself, normally located at or near the center; secondly, where it occurs as the widening of the main street; thirdly, as squares at the main gate. In most cases the market square was of an irregular shape, many-sided, and seemed to be formed accidentally, because the function of the buildings surrounding the square took precedence and the open space was the residual space.

1.1.1.2 Relationship between Settlements of Villages and Environment

The surrounding environment of Chinese settlements of villages can be roughly categorized into three typologies, such as natural, social and cultural environment. The effects on the settlements of villages by all kinds of environmental factors focus on the distributing location, typologies of settlements, scale and structural forms.

(1) Effects on traditional settlements of villages from social aspects

Family is basic unit of Chinese society, which is effected by ideology, political systems, ethics, kinship and customs, and other physical elements. In emperor society, agricultural production took up very important role. Rural residents, forming the great majority of the Chinese population, were tightly bound up with the lands, increasing gradually in quantity and engaging into agricultural productions by generations. In order to cultivate conveniently, they settled down near the lands. Gradually residual farm produce could be exchanged, and then handicraft industry and business broke away from agricultural productions, and country markets emerged.

The villages based on agriculture gradually evolved into towns after handicraft production and functions of commodity exchanges emerged. Country markets could not satisfy the requirements of some points with prosper economy and convenient traffic; streets emerged in order for people to make commodity exchanges on more regular and immobile basis. Shops would be set up along the streets and all kinds of commercial activities happened intensively here. Owning to afford conveniences to commodity exchanges, teahouses, restaurants, hotels appeared step by step, then prompted and enlarged the communicate fields of people.

(2) Effects on traditional settlements of villages from cultural conceptions aspect (patriarchal clan systems, ethics and moralities)

Clan and kinship hold the relation of villagers together since relations of families form traditional villages. From the spatial layout aspect, normally public activity centre mainly made of ancestral hall as core is put in the centre of villages (*Plate 1-4*). Important matters such as ancestor worship, litigation and fes-

Plate 1-4: Ancestral hall locates in the center of buildings

tivals are organized here (*Plate 1-5*). Ancestral hall becomes political, cultural and spirit centre. It is very widespread phenomenon that setting up torii at the main entrance of a village. Recently, torii still takes up very important role as indicator of glory of clan in the sub-consciousness of villagers. Meanwhile, torii is also the indicator of boundary from geographical aspect and the psychological boundary point of villagers, in order to distinguish inside and outside of village. From this sense, it strengthens the feeling of site and embodies the conceptions of clan and community as solidarity.

Kinship is the primary factor determining the forms of settlements. As early as primitive society, rudiment of villages had already emerged based on the relation of blood, which passed through slave society and emperor society, conceptions of clan became more and more stable, strengthened and accelerated by the successive relation of property.

(Source: www.jmnews.com.cn)

Plate 1-5: Indoor scene of ancestral hall

Members of a kinship live and breed in self-boundary field generation after generation. They will solidify together and resist the attack from other kinships, for the sake of safety and development themselves. Therefore, the cohesion inward the kinship boosts up gradually and scale of kinship will also be enlarged, yet excessively inflated population and gigantic areas of villages will bring out many conveniences and conflicts inside the clan, which will induce the large villages into split in the end. Up to now, the conception of kinship has far-ranging and profound influence on the villages. Moreover, settlements as kinship are still the usual forms existed in Chinese villages.

(3) Effects on traditional settlements of villages from natural aspect

Colourful forms and styles of rural scenery result from geography, climate, society, economy and culture synthetically. In early days, limited labour forces and economic power made it impossible for the villagers to reconstruct the terrain, and they had to concede to the natural environments, thus tried to adapt to the geo-

graphical conditions. For instance, most of the houses in mountainous districts were made of stone and other local materials, and then forming distinct appearance of settlements. In southern China, the villages settled by fishers generally were near the rivers. The houses of fishers were constructed along waterside, some even put on the water.

1.1.2 Urbanization in China

1.1.2.1 Development periods of urbanization in China

Urbanization is a historic transformation process by which the means of production and people's lifestyles evolve from the country to the city. Urbanization is not simply a process in which farmers move to cities. Rather, it is a complex process that not only requires co-development with industries and the entire economic system but also needs to be compatible with the conditions of employment, security, education, medical insurance, environmental protection and infrastructure.

In general, cities in China have gone through four distinct phases of expansion, contraction, stagnation, and explosion over the past five decades.

(1) Initial growth of cities and urbanization (1949-1961)

The initial period lasted from 1949 to 1961 and was characterized by a rapid increase of the number of cities and urban population. When the CCP took power in 1949, there were 132 cities with an urban population (defined as non-agricultural population in the city proper) of 27.4 million. Half of the cities were located in the eastern coast, which is more than the sum of those in the central and western regions. The rehabilitation and reconstruction of the national economy after the civil war greatly facilitated the pace of industrialization and urban development. The 156 key construction projects financed by the central government during the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957) provided great impetus to the expansion of existing cities and creation of new cities, most of them were located in the Northeast and North China (Lin 1999). By the end of the First Five Year Plan in 1957, the number of designated cities dramatically increased from 132 in 1949 to 176. Unfortunately, this gave rise to unrealistic estimation, mismanagement of the

economy, and a development fever as the state under Mao launched the Great Leap Forward campaign to "catch up the US and overtake the UK in fifteen years". The idea essentially followed a large scale military action mobilizing all available resources to make a once–for-all developmental strike so that China could break out of the vicious cycle of poverty and backwardness (Eckstein 1977; Lin 1997a). The spatial outcome of this enormous campaign was a drastic growth of the number of cities from 176 in 1957 to 208 in 1961, reaching the climax for all years until 1980. At the same time, urban population expanded from 54 to 69 million.

(2) Reduction of cities and de-urbanization (1962-1965)

The Great Leap Forward campaign turned out to be a great disaster. Economic mismanagement, natural catastrophes, and ideological dispute with the former Soviet Union in the early 1960s combined to result in tragic casualty of 15 to 30 million people. This was followed by a period of economic readjustment beginning in 1962 when a large number of cites previously established were eliminated from the list of state budgetary allocation and the excessive urban population were either deported or "sent down" (*Xiafang*) to the countryside. During the years of 1961-1965, the number of cities dropped from 208 to 168, urban population declined from 69 to 66 million, and its percentage in the total population reduced from 10.5 to 9.2 percent. This period appeared to fit the pattern of de-urbanization identified by Murray and Szelenyi (1984) and Chen and Parish (1996).

(3) Stagnation and under-urbanization (1966-1977)

The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution that lasted from 1966 to 1976 was a period of revolutionary upheavals, power struggles, and domestic turmoil. In an attempt to relief the population pressure for urban employment and dissolve the destructive energy of the young revolutionary "Red Guards", Mao launched the campaign of "up to the mountains and down to the villages" (*Shangshan xiaxiang*) by which an estimated 12-17 million urban educated youths were forced to move out of the cities to resettle in rural villages or remote areas (Bernstein 1977; Ma 1977). Urban cadres, university professors, school teachers, artists, musicians, medical doctors, and other professionals in cities were also "sent down" (*Xiafang*)

to the countryside to toughen their body and purify their soul. In the meantime, rapid industrialization based on a selected number of cities continued to be seen as essential to the expansion of military capacity and maintenance of national security. The result has been a rather unique pattern of industrialization without a parallel growth of urbanization (Ma and Hanten 1981; Kirkby 1985; Cannon 1990; Chan 1994). During the ten years of 1966-1976, only 17 additional cities were designated, among which 16 were located in the central and western regions perceived to be strategically less vulnerable to potential military attack. Urban population in cities grew from 67 to 74 million, but its proportion in the total population dropped from 9 to 8 percent. The level of urbanization[1]slightly declined from 17.9 to 17.4 percent (Ma and Cui 1987; Chan 1994). This pattern remained unchanged until institutional changes were initiated in the late 1978.

(4) Accelerated growth and rapid urbanization (1978-present)

The final and recent period since 1978 has been characterized by a rapid surge of the number of designated cities as a result of both relaxation of state control over city designation and the operation of spontaneous forces of market reforms and globalization. The transition of power from the Maoist plan-ideological into the post-Mao market-regulatory regime has ushered in a new development strategy that values efficiency over equity, individual creativity over collectivism, and regional comparative advantages over defence or ideological consideration (Fan 1995 and 1997; Lin 1997b). Recognition of the inherent economic comparative advantages of the cities, particularly those along the eastern coast, has led the government to set up four Special Economic Zones[2] in 1979 and designate 14 coastal open cities in 1984. The cities along with the two coastal provinces of Guangdong and Fujian were given greater autonomy to attract foreign investment and practice free market forces. They were seen as catalysts of development, pioneers of

[1] It is defined as the proportion of the aggregate population in cities and towns in the total population.

[2] The four Special Economic Zones established in 1979 included Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen. In 1988, Hainan Island, previously part of Guangdong Province, was designated as the fifth and largest Special Economic Zone (Yeung and Hu, 1992; Wu, 1999).

economic reforms, and centers of modernizations (Yeung and Hu 1992; Pannell 1992; Wu 1999). This new development strategy has created an environment favourable to the growth of cities. At the same time, the adoption of an output-link agricultural production responsibility system in the countryside has greatly raised productivity and released a large number of surplus rural labourers. De-collectivization has allowed a growing marketization of the agricultural sector and spontaneous industrialization of the countryside. Agricultural restructuring and rural industrialization have led numerous towns to flourish and mushroom all over the country. Rural development at lower levels has provided tremendous impetus for the upgrading of towns into cities and expansion of small cities.

In the process of the Reform and Opening Up in China, cities have experienced great changes, compared with the previous Maoist era (1949-1976) when the state emphasized national agricultural production and heavy industry. Reform policies beginning in 1978 rearranged the national space economy in favor of rapid development in the coastal cities and regions. After at least three decades of substantially stagnation of infrastructural improvement, especially in the coastal south, cities have been subjected to widespread and rapid redevelopment. By the late 1980s and into the 1990s, many major cities, particularly Shenzhen, erupted into centers of high-rise buildings. The result of reform was reflected in the concentrated capital investment in real estate development promoted by the urban land reforms, which have stimulated commercial redevelopment in the central city. As a result, the habitable environment of cities in China have changed dramatically and urban areas have substantially enlarged. From 1978 to 2003, the number of cities increases from 193 to 660 and urban population increases from 170 million to 520 million.[3]

The processes of urbanization and the scale of land development in China have resulted in the construction of entirely new urban districts and, in some cases, entirely new cities (*Tables 1-1, and 1-2*). The urban land reforms, which created a market of long-term land leases, have propelled this trend: Land in central business districts now demands higher rents and urban land uses have correspondingly

[3] The statistics are from *China Statistical Yearbook 2004.*

shifted to high-value commercial service industries, especially business services and hotels. New large-scale development projects, such as industrial and high-technology zones, have also generally been located in the suburbs of major cities and often on adjacent low-cost agricultural land that municipalities have transferred from rural to urban land-use in order to expand the municipality land and obtain additional rents. The creation of the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) exemplified this strategy and Shenzhen was the city in which the urban land-use lease system was pioneered.

Table 1-1: The number of expropriated land in Chinese cities (1994-2002)

City	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Beijing	12.9	9.8	9.8	0.42	0.15	0.15	1.83	75	36
Jilin	7.5	27.1	6.43	1.52	2.89	17.87	12.17	34.23	12.66
Guangdong	163.5	100.3	177.28	113.65	64.38	12.18	10.62	24.92	49.83
Total area of expropriated land (km^2)	760.7	594.8	488.03	418.77	515.54	340.47	448.95	740.1	1040.63
Total area of constructed land (km^2)	17939.5	19264.2	20214.2	20791.3	21379.6	21524.4	22113.6	24026.63	25972.55
The proportion between expropriated land & constructed land	4.24%	3.09%	2.41%	2.01%	2.41%	1.58%	2.03%	3.56%	4.01%

(Source: Chinese Urban Constructional Statistical Annals (1994-2002))

Table 1-2: The area of urban land in China (1994-2002)

Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Total area of urban land (km^2)	17939.5	19264.2	20214.2	20791.3	21379.6	21524.4	22113.6	24026.63	25973

(Source: Chinese Urban Constructional Statistical Annals (1994-2002))

1.1.2.2 The Three-dimensional Types of Urbanization in China

(1) Top-to-bottom type urbanization

This type of urbanization features in: massive rural population who no longer engage in the primary sector of industry leave the rural area and flood into cities to engage in the secondary or tertiary sector of industry. Its main impetuses are the development of urban economy, the great attraction and radiation of city to villages. Under the macroscopic background of planning economy, the central government developed several cities according to city development strategies and social economic developing plans, controlled the development of city and town by dualistic residency management, and planned food provision and welfare-oriented public housing distribution regulations. Currently China is at the economic transformation stage.

In this stage, regulations forming the wall between rural area and urban area basically disappear and lands requisitioned by the state are playing an important role in the supply of land for urban construction.

(2) Bottom-to-top type urbanization

It utilizes the surplus labour forces from rural area to develop non-agricultural production and the main impetuses are the development of rural economy. The basic objects of "bottom to top" urbanization are the rural community government, or non-governmental forces such as township enterprises, families or even individuals. Under the market mechanism, it is mainly initiated and organized by the main economic interest bodies in villages or towns.

(3) Urbanization driven by foreign investment

In the Pearl River Delta Region where Shenzhen city locates, foreign investments that focus on labour-intensive industry lead the transformation of economic structure from agriculture to industry.

At the same time, these investments create great need for low-skill labour forces and thus attract massive surplus labour forces from rural area. The urbanization in Shenzhen is different from the urbanization and industrialization in South Jiangsu Province in China which is based on developing township enterprises

and non-agricultural production. Also it is different from the urbanization mode in Wenzhou region, which is based on developing individual and private economy by individual business establishment and operations to promote rural urbanization. Villagers are almost excluded from the urbanization and industrialization process in Shenzhen. They join in this process only by providing land and workshop and production materials that gained by the deposit of land utility transfer. They do not join in this process from occupation and employment, and thus their living patterns are not completely urbanized but still preserve a lot of traditional rural elements. Shenzhen experiences rural economy transformation, agricultural land urban transformation and villager non-agriculturalization in the process of urbanization.

1.1.3 Current "Villages" in China

Accompanying with the accelerated urbanization process, the number of these "villages" increases every day in towns and counties where urbanization levels are relatively high, and this phenomena spread all over the country. According to a Guangzhou newspaper *South Weekly's Report* (31, 10, 2002), Xi'an city has 417 "villages", with a population of 0.42 million; Taiyuan city has 75 "villages", involving 0.12 million people (*Table 1-3*).

Table 1-3: The number of "villages" in partial cities in China

Name of city	Location	Number of "villages" in city
Guangzhou	East of China	139
Shenzhen	East of China	304[4]
Hangzhou	East of China	60
Shaoxing	East of China	45
Shi Jiazhuang	Middle of China	45
Xi'an	West of China	417
Taiyuan	West of China	75

[4] By 31st, October 2004, all the registered permanent residents changed into city dwellers norminationally, and the former collective-owned land has been nationalized. Shenzhen thus became China's first city without any nominal villages and villagers.

In order to further clarify the way of thinking and contents, I will define some key concepts.

(1) Concepts of "villages"

After Reform and Opening-up of China, in some developed areas and cities, urban land expands sharply due to surging city construction and fast urbanization. As a result, villages and farmland previously located in suburbs are brought in the urban land scope. These areas have built-in structures and maintain some characteristics of traditional villages. They are a kind of system resulting from two forces in the high-speed development of cities: traditional and modern. On one hand, the traditional and original structure of village-county system is gradually broken and changes into a new type of space and area in city; On the other hand, it strikes to maintain a social culture and space structure inherited from tradition and generated another "heterogeneous form" of urban social space. The property of most farmland has changed from "socialist collective ownership" to "ownership by the whole people", but rural land returns to villagers in the process of land acquisition and former villagers' own-use land/hill remain "socialist collective ownership". The major function of this land is used for habitation and the communities of the habitation are called "villages".

"Villages" are not only a form of habitation, but also a social formation. It is the residential area (consisting of land, buildings and other factors) of the original local villagers that is in the process of fast urbanization. These villagers settle down with their social relationship and have no chance to participate in the new urban economy specialization and overall industrial arrangement. They still depend on land or land attachment for living and rely on primary relationship (earthbound relations and blood relationship) to shape "vil-

(Source: Dieter Hassenpflug 2003)

Plate 1-6: Mature type of “village”

lage" instead of relying on secondary relationship (business relationship and contract relationship).

(2) Types of "villages"

Some scholars had done research on the classification of "villages". Zheng Jing[5] had divided the historical process of "villages" transformation in Guangzhou city into four stages, and each stage corresponds with a "villages" category:

1) Rural settlement stage;

2) Semi-"village": It is situated in the contractual stage between city and village;

3) "Village": It is situated in the conflict stage between city and village;

4) "Village" collapses: It is situated in the stage of urbanization.

Li Lixun classified "villages" into three categories considering the spatial location, education level and relationship with urban land utilization and other factors:

1) Mature type (mature "villages"): Located in the area of established urban constructions, near the central city area and surrounded by urban land (*Plate 1-6*);

2) Growing type ("villages" in development): Located on the edge of established urban construction and between cities and villages (*Plate 1-7*);

(Source: www.nanfangdaily.com.cn)

Plate 1-7: Growing type of "village"

[5] Although their study objects mainly focus on the "villages" in Guangzhou, the resources could be used for reference to the "villages" in Shenzhen, since the "villages" in Shenzhen have similar characters with those in Guangzhou (Zheng Jing 2002; Li Peilin 2002).

3) Budding type ("villages" come into being): Located on the outside skirt of established urban construction but within the development planning area, where the cities begin to invade villages (*Plate 1-8*). Among these types, the mature type of "villages" has the highest degree of besiegement by the cities; they reflect the characteristics of village's termination to the maximum level. At the same time, they reflect the operating mechanism of corporate community in the process of full and complete scale urbanization. Thus this type becomes the most typical "villages", and "villages" in this research refer to this type except special notice.

(Source: www.shenzheninfo.gov.cn)

Plate 1-8: Budding type of "village"

(3) Characteristics of "villages"

1) Spatial forms and inner functions have great contrast with the surrounding environment: firstly, in the process of industrial structure changing from first industry to the second Industry, the planning of these fast developing areas falls back, and with loose planning management and improper policy guiding, the functions of village land get mixed up: residential/ industrial land and business land weaving together, with a high building density from 60% to 80%. Village buildings are commonly 3-4 stories high, and with poor natural conditions such as poor lighting and ventilation, privacy is without secure protection. Street solid views and horizontal lines are without consistency (*Plate 1-9*);

2) These areas lack of urban facilities and public infrastructure that reflect in the following aspects:

Plate 1-9: Airscape of Tianmian Village in Shenzhen

improper layout and structure of road network result in narrow and curving roads that can not meet the basic demand of traffic, logistic and fire fighting; improper drainage system results in regular floods. The quantity and quality of school, kindergarten, health care and sanitation facilities are lagging far behind villagers' need; lack of public recreation space which is vital for daily life, let alone outdoor facilities and green ground for children and senior citizens.

3) Usually "villages" can not assort well with the surrounding urban land, infrastructure and public facilities. "Villages" mainly locate in cities and the joining belts between cities and villages. Among them, "villages" in the cities are most typical. These "villages" are surrounded by modern urban constructions and consist of hundreds of irregular buildings. When look down from the sky, in the great contrast of modern constructions and the hugger-mugger village buildings, these village buildings are just like an in-harmonic note in a great symphony. When person passes through the standard urban blocks and enters these "villages", he may instantly feel like standing in an alien world and mix up time and space.

1.2 Concepts of Villages in Shenzhen

1.2.1 History of Villages in Shenzhen

Most “villages” in Shenzhen are named after their terrains and topographies. Take Huanggang Village in Futian District for example, it is named “Huanggang” because it used to be a loess hill near the beach. Shenzhen used to be a rough and barren land where lived demoted and guilty officials and prisoners. Nobody would like to care for this land except thousands of exiled officials and expelled people who were escorted here under cangues and locks. This land took up groups and groups refugees from southern China who sought shelters after having been fed up with wars. In the lead of their headman, they built up houses, wove nets, shined salt and fished. They inhabited here, and divided family properties after their sons and daughters formed their own families. Thus several smaller independent families were formed and went on splitting and multiplying from generation to generation. Villagers’ main activity was farming. Although agrarian culture called for equal importance between farming and studying, soldiers and farmers, few villagers, taking only a very small percentage of ancient population of farmers, could read and had chance to study. Shoulder poles, bamboo baskets, hooks and hoes were villagers’ ordinary tools. Generally, there was no trading tradition among villagers. During the years of Kangxi, Qing Dynasty, Deng Jiameng in Wanfeng Village, a Shenzhen suburb, built up a stall and began fair trade. Fair market determined the fair date, that was, the date to go to the fair. There was generally a fair every three days. In Deng Jiameng, villagers with the surname Pan sold self-planting farm produce such as sweet potatoes, sugarcane, peanuts, and vegetables, and exchanged them for daily sundry goods.

Most of “villages” in Shenzhen are social groups formed by marital and consanguinity relations. “Villages” can be divided into three types according to surname structure: one is single-surname, another is chief-surname “village” (one or two surnames as a leading surname), and the last one is mixed-surname “village” (many surnames without a leading one in a “village”).[6]

[6] Ahern divides clannish organizations into three types, the first type is surname village, in

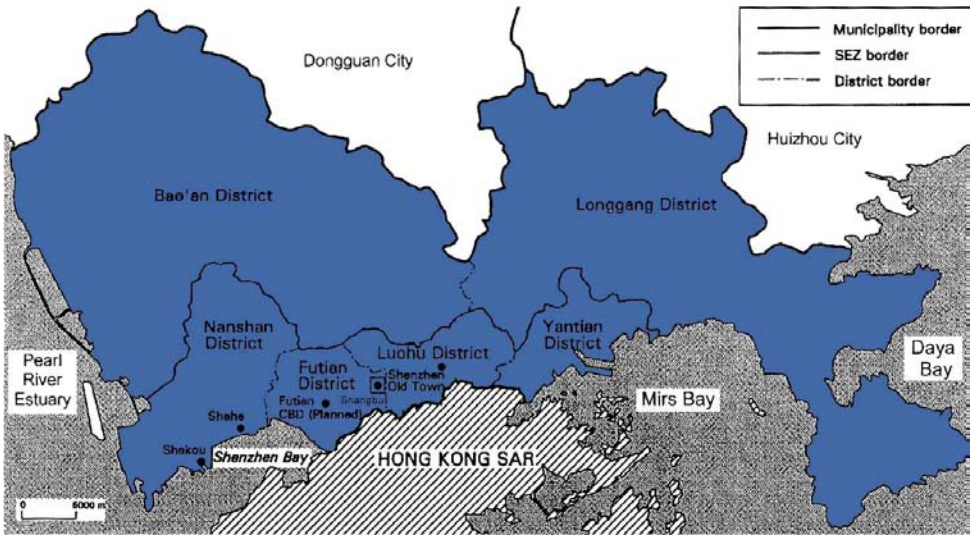
Facing with the double challenges from natural and human environment, a clan can only find its foothold by depending on the unity of its families. For survival, a series of criteria concerning the relation inside a clan and the relation between a clan and the outside world emerged as the time required. These criteria were not set integrately in a short time, but were the result of the long mutual interaction within a clan and between a clan and the outside world. All members in a clan share same values, indvidual psychology and behaviour identifying with the benefit of the clan spontaneously. The whole clan consists of many independent core families that are also relatively economic independent units where strong coherence and centripetal force exist among family members. The family genealogy is a folk text narrating clan history and criteria and maintaining the continuation of kinship. It can smooth kinship, prevent confusion in kinship, and control family members' behaviour through praising good deeds and punishing evil-doers. Clan properties are a common one, that is the material foundation of maintaining of basic living safety, confronting outside threats and strengthening the clan's politic and economic power.

which single clan has the dominion in the community, the relations among the clans are complicate and inward conflicts of interests exist; the second type is multi-clan village, in which the members unite together and fight against outsiders; the third type is also multi-clan village, in which the conflict between the weak clan and the strong one is more intensified (Ahern 1973).

1.2.2 From a Fish Village to Chinese Mega City

1.2.2.1 Geographical Characteristics -Linear City

Before China's Reform and Open Up in 1978, Shenzhen was just a sleepy border town lying in the north of the previous British colony-Hong Kong-in southern China. Shenzhen now has an area of 2020 km^2 with six districts housing a population of almost 12 million (the number of floating population is about 10.26 million and the number of people with Shenzhen residential cards is about 1.65 million). Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SSEZ)[7] occupies an area of about 395.81 km^2 with four administrative districts: Yantian, Luohu, Futian, Nanshan. In 1993, the two counties (Longgang and Bao'an) were turned into districts and formally became parts of Shenzhen. This city is flanked by the Mirs Bay in the east , and the Pearl River Estuary in the west. The coastline extends to about 230 km with many locations suitable for constructing seaports. Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) lies to its south while Dongguan and Huizhou are its northern neighbours (*Figure 1-1*). Shenzhen is a linear city with a moderately hilly



(Source: Mee Kam Ng. City Profile Shenzhen. 2003. *Cities*. Vol.20, No.6, 429ff)

Figure 1-1: District division of Shenzhen city

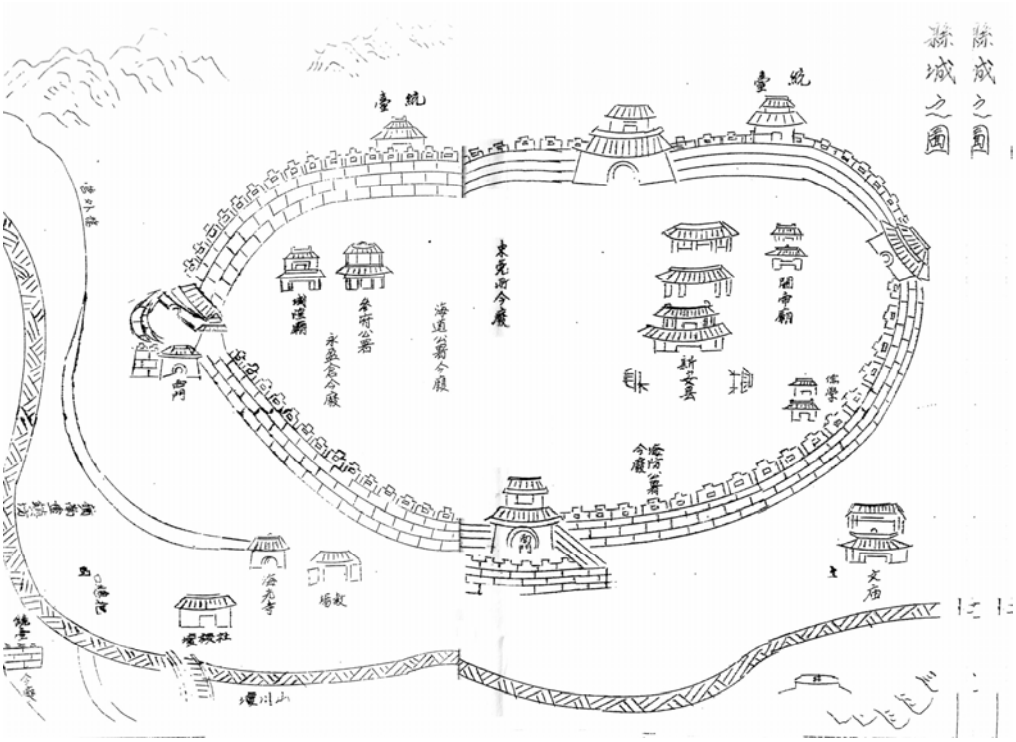
[7] SSEZ is a part of Shenzhen city. On 26th, August 1980, the Central Government of China

terrain. Its east-west span is over 49km while its north-south span is only 7km (SSB 2002, 31).

1.2.2.2 The Evolvement Process of Shenzhen City

(1) Border town in an agricultural backwater

Today Shenzhen locates within the once rural Bao'an County (former name is Xin'an Town), which was set up in the 4th century and consisted of today's Shenzhen, Dongguan, Zhongshan, Zhuhai and Hong Kong.



(Source: Shenzhen Museum)

Figure 1-2: Sketch of Bao'an town

formally authorized to set up SSEZ as first Special Economic Zone in China, which carries on economic system reform.

(Source: Shenzhen Museum)

Plate 1-10: Old gate of Xin'an Town

Note: it is cradle land of Shenzhen. It had been destroyed by the war.

The name "Shenzhen" did not appear in historical literatures until the 17th century when the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) government built defence towers in Bao'an and named one of them as Shenzhen, probably because the area was crossed by deep drains in the paddy fields –"*shen*" refers to "deep" and "*zhen*" refers to "drains". In 1911, when the Kowloon Canton Railway was built between Hong Kong and Guangzhou, a small station was set up in Shenzhen. After the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, like the rest of the country, Shenzhen underwent a collectivization process in 1959 and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. At that time, the county was the major source of illegal immigrants into the booming capitalist haven of Hong Kong, because of the distinct gap of income between Hong Kong and Shenzhen (*Figure 1-2, Plate 1-10*).

(2) Birth of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (1980)

By the end of the 1970s, China's centrally planned economy and demoralized society were on the verge of collapse. Strict control of the central government had led to a shortage economy that stifled growth. Hence, a certain degree of liberation was necessary and the government should adopt macro control policies such as economic means, laws and administrative measures to manage national economy, to provide infrastructure and to improve the investment environment. It should refrain from interfering in enterprises' production activities. To realize these changes, various reforms, the introduction of "extra-plan" elements in the economy, decentralization of administrative functions to local governments, financial and tax reforms and the Reform and Opening up Policy to attract foreign investment were

implemented.

Because of its proximity to Hong Kong, Bao'an was identified as a suitable site for developing an export-oriented economy. In fact, one of the reasons for setting up a SEZ in Bao'an was to prevent illegal migration by attracting investments from Hong Kong.

In 1979, Shenzhen city was set up. In 1980, Shenzhen, together with Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen were designed as Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and they were entrusted with the following functions:

1) As a "window" for observing global trends in economic, scientific, technological, and managerial and market developments;

2) As "a training ground" for reforms such as special economic management systems, flexible economic measures to enhance economic cooperation and technology interflow between China and foreign countries.

As Deng Xiaoping, the "architect" of China's Reform and Opening up Policy remarked, "central government has no resources and so you (the SEZs) have to do

(Source: Shenzhen Municipal Government)

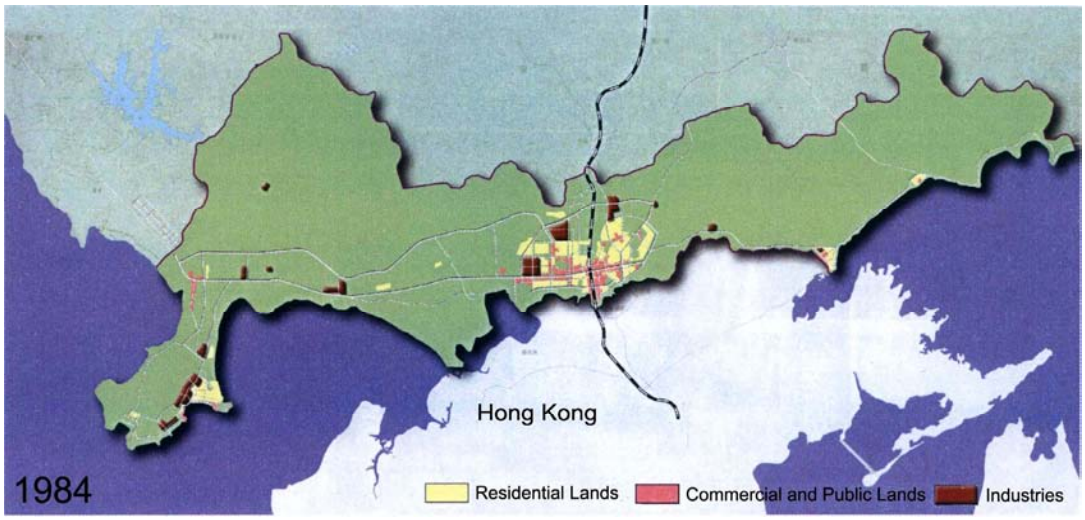
Plate 1-11: Current view of Shenzhen city

it on your own to find a way out". To Deng, SEZ is a window of introducing technology, management, knowledge and foreign policy.

The SEZs established under the export-oriented reform policies that take the advantage of geographical superiority, have prompted widespread and large-scale infrastructure construction for industrial development and led to rapid urban development. The first and largest of the four original SEZs, Shenzhen, in Guangdong Province on the boundary of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), is the newest major city in China. Originally, Shenzhen was an industrial manufacturing zone, but with the rapid transformation of the regional economy, Shenzhen is becoming a centre of business services industry, supporting the surrounding manufacturing economy of the large Pearl River Delta Economic Region (*Plate 1-11*).

(3) Starting and establishing period（1980-1985）

SSEZ was built from the sketch and based on those pre-existing villages, and yet interspersed among the modern industrial zones were villages built by the former villagers in Shenzhen. In the process of urbanization and industrialization, rural land was requisitioned and native farmers were given urban status and land sites to build their houses. As these villages were beyond the management and government scope of the municipal government, their adminstration was left to



(Source: Shenzhen Planning Bureau)

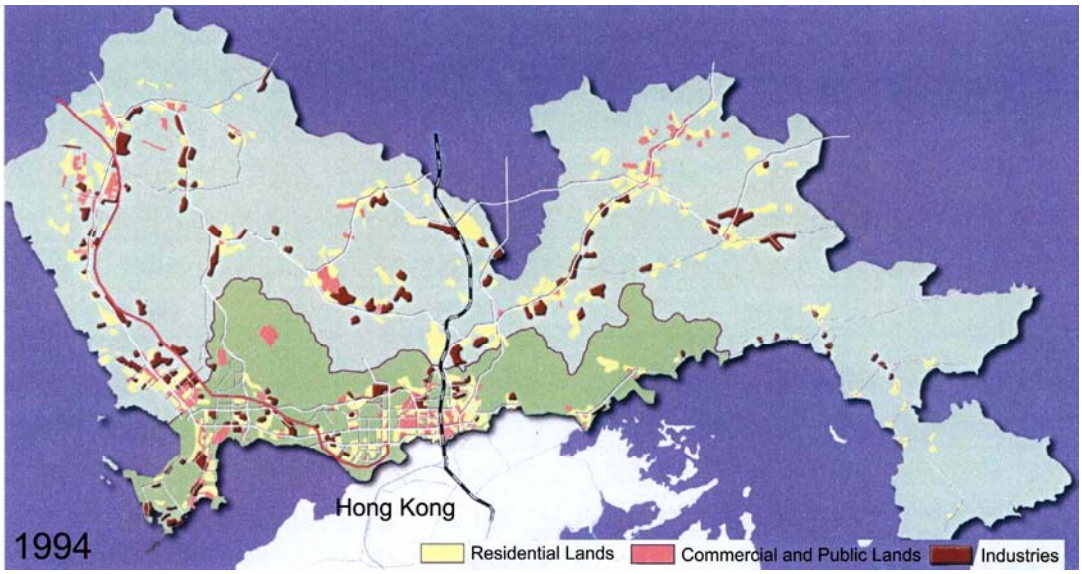
Plate 1-12: Land of Shenzhen city (1984)

joint-stock company that transformed from the orginal village committees.

Although SSEZ was planned to become a modern city driven by industry to attract foreign investment as well as to nurture local economic connection, insufficient infrastructure made foreign investors holding wait-and-see attitude. However, SSEZ had successfully attracted local investors, including state and provincial enterprises, to utilize those special policies in Shenzhen. From 1983 to 1985, more than 2000 enterprises had settled down in Shenzhen, covering agriculture, business, food, transportation, communication, healthcare and education sectors. During the constructing stage, Shenzhen attracted labour-intensive industry from Hong Kong and export-oriented activities, depending on material import assembling and processing. GDP increased by nearly 60% annually, population increased 314,100 to 741,300 and GDP dramatically grew from 0.196 billion to 2.34 billion. Built-up area also grew from 3 km^2 to 34 km^2 and total construction area increased from 0.29 km^2 to 6.08 km^2 (*Plate 1-12*).

(4) High-speed development stage（1986-1995）

In this stage, social economy developed at high speed and resulted in 26.4% in GDP annual rate of increment. Population grows from previous 881,500 to



(Source: Shenzhen Planning Bureau)

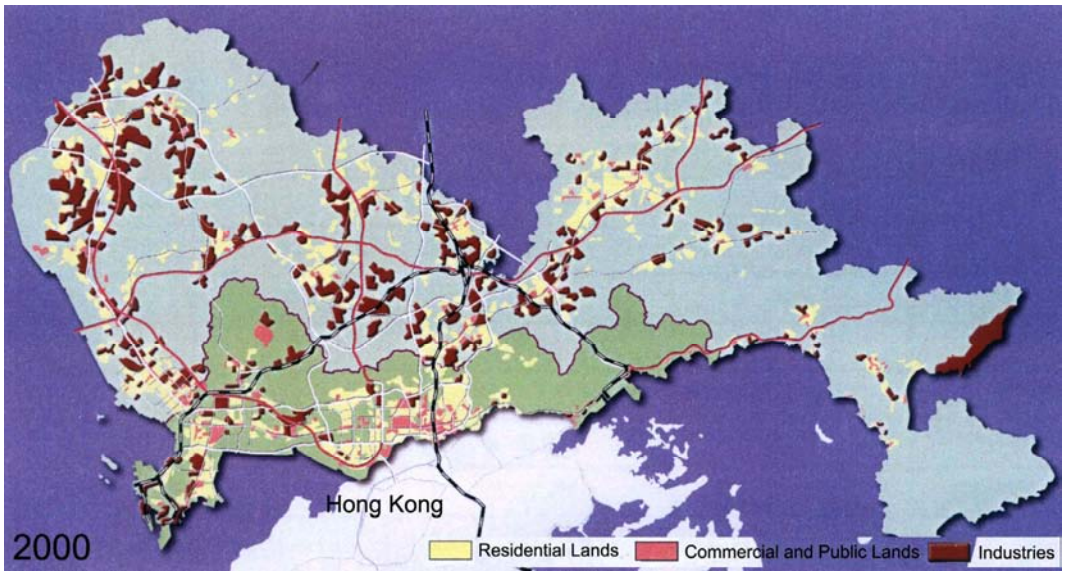
Plate 1-13: Land of Shenzhen city (1994)

3,451,200 while GDP increased from 3.9 billion to 79.57 billion. In the 1990s, Shenzhen began its real estate industry and reached to the peak in 1992-1993 when Shenzhen led an upsurge in real estate industry, resulting in the massive constructions. By the end of 1994, Shenzhen had a built-up area of 299.5 km^2, with completed construction area of 6.7684 km^2 (*Plate 1-13*).

(5) Adjusting and improving stage (1996-2005)

In this stage, national ecomomy developed at a balanced speed, GDP increased at a rate between 13.2% and 16.4%, population increased from previous 3,451,200 to 4,687,600. GDP increased quickly from 95 billion to 195.5 billion. The city built-up area rose from 299.5 km^2 in 1994 to 488.5 km^2 in 2001 while completed construction area increased from 6.7684 km^2 to 15.269 km^2.

According to the maps of Shenzhen from 1978 to 2005, Shenzhen city territory expanded from previous 3 km^2 to 2020 km^2. With more than 20 years developement after Reform and Opening Up, urban construction developed at a very high speed, the built-up area has expanded from previous Bao'an county to the current mega city. In the process of city construction, marginal villages that covered by the city now has been brought into city scope accompanying the decreasing of agricultural land area every year (*Plate 1-14*).



(Source: Shenzhen Planning Bureau)

Plate 1-14: Land of Shenzhen city (2000)

1.2.3 "Villages" as an Urban Corporate Community

In this study, "villages" specifically refers to "villages" in SSEZ. Currently Shenzhen has 304 "villages" sorted as administrative villages (86 of them locate in the SSEZ) and a population of 1.25 million among which 358,000 are local villagers.[8] All these make Shenzhen as a city that has the largest number of "villages" in China.

The attention focused on "villages" will naturally lead to a central concept that relates to the logical and social existence of "villages", that is urban corporate community. It refers to a special form of "new corporate community", a concept that is corresponding to and different from traditional corporate community. "New corporate community" specially refers to a new type corporate community that formed in the process of village urbanization in China, by internal and external reasons and by inheriting and reconstruction. Distinguished from traditional rural corporate community, the new meaning of "new corporate community" is: it builds on the base of non-agriculture economy and develops into a series of survival system consisting of historical persistence and reality variability. Currently there are two types of "new corporate community": the "industrial" corporate community and "post-industrial" corporate community. The corporate community in the case study of this dissertation is based on "post-industrial" non-agriculture economy (property rental is the main form) and related to the phenomena of "villages".

"Villages" in Shenzhen that belong to "corporate villages"[9] can well reflect Fei Xiaotong 's concept of "earthbound China". He looked into every aspects of rural community from social structures and functions of traditional village and he argued that, traditional small rural community had developed a set of culture and action

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[8] The statistics are from *Research on the Reconstruction of "Village" in City* 2004, edited by Research Group of "Village" in Shenzhen, organized by Shenzhen Municipal Government.

[9] Popkin divides villages into "corporate village" and "open village" and four indicators are used to distinguish these two types, such as the payment of taxes, boundaries between the village and the outside world, landownership, village citizenship. In corporate villages with collective responsibility for the payment of taxes, clear boundaries between the village and the outside world, restrictions on landownership, a well-defined concept of village citizenship, and frequently with land that was owned or managed by the village (Popkin 1979, 2).

system that has self-governing significance in the process of mutual adaptation in its own structure and function. By this way the operations of villagers' lives and corporate society are maintained realizing the "heterogenesis", "differential mode of the association"[10], "order of etiquette"[11] which are common values and logic of operation for this set of social systems. In traditional small rural corporate society, under the restriction of nearly static productivity, relationship inside the small rural corporate community maintains "natural" integrity in the self production and re-production process, thus forming a traditional corporate community that combines contradictions and conflicts as well as self-adjustment.

Generally speaking, corporate community before non-agriculturalization (non-traditional agriculturalization) belongs to traditional corporate community. This kind of corporate community bases on traditional agriculture, is measured by natural village units and combines traditional authority, blood and earthbound relations to form a settlement aggregated body that possesses the function of collaborating in both producing and living. In a word, "*it is a village group that formed in the 'local constrain of rural society' and by means of 'settling in villages*'" (Fei Xiaotong 1985, 8f), and it equals to what Ferdinand Tönnies said: a "community" with strong homogeneity and established on collective awareness (Tönnies 1994).

In such corporate community, small farming is the main production form and

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[10] "Self" as the center of social relation is a basic character of Chinese social structure, and it is different from western "organizational mode of association". Family is basic social institution of Chinese villages. Kindred group and clan are instituted with consanguinity. Neighbourhood and community are formed by earthbound relations. Economic institution and enterprise are instituted with participation of occupation relation. "Differential mode of association" is a character of "villages" in Shenzhen (Fei Xiaotong 1985; Chen Wanling 2002, 96). She Xiaoye had pointed out new concepts of "interest, power and human relationship". Interest of order is corporate mode in order to attain the interest, based on land and capital and possessing strong exclusion. The sequence of power is touching on who controls social resources, and who is the center of conduction in collaboration. Since collective institution has the power to control the community, it becomes the center of the community. Sequence of human relation embodies care of human relation, sensibility of clan and responsibility of morality during the collaboration, rather than out of interest (She Xiaoye 1997, 88f).

[11] West societies are based on laws, and Chinese rural society is based on "set of etiquette" (Fei Xiaotong 1985, 48ff).

the total maintaining resource. Individuals in such living conditions pursue self-reliance instead of making big fortune. Without question, this kind of community is based on traditional form of production, combining "field, hill and grave" and "face-to-face-society" and being established in the production activities.

Certainly, the expression of vitality of traditional corporate community changes when they come across different non-agricultural opportunities and different social transformation stages. In true life, the process of non-agriculture development is also the process of disintegrating and harmonizing of traditional corporate community. In these communities, continuous land requisition changes the identity of villagers from rural resident to urban resident. At the same time, corporate community tends to disaggregating along with the re-organization of roles and social relation of villagers. The fast disaggregation of corporate community generally has relationship with super-strong intervention of government force in the process of non-agriculture development. Such kind of non-agriculture development is usually completed on the base of depriving villagers of a certain degree of interests and benefits.

In this study, both "villages" and urban corporate community concept will be used alternately. Comparing with "villages", urban corporate community gives prominence to its social existence state that has a logic system of itself. Specifically speaking, it refers to a community formed in the process of non-agricultural development and urbanization of villages, based on non-agricultural industry, measured by administrative village, and combined mainly with "interest and land" relationship and interpersonal relationship. In the relationship with traditional small corporate community, it possesses not only built-in succession but also multi-level specialties and differences. The "specialties and differences" can be best demonstrated as a fasten belt that holds such community together. Besides traditional social relationship, it "imbeds" interest relationship and principles that tightly connected with the market economy and becomes the dominant principle and the “fasten belt”. Obviously, urban corporate community is a specific social space established in the mixture of history and reality, city and village.

“Village” in the current background of metropolis and under the social situation that fully surrounded by city is just like an “island” that stands up from the vast

ocean. Its unique "disharmony" not only expresses from its outside layer, but more importantly its extrinsic characteristic just reflects its intrinsic unique logic of operation.

In fact, urban corporate community, acting as the community of traditional culture in its long-term evolution and transformation process, has already formed a unique social space that has its own logic of operation. And moreover, it contains its unique logic of field through-out. Additionally, since "village" belongs to a non-agriculture village category, its community social characteristics and intrinsic logic have a lot of differences with other non-agriculture villages. For this reason, relevant researches on non-agriculture villages become important references for the study of "villages" in Shenzhen.

These game rules are from impersonal relationships, and every actor in a field has to abide these game rules when they try to change the power structure of the field. This kind of game rule is a result of the combining effect of the informal system of corporate community and the formal system of the country.[12]

1.2.3.1 Relationship between Modernity and Tradition

(1) Adversarial relationship between modernity and tradition

(a) Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1936): Community & Association

He divides human organizations into two categories: society (Gesellschaft) and association (Gemeinschaft). In his opinion, the former is a small community society, in which interactions between "acquaintances" are conducted and regulated by traditional rules and possess a highly consistent sense of belonging, while the later is a complex and large individual-oriented society, in which interactions between "strangers" are conducted and regulated by law and regulation.

"The three pillars of Gemeinschaft-blood, place (land), and mind, or kinship, neighborhood, and friendship-are all encompassed in the family." In contrast, *"the essence of Gesellschaft is rationality and calculation"* (Nisbet 1994, 75). *"'Society'*

[12] More detail contents on formal & informal systems are explained in *2.3 Informal Systems & Social Networks in Villages*, in *2 Persistence & Transformation of Social Structures*.

is defined as a nexus of enlightened, self-oriented, self-controlled and self-responsible individuals interacting by contracts and rational institutions. Society as such is no collective. It focuses on objectified interactions between individuals in rationalized forms as defined by specialized systems" (Hassenpflug 2002, 48). "The city and the country may be regarded as two poles in reference to one or other of which all human settlements tend to arrange themselves" (Wirth 1938).

All intimate, private and exclusive collective livings are understood as life in association. Society is public life-it is the world itself. In association with one's family, one life from birth on bound to it in weal and woe. One goes into society as one goes into a strange country. All praise of rural life has pointed out that the association among people is stronger there and more alive…association should be understood as a living organism, society as a mechanical aggregate and artefact (*Table 1-4*).

According to Tönnies 's view, association and society are two ideal styles,[13] that is, there is no place with absolute association or society dominant relationship. They are virtual and extreme and created for the purpose of comparing with the actual world. In an ideal association, authority is traditional and all interactions are friendly: sensibility exceeds logic. This kind of association never exists. In an ideal society, authority is based on law, people live for achieving purposes, logic fully replaces sensibility. Such society never exists either. All human organizations are between these two extreme ends. "Villages" in Shenzhen are just the semi-association and semi-society social state. It is the transitional social space mode of China's micro society from association to society.

[13] An ideal type is a complex description of a group of social phenomena emphasizes some features and abstracts from others. To Weber, an ideal type is a "conceptual pattern brings together certain relationships and events of historical life into a complex, which is conceived as an internally consistent system" (Weber Max 1949, 40).

Table 1-4: Differences between association and society

Characters	Village (community)		City (society)	
Will	Natural will	Self	Rational will	Person
		Possession		Wealth
		Land		Money
		Family law		Law of contracts
Base	Blood		Contract	
Fields of intercourse	Neighbourhood		Rational institutions, offices, etc.	
Relations among members	Inclusive		Exclusive	
Living mode	Living together		Living separate	
Means of life	Agriculture: planting, fishing, etc.		Industry or commercial	
Habitation	Settled		Floating	
Beliefs	Adoration of ancestors and gnomes		Adoration of religion or money	
Thoughts	Irrational		Rational	

(Source: Tönnies 1994, 257f)

Specifically speaking, in the urban corporate community specific field fact, various groups and individuals interest, needs and the satisfaction of such needs are dependent on such specific and complex logic of relationship network, and it is just such dependency that makes corporate community field become the most important way to various needs and the realization of such needs. As a corporate community that possesses history culture, social relationship network possesses rich and different resources and capitals; especially the social capitals within it become the primary resort for the transformation and development of corporate fields. Among these, its capital value not only reflects in the protection and obtainment of interest, in the governing of public affairs but also in various issues concerning the transitional urban life adaptation of the unique villagers in the process of urbanization and marketization, which becomes the primary reason why their traditional culture as important social resources is still persisted to certain degree up to now.

In conclusion, urban corporate community demonstrates the conflict and convergence between tradition and modern, city and corporate community as well as the exceeding between inheritance and innovation in a specific time-space limit. Just in such an inter-mingling and exceeding realization process, urban corporate

community continues to evolve its own logic, paving all the way to the ultimate termination and harmonization with urban society. During such process, difficulties and problems exist: conflicts, contradictions and exclusions between tradition, village community and urbanity as well as between modernity and rationality, but most of them are the co-existence between the former and the later.

(b) Durkheim (1858-1917): Organic Solidarity & Mechanical Solidarity

For Durkheim, community preceded the individual and formed the basis of individual formation. The function of the division of labour is the integration of members into society. Durkheim identified two forms of integration or solidarity-organic (modern individualistic) and mechanical (communal). The division of labour could only come out in a pre-existing society where cohesion was enabled by community, and it was from these forms of society that unity in the division of labour would emerge. The continuation of some forms of mechanical solidarity is necessary for the survival of organic solidarity. Thus mechanical solidarity in the form of community is a defence against the anomic tendencies of modern life. He noted, organic solidarity entailed the specialization of tasks in production and distribution and thus led to increasingly finer divisions of labour in society. Differentiation of social roles, in turn, undermined the cultural unity of pre-industrial society-what Durkheim referred to as “mechanical solidarity”-because this kind of unity was based on persons performing essentially similar roles and possessing similar experiences, values and attitudes toward society (*Table 1-5*).

Durkheim demonstrated that complex labour social division resulted in the interdependent relationship between different groups. But there is only a minimal labour division in traditional corporate community and people interact according to "collective awareness" and tradition. Social organizations are based on mechanical combination. Compared with Tönnies, the "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity" concepts of Durkheim indicate more clearly about the base of urban and rural social relationship and differences between city dwellers and rural villagers.

Table 1-5: Differences between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity

Mechanical solidarity	Organic solidarity
Low degree of division	High degree of division
Strong collective awareness	Weak collective awareness
Restricted law dominant	Restorative law dominant
Low individuality	High individuality
Consistency on specific prescriptive model is important	Consistency on abstract general value is important
Villagers' punishment towards nonconformist	Specialized organization punish criminal
Lower interdependency	Higher interdependency
Original or rural	Urban or industrial

(Source: Durkheim 1964)

(2) Coexisting relationship between modernity and tradition

In the theory circle, it is thought that tradition would disappear in the modernization process. However, since the reforms in 1979, as the modernization process advances, the phenomena of traditional ceremony, beliefs, modes of social interactions are in revival. Both "economic man" theory and "cultural view treating tradition" by Geertz as culture modes are on the opposite of "modernity". According to the "economic man" concept, the pursuit of rationalness and maximum interest are the common purposes of the whole human being. They believe that only by embracing western "enlightenment" can the tradition be thrown away and exert the potential of "rationalness".[14] The complex relationship between tradition and modernity draws the re-thinking of economic man and culture paradigm theory in the circle of thought. Recent research on the Chinese family by Whyte about effect

[14] The view of culture paradigm admits the rationality of non-western culture on the surface while essentially consider them to be a "stubborn history remains" culture system without transitional power. "*The mentalities of the peddler and the prince must both be abandoned, and in their place must come that of the professional manager; for the temporary props of the usable past must be substituted the permanent foundations of a differentiated economic ethic which both justifies economic rationality and provides it with a moral framework which gives it more than an individual, social, referent. But, as for both groups reconstruction implies the abandonment of those very attitudes, beliefs, and values which have made their initial successes possible-stubborn self-reliance on the one hand, imperious assumption of intrinsic superiority on the other-it is extremely difficult to estimate which of them will find such fundamental change easier, or when either will be able to accomplish it*" (Geertz 1963, 140f).

on the transformation of economy since the Reforms in China indicates that in certain circumstances, traditional social forms can provide driving force for economy, not necessarily something that oppose to the concept of "*economic man*" (Whyte 1995).

What I want to emphasis is that, it is possible for traditional elements to coexist with modern elements. In such mode, "village" is a "*small society in big system*", "*a family and community that spans between two worlds*" (Xiang Biao 2000). There is a field space[15] between tradition and modernity, between city and village. This space smoothes the great differences and conflicts in the gradually transformational process, and makes such "great changes" and transitions balance and meek. "*Places, once identifiable as either urban or rural forfeit their singularity*" (Hassenpflug 2002, 45). The "semi-village and semi-city, non-village and non-city village" become the platforms for the transition from traditional corporate community to modern city.

[15] "Villages" in Shenzhen is network of objective social relations as a field. Bourdieu's field theory was inspired by the concept of gravitation magnetic field in Physics, in his opinion, "*in analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)*" (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992, 97).

Among the various contributing factors in "villages" in Shenzhen, the essential one is the objective relationship that connecting these factors, since field is a system of relationship but these relationship are independent from the groups that identified these relationship. Although "village" in Shenzhen as a social space that is created by specific people and activities and the complex relationships between these people and activities. However, once the system of these relationships is identified, it has its own relative independency. The relationship shaping a field exists not only beyond individuals, but also through a network structure.

1.2.3.2 Study Methods & Resources

(1) Study methods

When many middle class people described the slum area in Cornerville as a "total mess", Whyte made an in-depth research about it and found out a highly organized and intact social system. And he said with deep understanding that, "*those who are concerned with Cornerville seek through a general survey to answer questions that require the most intimate knowledge of local life. The only way to gain the most intimate knowledge is to live in Cornerville and participate in the activities of its people*" (Whyte 1993, xv-xvi). I also try to discover the specific survival and developing mode in the criticism of government and public media about "villages", and find out the social order and rule of operation within it. Thus I will relate it with common sense to understand it.[16]

Methods choosing have direct relation with the property of the study object. This becomes more complex in China, imposing risk that any conclusion for any typical village may be proved as false. Furthermore, because in the process of urbanization, external background and conditions as well as internal mechanism and factors are greatly different, every situation derived from the transformation of corporate community varies greatly. "Villages" are results of many social factors under unique social conditions, thus show their own logic variance because of these complex factors. As a result, only "approaching" attempts can be made.

Since "villages" in Shenzhen have great similarity in structure and function, choosing typical "village" for study can serve as "anatomizing one sparrow to get all sparrows functionality". In the 1930s, Fei Xiaotong had done research on a natural village –Kaixuangong Village and successfully demonstrated the economic state of Chinese villages in the 1930s (Fei Xiaotong 1939).

Indeed, case study has well-known limitation. From methodology point of view, since the study focus on single village anatomization, it can fully demonstrate the

[16] For others in Cornerville, this region is mysterious, dangerous, and worried. This region is only several minutes' by walk from the streets of high-class shopping centres, but people feel going into strange environment from a familiar one. Its characters are similar with those of "villages" in Shenzhen (Whyte 1993).

cause and effect form under single social relationship. However, what it observed is just a fixed social relation under a specific situation, providing a cause and effect analysis in such situation. Generally it cannot analyze the phenomenon and reality of different styles under different social conditions, thus unable to provide a general conclusion for a specific phenomenon. In order to avoid inefficiency in case study, this study will adopt a multiple-case-study method and other useful methods that make up for the limitation of single case study.

From July to later October in 2004 and from August to later October in 2005, I went to Shungang Village, Huang Beiling Village in Luohu District; Huanggang Village, Shuiwei Village, Shangsha Village, Shawei Village, Shazhui Village, Xiasha Village in Futian District; Dachong Village, Wanxia Village in Nanshan District for on spot studies (*Table 1-6*). A big deal of the results of this participatory observation have been recorded by photographs, which have to be regarded as a method of visualization of social, economic and spatial facts.

During the "villages" study, I carried out the study by two ways: first was the "top-to-bottom" approach. With the support from district government, I obtained complete research materials through normal channels. These materials include relevant literature and documents, views and comments from government department and "village" officials concerning problems, matters; the second way was "bottom-to-top" approach, utilizing private relation to enter into the "villages" to

Table 1-6: Basic information of “villages” in Shenzhen

Districts	Basic data		Total area of ground (m^2)
	Administrative villages	Natural villages	
Futian	15	20	521
Luohu	24	31	150
Nanshan	28	46	710
Yantian	19	39	144
Baoan	127	522	8268
Longgang	91	535	759.9

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part2, Inspecting “Urban Village”, 75)

conduct research in order to gain true materials about corporate community and non-governmental social activities as well as true feelings and comments about the

corporate life from villagers. This kind of social study method provides a solid information base for the comprehensive understanding of single village case study.

(2) Study Resources

(a) Literature inquisition

This study draws on published materials in English and in Chinese, official statistics and interviews conducted in China. The openly available published sources include Chinese press reports, periodicals and the recently available local gazettes and national as well as provincial yearbooks. A list of the periodicals and newspapers is provided at the beginning of the bibliography. Besides those, the unpublished research reports afforded by the departments of Shenzhen Government are primary study resources as the second-hand materials. In addition to the standard sources, I used local statistical compilations of the “villages”. The latter were particularly useful for gaining an objective view of the “villages” in Shenzhen.

(b) Interview samples

The interview sites were not chosen randomly. I selected a purposive sample intended to gain as much detailed information as possible about how and why the transformation of “villages” in Shenzhen occurred. The method was to develop a rapport that permitted in-depth interviews with those who had detailed knowledge of the local development process. I explored both their formal and informal modes existing in the villages from economic and political aspects whenever possible; I made repeated visits to the same site to see change over time and to understand the transition I was observing.

The majority of interviews were with officials and villagers at village levels, directors of community committees in the “villages” and directors of joint-stock companies in the “villages”. A smaller number of interviews were with scholars who have special study on the relative topics.

In almost all of the interviews I conducted, I never submitted my questions in advance nor was I limited in what I could ask. In most cases, I were able to dispense with the formalized "simple introduction" and move directly to an open-ended session where I was able to ask questions directly on topics of my

choice and probe issues as they came up in conversation. To make the interviewees feel less inhibited, I took only handwritten notes; no recordings were made of the conversations.

The usual procedure was to confirm the list of the offices and units I wanted to interview in their most convenient time. As a check on the accuracy of the answers I was receiving, I asked the same questions everywhere I went and asked similar questions with different officials within the same locality.

2 Persistence & Transformation of Social Structures

2.1 Composition of Population & Social Stratification

2.1.1 Social Stratifications in Villages in Mao Period

Guangdong Province was one of the last parts of China liberated from the Guomindang. It was not occupied by the People's Liberation Army until the end of 1949. Several weeks later, in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, Chairman Mao declared the founding of the PRC. In the "old revolutionary bases," where the new government had ruled for a long time such as north-eastern China: tasks such as establishing revolutionary bases in the cities and the countryside, recruiting and training a reliable group of cadres, propagandizing the peasants and organizing them to overthrow the landlords and local bullies and gradually carrying out land reform, were already well under way. However, In Guangzhou these were just at the beginning.

To elect reliable leaders for the peasants' association and the militia, the work team asked the villagers for the names of the poorest, the most oppressed and the most persecuted in the villages who previously had no social position at all. Once the peasants' association and the militia had been organized and had been given the reins of power under the guidance of the work team, they carried out the analysis of classes from landlords to poor peasants.

According to local cadres who actually carried out the classification of families of Huanggang Village, the criteria used were as followed:

(a) Landlords

Landlords were defined as those families that, during the three years before the liberation, had obtained 70 percent of their income by exploiting others. Exploiting came from the renting out of land by private landowners, by lending out money at exorbitant interest rates, and by hiring long-term farm labourers to do production work for the landlords' families, who did little or no farm-work them-

selves. Another form of exploitation was the use of ancestral hall property for the private benefit of a manager. This is an important factor in village since most of the land and fishponds were ancestral estates and managed by individuals who had opportunities to use them out of their own profit. Ordinary landlords were resented as exploiters. Landlord-despots were hated figures who were to be denounced and punished.

(b) Rich peasants (*Funong*)

Rich peasants were those who obtained a large share of their income by exploiting hired workers or tenants. The major difference was that rich peasants and their families took part in production with their hired workers. Although the rich peasants were not hated as much as the landlords, they were publicly criticized and had land and fishponds confiscated during the land reform.

(c) Middle peasants (*Zhongnong*)

They owned enough land to make a living and did not exploit people except for hiring a few days' short-term labour during the busiest period of the agricultural year.

(d) Poor peasants (*Pinnong*)

Families were classified as poor peasants if they had to sell their labour to make a living, thus differentiating them from the middle peasants. Some poor peasants owned small amounts of land, but not enough to live on. Others owned no land at all, renting their entire farms from landlords or ancestral halls. Their lives were not as secure as those of the middle peasants. In good years they had enough to eat; in bad years they did not know where their next meal was coming from.

(e) Farm labourers (*Gunong*)

These families had no land or property of any kind, except for a house or a part of one, nor were they able to obtain any land to rent. They had to make a living by hiring out as agricultural labourers, usually for long-term and over 90 percent of their meagre income was derived from these labour contracts. They were the poorest and most oppressed members of the agricultural community.

In addition to these major classes of people, there were the following additional

categories to be found in most rural Chinese villages: small landowners, workers, small peddlers, handicraft workers, small merchants, professionals, religious practitioners, vagabonds or floating elements, poor people and former bureaucrats.

Land reform was carried on from 1949 to 1952. Branch ancestral halls, village temples and extra houses confiscated from the landlords were divided up as housing for the poorest peasants who had no homes of their own and the larger halls and houses being divided by adding interior walls. The redistribution of wealth eliminated the landless tenants and workers at the bottom of class hierarchy. The economic circumstances and social status of the poorer people in "villages", whose lives had been miserable during the two decades before liberation, were much improved.

2.1.2 Status of Villagers in Modern China's Social Order

The distinction between rural and urban dwellers in China has been made the basis for classification into two castle-like civil status groups, a higher status group called "urban personnel" and a lower status group called "rural personnel". Membership in either group is inherited from parents and assigned at birth and cannot be changed except under the most extraordinary circumstance. The result is a system of birth-ascribed stratification, which considered as a whole, displays castle like features.

China's system of stratification into urban and rural personnel is not a peculiarity in "villages" in Shenzhen. Hinton reports that in North China "*far-reaching measures permanently divided the people into two groups-an urban group with guaranteed employment and guaranteed subsistence-and a rural group in direct confrontation with nature, fending for itself to the best of its ability and unable to leave the land except by invitation*" (Hinton 1983, 106ff). "*The Chinese effort to limit migration has been largely successful. The control on grain rations and work permits and the tightness of urban neighbourhood surveillance are sufficient to keep most peasants out of cities*" (Parish, Whyte 1984, 54).

2.1.2.1 Reasons for the Forming of Social Stratification

The historical context for dividing the population into urban personnel and rural personnel was the effort in the late 1950s to avert the threat of a national emergency posed by a massive exodus from the countryside to the cities that could not afford such huge rural population. Mark Selden refers to:

"…the rush of the peasants to the cities in search of jobs, higher incomes, and the promise of urban life… Despite government restrictions, the urban population swelled from 57 million in 1949 to 89 million in 1957. Rural migrants accounted for two-thirds of the increase, more than 20 million people. The capital-intensive strategy of the first five-year plan, however, produced only one million new non-agricultural jobs a year, while agricultural employment increased only slightly….At this time the total labour force grew at a rate of 8 million per year" (Selden［ed］1979, 55).

Besides the considerations of urban planning provisionment and insufficiency of infrastructure, it was also restricted to economic decision logic and ideology, which is industrialization without urbanization. At that time, some important decision-makers of the Party considered that, agriculture was an important market for industry and only by expanding the scale of agriculture production could the industry further develop. Expanding agriculture meant to popularize cooperation and increase workforce input. According to these decision-makers' opinion, restricting peasants from entering into city could prevent spillover of agriculture workforce, thus maintain the stable increase of agriculture workforce. The larger the workforce is, the larger the yield will be and therefore can provide more food for the industrial workers; On the other hand, the increase of workforce in agriculture can also expand the industrial market.

After 1949, since the state treated urban industrialization as the primary goal and in order to maintain the state's interest, villagers' interest were sacrificed to meet the strategic goal of the state's plan of developing urban industry. And the fact was that, the most directly way that the state adopted to deprive villagers' interest was controlling the land resources. In order to reach this goal, the state

quickly implemented the “People’s Commune”[1] while on the other hand developed a series of policies to enforce the control of peasants, which mainly focused on *Hukou* system. Peasants lost their land and freedom, and they could only depend on collective economic organizations, such as production teams. Peasants owned rural lands collectively under the People’s Commune system. But actually these lands were owned by the state and thus rural officials acted as "supervisors" as well as "contractors" while the massive peasants were the "employees" of the state. This situation had not been changed until the Reform and Opening up in 1979.

2.1.2.2 Disparities of Urban-rural Residents

(a) Residence Registration System

The concept of “*HuJi*” refers to a title symbol that uses family background and territory to determine an individual’s social identity. In reality, the form and operational means of "*HuJi*" (*HuKou*) is household registration, which can not only record and reflect an individual's social information, but also represent the symbolic denotation of individual's range of rights and statue. *HuJi* system refers to the sum of behaviour rules, organizational systems, political and economic and juridical systems and other relative systems that connect to the registration and management of *HuKou*.

China was a typical dichotomous society in terms of rural-urban relations before the Reform and Opening up in 1979. Its unique “*Hukou* System” divided people into two distinct groups: the agricultural population and the non-agricultural population. As most of the non-agricultural population lived in the urban areas, the agricultural-non-agricultural dichotomy was identical to the rural-urban dichotomy.

In reality, the significance of *HuJi* not only lies in the registration and management of population, but also has a direct relation to, or in a certain way determines, the difference or inequalities in education, occupation, earning, social reputation and social statue. While those people with non-agricultural *Hukou* status

[1] “People’s Commune” made national power and social power highly unified. National power had even taken place traditional social control. There are three functions as followed: collective economy, unification of party and politics, and adoration of power in culture.

enjoyed many privileges provided by the state, including subsidized food and housing, free education, medical care, pensions and other services, it was extremely difficult for ordinary rural residents to have their *Hukou* status transferred from agricultural into non-agricultural and hence to move from rural to urban areas.

Since the 1980s, the invisible wall created by the *Hukou* system between the cities and the countryside has gradually been eroded by the implementation of various reform policies. At the same time, the government gradually loosened control over rural-urban migration and the agricultural to non-agricultural transfer of *Hukou* status.[2] However, there exists some discrimination against the rural population such as the low-paid jobs, lack of medical care, etc.[3]

It is widely understood that Chinese villagers would like change their *Hukou* from rural areas to cities in order to enjoy the same benefits from warfare systems with urban citizens. However, what is interesting is that even though villagers in the "villages" have acquired urban residential registration when their farmland is taken over, they still retain the village citizenship, which is far more important than urban residential registration for them, owing to entitle them to hold shares of the collective joint-stock companies in "villages".

(b) Supply System

Rural residents are not able to share the same supply system as the urban

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[2] Since the Hukou reform of October 2002, the new policies on labour migration can be understood as follows:

1. Residency in small towns and townships is open to all rural workers who legally have a job and a place to live;
2. Medium-sized cities and some provincial capitals have abolished the cap on the number of rural laborers who can apply for permanent residence status;
3. Mega cities such as Shanghai and Beijing have adopted a policy of "widening the gate, raising the price," which still limits the number of rural laborers who can obtain permanent residence status (Huang Ping, Pieke, Frank N. 2005).

[3] Up to now, there are still major problems for migrants:

1. Unreasonable limitations on the types of employment they are allowed to have;
2. Lack of effective protection of the rights and benefits of migrants;
3. Frequent serious delays in wage payment and illegal collection of fees (Huang Ping, Pieke, Frank N.2005).

residents. The foodstuffs they enjoy are not only limited in variety but also insufficient in quantity. Along with the disaggregation of collectivization, the boundary of the fortress - the identity system has been removed to a certain degree. Since 1979, new economic policies allowed rural residents in Shenzhen and other regions to have more opportunities to travel between countryside and cities for business or temporary work. For example, in 1984, rural residents were allowed to settle down in towns with self -provision - manage statue. This kind of families had no privilege to buy low-price food and cooking oil which were provided by the government, instead they had to get these supplies with a negotiated (higher) price; in 1985, the government drew up regulations for temporary migrant registration and made migrant legal in town. These regulations changed from previous role that preventing population from rural-to-town transition to a role that harmonizing social order, and with the promulgation of residency permission, the flow of floating population was regulated.

2.1.2.3 The Floating Population and Population Migration

(1) The definition of floating population

"Floating population" refers to people who go to city for economic or other employment-related reasons instead of cultural reasons (such as training, conference participation or inspection conduction) or social reasons (such as pay a visit to his/her friend(s) or relatives, or migration due to marriage or retirement, search for medical treatment, touring or short-term living). These people will not change their residency status. Simply speaking, it refers to those migrants who spontaneously conducting social economic activities for the purpose of living and making benefits.

The different urban resident treatment is the difference between formal and informal migrants. From a social economic point of view, most informal migrants are attracted to those temporary, unstable, non-skill or low skill employments while formal migrants are engaged in state-owned enterprises for skill-type or long-term work. The urban status of most informal migrants is temporary while official migrants' status is permanent. This is the reason why the Chinese Government calls

informal migrants "population floating" and calls formal migrants "migration". Population in the former situation are called "floating population" (*Table 2-1*).

Table 2-1: Comparison between formal and informal floating

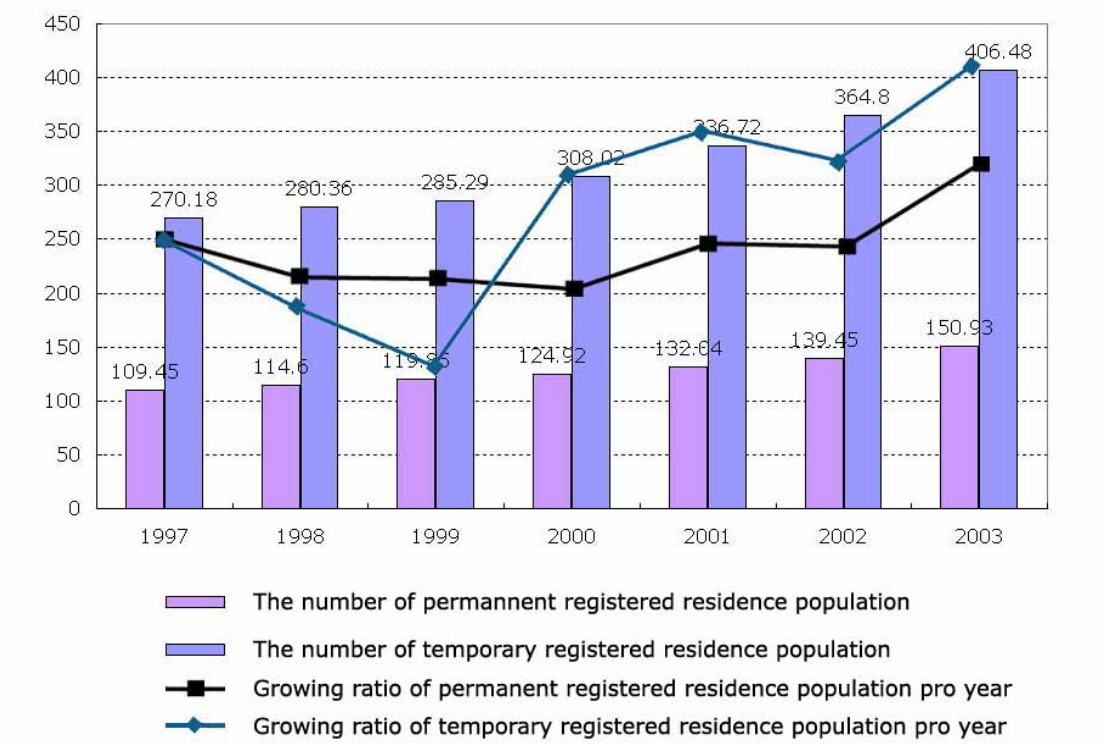
Characters	Formal floating	Informal floating
Change in residential status	From agriculture residential status to urban residential status	No change
Validity of urban inhabitancy	Legitimate	Legitimate after obtaining certificate of temporary residential status
Sectors immigrated into	state-owned enterprises	Non-state-owned enterprises or as temporary workers in state-owned enterprises
Mechanisms influencing the floating	The state's economic planning	According to private communication or spontaneous activities guided by the market
Floating stability	Comparatively stable	Mostly unstable
Capability	Most of them are skilled workers	Most of them are non-skilled or low-skilled workers

Since the beginning of 1990s, especially after Deng Xiaoping made a speech on his trip to the south, the massive floating population flushed into “villages” in cities and settled down there (*Figure 2-1*). Currently China has experiencing a fast pace of city development, and the following features are possessed:

1) The proportion of urban population is growing over-speedily, and mainly results from migration;

2) Employment insufficiency. Massive overspill exists and employment concentrates on business service sector;

3) Large amount of non-official employment exists. The employments are mainly in the non-official economic departments, which are not brought into the municipal government control system. “Villages” are spontaneously developed into the residential area for the floating population. The phenomenon of massive migrant flushing into the cities can be explained by the "push - pull" theory, which is developed by E. G. Ravenstein. He suggests that migration from rural area to non-rural area and from rural area to urban area are the result of the pushing forces within the rural area and the pulling forces from the urban area. The main pushing forces within the rural area are: the emergence of spare workforce, low



(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, Part3, Inspecting "Urban Village", 108)

Figure 2-1: The numbers of permanent and floating population in Shenzhen (1997-2003)

income, unreasonable land system and unfavourable farm product trading conditions. The pulling forces from urban area are: more employment opportunities, higher income and better living conditions, etc. The strength of the pushing and pulling forces vary depending on different areas (Grigg 1977).

(2) The farmers lost land

Most of surplus work force within the rural area is consisted of the farmers who have lost land.

(a) Reasons for farmers' loss of land

Large scale of "enclosure fever" is related to China's undergoing period of society transition. Various interest groups expropriate land to realize their development objectives, while local governments also need land to lease to earn profit out of the incentive to gain political achievements. The financial policy reform which began at the 1980s urged local governments to become the principal parts in politics and administration, or to some extent, in fact, they have become the

principal parts in economy. Stimulated by increasing financial pressure and affected by rising impulsion to gain political achievements, local governments can get a lot of income on land value increment by abusive rural land requisition. Requiring land at a low price while selling out it at a high price has become a short cut to create politic achievements, increase financial income, and improve departments' welfare in many places. In summary, 1) the rapid development of urbanization and industrialization expands non-agricultural land and occupies lots of farming land; 2) the irrational compensation system at present leads to an asymmetry between the cost of land requisition and its income, which advocates land enclosure (*Table 2-2*); vulnerable status of farmers results in losing land in their "games" with governments.

(b) The scale of farmers losting land

Statistics from the Ministry of Land and Resources P.R.C show that from 1978 to 2001, national non-agricultural construction has taken up 33 million *mu*[4] plow land, and about 70% were expropriated by the government by administrative means. Presently, the total number of lost land farmers amounts to about 40 million with 2 million more increase every year. In the process of urbanization, nearly 0.6 billion farmers will become lost-land in China, and they have to change into citizens from farmers. Land occupation will exceed 54.5 million *mu* in 30 years

Table 2-2: Compensatory criteria for expropriated land

Category	Compensation
Paddy field	class 1: 4000 ￥; class 2: 3000￥
Vegetable plot	class 1: 4500 ￥; class 2: 3500￥
Dry land	class 1: 2000 ￥; class 2: 1500￥
Pound	class 1: 5000 ￥; class 2: 4000￥
Oyster field	class 1: 1500 ￥; class 2: 1000￥
Garden plot (orchard, mulberry garden, kale yard etc.), timber forest, woodland	Upland:500￥; flatland:1000￥
All expropriated wild lands; wild hills and beaches that not developed by labour cannot be compensated. Expropriated non-value-added land cannot be compensated.	

(Source: Compensation Measure for Expropriated Land in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone 1989)

[4] 1 mu=1/15 hectare

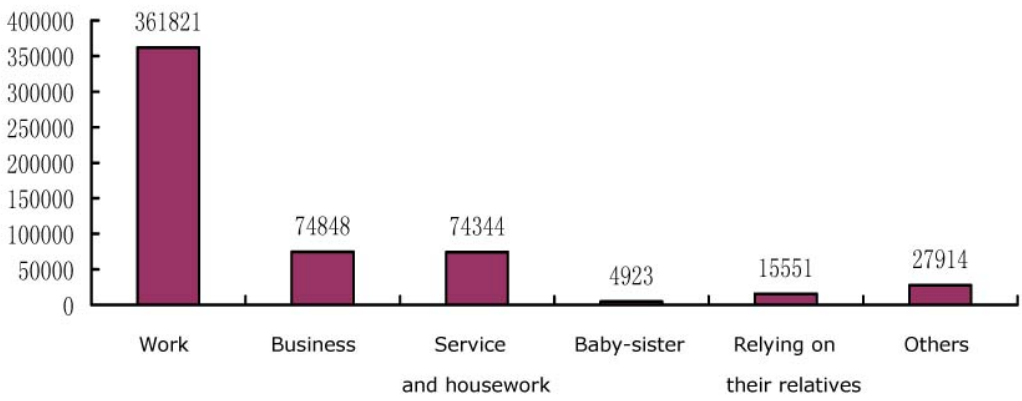
from 2000 to 2030 (Lu Fuxing, Yang Shenghai 2004). By that time, lost land farmers will have been over 0.1 billion, and more than half of farmers in China will have either lost their land or their jobs.

Since lower educational levels of floating population in the cities, they generally engage in occupations that urban citizens would not like to take on (*Figure 2-2*). Among the floating population living in the "villages" in Shenzhen for example, 5% of them have received elementary school education, 50% of them junior high school education, 30% of them senior high school/technical secondary school education and 15% of them are above college level (*Table 2-3*).

Table 2-3: Educational level of the floating population

Villages	Educational levels					
	Elementary school	Junior high school	Senior high school/ technical secondary school	Junior college	College/University	Graduate
Shawei	Most of population are graduated from junior high schools					
Shazui	Little	75%	25%	Little	None	
Shangsha	5%	40%	50%	4%	1%	0%
Xiasha	10%	50%	40%	Little		
Xinzhou	10%	50%	40%	Little		
Shixia	15%	29%	30%	15%	8%	3%
Shang Meilin	5%	46.8%	46.4%	0.6%	1.2%	0%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, part2, Inspecting "Urban Village", 37)



(Source: Futian District Statistical Yearbook 2003)

Figure 2-2: Vocations of floating population in Futian District (2003)

2.1.3 Dualistic Community

On the inhabitation aspect, a small portion of floating population can live with their friends and relatives or live in their workplaces, but most of them have to rent a house to live in. The huge population in Shenzhen needs large amount of rental houses to accommodate (*Table 2-4*).

Table 2-4: Dwellings of floating population in Futian District

Dwellings	Hostel	In the house of relatives	Room afforded by unit	Building site	Renting rooms	Others	Total
Number	27971	108135	204901	93282	805706	79546	1319541
Percentage	2%	8%	16%	7%	61%	6%	100%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian Village, part2, Inspecting “Urban Village”, 24)

2.1.3.1 Relationship between Original Villagers & the Floating Population

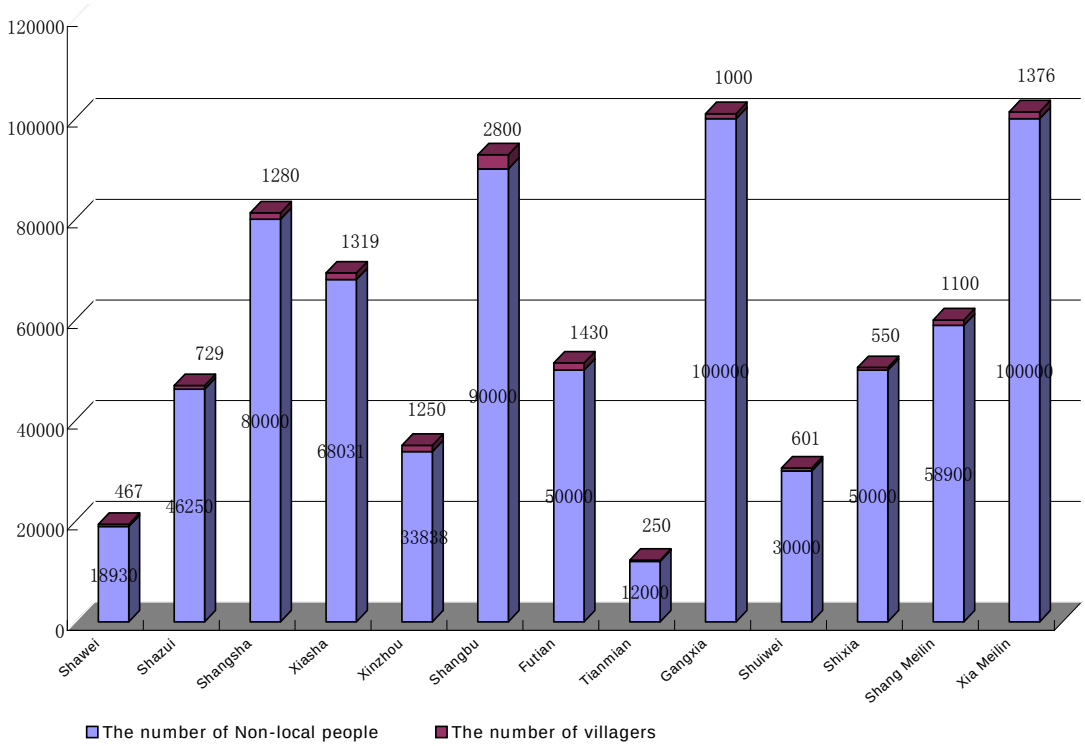
The so-called "dualistic community" refers to a community that, under the current residency policy, the floating population and local villagers in the same “village” have different systems on distribution, employment, social status, inhabitancy, and they do not mentally recognize each other (Zhou Daming 2000).There is no other substantial relationship between the local villagers and the outcomers except the rental relationship. From the outcomers' point of view, generally they have their own relationship network and most of them are limited in the small social circle with those who come from the same place, classmates or colleagues. From the local villagers' point of view, there is no strong desire or need to communicate with those outcomers in the same way. Especially they are alert to those outcomers and avoid frequent communication with them as much as possible in most circumstances (*Table 2-5*). In such voluntary-separated relationship structure there are not many direct conflicts and contradictions each other and the mutual economic benefits are the fasten belt of such relationship. At the present time, local villagers are still occupying the absolute dominance in the village economic social structure while the floating population are superior in the quantity (*Figure 2-3*). When talking about the impacts brought in by the massive outcomers, villagers show self-contradictory opinions. Considering economic benefits, they wish more people to come into the “village” and rent their houses. But at the same

time, they are worrying about the environment and security of the "village" being destroyed and they even feel resentful somehow. Some villagers who are financially capable buying houses outside the "village" move out.[5]

Table 2-5: Communicate range of villagers

Villagers in the village or other villages	Lessees of the village	Relations	Colleagues	Others
60%	24%	9%	4%	2%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, part4, Step in "Urban Village", 95)



(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District. Part2, Inspecting "Urban Village" (1))

Figure 2-3: The proportion between the floating population and original villagers in the partly "villages" in Futian District

[5] With the expansion of traffic systems, transfer of economic activity and implement of policies of government, outside residences and new activities gradually come into new communities, which is regarded as the process of evasion, then outside residents and new activities can take place original residents and activities in the community. This process of evasion- supersede widely exists in the "villages" in Shenzhen.

(1) Differences between floating population and the original villagers

(a) Cultural differences

Cultural differences are a big obstacle in communications between the villagers and out-comers and these differences are mainly demonstrated in the differences in language and habits. Regional variances are very apparent in Chinese culture, and are distinguished in ways of living and dietetic habits. Language is a tool for communication, and language obstacle is an important factor affecting interpersonal communications. The most commonly language used in Guangdong Province is Cantonese, making it difficult for workers from other places to communicate with local people. The communication object of lessees in “villages” is people from the same place, colleagues, friends and they seldom communicate with others (*Table 2-6*).

Table 2-6: Communicate objects of lessees in the “villages”

Fellow-villagers	Neighbours	Colleagues	School-fellows	Friends	Others
30.0%	6.2%	25.2%	6.4%	27.4%	4.7%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part2, Inspecting “Urban Village”, 41)

(b) Limited interest cooperation

The main factor attracting the population flow from rural area to urban area is the pursuit of economic interest. When deciding whether to cooperate with local villager or not, the primary consideration is interest. When the floating population do not have to depend on the internal resource of “villages”, they tend to not cooperate with people inside "villages". However, it is impossible for the floating population to have no absolute interest relationship with the “village”. They live in a space that is divided into many small isolated rooms, but it is impossible for these rooms to be absolutely isolated.

However, Foster had put forward the concept of “*image of limited good*” (Foster 1965). He thought that the interest and opportunities in their lives are limited. If the opportunities of some people increase, then those of others will decrease. When a “village” becomes the provider of social welfare and opportunities, the villagers do not wish the interests of “village” be shared by outside people (Potter,

Diaz and Foster [ed] 1967).

Strict system of “certification of villager” can protect the interest of villagers. “Certification of villager” is a kind of unique phenomenon in the developed regions during the process of industrialization. It is self-protection and control of interest system after the economic strength of collective organization boosts up. Controlling in-burst of the floating population and preventing the interest of “village” outflow are the cores of this system.

There is a normative system in such “village” that has strict village residency policies:

1) The span of retaining village residency

For example, people who married out can retain their village residency and have the right to share admeasurements of the “village”. This right is valid in three years. On the other hand, when people outside the “village” marry into the “village” or marries into wife’s family need to wait for three years before they can share the admeasurements of the “village”;

2) Restriction on re-enter into village residency

For example, when the original villager changes his status from agriculture status to non-agriculture, he is restricted if he wants to re-enter into village residency;

3) Violation handling

Villagers who seriously violate rules of “village” (such as drug taking) will be deprived of all admeasurements and welfare and even be disqualified in village residency status.

These systems are established on villagers' written conventions and strictly abided by the villagers. Few villagers will risk their residency status to violate these systems due to the consideration of retaining village residency. In fact, this system has already turned into an integrated system that is associated with salary, welfare, opportunity of work and education. If people are provided with the “village citizenship”, he has the priority of employment, welfare, allowances and sharing dividends and other rights. If he loses the “village citizenship”, he will lose all benefits. New joiner has the right to share a portion of it. For this reason, benefit distribution in the “village” is strongly exclusive. In the “village” married ladies are

reluctant to leave the “village” and villagers are not willing to accept people from outside except by means of marriage, and they also reject the re-joining of those who change their residency status from rural to urban years ago.

Village system inside "villages" has its own specific social foundation and affected not only by the isolation of family and village culture, but also by the collective ownership of village property right and the welfare system accompanying it (He Daofeng 1995).

At beginning, the villagers passively accepted the floating population into the villages, but they quickly felt the positive effect of them. Although the influx of floating population makes the environment dirty and social order rough and tumble, villagers can get plentiful income from them. Firstly, rent of houses and lands become important and steady income source, so some villagers purely rely on rents and have lived leisurely and comfortable life. “Villages” in Shenzhen become the settlements of floating population who not only change the economic structure of “villages”, but also form a kind of complicate and multivariate relational pattern between the villagers and the floating population. Specially, on one hand, antipathy, alienation and even antithetic attitude between them are held to some degree.

On the other hand, during the process of interaction between economy and society, interdependence and share in common from profit aspect more and more come into being, resulting in informal interest community between them. Basing on rational evaluation, by tacit and spontaneous fashion, mutual benefit becomes the impetus to unite different parts in the community. Both sides need to protect the interests of other side to a certain extent in order to pursue their own interests. For instance, villagers manage to protect the resident validity of lessees during the check-up by the government; similarly, lessees keep secrets for house-renters. This cooperative conduction normally has not turned into fixed form by formal negotiation. In the “villages” in Shenzhen, villagers and the floating population commonly antagonize disadvantageous policies and pressures coming from management systems of government through this tacit corporation, for the sake of protecting the interest and integration of community.

Of course, this integration of community brings in a series of social problems. For example, some managing policies about floating population cannot get effec-

tively transferred through current social managing systems (joint-stock companies and resident committees) but objectively make floating population evade the control and management of urban society. Furthermore, restraining force of laws and moralities universally decrease in the "villages", owning to indulgent protections each other in the community. Consequently, "villages" in Shenzhen increasingly become a grey-belt that the government cannot control and manage effectively. The integration and community between villagers and the floating population afford protecting systems for the crimes.

2.1.3.2 Social Stratification

Four factors contribute to the structure of social stratification in the villages, which include: 1) identity and real estate; 2) managerial ability; 3) capital; 4) knowledge and skills. The first is stratification based on identity, which divides people into two groups-local villager and non-villager (*Plate 2-1*). The persons who are not local villagers usually live on business or manual work, while the local villagers live mainly on three sources-dividends, house renting and business. Since the income from dividends and house rental is far higher than that from small business and manual work, the villagers are often richer than non-villagers and even ordinary urban citizens.

Plate 2-1: The floating population in Shangsha Village

The second one is stratification within the villagers group, which is based on managing power. While socially small in scale, a "village" has several management levels. *"Traditionally, the status of a village family has depended on the amount of land and the number of houses owned, in addition to the size of the ancestral estate in which the family had a share. Nowadays, with most of the wealth in the village derived from salaries and from brokerage deals by the political leaders of the vil-*

lage, a family's wealth is largely hidden or is expressed in different terms and is rarely invested in land" (Potter 1968,173). The people in power often make higher incomes from the real estate they own and they may change their bank savings into "living capital".

The third mode of stratification is based on the possession of capital, which divides the non-villagers, mainly immigrants from other provinces, into two groups-those with and those without capital. Those with capital comprise those who own small businesses; those without capital are wage earners who work for a living. It is worth mentioning, however, that the income gap between those with and those without capital is not large. This is because the firms and shops that the people with capital own are usually so small that incomes coming from them, after rent and tax, guarantee little more than a hand-to-mouth existence.

The final stratification is made among those who work for a living and who are divided into so-called white collar and blue collar. The "white collar workers" living in the "villages" are often technicians, sales persons, teachers, doctors, taxi drivers, journalists and clerks, while the "blue collar workers" usually work in factories, on building sites, in transportation or catering. "Pink collar workers" are the females of prostitutions, while "black collar workers" are engaged in illegal matters.

This is the structure of social stratification now existing in the "villages". It is however by no means static; rather, it changes with time, as determined by individual rational choice. Therefore, the "rising" or "creating" processes of stratification by no means duplicate the old ones. For example, many small firm owners and the white-collar workers may have great expectations due to their risk-taking, and their knowledge and technology. Actually, these kinds of people are rising in the new round of the stratification process. On the contrary, the people dependant on property is declining in the new knowledge-based era. Not working and being accustomed to a comfortable life, they have gradually lost the entrepreneurial spirit. Consequently, some of them may fall to a lower class.

Although many villagers are capable of buying commercial houses, 95% of them do not move to those communities that have better living conditions and they still live in "villages" (*Table 2-7*). The contributing factors to this situation are mainly as follow: firstly, living in "villages" can easily manage their rental houses;

secondly, from a social characteristics point of view, villagers are a group different from urban citizens. Living in commercial community villagers will feel isolated while in “villages” they can get a sense of belonging, since they are familiar with the environment; thirdly, building a house in “villages” costs less than living in commercial house.

Table 2-7: Proportion between villagers living in the “villages” and total villagers

Shawei Village	Shazui Village	Shangsha Village	Xiasha Village	Xinzhou Village	Shangbu Village	Futian Village	Tian-mian Village	Gangxia Village
98%	80%	98%	98%	90%	90%	99%	99%	95%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village”in Futian District, part2, Inspecting “Urban Village”, 31)

2.1.3.3 Social Anomie

One typical description of “villages” in Shenzhen is: “*this is the habitat for the floating population, in which exist dense rental houses that look like a forest. And in this "forest" live all kinds of people: the white collars and blue collars, the rich and the poor, artists, migrant workers, beggars as well as thieves. In a word, you can find all kinds of people in such place which is full of urban chaos, energy and desire*". As discussed in previous paragraphs, “villages” in Shenzhen are "dualistic" communities. Local villagers and the floating population are two completely different groups. In such community that has extrinsic, heterogeneous, floating characteristics as well as the absence of strict internal organizing structure breeds the rental demand and a certain degree of consumption demand, but it also brings other public concerns such as security, sanitation and relative community living conditions.

In this floating social space, individual's social behaviour usually deviates from their past living field and track, and breaks away from their old social norms and values. They enter into a brand new social space. These migrant workers are not able to share all the treatments as urban citizens in medical insurance, life insurance and unemployment insurance etc. Also they are discriminated in house renting, continuing education, child schooling admission, etc. They come into contact with a value ideology and social norms that are completely different from

what they had before. In such situation, they are inevitably at lost and have a strong feeling of being deprived. In a sociological term, that is social anomie. Anomie refers to *"society's insufficient presence in individual and the absence of society"* (Durkheim 1951, 389ff). *"Durkheim suggested, is that it has successively destroyed all the established social contexts; one after another that have been banished either by the slow erosion of time or by violent revolution, and in such fashion that nothing has been developed to replace them"* (Nisbet 1994, 300), then the phenomenon of anomie come out. So far, there is no sophisticated social behaviour system in China that has universal restriction and standardization significance, neither there is an impartiality protection mechanism that has comparative rationality for the strong as well as for the weak. In such strange society without intact behaviour norms, individuals can easily lose into a social anomie state that they behave in irrational, instinct driven way. *"The individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. This constitutes essentially the state of anomie or the social void to which Durkheim alludes in attempting to account for the various forms of social disorganization in technological society"* (Wirth 1938). This is the sociological reason that can explain the massive crime problems in the "villages" in Shenzhen.

The relevant point with the floating characteristic is that, multi-culture and heterogeneity are the inner properties of "villages" in Shenzhen. The collision and aggregation of multi-cultures inevitably increase the frequency of conflicts and bring the necessary community order standardization and mechanisms re-estimate and at the same time raise a series of social problems.

(a) Underground prostitution

Beauty parlors, barbershops, massage parlors, coffee shops, house of lounge in the "villages";

(b) Underground gambling

Kerbside, inside shops or stores, lets, elderly activity centers, memorial tem-

ples;

(c) Underground traffic in drugs

(d) Fake production

Most everyday commodities in shops in “villages” are fake, ranging from garments, cases and bags, shoes and socks, to waistbands and glasses;

(e) Gangsterdom

Doing business and managing enterprises (most of them belong to entertaining industry) are the conducting ways. In such places they conduct illegal activities such as pornographic activities, gambling. China now is in its social transformation period and inevitably experiencing the hardening social contradictions. For example, millions of extra labour forces from rural areas come into cities spontaneously and orderlessly, and they can get reliable employments and social protections, thus they inevitably search for self-protection. Many gangsters are built on the relationship of countrymen and relatives.

From public economic activities aspects, underground economic activities such as drug dealing, brigandage and prostitution need necessary working conditions, various channels, certain degree of order and norms, constraint powers that can restrict aberration. All of these aspects cannot be guaranteed and protected by the state laws and economic policy. Thus they need their own working channels and networks as well as their own coordinators, protectors and executors. This is also an important reason why gangster organizations exist and continue to develop. The functions of gangster organization include: define and assign the market scope and share of invisible economic activities; establish code of conduct (so called "*Jianghu rules*") and deliver punishment to transgressors; build up powerful "executing" team; maintain various relationship network, protective network that are necessary to the normal operation of illegal economic activities and maintain criminal organizations to confront government arbitrary force when necessary;

(f) Steal and plunder

Lacking of effective management on the floating population in the “villages” in Shenzhen, criminals always regard the “villages” as harbor locations. The floating

population becomes primary criminal group. From July to October 2004, the number of criminal cases in the “villages” came up to 9060, and took up more than half of the total number in the entire city. Specially, the proportion of steal and plunder cases is at the maximum;[6]

(g) Fire

Public roadways are narrow. Alleyways between buildings are no more that 2 meters and what's more, electrical wires on both walls are in disorder vertically and horizontally;

(h) Young generation of the nouveaux riches

Because of the low education level of the young generation, on the average about 30% villagers are illiterate or received elementary education, about 40% received junior high school education, about 20% senior high school/ technical secondary school education and no more than 10% received college or above education. At the same time, working opportunities are limited in “villages”, thus they stay at home and become the "subjective surplus labour force"[7](*Table 2-8*).

[6] Resource from *Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District. Part1, Constituting Harmonious Futian District,* 2005.

[7] The definition of subjective surplus labour force is the part of labour force living in rich villages basing on non-agricultural production. Their standard of living is higher than that of the villagers in poor villages, and they voluntarily stay at home, and do not go out to work (Zheng Huihua, Xiao Meiping 2002).

Table 2-8: Educational background of villagers

Villages	Educational background					
	Elementary school	Junior high school	Senior high school/ technical secondary school	Junior/ college	College/ University	Graduate
Shawei	Most of the elder graduated from elementary school; most of middle age people graduated from elementary school or junior high school; most of the youth graduated from senior high school or junior college.					
Shazhui	35.6%	40%	18.5%	4.4%	0.7%	0.7%
Shangsha	Most of the elder graduated from elementary school; most of middle age people graduated from elementary school or junior high school; most of the youth graduated from senior high school, junior college or college.					
Xiasha	30%	49%	15%	5%	1%	0%
Shangbu	17%	61%	16%	4.3%	1%	0.7%
Futian	16%	28%	37%	16%	3%	-
Tianmian	Most of the elder graduated from elementary school; most of the youth graduated from senior high school, technical secondary school.					
Gangxia	40%	30%	20%	9%	1%	0%
Shuiwei	22.8%	53.1%	19.1%	2.5%	2.5%	0%
Shixia	-	50%	20%	7.2%	2.2%	0%
Shang Meilin	Most of the elders and middle age people graduated from elementary school or junior high school. Most of the youth graduated from senior high school.					
Xia Meilin	21.9%	54%	15.4%	6.7%	1.7%	0.2%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, part2, Inspecting "Urban Village", 27)

2.2 National Power in Villages and Forbidding of Villages

During most of Chinese history the state let society organize itself, confined its functions to exploitation and control. Society mostly organized itself. Self organization proved to be a more powerful and durable source of organization than the actions of the state. Rather than managing them, the state attempted to use these local organizations for its own interests: maintenance of control through the exercise of self-defense and judicial functions; and the facilitation of exploitation through the collection of revenues; the registration of population, and the execution of public works. In the formation and operation process of the "top to bottom" and "bottom to top" community power system, "villages" in Shenzhen inevitably show the enrooted historical heritage and the inundant extrinsic reality power in both their internal social structures and the external social appearances. In order to better understand the transformation of its power mode and the power gaming between the state and the village, it is necessary to summarize and describe the general features of its historical development track and actual structure.

2.2.1 Double-track Political System in Traditional Society

Under traditional society "double-track political system" governing mode, village governing contains two aspects: the state administrative power and society self-governing power. Country gentlemen take advantage of their superiority in land, power, reputation and combine the "top to bottom" administrative power and self-governing power inside village society and thus become the actual governors. From the relationship between the state and the society aspect, the relationship between the state, country gentlemen and peasants can be summarized as "mutual utilization". However, this "mutual utilization" relationship is chain-like (linear) instead of triangle (balancing): the relation between peasants and the state is very weak, thus excluding the social main body-peasants-from rural political circle.

This is the main village-governing mode before 1949. In this period, the three

dominating local powers that governing the rural social orders are: blood relationship group, deputing base organization, earth-relation and volunteer groups.

2.2.1.1 Blood Relationship Group

In blood relationship group, patriarchs are the subjects who possess real power. They officiate their power, take charge of the internal order and coordinate between clans according to a series of clan rules. The power of patriarchs is supported by the Confucian theory under lineal ideology and a series of clan rules. Especially they are supported by a set of considerable public properties including ancestral hall and clan fields (public fields belong to the clan). These properties enhance the material base of patriarchs' authority, since "*the existence of public clan property is the economic base for the clan organization to officiate various functions above each family*" (Chao Jingqing, Zhang Letian, Chen Zhongye 2001, 496). "*The sib, which in the occidental Middle Ages was practically extinct, in China was completely preserved in the administration of the smallest political units as well as in the operation of economic associations*" (Weber 1951, 86).

The power range of patriarchs mainly includes: 1) managing ancestral hall issues; 2) moderating marriage or funeral or happy events; 3) maintaining clan pedigree; 4) in charge of writing new names on the clan pedigree for the offspring. Patriarch is a group or individual that has the highest seniority in the clan. Its status and authority are from the early primal model and from the patriarchy. Chinese traditional culture had always recognized and enhanced such authority structure, which was very prevalent in villages before 1949. By now, patriarch's status has changed significantly: the absolute status and authority that given by the clan culture in many clans now is weakened and decentralized. Since the old patriarch's authority structure has been changed, its activities change accordingly and can be divided into the following basic types:

(1) Honorary type

They enjoy a certain degree of status and authority and are respected by the clan members. Since they have higher seniority and more experience, they have

voice on internal issues. However, they have no actual power. Their opinions are consultative and for reference. The honorary type patriarch structure in fact is the weakest type among various models.

(2) Arbitrative type

They enjoy a certain degree of status and authority and power, mainly acting as the coordinator in village clan. They have no decisive power on general clan issues that are decided by official organization hierarchs such as directorate of joint-stock company. They act as the final mediators in internal entanglements, conflicts and significant decisions. The arbitrative functions of patriarch are mainly reflected on marriages, funerals and clan entanglements. They have limited power on other public issues. This model is the most popular type in the present village community.

(3) Directing type

They enjoy most of substantial power and highest status on clan issues (sometimes official organization as well). In such mode, patriarchs officiate their power by holding meetings.

2.2.1.2 Deputing Base Organization

In a village corporate community, traditional local elites and the special social group –gentry play an important role in the rural governing. Local gentry obtain their authority inside village corporate community by blood relationship, clan organization, land property, knowledge and imperial examinations. They act as the "brokers" of the empire in the rural society base on their strategic position. On one hand, they help the bottom officials govern and maintain social order. On the other hand, they utilize their status to participate illegal activities to satisfy their interest need, or act as the deputy of the rural corporate community to protect local interest and resist incursion of the empire authority. Due to the existence of such rural power class, the governing power of the central government is weaken.[8]

[8] The term “gentry” is borrowed from English history. The early Chinese term, *chin-shen*, which can be traced back to before the Ch’in and Han, was simply a synonym for officials. The term shen-shih or shen-chin was used in Ming and Ch’ing times, indicating the emergence of a new

Prasenjit raised a concept of double brokerage identity (state brokerage and entrepreneurial brokerage) in his well-known theory of "*brokerage model*" (Duara 1988, 42f). That is to say, there is a large flexible space between the state and village. One characteristic of the neoteric history development is the expansion of state administrative power to the bottom of the society. "T*wo broad historical processes distinguished the first half of the twentieth century from earlier times in rural China. The first was the series of economic changes stemming from the impact of the West. The second represented the efforts of the state to deepen and strengthen its command over rural society*" (Duara 1988, 1). However, the expansion of state power only forces villages to open to the state administrative power, but not necessarily means that the village has already been open up.

"Occasionally numbering many thousands of residents, the villages differed from the 'cities' simply in that they took care of this function through their own organization. The village temple served as a central agency as Chinese law and the peasant's way of thinking naturally involved no concept of 'corporation'" (Weber 1951, 91).

"*The 'temple' had jurisdiction over petty causes and very often usurped jurisdiction over causes of all sorts. The government intervened only where interests of state were concerned. The temple court, not the court authorities of the state, enjoyed the confidence of the people. The 'temple' took care of the roads, canals, defence, safety; it rotated obligatory guard-duty which, in actuality, was mostly bought off. The temple took charge of defence against robbers or neighbouring villages, and provided schools, doctors, medicaments, and burials insofar as the sibs could not or would not do so. The temple contained the armoury of the 'village'.*

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status group-degree holders. The Ch'ing inherited both its examination system and the structure of its gentry from the Ming Dynasty. The gentry were the local elite who shared with the government the control of local affairs. They represented an informal power, in contrast to the formal power invested in the local government (Ch'u 1988, 168ff).

Sophisticated studies show that the gentry class was actually a highly segmented entity with differentiated links to the imperial state. Generally speaking, however, the role of the gentry as political broker between the state and rural society is of no doubt. For some studies of the political role of the gentry in rural life (Fei Hsiao-tung 1953; Ch'u, T'ung-tsu 1962; Hsiao, Kung-chuan 1960).

The village legally and actually was capable of acting as a corporate body through the temple-impossibility for the 'city'. Actually, not the city but the village was the armed association capable of defending the interests of those in its orbit" (Weber 1951, 92f). In a word, a village is self-governed organization, whose functions are dictated as followed:

1) Underwriting the expenses involved when the whole village is engaged in a lawsuit with a neighbouring group;

2) Loans to the poor people for burials and loans to students;

3) Rewards to scholars who have succeeded in the official competitive examinations or who have graduated from modern middle schools or colleges;

4) Repairs on public buildings, ancestral graves, bridges and streets.

From the Qing Dynasty to the eve of the Liberation, "*Zhong Litang*" was the administrative center of villages in Shenzhen. It specialized in dealing with public issues in village and mediated various entanglements. The leadership is divided according to the population proportion of individual family names and lined out expense fee from rent income of clan fields mainly for various public activities, public constructions and security management.

2.2.1.3 Earth-relation and volunteer Groups

People from different family names voluntarily build up various organizations out of education, faith, assistance and interest, such as Lion's Club, Dragon Boat Club, etc. Because of the highly aggregating and overlapping social relationship network and the highly indrawn trust relationship under the rural condition, its members are largely aligned with the authority organization. Without questions, the recognition of blood-relationship group has the greatest impact.

Among the three types of power structure influencing the rural order, patriarch club who is supported by strong economic resources is the authority entity that has the massive villager foundation and mental rationality recognition, thus it becomes the core of the community authority and the true representative. Under such conditions, it is an inevitable fact that earth-relationship interest groups are "colonized" by the clan consciousness. And any acting power from the state au-

thority realizes the balance of the "top to bottom" and "bottom to top" energy and power only by utilizing the clan power.

2.2.2 Collective Deputing Mode under the People's Commune System

2.2.2.1 The Double Structuring of Village by the State

Traditionally, and increasingly after the middle of the 19th century when the power of the Qing Dynasty began to weaken, Chinese villagers had been accustomed to organizing their own affairs in the context of their families, lineages, and villages-under the control of the local landlord-officials. The direct power of the imperial government had rested lightly on the countryside, with a bureaucracy so small that for all practical purposes government did not interfere at the local level as long as order was maintained and taxes were paid. It was the direct power of the landlord-gentry, which assisted the state in keeping order and, in this part of China even, collected the taxes, which rested heavily on the villagers. The peasants, in direct contact with the landlord-gentry, and only in indirect contact with the government, were always suspicious of the latter. After the founding of PRC in 1949, a new concept of China as a nation-state, with a government embodying and representing the interests of the entire Chinese people and responsible for their welfare had arisen, and was being set in place. The landlord-bureaucrat-local despot class, which had dominated villages before Liberation, had been delimited and the power, prestige, and wealth forcibly stripped from them. They had traditionally been a Janus-faced buffer group, mediating between the peasants and the state and obstructing and reform that threatened their class interests. But with the elimination of the landlord group, the state was free to extend its power directly into the villages in a way that had never been done in the old society.

The task of state building in the countryside was not completed until the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power. Soon after it eventually achieved national state power in 1949, the CCP launched a series of large-scale social programs to restructure rural society according to its modern revolutionary ideology. Through land reform, collectivisation and the Great Leap Forward, China's

rural society experienced a fundamental transformation. Lineage organizations, religious sects, and other voluntary association based on traditional networks were all eliminated from control over rural social life. Old elites who had previously dominated rural society and had played the role of “entrepreneurial broker” between the state and peasants were simply swept away politically or even physically. Ordinary peasants were mobilized into political life under the leadership and firm control of the CCP, and new class categories were imposed upon rural population. Peasant Associations, Women’s Associations, Mutual Aid Associations, and other similar political and economic organizations were widely established in villages around the Party’s leadership. As local party branches were established in even small villages, the party-state actually extended its administrative power far deeply into every corner of rural society. After the establishment of the PRC, the methods and systems the state governing the rural society have been changed fundamentally. The "strong state-weak society" mode guaranteed the state's control to the society, but it sacrificed the self-governing and vitality of the society, resulting in the excessive state intervention to the private sector. Only several years after the liberation, the relationship between the state and rural communities was completely changed:[9]

Firstly, highly centralized community authority structure refers to that, community authority integrates to the centralized authority of the CCP and the state, and community becomes the simple tool for obeying the higher and executing the lower class. Along with the abolishment of pao chia system,[10] collapse of

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[9] For the transformation of rural society in the early years of the PRC (Hinton, William 1966; Shue, Vivienne 1980).

[10] The *pao-chia*, under which are ten households. The members of which were held to be mutually responsible for one another’s behaviour, were grouped into a chia, ten chia forming a pao, was more or less in force in China from 1932 to 1949, when the communists, took over the government, then abolished it. It had been first instituted in 1069 or 1070 by the famous statesman Wang An-Shih. According to Fei ’s opinion, the pao-chia system was introduced for military purposes of registering and organizing the people more effectively against the communists (Fei Xiaotong 1953). Yang says: “Since the revival (a supposed revival of an older system of social control) of the pao-chia system, each family must post on the top of the front door, a card bearing the name, age, sex, kinship status, and occupation of the family members... The government has recently initiated the pao-chia system but the

"*Zhong Litang*" and the confiscation of clan public property, the old authority foundation is lost in all aspects.

Secondly, there were highly centralized authority elites. Throughout the collective period local cadres in Chinese villages played the role of "men in the middle," with little room to manoeuvre between the state and society.[11] Lacking alternative political and economic resources, they had no other choice but to faithfully implement state policies that transformed and exploited Chinese rural society. Through these loyal local agents, the Chinese party-state deeply penetrated rural society and successfully established its power in the daily lives of villagers. It is clear that this new structure of power and authority in rural areas was based on the command economy and the cellularized rural social structure. This institutional context of rural politics remained intact until the party-state eventually initiated the rural economic reforms in the late 1970s.

While recognizing the intense efforts of the government to use ideological and organizational means to transform rural society, many scholars doubt that it has succeeded as much as it had hoped. Several kinds of evidence have been presented to substantiate this argument. First, communal boundaries of villages remain intact despite decades of collectivization aimed at reducing loyalties to them. Second, most scholars would agree that the Chinese family as a social unit in the community was never destroyed by the socialist revolution. Family-centered values continue to

villagers very rarely comply with it. They would not report that a son of their neighbour was involved in anything wrong. This reluctance is mainly due to the traditional relations between neighbours, which make it very hard for one villager to report another's bad behaviour to a government authority or an outsider. It is also due to the fact that the system was primarily adopted for eliminating politically undesirable persons, especially those who have been accused of being communists, and often a person in disfavour with the political authorities may be on good terms with his fellow villagers" (Yang 1945, 9ff).

[11] However, Shue goes so far as to argue that, as did China's rural gentry did in imperial era, local cadres in communist China acted as the representatives of local interest and provided an effective buffer between the community and the state. She concludes that as local officials and cadres devised an array of ploys and strategies to protect their localities against intrusive central demands, the capacity of the party-state to penetrate and control rural villages were greatly truncated (Shue 1988). For a critique of Shue's model of peasant localism (Unger 1989).

be felt, and have often buffered family members against the direct powers of the state.[12] Third, Jean C. Oi observes that policies were implemented through the cadres, who maintained a network of patron-client ties with fellow villagers (Oi 1985). Similarly, Vivienne Shue maintains that, *"not all cadres in locality-based offices could pursue local interests with equal skill or enthusiasm, and some cadres in vertically linked bureaus may also have stood to advance their own careers by promoting the interests and the performance levels of the locality in which they happened to be assigned…The structural deconcentration of authority institutionalized in this kind of a system, however, certainly suggests the hypothesis that it functioned, at least some of the time, to protect a cellular rural periphery against direct central penetration and control"* (Shue 1988,57). Finally, responses to recent reforms seem to indicate that, once the ideological lid is lifted, individual entrepreneurship and traditional popular beliefs, phenomena that the party-state attacked as "feudal practices," have come back with a vengeance.

(1) Land reform period（1949-1952）

Firstly, the system of "authorized villages" constituted by the nation was tried to make the villages become administrative structures. It had dualism functions, one being breaking originally closed structure and shaping the villages according to needs of nation; the other being changing the villages into stable and omnipotent "economic and administrative unit", and then into self-closed structure controlled by the nation.

After the establishment of the PRC, nation-wide land reform was carried out and basically defined the boundary of the current villages. Lands in villages were belonging to villagers who undertook agricultural and related activities. People outside village or villagers who worked outside could not possess farmland whereas villagers cannot possess land outside the village. The geographical boundaries of village were very stable, except for change by the state's requisition.

[12] There are various interpretations of the Chinese family in transition based on research in South China (Yang 1959; Parish and Whyte1978). I think that family dynamics is an extremely important area of analysis for understanding cultural continuity and change during China's decades of social and political engineering.

Another aspect that reflected the state's dualistic opening and isolating villages was the fundamental reform of village structure. The Peasant Union that in charge of implementing land reform was a completely different class organization with the original village organization. It mainly consisted of poor peasants. The new standard of village leader was neither about managing competency nor experience or education, not to mention the amount of property. What needed was to meet the motivating and driving requirement of the state's political revolution since its authority was supported by the state machine.

These changes in village structure and members had completely destroyed the original relationship between the state and village. Those previous non-official organization agencies no longer existed let alone the local authority between them. As far as a system was concerned, the state and village were basically incorporated.

(2) Agricultural producers' cooperation period (1953-1957)

The CCP considered it necessary to overcome the difficulties of many peasants arising out of their scattered enterprises, to enable the broad masses of the poor peasants to promptly increase production and march toward the goal of being well-clothed and well-fed, and to enable the state to get far greater supplies of goods, grain and industrial raw materials than before. Generally speaking, there were three main types of mutual aid and cooperation in China:

The first form was the simple mutual aid. This was the lowest form, organized chiefly on a seasonal or temporary basis. This sort of organization was generally of small size, and apart from the needs of special individual cases, it was generally only suited to small-scale operation.

The second type was the long-term mutual aid organization, which was a higher form compared with the first. It started with the coordination of mutual aid in agriculture with mutual aid in subsidiary occupations, and gradually achieved coordination between labour mutual aid and the improvement of technique.

The third type was the agricultural producers' cooperation, which was characterized by the contribution of land as investment, and was thus also known as the land cooperation. This organization included certain important characteristics al-

ready existing in some areas in the organization of the second type, such as the coordination between mutual aid in agriculture and mutual aid in subsidiary occupations, the ownership of some common property. But these features had been developed to a greater extent (Selden［ed］1979).

(3) The people's commune period（1958-1982）

The penetration of the state-party into rural society reached its climax in early 1960 when rural communities were eventually integrated into the larger polity through a set of new administrative arrangements. In order to extract as many resources as it could from rural areas, following the failure of the Great Leap Forward, the CCP launched a new round of rural reorganization: the communization movement. By the year of 1962, the boundaries of rural communities were completely redrawn and rural society was organized into more than 70,000 people's communes.

The people's commune was a three-tiered administrative system that combined both government and production functions. The commune was divided into production brigades and the brigades were divided into teams. Each level was subordinate to the one above. Production teams, brigades, and communes were all comprehensive units of territorial administration charged with responsibility for all aspects of economic development and social life in their areas. Specially, the production team (often neighbourhoods in villages or small hamlets) was the basic unit of agricultural production and accounting. The team calculated revenues and expenditures and distributed income to team members in cash and kind according to quality and type of labour. Each peasant's income was a share of the team's net income available for distribution after paying taxes and debts and reserving some funds for productive investment and social welfare (*Plates 2-2 and 2-3*). The brigade usually consisted of seven to eight teams. Besides agricultural production, it was also responsible for small-scale rural local infrastructure, industry, and social welfare such as elementary schools and clinics. The commune, which usually consisted of seven to thirteen brigades, was the highest level of the three-tiered administration system. The commune had a dual role: as a collective institution theoretically responsible to its members, and as a representative of the state,

(Source: Shenzhen Museum)

Plate 2-2: The farmers cultivated the land by traditional tools during the Great Leap Forward

(Source: Shenzhen Museum)

Plate 2-3: Farmers of production team went to plant together on the morning

acting as the lowest level of state administration. All three levels were supervised by party secretaries and party branch committees, which reported to county authorities, the next level up the administrative hierarchy.[13]

During the "Culture Revolution" began in 1966, all "old ideology, old culture, old morals, old customs" were destroyed, and lineage halls that symbolizing traditional culture were no exception. With the widespread establishment of the people's communes, rural society experienced a process of social cellularization.[14] Peasants were divided into very small, comprehensive, and discrete units of life and labour. Rural free markets, which were the major social exchange networks through which individual families sold and bought their produces and products, were tightly regulated and suppressed. Villages rarely had opportunities for social intercourse of any kind with individuals outside their collective unit. Their opportunities for physical and social mobility were strictly circumscribed. They were confined to their village by a system of household registration and could not go to the cities or richer regions in search of work. Private production was discouraged through limitations

[13] Some studies have described the administration and organization of the commune system (Stavis 1977; Burns 1988).

[14] For an excellent study of rural cellularization and its impact on state-society relations (Shue 1988).

on private plots and restrictions on potentially lucrative household sidelines. As old networks of trade and exchange, of religious worship and even of marriage and family were weakened or even effectively dissolved. The team, brigade, and commune gradually became their sole source of economic livelihood, social identity, and political status. This political and economic dependence thus helped create overwhelming power for the party-state over peasants.

2.2.3 Rural Politics under the Villager Self-governing Background

Although the Chinese state-party successfully controlled rural local society during the first thirty years after its political and military victory in 1949, Chinese rural economy suffered extremely severe challenge by the end of the Great Cultural Revolution. The rigid institutional structure of the collective economy destroyed peasants' incentives for agricultural production, blocked the entrepreneurial potential of individuals and collectives, and led to astonishing wastes of various economic and human resources and extremely low agricultural productivity. Suffering under heavy exploitation by the party-state and disruptions by successive political movements, Chinese peasants and some local cadres became disillusioned with the political situation, frustrated the state elite's ambitious objective of rapid modernization of the whole country and posed serious threats to the legitimacy of the party-state. The standards of living of people were very low. Shenzhen was just a sleepy border town and had distinct contrast with Hong Kong, a prosperous city. Under the condition, large scale of "fleeing to Hong Kong" activities broke out, most of the youth in villages one after another went to Hong Kong by crossing the river, and the

(Source: Shenzhen Museum)

Plate 2-4: "The enemy of class" was denounced at a public meeting

following can give vivid dictate of scene at that time:

"Just after the spring festival of 1978, every frontier defensible pots were full of people. On the day, they could not go through for obstructing by soldiers, then they hided in the mountains, riversides or the weeds of sand beech. In the evenings, they climbed across wire nettings, or drift by boats along the sea, or jumped into the river and swimmed"[15].

At another side of wire nettings, Hong Kong was like a large magic magnet attracting all the members of villages; almost all the old men in the villages had the fleeing experiences. If their fleeing activities were not successful, they were denounced at a public meeting (*Plate 2-4*).

It was under these circumstances in rural China in the late 1970s when the patriarchal political leader Mao Zedong passed away and a new reform leadership group centered on Deng Xiaoping took power.

Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, rural China experienced a series of dramatic economic reforms throughout the 1980s. Firstly, collective agriculture was dismantled and replaced by a household contract farming system. Under the new "household responsibility system," land-use rights were given to peasants who were free to work as self-employed farmers, making their own decisions about production and sales. This allowed peasants to directly benefit from their labour as long as they met state-imposed grain quotas and paid other taxes and fees exacted by local governments and collectives. Household land contracts were eventually made hereditary to stimulate investment in the long-term productivity of land.

Secondly, in order to encourage the most productive use of economic resources, most restrictions on private commerce were lifted. Rural free markets for goods, credit, and labour were reopened. The state grain procurement system was transformed from mandatory procurement to voluntary contracts signed between peasants and state grain departments. In order to provide further incentives for agricultural production, state procurement prices for grain were raised periodically. By 1992 state regulation of grain prices on the free market had been completely

[15] Anonymous interview was carried on an elder with the author in Huanggang Village in Futian District in Shenzhen, summer 2004.

removed.

Thirdly, a large portion of public owned resources and enterprises were turned over to private control. Land parcels, machinery, credit, animals, boats, fishnets, tractors, trucks, and even entire factories were redistributed to peasant household in millions of villages. The scope for private capital accumulation was greatly expanded. Moreover, the rural economy was diversified away from the earlier singular emphasis on grain production. Collective and private sidelines and entrepreneurship were enthusiastically encouraged. Rural industry was encouraged and supported by the state.

(Source: Shenzhen Museum)

Plate 2-5: In planned economy period, the farmers themselves carried vegetables to sell in Hong Kong

On 31st, January 1979, the CCP Central Committee and the state Council decided to establish industrial zone in Shenzhen. Shenzhen Government also drawn up 13 specific clauses, such as: encourage associators to conduct pig-breeding or poultry breeding, develop small border trade, export farm produce from fringed community directly after accomplishing requisition task, and develop compensation trade. These policies gave border peasants more living space. At that time, Huanggang Village had 1300 *mu* land in Hong Kong. And each work team could arrange village to cross the border to cultivate these lands. But these permissions were very limited, thus not everyone could enjoy the right to cross the border. And those who did cross the border needed recommendation and must report to the county police department. According to the criteria, people at that time could be divided into three categories: The first category was the state cadre, unit cadre, and party members' sibs. They enjoy such treatment because of their sound family status; the second category was the couples who had no smuggled crossing family member. Part of them could enjoy such treatment. The third category could not obtain such "*Xiahai zheng*" (certificate for going to Hong Kong) or "*Gengzuo zheng*"(certificate for cultivation) because they had relatives who went to Hong Kong and their "class status" was not well, and they did not comply with collective

organization's request. Before 1978, there were only 200 people who held such certificate. They went to Hong Kong for cultivation and sold product there and handed in certain amount of money to the production team. People who held cross border cultivating certificate could enjoy more freedom and more income, thus their living standards was comparably higher than other peasants (*Plate 2-5*).

Drastic economic reforms also brought about a series of significant organizational changes in rural society.[16] As waves of decollectivation swept through the rural economy and the state withdrew from direct control of rural life, the three-tiered commune-brigade-team system of commune administration, which had integrated government administration with production management, lost its basis of existence. In the early 1980s, the new reform leadership in Beijing called for the withdrawal of the Party from daily micromanagement and the separation of government administration and economic management in order to promote rural entrepreneurship and task specialization. Between 1982 and 1985, rural people's communes were dismantled all over the countryside. The commune level was replaced by town or township governments. Production brigades were converted into administrative villages *(Xingzheng cun)* led by village committees *(Cunmin weiyuanhui)*, and production teams became small village groups *(Cunmin xiaozu)*. The village committee was designed as self-government for the new village community. It was a crucial bridge between the state and the villagers. While village cadres were still important instruments of state power, they were also formally required to be responsible for their fellow villagers. This significant organizational change along with the growing prosperity of the rural economy has fundamentally transformed the socio-economic and institutional context of rural politics and brought about some far-reaching changes in the triangular relationships among the state, local

[16] According to *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, Article 108, "*Local people's governments at and above the county level direct the work of their subordinate departments and of people's governments at lower levels. They also have the power to alter or annul inappropriate decisions of their subordinate departments and people's governments at lower levels…The relation between governments above the county level and ones at lower levels is 'command-comply.'*" According to *Organize of Village Committee in China*, Article 2, 4, "*The relations between village committee and government of county are unattached, equal, 'help-instruct.'*"

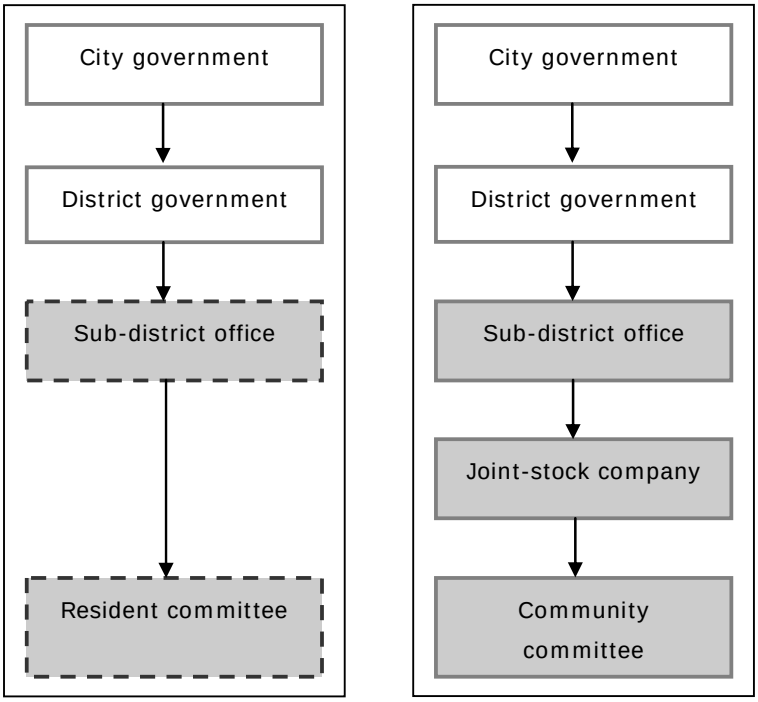
cadres and villagers.

At the same time, the state's withdrawal from direct control of rural life also weakened its own hold over local officialdom, through almost the same mechanisms. As I have analysed above, the tight control of the party-state over its local agents during the pre-reform era was sustained by a combination of organizational dependence, coercion, and ideological commitment on the part of cadres. As economic reforms transformed rural society, all these conditions for a high level of discipline and compliance among agents in the party-state began to weaken.

Recently, urban administrative system is represented by "city government–district government–sub-district Office-resident committee" organization structure while "villages" maintain "city government–district government-sub-district office–joint-stock company-community committee" organization structure.

Resident community is administrated by "sub-district office" which is the basic government designated organization and all administrative expenses are covered by the government finance. However, community committee is administrated by "joint-stock company" which serves as a villager self-governing organization, and all administrative expenses are covered by the villagers collectively. This is the root characteristic of "village as a *danwei*"[17] (*Figure 2-4*).

[17] Originally "*danwei*" is an institutional form in state-owned departments under the re-allot economic systems in China. Government offices, state-owned enterprises are not only working *danwei*, but also units of social life and political management, in which the members of such *danwei* have strong dependency on the unit for employment, welfare systems, medical treatment, etc."In China the *danwei* not only provides members of society with economic reward for their work; in addition, through the provision of housing, free medical care, child care centers, kindergartens, dining halls, bathing houses, service companies, and collective enterprises to employ the children of staff, the *danwei* provides its members with a complete social guarantee and welfare services" (Li Hanlin 1993, 23).



Management system in Shenzhen　　Management system of "villages" in Shenzhen

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, part2, Inspecting "Urban Village", 168)

Figure 2-4: Comparison of recent management system between the city and "villages" in Shenzhen

Given the collapse of public authority in the countryside, various forms of traditional authorities rapidly emerged to fill the political vacuum and the most important of them were lineage-based groups, religious groups, and even secret societies. Lineage groups were once one of the most important social forces during the long history of imperial China. Under the imperial system, the lineage group, rather than the household or individual, was the basic unit of society in broad rural areas. As Duara figured, the cultural nexus of power "*was composed of hierarchical organizations and networks of informal relations that constantly intersected and intersected with one another. Hierarchical institutions, such as those of the market, kinship, religion, and water control, and networks, such as those between patrons and clients or among affine, provided a framework within which power and authority were exercised*" (Duara 1988, 5).

Legitimated by the imperial state, lineage organizations not only wielded huge power in local affairs, but also helped collecting taxes that lineage members were individually obliged to the state. In this way they mediated the relations between

central power and individual subject and therefore became one of the founding parts of the imperial political order. After the communists took over national state power in 1949, the traditional lineage structure in rural society was first stripped of its political and legal functions and finally eliminated from social life. As the grassroots political institutions decayed after ten years of economic reforms, lineage organizations remerged and quickly developed into an important political force in rural areas.[18]

[18] Recently, the organizations of villages have already some functions of government. The contents are clarified in *3.2 Persistence & Transformation of Economic Organizations*, in *3 Persistence & Transformation of Economic Structures.*

2.3 Informal Systems & Social Networks in Villages

2.3.1 Formal Systems & Informal Systems

"Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction. In consequence they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic. Institutional change shapes the way societies evolve through time and hence is the key to understanding historical change…The major role of institutions in a society is to reduce uncertainty by establishing a stable (but not necessarily efficient) structure to human interaction"(North 1990,3ff).

Specifically, there are three kinds systems in the "villages". The first is contract of laws, in other words, formal contracts are signed according to normative regulations and laws, for instance, the economic contracts among different interest groups and the contracts of house sites. The second is folk regulations and contracts, which have no strict restrictions of laws. Normally, they can harmonize with inward interests in the "village" and with literal prescript. The third is relational contracts, which are oral contracts reserved from tradition. They still have strong restrictions. Contracts mentioned above harmonize with both social interest relations and economic interest relations. Therefore, villagers have seldom resort to courts when the dissensions among them occur.[19] *"A 'city' was the seat of the mandarin and was not self-governing; a 'village' was a self-governing settlement without a mandarin"* (Weber 1951, 91).

Informal systems and formal systems are two relative concepts and important parts constituting the system. Just like the two sides of a coin, they are two relative independent parts in a whole unit but impartibly closed-related components.

[19] Special attention should be paid to the following two points: 1. Although ideology is the main content of informal systems, it is not yet the focus of my research, but my focus lies in informal systems modified by adjectives such as "community", "local", "conventional", "non-governmental regulation's", "civilian", "traditional formed", "publicly recognized", "oral", "genetic relationship", "geographic", etc; 2.Despite of negative functions of informal systems, which go against effective collocation of resources and do harm to economic development and innovations of systems, positive functions of informal systems, ignoring by academia, are attached greater importance in this paper.

Formal systems, generally, take the form of national laws, statutes, policies, formal contracts, etc, providing no alternative choices for “villages” and villagers. These systems work generally in the help of governmental compulsive force and market force by contracts to function, and, use the two to strike and remove villagers’ traditional concepts and criteria. Informal systems are publicly recognized and customary norms, which consist of invisible regulations of restriction ranging from customs, ethic, morals and ideology. Among these, ideology is the dominant; it can not only contain other informal systems, but also constitute in the form the theory foundation and the top behaviour rule of certain formal systems. North divided informal systems into three types: one is the expansion, enrichment and modification of formal restrictions; second is behaviour norms acknowledged by the society; the last one is self-implement criteria (North 1990). “*Precisely, each field calls forth and gives life to a specific form of interest, a specific illusio, as tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and as practical mastery of its rules. Furthermore, this specific interest implied by one’s participation in the game differentiates itself according to the position occupied in the game (dominant vs. dominated or orthodox vs. heretic) and with the trajectory that leads each participant to this position*” (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992, 117).

Judging from system’s point of view, the “great tradition” brought forward by Robert Redfield generally reflects official ideology (such as laws and regulations) and its authority is from the state power and at the same time reflects the authority, awareness, interests and desires of the state, while the “little tradition” is usually made up of non-official and traditional values, rules, customs and it is not recognized by the state. It reflects the public and informal folk ideology, and especially reflects the interest and desire of villagers. On the other hand, “great tradition” comparably centralized in urban area is passed down from generation to generation with written language and in the form of education while “little tradition” mainly gets popular by daily practices in the form of “hidden text” in rural area.[20]

[20] Redfield raised the concepts of "great tradition" and "little tradition" based on his authoritative study of "folk-urban continuum" in Yucatan in Mexico. He chose four different size communities and focused on the comparisons of differences between stable, close homogeneous society and open change society. Through these comparisons, he brought forward

Formal systems in the city are a series of behaviour restrictions constituted of laws, administrative regulations and government policies. By contrast, informal constraints in the "villages" are customs, conventions, moralities, beliefs and ideologies that possess the power of restricting the behaviour of the villagers.

2.3.1.1 Characteristics of Informal Systems

Judging from the development of informal systems, these systems perform potential and fundamental functions of resource collocation. Informal systems are a set of rules inherited by the juniors over history and accepted by most people. Take family ethic, etiquette and custom, county rules and habits for example, being civilian or being oral criteria of behaviour, they can both adapt to different trades and resolve friction, contradiction and conflict. The maintenance of informal systems is due to most people's self-discipline to criteria. In case one violates the criteria, he will receive condemn and punishment either visible or invisible from other people in the community. This is a customarily automatic adjustment.

The second characteristic of informal systems is the temporal and transitional function, which play a role in the transition from breaking old systems to building up new ones. They perform fundamental functions of resource collocation in areas which are away from the control of a country and a government, the adjustment by markets, and where there are the "gauge vacuum" districts witnessing the tran-

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the point that, culture can be divided into two categories: one is "great tradition" which is city-oriented. It reflects urban intellectual and political elites' culture; the other one is "little tradition" that exists outside city and among rural corporate communities. Typically "little tradition" creates "folk culture".

Although this set of concepts are developed in his research in Mexico and Central America, but in his opinion, these concepts are most suitable for the research of ancient society. These concepts divide society into folk society and urban society and consider the former to feature in the interaction between traditional rules and comprehensive interpersonal relationship while the later features in the interaction among multi-values and unilateral interpersonal relationship. His concept is suitable for studying the characteristics of China's folk tradition. In my opinion: firstly, the relationship between "great tradition" and "little tradition" is very complex and there are different levels and internal diversities in both traditions; secondly, folk religion is developed in the interaction and exchanged with "great tradition"; thirdly, folk religion never lose its own social-cultural characteristics in these interaction and exchange.

sition of old and new systems.

(1) Informal systems taking priority in traditional China

"Chinese traditional society is a society 'without laws'. Social orders would not be affected by 'without laws', instead, the society can automatically maintain its normal orders by following 'the rule by rites'" (Fei Xiaotong 1985, 48ff). From sociology's point of view, "rites" are in fact the informal systems such as ethical norms and behaviour code. Max Weber adopted "rationality" of Hegelianism as a core concept, did investigation on Chinese law systems, and compared it with law systems of Europe, then he reached a similar conclusion to that of Fei Xiaotong. There is no clear distinction between Chinese laws and religion commands, and between ethical norms and customs. In this case, ethic responsibility and law responsibility are mixed up without any differences, moral dissuasion and law command have not been divided clearly in form, and hence a special form of informal law appears.

Clan laws are the clan normative regulations including compulsory "family law", "lineage rules" and moral admonishments such as "family instructions" and "family agreements". Since the late Qing Dynasty their utility to punish members has decreased. However, the lineage rules that are either directly borrowed from the old rules or compulsory taboos, are still retained. Other articles stipulate that members who violate lineage rules will be punished according to "public opinions". In addition to written codes there are also unwritten customary rules, such as those governing festivals, weddings, funerals and rituals. When dealing with conflicts between lineages or mobilizing for conflicts, each clan also has its own customs, such as requiring members to maintain a unity with regard to the outsiders, requiring them to aid the wounded, to support the families of the deceased, to punish deserters, etc. Compared with the written rules, these unwritten codes retain more traditional elements and have a stronger restricting power in the "villages".

(2) Reasons for the existence of informal systems in China

The informal systems come into being depending on traditional ethics, family network, relationship and credits among people, and have peculiar conditions and

preconditions:

1) Villages of China are insubstantial regions of formal systems. Fei Xiaotong mentioned the situation of “imperial power stopped at counties” in his research on the imperial power and gentry power in old China (Fei Xiaotong 1953). Below counties, there are autonomous regions. According to laws, the rights of villages belong to autonomous organizations. As a result, the autonomous land and the weakness of formal systems provide soil for informal systems to grow and develop, and take effect;

2) During the transition of Chinese economic system from planned economy to market economy, it may cause “absence” of formal systems in some districts and periods, where informal systems can become most active and play a more important role;

3) In the districts where business spirit has been exiting, there is a social network of informal systems, jointing with market activities, or “inserted” by market activities. After the dissolution of community system, the traditional social network becomes a support for extension and operating of new economy activity. At the same time, the property of extension of economy activity accelerates these informal systems to transmit all over;

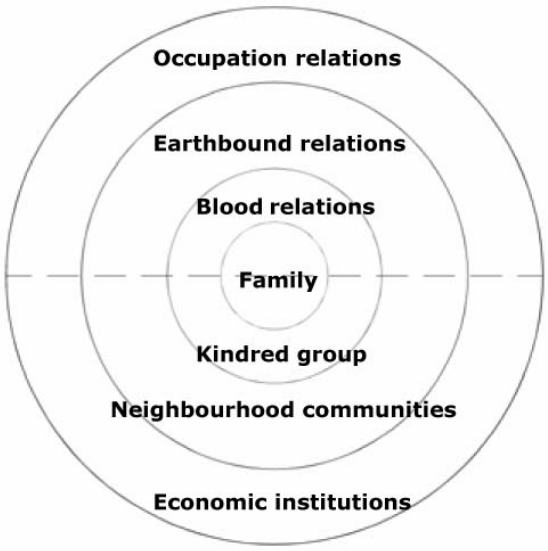
4) Sharing dividends and welfares from collective economic organization of villages are the physical foundation of management by collective organization. From identity, employee, endowment insurance, medical treatment aspects, the villagers have strong dependence on unit organization-collective organization;

5) Clan is a rudimental social structure in villages of China and its forming is based on inborn social relation-blood. They have steady structure and systemic restriction to members. The most typical characters are shown in the sacrifice of ancestors, properties of clans, ethics and activities of clan. Under new social environment, the concepts of family and nets that relate with systems of family still exist. The villagers living in a community of acquaintance and clan activities gradually enter their daily life. Surrounding urban environment is an unacquainted world to the villagers, which bring new pressures and menaces to the maintenance and development of villages. Consequently, paying attention to help one another among the villagers and to commonly resist outside pressure and risks strengthen

the unitization of village.

2.3.2 Restructuring of Social Network

According to Weber, “The retention of personalism is especially evident in its effect on social ethics. Hitherto in China no sense of obligation has existed toward impersonal communities, be they of political, ideological, or any other nature” (Weber 1951, 209). The whole Chinese social structure accepted and sanctioned by the Confucian ethic was a predominately “particularistic” structure of relationships. Responding to these views, “Chinese society was neither individual-based nor group-based, but on the relations between individuals who are engaged in social exchange with each other” (Liang Suming 1963, 94). Fei Xiaotong makes a similar comparison between the West and China and concludes that: “Structurally, Chinese society is composed of numerous personal networks defined by dyadic social ties and without explicit boundaries. The moral content of behaviour in such a network-based society is contextually determined, and the ego is always the most important concern in every situation” (Figure 2-5). Therefore, Fei characterizes



(Source: Chen Wanling 2002,98:Figure4-4)

Figure 2-5: Differential mode of association centered on family

"Chinese society as egocentric, as opposed to Western society, which he sees as individualistic" (Fei Xiaotong 1985, 22ff).

2.3.2.1 Characteristic of Social Network in Traditional Villages in China

The model of traditional village embodies some forms of collective action by rational peasants within the context of village society.[21]

(1) Reciprocity

A perspicuous formulation of the problem of cooperation between independent parties has emerged within game theory in connection with the prisoners' dilemma.[22] This analysis appears to suggest that cooperation is irrational in many circumstances and will not emerge spontaneously among rational persons.

Axelrod has shown that the structure of the prisoners' dilemma changes in an open-ended series of plays of the game.[23] The assumptions of stability, isolation, and richness of information assure that these conditions will be satisfied in the model village; the village is small enough to make feasible the strategy of reciprocity. If he knew that the problems and opportunities confronting individuals and the group in the present would continue and that villagers monitor one another's contributions to collective activities, he might have rationally concluded that conditional cooperation would best serve his interests. Axelrod's analysis would have thus predicted that patterns of reciprocity and cooperation would emerge spon-

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[21] More explanation of some forms of collective action in traditional village (Little 1989, 42ff).

[22] The prisoners' dilemma is a two-person game in which each party has two strategies: defect and cooperate. If each cooperates, each receives a payoff of Ⅰ; if each defects, each receives a payoff of -Ⅰ; and if one cooperates while the other defects. The cooperator receives -2 and the defector 2. Standard game theory analysis shows that the dominant strategy for each participant is to defect, since A reasons that, whatever B chooses, A is better off defecting than cooperating. Each thus receives -Ⅰ, rather than the Ⅰ that would have followed from joint-cooperation (Shubik 1982).

[23] Axelord shows that the optimal strategy for each individual confronted with opportunities for cooperation with others is conditional cooperation. The individual should cooperate with new potential partners, cooperate with partners who have cooperated in the past, and immediately "punish" players who defected on the previous occasion by defecting on this occasion (Axelrod 1984).

taneously in the traditional village and would persist stably until a change in social circumstances undermined the conditions of cooperation.

(2) Community

Michael Taylor has argued that some social groups (communities) have features that facilitate cooperative behaviour and collective action. A community is a group that embodies a high level of shared beliefs and values among members, and is characterized by direct and extensive social relations, and relies on reciprocity as an engine of social coordination.

Taylor identifies several features of social life as central to successful collective action. Firstly, successful collective action depends on the assumption that communities are relatively small social groups and that individuals have face-to-face, enduring relations. These conditions guarantee that each player will be relatively well informed about the contribution status of other players and will be able to practice selective reciprocity. Secondly, many mechanisms cited by Taylor work through diffuse social coercion: the community will identify and punish non-contributors. Finally, communities are coordinated partially through a system of shared values: individual conduct can be shaped through internalized constraints on action (Taylor 1976).

(3) Convention

Another important basis for collective action derives from analysis of games of coordination rather than games of competition. Collective action may succeed if there are prominent features of a context of social choice permitting individuals to coordinate their actions to mutually beneficial outcomes.

The requirements of coordination through convention are also reasonably well satisfied in the traditional village. The assumption of stability provides one important basis for conventional solutions to collective action problems: villagers are familiar with the collective action problems that confront them in their environment and the solutions that have been applied in the past, and they may be sure that these problems will recur. The experience of coping with collective action problems provides a basis for a convention to coordinate collective action in similar cir-

cumstances in the future. The assumption of shared values (moral or religions) provides another basis for possible conventions to coordinate collective action.

(4) Group size considerations

Traditional village societies are relatively small social groups. Mancur Olson's original arguments for the collective action theory stress group size; he argues that small groups may be privileged: they may contain individuals for whom the collective good is also a private good. The individual's benefit from achieving the good may exceed the purchasing cost. Large groups, however, are unlikely to have such a structure.[24]

(5) Organizations & leadership

The coordinating role of informal, non-state organizations is primary characteristic facilities collective action within the assumptions of the traditional villages. Village societies typically encompass local political institutions, often a village council dominated by prominent local figures. Such institutions perform certain recurring functions. They provide the basis for a decision-making process that may possess the political skills and resources needed to secure cooperation on collective projects. Villages also typically embody a range of non-political organizations to which villagers belong such as kinship groups, religious associations, trade organizations, burial societies, and the like. These provide loyalties and commitments that influence individual motivation, as well as organizational and motivational resources to village leaders who attempt collective action. Such organizations can

[24] There are now three separate but cumulative factors that keep larger groups from furthering their own interests. First, the large the group, the smaller the fraction of the total group benefit any person acting in the group interest receives, and the less adequate the reward for any group-oriented action, and the farther the group falls short of getting an optimal supply of the collective good, even if it should get some. Second, since the larger the group, the smaller the share of the total benefit going to any individual, or to any(absolutely) small subset of members of the group, the less the likelihood that any small subset of the group, much less any single individual, will gain enough from getting the collective good to bear the burden of providing even a small amount of it…Third, the larger the number of members in the group the greater the organization costs, and thus the higher the hurdle that must be jumped before any of the collective good at all can be obtained (Olson 1971,48).

motivate individuals to participate (through loyalty, solidarity, or shame) and can enhance assurance by informing each villager of the likelihood that other villagers will contribute. Lineage organizations in traditional agrarian China provide a form of cohesion that cut across income and landholding strata and provide a basis for collective action even where conflicts of material interest are significant. Likewise, temple organizations may establish social relationships that cut across both lineage and class, providing yet another possible basis for securing collective action in pursuit of particular common interests.

Some circumstances might undermine voluntary cooperation and collective action in village society. Firstly, as traditional patterns of interaction destabilize, the shadow of the future shortens and cooperation becomes a less promising strategy. Market forces or extra-village politics can disrupt traditional social relations and undermine cooperation by giving individuals a smaller stake in dealing with other villagers.

Secondly, to the extent that villagers interact more heavily with outsiders they may have less to gain from cooperation with insiders. As individuals develop primary economic and political relations to outsiders, both interdependence and information richness diminishes. As the isolation of the village is loosened, collective and communitarian practices are undermined.

Finally, exposure to a national economy and culture may be expected to reduce shared values within traditional village society, and these values will no longer be able to enhance cooperation through convention or community.

In the recent decade, with the entrance of large flows of floating population, markets of house rent sale and assembly areas for floating population gradually come into being, bringing irreversible changes to the human relation in village community. The moving out of villagers is just one form in network changes of social relation. Besides, middle-aged and old-aged villagers vary a lot with youth in communication range, behaviour mode, mentality and concepts, value orientation, living and pattern. In ancestral temples, Villagers' Center and other public places are mostly middle-aged and old-aged people, while youth have their own fellow circle. "Villages" in Shenzhen are changing from the traditional "acquaintances" community to a "strangers" society.

2.3.2.2 Operation of Public Power with Benefit Relation

Even in “villages” in Shenzhen where collective economy is highly developed, their public power still works by combining force-related operation pattern and inspirit-related operation pattern together in its pursuit of community order and cooperation. Among it, the related operation pattern by force remains to be rather important in the effort of getting chances to cooperate with villagers. Found in many rules and systems in village communities, it is more or less the same with communities in other common villages. But what is different from most of village communities is that the operation of public power with benefit relation has its outstanding status in the “villages” in Shenzhen to carry out orders. Because the power operations of communities in “villages” in Shenzhen are well supported by the collective economy, many regulations are penetrated by lots of related punishments and inspiration of collective economy resource; thus there are obvious differences in real operations. There are not only more subjective initiatives in the motivation to cooperate, but also apparent differences in the effect of cooperation. In “villages” in Shenzhen, almost all the administration of communities, from villagers’ management of renting houses to the obey of family planning, and all other things concerning the public honour or disgrace would be connected with “allowance”, “encouragement”, “deduction” and “punishment” of the collective economy. From these, it is safe to say that the operation pattern of public power with benefit relation in communities has been a unique characteristic of management system in the “villages” in Shenzhen at present.

More than 20 years influence of marketization, economic rationality, economic benefit and monetary motivation have become crucial standards in people’s social life, and based on this standard, people’s network of social relation is also re-woven, repaired and re-teased. Many researchers found that there was a kind of relation between the forceful clan organizations in southern China and their surprising ability of self-organization. Public property in the clan plays an important role in the relation. A stable economic source is not only the foundation of existence and development of the clan, but the premise of making the activities of clan attractive. Potter said in his research on Deng surname in Ping Mountain, New Territories, Hong Kong: *“Over the centuries, maintaining a strong lineage organization was*

made easier once this degree of wealth had been achieved…Wealthier lineage branches were probably more stable than poorer lineage groups because they offered economic benefits to all members, both rich and poor. Collective property was then crucial for the maintenance of a strong lineage organization" (Potter 1970, 129). Catering for the social variance of marketization, the power operation of benefit relation re-teases the organization system in a way similar to marketization, with its main power and ability coming from the closed benefit relation of members in village communities in the city.

The outward transfer of villagers, socialization of human relation, the trend of strangerized communities, all these changes make preparations for the completed urbanization of individual villager, families and even the whole village community.

2.3.3 Relationship between Villages and the Neighbour Villages

As is known to all, it is quite common in traditional earthbound society that village communities are self-enclosed and have strong exclusive consciousness, which is directly related to the special economic social structures. Moreover, because of the mighty clan organizations in "villages" in Shenzhen through out history, "villages" have formed a new community system with highly autonomous ability by the co-effort of autonomous organization "*Zhong Litang*", so a comparatively agglomerated recognition by clans and locals develop from village communities. But at the same time, another agglomerated part in clans and locals embodies severe repulsive trends and lack of trust to clans, especially to things outside the villages. *"For the economic mentality, the personalist principle was undoubtedly as great a barrier to impersonal rationlization as it was generally to impersonal matter of factness"* (Weber Max 1951, 236).

The relationship between "villages" in Shenzhen and their neighbouring villages follows certain rules through the history: the farther their distance, the fewer their communication, but the more harmonious their relation is, and vise versa. In the production life of agriculture, water conservancy, land, farm cattle, marriages and others are factors that easily cause dissensions between villages. The more and further the communication of these factors between villages, the more con-

tradictions and conflicts there are.[25] *"Feuds against outsides were occasioned by tax repartition, death feuds, and especially conflicts which the feng shui, i.e. geomancers, provoked among neighbours. Every building, and especially every new grave, could harm the ancestral spirits of the existing graves or could upset the spirits of the rocks, rivulets, hills, etc. to settle such feuds were often well-nigh impossible because of the geomantic interests at stake on both sides"* (Weber 1951, 276). But as traditional agricultural economic foundation withdrew and retreated from these "villages", the pattern of village relations went through fundamental changes quickly. Nowadays, the communication of villages, both spontaneously organized in civilians and organized by villages, is a kind of union friendship or of mutual benefit.

[25] Feuds among local communities often happened in Guangdong and Fujian Province. These events are not occasional and out of intention. Of course, the feuds could not upgrade into wars, since the groups of feud are not absolute political units; government in fact prepares to refrain these feuds. These feuds among communities are different from the fights among the minorities. The "village" in Shenzhen are located in Guangdong Province, and the similar phenomena exist (Freedman 1958, 105ff).

2.4 From Family Culture to Extended Family Culture

"That man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (Geertz 1973,5). Presently, due to the unique economic and social structure in village communities, especially the characters caused by the co-effort of strong economy in cities, society and culture, the social activities and lives of civilians have become a very active community field in the social relation network of individual villages and of village communities.

2.4.1 Family Culture

The studies of Chinese lineage constitute a most important part of anthropological consideration of Chinese society. Maurice Freedman made Chinese lineage famous. However, Freeman's endeavour by no means should be taken as to apply western model into Chinese materials (Freedman 1958, 1966). His ambition is to study the whole Chinese society through the lens of lineage.[26] The paradigm set up by Freedman is so illustrating that it inspired many important researches on Chinese lineage and kinship in Taiwan (Cohen 1969, 1976, 1990; Wolf 1972; Pasternak 1972; Ahern 1973; Wolf and Huang 1980) and in Hong Kong's New Territories (Baker 1968; J. Watson 1975; R. Watson 1985; Faure 1986). These excellent studies, with their theoretical diversity and various empirical evidences, have shed light on the essential aspects of Chinese culture and society.

Some radical scholars have even begun to challenge and deconstruct the efficacy and legitimacy of anthropological study of kinship and their effectiveness and

[26] Freedman's lineage paradigm offers us a valuable concept to analyze the basic structure in Chinese rural society. He identified the lineage community as one of the most important social institutions of South China, defining it as a nucleated settlement tracing descent from a founding ancestor, tied together by substantial ancestral estates, and expressing its solidarity through periodic rituals at ancestral graves and in ornate ancestral halls (Freedman 1958). When I observed in the "villages" in Shenzhen seemed to fit Freedman's paradigm well in many ways.

importance in Chinese study (Kuper 1982; Schneider 1984; Hallgren 1979; Chun 1996). However, no matter what positions the scholars hold, they could not ignore the social reality that vast majority of people, particularly in south-eastern China, have lived in lineage arrangements and the prevalence and essence of kinship have shaped their livelihood, behaviour and ideology. Therefore, it is no wonder to note that in the recent years, the studies of lineage, family and kinship have formed the major focus of native Chinese anthropologists and historians in studying their own society (Chen Zhiping 1991; Zheng Zhenmen 1992; Qian Hang, Xie Weiyang 1995; Ma Guoqing 1999; Liu Xiaochun 2003).

The clan organization plays an important part in social life both in cities and in villages in China. Families working and living in the same area form a village community through geographical relation, compose an autonomous group by relying on shared customs and criteria, and carry on autarkic and natural economy in the group. This is a kind of enclosure with tradition being the yardstick. *"The autonomic organization of social lives, politic organization and social organization have all been branded from top to bottom by patriarchy"* (Su Guoxun 1988, 153). Actually, Weber distinguished Chinese society from western societies or other societies by family culture.

"The basic social group in the village is the Chia, an expanded family. The members of this group possess a common property, keep a common budget and cooperate together to pursue a common living through division of labour. It is also in this group that children are born and brought up and material objects, knowledge, and social positions are inherited. Large social groups in the village are formed by combining a number of Chia for various purposes and along kinship or territorial principles. Associations based on individual membership are few and secondary" (Fei Xiaotong 1939, 27). Family is a "basic school of all cultures", but it is particularly potent in China, while Chinese "clan"[27] extends the principle of

[27] Clan constitutes of several families with patrilineal ancestors and it is a complex of politics, economic and military. All members of a clan live and work together. Every family is relatively independent unit of production and living. Inside the clan, families help each other. Common ancestral hall of clan was constructed in the village. The members have deep feeling of reliance on the clan.

mutual dependence out into a wider social scope-the "clan" is the "immediate and direct extension" of the family. The Chinese family is in its ideal structure of the joint family, ordered by patriarchal authority and filial devotion.

"It is the normative and ceremonial, as well as the organizational, features of lineages that made them such exemplary institutions in the cultural nexus of power. In many northern villages, lineages had come to define the traditional polity. Lineages and sub-lineages formed the basic divisions that managed administrative and other public activities, and the principle of common descent governed representation in many village governing councils" (Duara 1988, 87).

Unlike those in the north, lineages in the south were said to control great amounts of property, to be spread over several villages, and to maintain ties with higher-level units. Together, collective property and a supra-village network in the south provided the basic arena of rural politics and conflict, channels for upward mobility, security for the poor, and a powerful corporate identity is lacked in the north.

2.4.1.1 Constitution of Traditional Clans

(a) Clan genealogy records

A family is a kin organization formed according to certain blood relation. The clan genealogy record is not only an important way to make sure and contact clans, but a significant way to confirm the closed or distanced relationship between clansmen and their equivalent positions in the family hierarchy, their responsibility and rights, and family branches. The clan genealogy record can help to develop virtue, loyalty and braveness. On one hand, it can consolidate and upgrade its social status; on the other hand, it strengthens its cohesion, intensifies family sense and the unity of the clan. Therefore, it establishes foundation for the collective activities of the clan, and does well to its continuity and development.

(b) Clan temples

Ancestral hall is a symbol of a clan and the holy land to worship its ancestors. Typical clans would build up their own ancestral halls. Through worship, living

offspring can get in touch with their gone ancestors, thus unite clansmen. The clan temple is not only a place for clan's public activities, but for educating later generations with family styles and norms. Plus, it is also an organization to manage affairs of clan and to carry on clan norms.

(c) Clan rules

The rules of a clan contain literal and customary clan rules, family rules, precepts, clan criteria, clan rules, clan discipline, etc. Clan rules prescribe the right and responsibility of clansmen, the organization of clan and manners of activities. The rules are both the guidelines of clansmen's behaviour and the criteria of clan activities.

(d) Properties of clan

Clan properties are consisted of co-assets such as farmland for worship, farmland of clan, charitable estates, etc. A certain amount of clan properties make the economic foundation for clan activities. Buying clan properties can provide some financial help to support public welfare and maintain the normal operation of clan organizations, besides, it can also aid kids to school and help the poor, unify clansmen, and realize the purpose of linking groups of clan together and unifying clansmen.

(e) Clan leader

A clan leader is the representative of a clan both inside and outside the clan. A clan leader represents the clan's benefit, controlling things inside and outside, intermediates and arbitrates contradictions inside the clan, and implements every kind of right of the clan.

The organic combination of clan genealogy records, clan temples, clan properties and clan leaders maintain the existence and operation of clan, which constitute self-contained systems of clan.

2.4.1.2 Functions of Traditional Clans

The clan is a kind of interest colony where father consanguinity is the ligament. In ancient society, clan is more often in the form of several generations of progeny

of a single male ancestor living together in an area, being jointed by blood relationship through some criteria forming a special social phenomenon. A clan with blood relationship as the ligament, owning to the power of traditional customs and the linkage of some matters with economic significance (such as ancestral halls, clan genealogy records, pedigrees, clan rules and disciplines, clan farmland, clan public welfare, etc.), can perform many functions and have an extensive influence in village communities.

(a) Organization function

Clan's function of organization is the function of motivating social force in a clan and organizing mutually cooperation and various activities, given blood relationship as the ligament, clan organization as the carrier and vast clansmen as the foundation. In Chinese villages of traditional acquaintance society, the function of organizing is the most important in a clan. It can call on millions of clansmen to unite with blood relationship, and assimilate clansmen's behaviour in all aspects when necessary to strengthen the power of clan. There is political significance, which cannot be neglected. In a way, a stable colony of clan can provide the guarantee of safety to clansmen. They do their own farming during normal time, but gather and unite into base if there're combats, form arm force with certain scales and affect the stable of the society of country. Dominators of the past dynasties have always been using this function of clan to manage the country and confront the revolt of farmers.

(b) Mediation function

The mediatory function of clan is a function to harmonize inner relationship and mediate inner dissension, as clan authority acts on the basis of priority, clan rules, ancestor's rules, disciplines of villages and villagers' faith. Every clan has its own authority, and the authority stands for the crutch of law of ancestors and has forceful sanction on vast clansmen. Chinese villages have always been a corner far from the stretch of laws, thus it is impossible to mediate all relationship and dissension in communities in countries by national law, but many of them are self-regulated in the clan.

(c) Education function

Clan's educational function is the function to educate vast clansmen in a way where families play a central role while the clan groups supplementary. Education is based on traditional material of clan such as clan rules, clan agreements, songs of clan and ancestors' rules, with moral and ethic being the core. In China, the education of moral in country communities has been implementing by the clan. Each clan has its own traditional material, which is also a mentality base for feudal rulers in history to maintain social orders between villages. Although the feudal concepts of grading and the theme of ethic and moral human relations are quite obviously emphasized in traditional materials, there are some distillates of traditional moral of Chinese nations.

(d) Cultural function

Clan's cultural function is characterized by passing and inheriting traditional etiquette and custom in rural areas, carried by various forms of clan activities, aiming to raise clansmen's sense of history, sense of moral and sense of adscription. In rural communities, clan activities are an effective way to pass and inherit culture of villages and clans, ranging from dancing lamps, jargon boat racing, worship of ancestors, clan dramas, repair of clan genealogy records, re-construction of ancestral temples, to marriages and funerals. Through a series of clan activities, clansmen can both satisfy the spirit needs of cultural entertainment and receive edification of traditional etiquette and custom, which can further enhance the cohesion of a whole clan.

2.4.1.3 Features of Clan in Confucianism Culture

(1) Blood-relationship nature

"The difference between a lineage village and other kinds of village lies not only in the existence of the lineage ancestral hall and the worship of ancestors but, which is really much more important, in the natural interlocking structure which binds the family and the lineage, that is consanguineal relationship" (Freedman 1958, 34). It is the term of reference for all matters in village life. It is the chief

category in the village universe of discourse. It sets the limits of the theoretical community; it fixes the physical characteristics of the village community in all its artificial aspects and is embodied in all significant forms of collective representation. It is the solidary unit of the village.

According to blood the person is assigned position and status. In the blood group he achieves recognition and fixes his standards of personal behaviour. In that group his wishes secure satisfaction, and according to its norms he organized his wished into his dominant life-scheme. Blood sets the limits beyond which the person does not wander in his efforts or objectives.

The precondition of family village culture is the existence of family village community which is based on the connection of all members by blood and their connection with other relatives through blood. All the members identify each other depending on the “identification card”. The same blood in the family community forms a tight integral unit. This community will not exist without the inside network of blood relationship. The village community of “villages” is quite different with “street community” and “enterprise community” in cities. It is neither a living community composed of strangers (such as the street community and residence community), nor an acquaintance community (such as the compound of an enterprise’s employees) made up because of the working relationship, but a mutually recognized community united for blood and geographic reason.

The blood relationship does not possess the meaning of a social system, because it is inside the human bodies and cannot be investigated exteriorly. While family names enable it to be explicit and endow it with the social meaning, and make this relationship observed and identified.

Nowadays, family village is still showing the characteristic of the communities with the same family names. Due to the historical evolvement, different family village communities have different family name structures which decide the balance of relationships and power to a great extent inside the family community. Those can be divided into three basic modes of family name:

(a) Single surname family village

The characteristic of single surname family village is that there is only one

surname in the whole village community and one surname's blood relationship for all the families. Generally speaking, single surname family village has strong family consciousness with strict family system, family activities, family structure, family criteria, strong family power and family concepts. The phenomenon of single surname family village is very popular in the "villages" in Shenzhen, such as the surname of Zhuang in Huanggang Village, Zhang in Huang Beiling Village, Huang in Xiasha Village.

(b) Host surname family village

The characteristic of host surname family village is that there are multitudes of surnames in this village community, but only some with one certain surname are the main members and other members with different surnames are subordinate. Because it is hardly possible to keep sole family name after the evolution of natural villages for many years, members with outside surnames have gradually joined those which had single surname as the main family name. In host surname family villages, the families with the host family name are dominant, and their cultures are also flourished.

(c) Multi-surname family village

The characteristic of multi-surname family village is that there are more than one main family names in those village communities, and there no a single family name is dominant, but all the family names exist equally. Usually, family villages are infirm in those multi-surname family villages.

(2) Gathering-residence nature

The consanguinity shows biological characteristic, while gathering residence indicates geographical characteristic. Generally speaking, family village communities live in relatively centralized areas which are not only their living base, but also their producing base. Blood relationship provides invisible connection and geographical relationship offers visible connection for the group.

It should be pointed out here that: though the common area is the geographical basis for family village community, it is not the core to form the family village, but only the physical crust; the kindred based on blood relationship is the

inside spirit. *"Blood relationship is a stable power. In steady society, geographical relationship is but the shadow of blood relationship and cannot be separated from it. It can be said that geographical nearness is a reflection of intimity or alienation of blood relationship…The unity of blood relationship and geographical relationship is the original status of community"* (Fei Xiaotong 1985, 72f). Family villages cannot be formed out of those who live in the same area but have no blood relationship. Gypsies do not settle in same area instead drift from place to place all the time. But they have kept a certain form of family system which is quite different with the family system in Chinese villages. According to this significance, Chinese family clan does not exist without commonly possessed area.

(3) Classification nature

This classification manifests a kind of social relationship. Blood relationship makes a classifying grade biologically, every one is arranged his position according to his intimity or alienation in blood relationship, and everyone's position is decided in the grading system since he was born. The position in blood relationship cannot be overstepped, while the social position is possible to be overstepped.

(4) Ethos nature

Characteristic of ethos means that the family community maintains the order according to conventions and habits that are established by usage and inherited, but has no formal criteria and principles. That is why China is called "Gemeinschaft", while western societies are called "Gesellschaft". This ethos is related with families' grades, activities, structures and powers relationship. Ethos infiltrated into the life of family communities, when a complete set of ethos and criteria were developed in the families and became their behaviour modes and psychological deposit. Ethos involves housekeeping, authority, sacrifice, human relations, cultivation, religions, etc. Ethos adjusts the relationships between various members, and at the same time family members understand their rights and obligations. They constitute the inseparable component in the family village culture.[28]

[28] Stephan Feuchtwang thinks that, folk religions embody the shadow of imperial governing, but they have local characters. Folk etiquettes always have relations with political pattern in

(5) Farming nature

China is a typical agricultural society whose main resources basically come from the land. Family members are tied up with a certain piece of land by the farming nature, and family village culture has definite farming nature. Family village communities obtain the living resources through all the family members' cultivating an area of land, and organize farming centering on the specialties of cultivation and seasons. The life in family village communities is united as a whole with the manual work of farming. The manifestation of farming nature is village economy, a combination of smallholder economy with cottage industry. Of course, the farming feature has already disappeared in the "villages" in Shenzhen.

(6) Self-support nature

Farming economy is a kind of self-sufficient economy, since its productive force standard is not high, and the main purpose is to provide living resources for the producers and not to exchange, which is entirely different with commodity production. The commodity has no direct use value to its owner. In order to form this kind of exchangeable connection, the productive forces must have developed to a certain level, which will enable producers to have adequate throughput to provide exchangeable commodities, and will make the commodities have no direct use value for the producers, but the undertaker of the exchange value. The productive forces of Chinese traditional agriculture have developed sluggishly for a long time, which make the self-sufficient status of natural economy changed a little. Though nowadays village economy has changed from traditional agricultural production into property renting economy, and the farming economy has already vanished, but this kind of self-sufficiency has established the authority basis of village communities. It is because community members depend on the communities to maintain their living that forms the aggregate power. This kind of aggregate power is strengthened continuously under the influence of market economy conditions and

empires and embody the logic of "metaphor of empire" and cosmic concepts of folk religions (Feuchwang 1992, 1991). Wang Mingming thinks that, a region in China is not only subjected to super-local political sequence, but also as grass-root society to embody rebellious consciousness (Wang Mingming 1995).

other outside forces.

(7) Obturating nature

Starting from the farming nature and self-sufficient nature will consequentially result in another feature of family village culture: obturating nature. This kind of nature is gradually formed, because the family village communities live on a comparatively concentrated piece of land. They can achieve a certain level of self-sufficiency on this field, and no outside economy force and information force can infiltrate effectively into village communities. Obturating nature is manifested by no regular connections to the outside world, no broadly economical, cultural and human contact across village communities. There are multi-reasons that cause the obturating nature of family village communities. The bloodline makes the families fight off the intervention of non-bloodline members; gathering-residence makes the family communities concentrate on one area; farming and self-sufficiency make the family communities form inner self-support and consumption system; natural obstacles make it hard for them to move outside; the most fundamental reason is the small and weak social economy power that makes the situation that "houses are very near, but never contact with each other" difficult to break through. The obturating nature formed a long term ago has caused the obturating nature in culture, psychology, customs and habits. Some specific characters between traditional community and modern society are different (*Table 2-9*).

Table 2-9: Comparison of characters between traditional community and modern society

Characters	Traditional community	Moden society
Group nature	Blood-relationship nature	Community nature
Living modes	Gathering-residence nature	Fluidity
Organization structure	Classification nature	Equality
Adjustment means	Ethos nature	Legality
Economy form	Farming nature	Industrial nature
Resource channel	Self-support nature	Exchange nature
Living style	Oburating nature	Opening nature

2.4.1.4 Transition of Clan Functions after 1949

(a) The first stage: the atrophy of clan functions under strong control of society and single authority (1949-1978)

The victory of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) marked a major transformation in the 20th century and the communities in Shenzhen experienced the similar fate as other numerous communities all over China. It was under the communist regime that the communities experienced the most dramatic change. Soon after the CCP came to power, the lineages were designated as the feudal institution and their traditional activities were strictly prohibited. Their financial base, mainly the lands and other collective property, were deprived and confiscated. The linage halls for ancestor worship were transformed to primary schools or even storages. The genealogies and other symbols of the lineages were burned or damaged.

The physical dismantlement of the lineage and community material establishments was just a minor part of a brand new socialist order. More severe treatments emerged. Community residents were identified as the farmers under the household registration system and their migration to the urban area was strictly controlled. Later the organizations of collectivization were set up as the production brigades and communes that controlled and assigned the production and activities of the families. The agriculture produce were plundered through an incredible low price and the members of community worked all days but barely earned a living.

The traditional social networks were also intentionally severed. The public ancestor worships were forbidden and even some graves of the old landlord were ruined. The community events such as weddings and funerals were harshly constrained in the name of “avoiding the waste”. The ruffians were selected as the leadership of the community for their impoverishment that was identified as the revolutionary motivation. The class labels were attached to the lineage members and the new identity consciousness was imposed to replace the consanguinity and territorial bonds. The community gatherings during continuous political campaigns and social movements frequently turned to the public humiliation of members of the enemy classes of landlords and rich farmers. Their relatives and fellow lineage members were specifically encouraged to “struggle with” them to demonstrate the

loyalty to the new regime. In this way, inner resentment was created and the antagonism was ignited within kin and community to facilitate the implanting of the state ideology. The religious activities were harshly forbidden as well and even the filial piety and the memorization of ancestors were denigrated as the superstition and feudalism. Nevertheless, the worship to Mao himself rambled through the various forms as the dances, the mountain songs and the prevalence of his words accompanied everyday life.

In this stage, China's authority of main body of governing and its control of society have reached an extremely strong state. It can be presented through the ruthless authoritarianism in politics, highly centralized economy, and severe restrain of mind. In this condition, there was only single authority of the main body of governing, while other non-main body authorities had all lost their ground. Clan authority, as a typical representative of the old order, became the key object to be controlled. Clan organizations and activities had been considered as illegal organizations and illegal activities. Clan power and clan concepts were thought to be old power and concepts. As a result, functions of clan received unprecedented restrain, with the functions of education and culture faded away in this period. Apparently, clans seemed to have vanished. However, because of thousands years of history and accumulation of culture, clans did not disappear but go through changes to a more concealed way for activities, fewer and fewer functions, and minor influences.

(b) The second stage: transformation of society and revival of clan functions under the pattern of multi-authorities (1978-mid 90s)

In this stage, China realized its transformation in politics from class fights being the key link, to economic construction being at the center; economy transformed from plan economy to market economy; mentality was released from severe restrain. A series of putting wrongs to rights indicated China was undergoing a huge transformation of society. During the transformation, the state of country controlling all aspects was broken, due to the disorganization of rural communities. From then on, as the weakening of the authority of main body of governing in rural areas and the control of society, some old authorities began to emerge after years of dreariness and played a more and more important role, constituting a situation

of mutual effect with the authority of main body of governing. At that time, the clans' function of organization, mediation, education and culture revived completely, and brought extensive influence to the country. On one hand, the revival of clans made up for the blank of management and partial "vacuum of power", displaying all its construction function and positive effect. On the other hand, it also brought about the contradiction between clans and the authority of main body of governing.

Accompanying with the introduction of modern lifestyle into the community, traditional institutions also gained remarkable revival or resurgence in the community. Among the re-emergence of the traditions the most impressive components were the reactivity of lineage affairs, the re-emergence of ancestor worships and other popular religious practices.

As stated above, as an organization and ideology, the lineages had been fiercely suppressed during the Maoist era. The retreat of the state from the social life was promptly followed by the resurgence of the lineage activities since the early 1980s. Within almost all lineages of the communities in Shenzhen, the lineage halls have been re-established no later than the mid-1980s and ancestor halls of the segments of individual lineage were also rebuilt or renovated in the same periods. Their linage genealogies were rewritten and reedited with great efforts since most of the original old ones were damaged or missed in the upheavals of Maoist era and they had to seek available information form the same surname groups all over China, or more frequently, referred to ones preserving in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Southeast Asian and other overseas communities. Even the corporation function somewhat regained the performance in supporting the collective activities of the lineage and the community, subsiding college students, providing basic security for the elderly and the lonely, and manoeuvring between the boundary of legal and illegal as the credit unions.

The community rituals such as weddings, funerals and birthday celebration of the elder have resumed being an important gathering of the community and people again took these gathering to reinforce and renew the affiliation and relationships. The ancestor worships holding in the lineage and ancestor halls were regarded as the most important events of the communities and almost all male heads of every

household would try to attend the worship, no matter where the family resided. Other religious practices also regained the prevalence in the community and the temples were re-established and renovated and became the community center in the Chinese New Year and other festivals. The popularity of the lineage and community rituals improved the status of the old local elites who used to be the specialists of the rituals (Jing Jun 1996). They also became the most active people in reviving the traditional institutions and rewriting the genealogies. It is true that the lineage leaders today no longer have the judicatory power and decisive authority as their counterparts in the late imperial times, but their influence on the community affairs is still remarkable.

On one side, the remittance and donation supported the construction of the road, the bridge, and many other fundamental facilities that stimulated the initiation of urbanization during the Post-Maoist era. Their following investment provided the capital and motivation in building the enterprises with the community and engaging the global market economy. Their donations also help to improve the circumstance of primary and middle schools, secure the poor but promising children to receive the education they deserved, and expedited technology improvement. On the other side, the supports from overseas members became the most important motivation and sustaining power in reviving the traditions. The ancestor worship and other popular religious activities could be expanded to very large scale ones if participated by the overseas members. For the politically and economically successful overseas linage members, their revisits to the community itself became the most important event within and beyond the lineage.

(c) The third stage: the acceleration of industrialization and urbanization and the transition of clan functions (mid 90s -present)

Industrialization and urbanization can pose challenges to the tradition of acquaintance community based on blood relationship and geography in Chinese rural area, and to traditional clans. It is impossible to have pure modernity and tradition nature in a society, on the opposite, modernization is a process during which traditional systems and values get accustomed to the requirement of modernization in their functions. To the country areas in China, the process of industrialization and urbanization is the process where the acquaintance community based on blood

relationship and geography collides fiercely with the citizen society based on industrial relationship, and a process where the function of clans gets transformation. From mid 90s, China has been experiencing the fastest pace of industrialization and urbanization. With the movement of thousands of farmers and workers into cities, the sharp changes in digital media bring far-reaching impacts on China society, and result in the transmit of clan functions. As the departure of youth and strong force, buildings become empty, and clans lose the attendance of these essential force. Clan functions become weaker in local rural areas, with the only function remaining as a tool to link the aged together, and only in the Spring Festival can the typical atmosphere of clans be sensed. However, the functions of clan have not been disappeared yet. Instead, it is shown in the form that villagers resist the outer lives and pressures of living, since village communities have evolved schemes of shared values and cooperative practices and institutions that are well adapted to handle these problems of risk and welfare to protect the subsistence needs of all villagers adequately in all but extreme circumstances.

My fieldwork indicates the important roles performed by the overseas lineage members. The influence of the overseas members to the emigrated community has long interested the anthropologists (Watson 1975). Following Watson's inspiration, other social scientists also showed how the linkages interacted between the overseas and domestic communities (Woon 1989; Ong and Nonini 1997; Liu Hong 1998). The study of rural communities in Shenzhen provides another concrete and typical case considering the depth of linage resurgence and the strength of the overseas members. In my opinion, the influence from overseas members is the most important force pushing forward the paradoxical process of the modern urbanization and tradition resurgence.

How did the state play the role in the process? It is true that without the engagement and tolerance of the state, neither the urbanization nor tradition revival could take place. Nevertheless, I contend that the state actually holds an ambivalent toward the situation and the policies sometimes are pragmatic and contradictory. The orthodoxy propaganda always claims that the urbanization is the development under socialism and the modernization is the trend to replace the tradition. However, more often than not, the state has to turn to the power of

traditional institution, not only as a strategy to attract the investment and donation from the overseas Chinese; more importantly, since the socialism is no longer a convincing ideology for the people, the state seeks to maintain its legitimacy through the so-called “Chinese characteristic”.

2.4.2 Extensive Family Culture

Being different with the people’s commune, the real-life collectivity is an interest colony with certain boundaries. It is an organization representing the colony’s interest and newly achieving the villagers’ identification. After experienced the disorganization of the commune, it carves up the collective property with commune associators changing to individual villagers. The real-life collectivity attaches more importance on the colony it represents. When there are conflicts between colony’s interest and the higher-up’s, it usually contends with the government as the deputy of colony’s interest. In Shenzhen, an area with flourishing economy, the adjustment of industrial structure shook the families based on blood relationships or the organization structures taking clan as the basic unit. The economical dealings and direct consideration on economical interest exceeded the blood relationship greatly. There appeared a collective community, which was an interest colony of individual villagers tied by land relationships, and all kinds of interest colony with strong resistance. With the development of economy, geographical and industrial relationships have developed. While, to a great extent, the families and clans maintained by blood relationship have receded to an unimportant position, especially in the non-agricultural fields.[29]

Popkin subsumes the explanation of patterns of village life under the framework of rational individual self-interest, just as the economist subsumes patterns of market phenomena under rational economic decision making. In this view, moral

[29] In the community, everyone faces similar conditions of existence. In essence, the ideologies of members are similar, for examples a special animal, a tree, or natural power, etc. Every member has similar relation with the matters, resulting in similar influence and thus forms the collective consciousness. However, with the expansion of society, the characters of common consciousness will also change (Durkheim 1964, 244).

norms and values have secondary effect on social life. By contrast, Scott's position is based on the assumption that systems of moral values impose patterns on the societies in which they are found and that these normative systems are more fundamental than the patterns of decision making that constitute social action. To explain peasant behaviour, it is necessary to understand the cultural values of the peasant. Peasants are not mere self-interested calculators but social actors. These actions result from a complex process of deliberation that both takes account of and is structured by moral values, commitments to others, traditional practices, and self-interest. Scott suggests that a richer model of peasant action than the rational choice model is needed and that once we have such a model we will see that the rational choice paradigm has limited application.

The most salient difference between them is at the level of their respective theories of individual motivation and action. Popkin assumes a narrow calculation of cost and benefit, whereas Scott postulates that individuals act within a set of cultural values that constrain and motivate action and thus offset pure self-interest. To explain peasant behaviour, therefore, it is not sufficient to identify the circumstances of choice and derive the optimal action for the individual. Both current circumstances of choice and the values and norms that define the action must be identified; then it may be possible to work out what the individual will choose.

The strictly materialist view to which Scott refers is the narrow political economy approach, which defines peasant goals as objective material interests (subsistence security, income, and political power and influence). All action may be understood as a calculated attempt to maximize attainment of these goals. Scott assumes that individuals are influenced by cultural values they have internalized through socialization. More radically, however, he suggested that actions, goals, and circumstances must be understood in terms of cultural meanings, not merely objective or material features. These cultural values influence action by shaping individual perceptions of the social world and of available options for action. Individual circumstances are not raw material "givens"; they are meaningful, interpreted social relations as understood by the individual.

The closeness of social relationships brought by solidarity is decided by three conditions. *"1. The relation between the volume of the common conscience and*

that of the individual conscience. The links are as strong as the first more completely envelops the second. 2. The average intensity of the volumes being equal, it has as much power over the individual as it has vitality. If, on the other hand, it consists of only feeble forces, it can but feebly influence the collective sense. It will the more easily be able to pursue its own course, and solidarity will be less strong.3. The greater or lesser determination of these same states. That is, the more defined beliefs and practices are, the less place they leave for individual divergenicies. They are uniform moulds into which we all, in the same manner, couch our ideas and our actions… Inversely, the more general and indeterminate the rules of conduct and thought are, the more individual reflection must intervene to apply them to particular cases…On the other hand, strong and defined states of the common conscience are the roots of penal law. But we are going to see that the number of these is less today than heretofore, and that it diminishes, progressively, as societies approach our social type. It is thus that the average intensity and the mean degree of determination of collective states have themselves diminished" (Durkheim 1964, 152f).

The social economic structure of "villages" in Shenzhen in the city-transition process have comprehensively adopted the economic rationality value ideology while at the same time involved the in-depth "soil" for various value rationality of traditional corporate community. These two aspects enable such community maintain "moderate" state in the "zero-sum game" in the strained relationship between "instrumental rationality" and "value rationality" afforded by Max Weber. *"…the cultivation of personal networks in village society is both a power game and a life-style; guanxi involves not only instrumentality and rational calculation, but also sociability, morality, intentionality and personal affection"* (Yan Yunxiang 1996, 88). The humanism care idea embedded in traditional corporate community culture moral and the interpersonal relationship base on such idea can ease those inevitable living and surviving stress in the competition.

In a word, the tie and the method connecting the inner relationship of collective community are soul distilled from the original clan culture and exceed the blood relationship. Connection ways based on extensive clan culture have formed a set of behaviour regulations and systematic connections founded on clan culture in col-

lective communities, between them and among communities of different levels, and constituted the unique extensive clan system in China.

2.4.3 Beliefs of Villagers & Marriage

Nowadays, the villagers would usually pose the important Gods in their houses, including the Local God of the land near the door, the Kitchen God in the living room, the Avalokitesvara, and the indelible ancestral memorial tablet (*Plate 2-6*). *"The power of various mysteries and religion, together with the moral ethics based on them, played an overwhelming important and decisive role in the behaviour"* (Weber 1987, 15f). The great social changes through the 19th century and the 20th century brought us an inevitable result of the withdrawal of the holy world and the doubt of religious beliefs. The powerful structure of country after the foundation of People's Republic of China (PRC), with the infiltration of sense since the Reform and Opening up, has become an ingrained concept among people that religion is equivalent to feudalism and blind mind. Real worship to the god or goddess is rare while the sacrifice ceremony has become a routine and closely connected with recreations. Though many ceremonies were carried out in the form of sacrifice, it was actually a recreation of traveling, friendship and recreation. The villagers rely on the traditional social relationship network, as well as change it meanwhile.

Plate 2-6: Memorial tablet of ancestor in a house of Wanxia Village

2.4.3.1 Ancestral Worship & Filial Piety

Traditionally people believe that their ancestors' spirits, whether in the ancestral graves or in Heaven, are with them and are keeping eyes upon them at all times. A family's fortune or misfortune is largely controlled by spirits of their ancestors. When these spirits are pleased, the family will receive blessings; but when they have been antagonized, disaster inevitably comes.

They must be invited to participate in all special occasions, such as festivals, weddings, and births, and honour must be paid to them at their graves, in the ancestral halls, or before the ceremonial tables of the family.

Ancestral worship links the living with the spiritual community. In this dual community blood determines membership, status, obligations, rights and practices just as it does in the living community when considered separately.

One of the fundamental Confucian values that ensure the integrity of ritual performance is filial piety. Confucius regards filial piety as the first step toward moral excellence. He contends that the way to enhance personal dignity and identity is not to alienate him from the family but to cultivate his genuine feelings for his parents. To learn to embody the family in his minds and hearts is to enable himself to move beyond self-centeredness. Filial piety is the base for maintaining family order in the culture of Confucianism. Respect and obedience absolutely to parents are resulted from trust, dependence, esteem and appreciation by offspring in long term.

With their social organization centered in family and kinship, the Chinese have traditionally held on to filial piety as their cardinal virtue. That is to say, all other virtues, from honesty to love of spouse, from devotion to the ruler to interest in abstract principles, are subordinated to this cardinal virtue or modified by it, defined in terms of it or even eliminated by it.

Filial piety involves specific attitudes toward specific blood relatives under specific situations with reference to specific types of status in village life. These elements combine in a variety of ways, producing the socially sanctioned types of behaviour characteristic of kinship. Thus respect for all those older than oneself is embodied in definite prescribed attitudes and behaviour forms toward an older brother, an uncle, one's father, grandfather, elder sister, mother, grandmother, great grandmother, ancestors, male and female, of several and distinctive ranks and ages.

Conversely it also determines the range and nature of obligations of others toward oneself. It is the guarantor of one's own rights as fixed by one's own status in the blood-group. So all those younger than oneself must in turn show respect and act toward one according to sanctions connected with one's own status. These

rights and duties are not fixed once for all, not even in relation to the departed ancestral spirits. They are constantly changing with one's status in the blood-group. Status changes with the shifts and changes in age and membership, hence function, of the other members of the blood group.

Filial piety is the attitude that correlates with the all-important practice of ancestral worship. The one is the concomitant of the other; the logical conclusion of filial piety is ancestral worship. The principal distinction between filial piety and ancestral worship is that the former is primarily concerned with one's relation to the living and only secondarily to the dead, while the latter is primarily concerned with one's relation to the dead and only secondarily to the living.

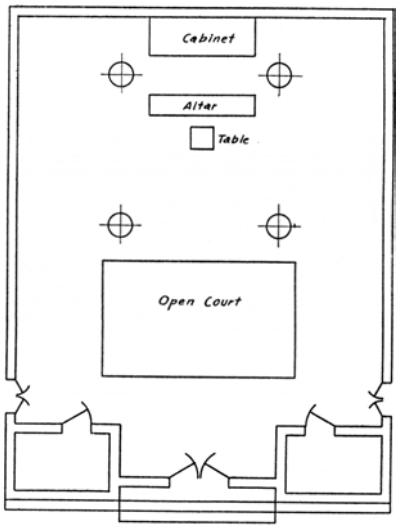
The increasing consumerism in the community demonstrates the influence of the mass media and the urbanization as well. The pursuit of fashioning trends (from the clothing style to decoration of the housing, from the personal music player to the motor bicycle) becomes quite common for the community members, especially among the young people. Accompanying with the rising of consumerism is the weakening motivation of hardworking. The dedication to the land and the hard-working on technical improvement of the old generations begin to disappear. Some youth refuse to work and rather ramble and gamble in the community all day long. The authority of the parents and old generations decrease and the notions of filial piety are not regarded as an important ethnos by some younger generations. The morality of the community goes down and the affiliation and trust between the community members sometime are challenged when they are involved in the issues of money and interest. The moral and ideological vacuum emerges with the popularity of the utilitarian individualism. These situations support the arguments of anthropologists who are doing the fieldwork elsewhere (Yan Yunxiang 2003; Oxfeld 2004).

The "villages" in Shenzhen have an evident characteristic, that is, among the crowding buildings such as schools and kindergartens, the ancestral hall together with the activity centre for senior citizens is respectable as they are the sign of ancestral worship.

(a) Ancestral Hall

Ancestral hall is the centre of religion, society, politics and economy in the patriarchal clan, and it is also the collective representation of the patriarchal clan.

Plate 2-7: Facade of ancestral hall in Shangsha Village



(Source: Freedman 1966, 303: FIG.10)

Figure 2-6: Floor plan of ancestral temple

Table 2-10: Functions of ancestral halls

Political function	Maintaining the concepts of family and clan. Prescribing pedigree of a clan and regulations. All kinds of important ceremonies are carried out in the ancestral halls, such as funerals, sacrificial rites and weddings;
Commemorative function	Tributes and memories of ancestors in the ancestral halls, in order to solidify the spirit believes in the clan;
Economic function	There are sacrificial land (land of ancestors), properties and revenues in the ancestral halls;
Historic function	The ancestral halls are historical buildings, inside layout and decoration exhibit the content of history;
Educational function	The ancestral hall is educational site and the offspring from the clan undertake education;
Cultural function	Local cultural and folk customs can be materialized in the ancestral halls;
Sessional function	Meetings, consultations and judgments of conflicts in the members of clan;
Recreational function	There are festival activities such as Festival of Lanterns, New Year's day and other important festivals.

It adopts the symmetric plane overall arrangement. The main hall is the core of the whole ancestral hall. It is due to “etiquette” being the core of the Confucian, the highest and over-whelming guide of all behaviours, that in an ancestral hall, the content, the layout, the location, the decoration and standard are arranged according to the codes of etiquette (*Plate 2-7, Figure 2-6, Table 2-10*).

(Source: Village committee of Huanggang Village)

Plate 2-8: Ancestor tombs of Huanggang Village

(b) Ancestral Grave

Besides the ancestral hall, another manifestation of ancestral resection is that the villagers attach much importance to the ancestral grave. It is because grave is where the ancestors live that maintaining and sacrificing ceremony become an expression of the respect to the ancestors (*Plate 2-8*).

2.4.3.2 Worship to the Land & Respect to Business

Worship to the land and respect to business and commerce are the basic worships among the villagers. The origin of the worship to the land is from the ancient times. At the very beginning it was rather worship to life and reproduction without or rarely with an obvious pursuit to the economical profits. Inadequacy of land forces the villagers to pursue other ways to support themselves. The chances of business and commerce provided the villagers more and more options. Not only their worship to land had not weakened but in reverse it had become stronger and stronger. Due to the fact that profits from business rely on the market, which is changeable and competitive, business with little capital is dangerous and risky. In the past, such business with little capital was just for the villagers to subsidize their family, far from supporting the whole family. It was not until the 1970s that situation changed a lot. The policy of Reform and Opening up allowed farmers more options in agriculture. They began to plant large amount of vegetables to meet the

growing need in the cities. Subsequently they set up firms based on the lands. As a result they got a profit equivalent to several times before. The villagers change from relying on the agricultural lands to getting profits from land. That is precisely the fission between the concept of concentrating on “agriculture and holding the root” to “the spirit of start an undertaking in business”.

In the mid 1980s, due to the rapid development in Shenzhen, the city expanded rapidly and vast area of farmland was taken over for use by the government. *“The new ‘land enclosure’ began and it brought two destinies. One is that the agriculture ultimately vanished. Another is villagers got a sum of capital, which change them from farmers to owners of real estates”* (Li Peilin 2004, 22).The way of production and life style of farmers were totally changed. They changed from a farmer that supported himself to an individual businessman that was full of strategies of commerce. They owned no factory workshop, no machine, no employee; what they owned was just the house for renting that is built on their own land. The government’s regulation or the traditional custom and the rules in the village could not resist the lust of profit. After Deng Xiaoping’s talk[30] in 1992, all around China there was a tendency of building such houses. The villagers added to their own houses on the land. Such a movement led to a constructive landscape of “villages”.

2.4.3.3 Persistence & Transformation of Marriage

In the daily life of "villages" in Shenzhen, marriage is the most sensitive area in viewing various transformation of folk community life. *"Child-bearing is required by every society. The difference is that, some societies used the social relationship derived from childbearing to set up individuals' social status... Generally speaking, blood-relationship society is stable and lack of alteration; Society that change a lot will not easily become blood-relationship society...In blood-relationship society,*

[30] From 18th, January 1992 to 23rd, February 1992, Deng Xiaoping visited in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai, and gave important announcement, which promoted China economic reforms in the 1990s. He emphasised that, the courage for reforms and opening up should be stronger.

metabolism in creatures (child bearing) is used to maintain the stability of social structure...Before child-bearing become socialized, the strength of blood relationship seems to be determined by the speed of social transformation."(Fei Xiaotong 1998, 69)

In the history of "villages" in Shenzhen, villages are not only traditional introverted rural organizations that live by farming, but also traditional communities that have strong self-organization as well as distinct structure isolated characteristics. Before the 1980s, comparably frequent "village endogamy" was a distinct feature in "villages" in Shenzhen, since *"rural social life is rich in locality. Locality refers to the regional limits in their activity. There are few contacts between regions and villagers lives are separated and isolated in each own social circle"* (Fei Xiaotong 1998, 7ff). The frame of traditional "village endogamy" was mainly determined by the narrow interpersonal circle.

Village endogamy has been put into practice for generations and many villagers are tied with marriage relationship instead of lineage relationship. Collectivization further promotes such "village endogamy" custom. Especially young female opts for village endogamy since they have more opportunities to develop personal friendship and get contact with other young male in their spare time during the 5 to 7 years collective work before marriage. With the emphasis of collectivism and the work mobilization of female in collective agriculture have encouraged young female to make her own decision in choosing mate issue.

One important factor affecting the marriage circle is the economic factor, especially in two decades after the Reform and Open up this factor became more important. Before the mid of 1980s, most females married to males in cities or neighbour villages for the reason that, in city the economic conditions were better than “village” and "villages" in Shenzhen were neighbouring large cities. However, this situation changed lately. Firstly, economy in "villages" developed very fast (even faster than city economic development) from the mid of 1980s to 1990s. The amount of females who married to city male decreased dramatically due to this change in economic structure. Secondly, the joint-stock policy in 1988 stated that, females who married with male outside village were not legitimated to enjoy stock share, thus reducing the social mobility due to marriage. Since 2004, the stock

share policy allows females who married with male outside can enjoy stock share according to their participation in the collective work. Thus villagers don't need to consider the economic lost to stay at village and nor consider the distribution lost or increase for getting married with people within or outside village (*Table 2-11*).

Table 2-11: Wedded objects of villagers

Villagers within or outside village	Workers from other places	Government officials, white collars	Private enterprisers or individual Business operators	Others
34%	22%	25%	5%	13%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part4, Step in “Urban Village”, 95)

Summary

In the history of "villages" in Shenzhen, there are three type of power operating mode, that is, traditional social "dualistic governing" administrative mode, centralized power deputing mode under people commune system and "rural political" governing mode. The interest-related kindred group power operating mode that combines with urban corporate community plays an important role in maintaining community order. This fact indicates that, traditional resources recycling still have great significance in surpassing tradition and obtaining modernization process of the corporate community. The power and order recognized by the folk have their vitality and can realize the efficient and reasonable utilization of local resources.

Unlike the modernists worshiping the evolutional development and asserting the “vanishing peasants” or “the ending of traditional society” (Mendras 1970; Fukuyama 1993), many anthropologists and other social scientists have demonstrated their sophistication to transcend the dichotomy of tradition and modernity (Hobsbawm, Terence［ed］1992; Bestor 1989; Maddox 1993; Kendall 1996a, 1996b). *“Urban and rural elements interpenetrate one another not only spatially but also socially and personally.”* (Hassenpflug 2002, 51) Nevertheless, the influential argument of Hobsbawm led to another distinction between the “genuine tradition” and “regenerative tradition” and the notion has been unreflectively adopted by some anthropologists working in China. *“The resurgence of these rituals in their transformed state represents cultural fragments recycled under new circumstance”* (Siu 1989, 134), or “entirely modern and menacingly subversive” (Kipnis 1995).

In the construction of living realm, urban corporate community bears unique transitional value. On the daily living level, traditional modesty and warmth coexist with rational thinking, and get comparably well balanced with the modern living factors. Some traditional living patterns are discarded on the basis of non-agricultural production while some modern living patterns are adopted. The motivation and goals of villagers in Shenzhen transform gradually from the action within a set of cultural values into one for objective material interests. The most sensitive aspect of folk life, marriage, is continually breaking the narrow social

circle and quickly forwarding to the complete socialization in the specific social background of "urban corporate community". At he same time, since rich traditional cultural resources directly relate to folk life in “urban corporate community”, thus how to reconsider and reposition these traditional culture and, base on this to find a effective and economic way to utilize and explore the value of traditional culture resource in order to construct a modern community that has more personality and vitality become an inevitable question. As for the massive traditional resources such as kindred group culture, folk belief and related folk activities, it is necessary and urgent to pay more rational care.

3 Persistence & Transformation of Economic Structures

3.1 Persistence & Transformation of Land Structure

3.1.1 Differences of Land System

Currently there are two types of land ownership. Urban land belongs to the state and rural land to the collective. Land use is under the unified control of the state Land Administration. Land used for city expansion or new city construction must be requisitioned from the rural areas. The state has established a set of policies in regard to land requisition including payment of land requisition fee, compensation fee, relocation fee, etc. Urban-rural dualistic land system enables villagers to gain the right of using land in low price or even free. After house sites were allotted by the community to individual household, villagers could attain the rent to the greatest extent by increasing the floors of the buildings.

3.1.1.1 The Ownership of "Villages"

According to *The Law of Land Administration of the People's Republic of China* Article 2: "*The People's Republic of China resorts to a socialist public ownership i.e. the ownership of land is owned by the whole people and the ownership by the collective, of land*." This is the so called "dualistic ownership structure of land". According to *The Constitution of The People's Republic of China* Article 10 and *The Law of Land Administration of the People's Republic of China* Article 8, the ownership of land are divided into *"Land in urban districts shall be owned by the state", "Land in the rural areas and suburban areas, except otherwise provided for by the state, shall be collectively owned by peasants including land for building houses, land and hills allowed to be retained by peasants."* Most of lands in "villages" in Shenzhen are expropriated and partially owned by the state and partially owned collectively. These two kinds of land ownership are unequal on the following aspects:

1) According to *The Law of Land Administration of the People's Republic of China* Article 10, these two ownerships can be transformed unilaterally from collective-owned to state-owned. However, the ownership can only be transferred from collective-owned to state-owned and cannot be transferred from state-owned to collective-owned;

2) The ownership of land in “villages” typically shows that the state ownership expands by “the need of the public interest” and thus “village” collective ownership is shrinking; at the same time, the collective land owners realize that not all expropriation are done to “meet the need of public interest”, but for the business benefit gained by transferring land ownership after expropriation. As a result, rural community begins to bargain with the market price in the transition of land ownership in order to retain their land ownership.

3.1.1.2 The Status of Land Use in “Villages”

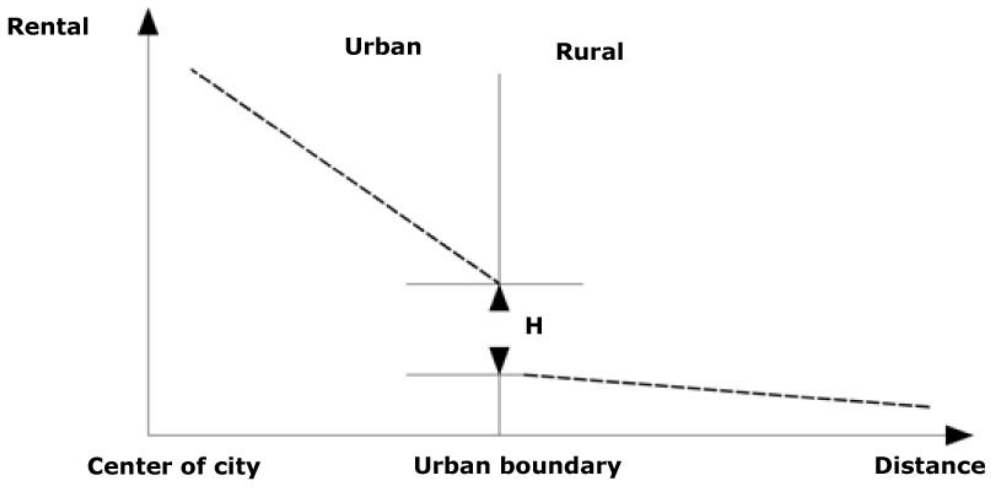
Land use refers to the user of land has the right to occupy, utilize, get profit and deal with the land in the scope permitted by law, that is to gain the authority of using the land according to the law. Collective land use is divided into house sites’ use, agricultural use and non-agricultural use. Compared with state land use, collective land use has more constrains:

1) The right of house sites’ use cannot be transferred and mortgaged;

2) Only the use of wild hills, wild dykes, wild mounds contracted according to law in rural wild land and agreed by the contractor, as well as collective land in the construction area of county enterprises can be mortgaged;

3) Collective land cannot be used for rent. These constrains make the benefit from state-owned land exceeds the benefit gained from collective-owned land. By the stimulation and seduction of interest, collective-owned-land users are no longer satisfied by the regulation of land use, and try to break the old rules to find an interest that equal to the state-owned land use.

Before the Reform and Opening up, China implemented a non-compensated and unlimited land use system. Thus, besides inherited land use, the only way of requisition land is by administrative marking and planning. Although land has no



(Source: Liu Hongtao, Yang Kaizhong, Feng Changchun 2005, 65)

Figure 3-1: Gap of land value between urban and village (H)

obvious trading price, it does not mean that there is no way to measure the value of land, or to infer that there is no value in the county land. Land income from county land is greatly lower than that from urban land under the "scissor gap" between industry and agriculture, thus, agriculture land is lower in embedded value than urban land. According to classical urban economics land rents bidding model, value in urban land not only basically follows the basic rule of decreasing from city center to the suburb, but also is greatly higher than the value of land in countryside, leading to a huge difference between city and county land incomes (*Figure 3-1*).

These two different land systems breed a new difference between city and county. In the past, villagers would long for a city identity and even would want to buy such identity. But now, the situation is reversed in a rich countryside, many former villagers who live in the city would like to go back to countryside and even want to buy a villager identity. The primary reason of this is the ability of gaining house sites. When the estate price shoots up, individuals who own houses and land use in "village" can make a large income, which is also the primary economic reason for the large amount of illegal constructions in "villages".

3.1.2 Transformation of Agricultural Land in Shenzhen

3.1.2.1 The Expansion of Urban Construction Land in Shenzhen

As one of the central cities in the Pearl River Delta Region, Shenzhen has grown from a small coastal town with a population of 314,100 and 196 million GDP to a megapolis with resident population of 1.5091 million, and floating population of 4.065 million, with GDP of 195.417 billion. This high-speed urbanization brings the fast development of economy as well as the fast change in land use. On one hand, the scale of urban land expands rapidly, while on the other hand, agricultural land and ecological land disappear rapidly. In 1978, the percentage of non-agricultural lands (mainly in towns in Shenzhen) was 2.29% and this number grew to 23.84% in 1990 and in 2000 this number reached to 31.72%. At the same time, cultivated land area dropped from 23.95% in 1978 to 6.03% in 1990 and in 2000 only 3.3% left. As a new growing city under fast development, the rapid expansion of urban land is related to the rapid reduction of agricultural land. The expansions of urban land bring a series of problems and become the extrinsic material factor in the development and transformation in "villages" in Shenzhen.

Land transformation not only includes the transformation of land property right, but also includes the change in land utilities. Land transformations in China include

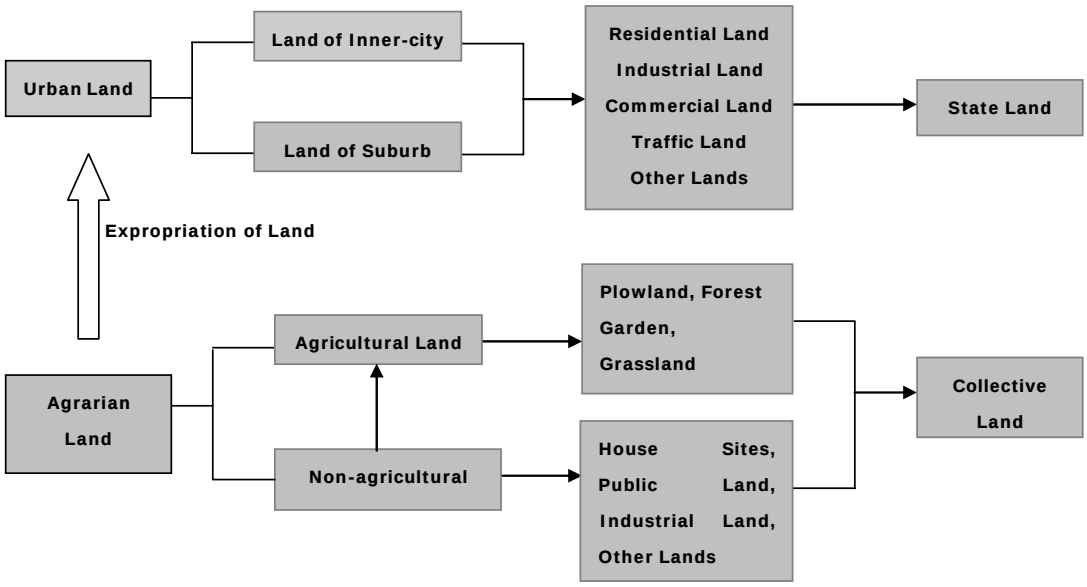


Figure 3-2: Transformation of land between city and village

three levels. The first level is the land transformation within the urban whole people's ownership. The second level is the land transformation inside the rural collective ownership. The third level is the land transformation from land owned by rural collective ownership to urban state-owned land. This transformation not only shifts the land property right, but also changes the land utility property. The direction of utility property change is irreversible (*Figure 3-2*).

Accordingly, compared to the characteristics of traditional village land space, land space characteristics of "villages" in Shenzhen have experienced great change (*Table 3-1*). Specifically speaking, the land structure of "villages" in Shenzhen has been changed (*Table 3-2*). Compared to urban land structure in Shenzhen, the land structures of "villages" in Shenzhen also have several distinct differences (*Table 3-3*).

Table 3-1: Comparisons of land between traditional villages and "villages" in Shenzhen

Stage of development	Characteristic of land utility	Preference of land benefit	Change in rural-urban relationship	Change in people-land relationship
Traditional village	Simple land utility structure and function, high building density, small floor area ratio and sound environment	Comparably harmonious and unified land ecological benefit, social benefit and economic benefit	Rural-urban separated. City almost has no impacts on village and village is a relatively independent system.	Nature oriented, people-land relationship belongs to low-level balance (incontrollable). Sound environment, simple land utility, low economic benefit and poor villagers.
Current "village"	Multiple land utility functions, farraginous, high building density, high floor area ratio and poor living environment.	Land economic benefit is the precedence, social benefit and ecological benefit are usually ignored	"Village" locates inside city and city has great impacts on village economy while they are separated in system; City request village to be incorporated with it considering the whole city planning. There are too many interest objects to coordinate and in order to maintain their vested interests they tend to be against urbanization.	In order to strike for maximum economic benefit, land is explored to the maximum intensity; land ecology and social benefit almost disappear.

Table 3-2: List of land utility in the "villages" in Futian District

Villages	Private house		Collective land							
			Land of residence		Land of public facility		Land of industry		Not be used	
	Area	Ratio	Area	Ratio	Area	Ratio	Area	Ratio	Area	Ratio
Xia Meilin	19.04	60.97	5.64	17.72	1.58	4.97	3.37	10.59	2.19	6.88
Shang	10.68	75.69	4.39	24.29	1.10	6.10	0.98	5.42	0.95	5.23
Xiasha	13.81	65.30	7.24	26.77	3.45	12.76	2.55	9.42	0.00	0.00
Shangsha	23.74	72.40	1.85	5.65	3.94	12.01	2.89	8.82	0.36	1.09
Shazui	8.41	60.16	0.86	8.55	0.98	9.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Shawei	8.19	83.83	4.31	24.88	2.18	12.06	2.42	13.96	0.00	0.00
Xinzhou	11.93	77.67	4.54	19.01	1.64	6.87	0.85	3.56	0.39	1.63
Shixia	8.92	69.91	4.16	25.20	1.32	8.00	2.11	12.78	0.00	0.00
Shuiwei	5.84	48.38	4.50	27.34	5.33	32.38	0.00	0.00	0.81	4.92
Gangxia	8.47	90.49	0.72	7.67	0.20	2.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Tianmian	1.79	49.86	4.12	47.80	1.76	20.42	0.93	10.79	0.00	0.00
Futian	17.99	69.14	3.03	11.21	2.76	10.21	0.79	2.92	2.45	9.07
Shangbu	18.47	72.09	4.06	15.27	3.97	14.93	0.09	0.34	0.00	0.00
Total	157.2	69.04	49.43	18.61	29.93	11.27	16.98	6.39	7.42	2.79

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, part4, Step in "Urban Village", 34)
Note: the statistics in the table do not include the area of street and green space

Table 3-3: Comparison of land structure between the "villages" in Futian District and Shenzhen city

Lands	Average ratio of land in "village" in Futian District	Average ratio of land in Shenzhen city
Land of residence	65%-75%	30%-40%
Land of public facility	1%-5%	15%-20%
Land of industry	5%-15%	0%-4%
Land of street and square	1%-5%	15%-22%
Green land	1%-5%	10%-15%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, part1, Constituting Harmonious Futian District, 20)

3.1.2.2 Factors for Land Transformation in "Villages"

(1) Location factor

Shenzhen is located on the coastal area of Guangdong Province. It is very close to Hong Kong, which is the largest economic center and entrepot trade center. Thus, Shenzhen can attract investment from foreign organizations located in Shenzhen and also utilize the superior shipping and air-transporting facilities to transport various materials or products. At the same time, due to the small land area and large population, land prices are high as well as the labour forces. With this ad-

vantage, Shenzhen becomes an attractive investing ground for Hong Kong investors. This provides Shenzhen an extraordinary advantage in developing foreign exchange business, real estate and tourism. Between 1949 and 1979, Shenzhen had been considered to be the front line of the capitalism by the Chinese Government and villagers could not freely travel between Shenzhen and Hong Kong. In 1979, Chinese Government decided to build Shenzhen city. In 1980, the government lined out a long and narrow area of 327.5 km^2 as SSEZ, which became a "trial field" of China's Reform and Opening up policy and a "window" for introducing foreign investment. From then on, foreign investments are entering Shenzhen one after another. At the same time, urban population and construction scale have grown quickly, and most of the urban constructing lands are from the state acquisitions of agricultural land. Consequently the change of policies and economic geographical location are important external factors in the social and economic transformation of "villages" in Shenzhen.

At the same time, municipal road constructions play an important role in the conformation transformation of "villages". Firstly, the government has the ability to acquire a large amount of land with sufficient fund and compelling force; Secondly, city has specific controlling requirements to buildings inside the red line of road scope. Finally, municipal road constructions improve the reach of areas near the road and thus make those lands along the road more valuable. These three reasons make the dense-populated area –"villages" – practically divided into multiple groups by one or more roads.

(2) Population factor

In 1984 Shenzhen had a resident population of 0.4352 million and in 2003 this number reaches to 1.5 million while the floating population changes from 0.3061 million in 1984 to 4.065 million in 2003. During the 20 years (1984-2003), resident population grows 3.5 times while floating population grows 12 times.[1] The population explosion directly increases the demand of housing, public and municipal facilities. The housing problem of the massive population is especially

[1] The statistics are from *Statistical Yearbook of Shenzhen 2003.*

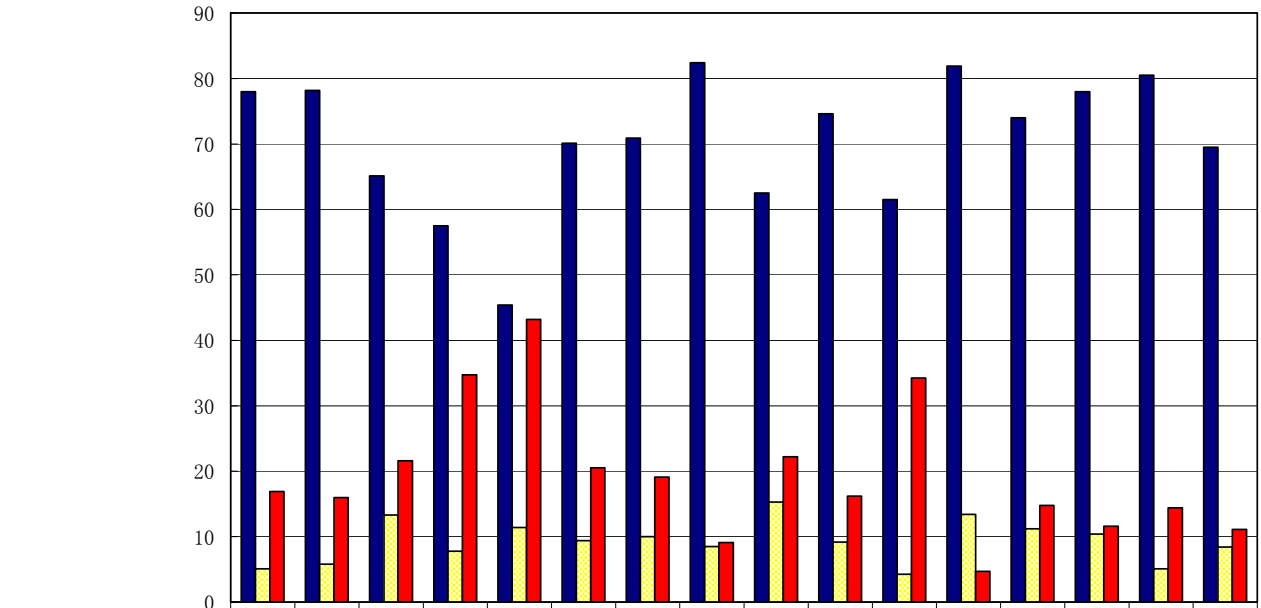
outstanding.

(3) Economic factor

As massive collective agriculture lands have been expropriated for urban land use, villagers now have no land for farming. They utilize funds gained from land acquisition and take advantage of close relationship with Hong Kong to build massive "joint venture" enterprises and "three arrivals and one supply" enterprises.[2] After 1990, workshops have been left unused because the labour-intensive industries inside the SSEZ are gradually moved outside, consequently, villagers had to find other ways to make a living.

At the early stage of Shenzhen Economic Zone establishment, massive foreign investment and floating population flooded into this area. Driven by economic benefit and the government's absence in building houses for these out-comers, different interest groups such as villages and towns illegally occupy, transfer and sell or buy lands and build private houses (*Figures 3-3 and 3-4*).

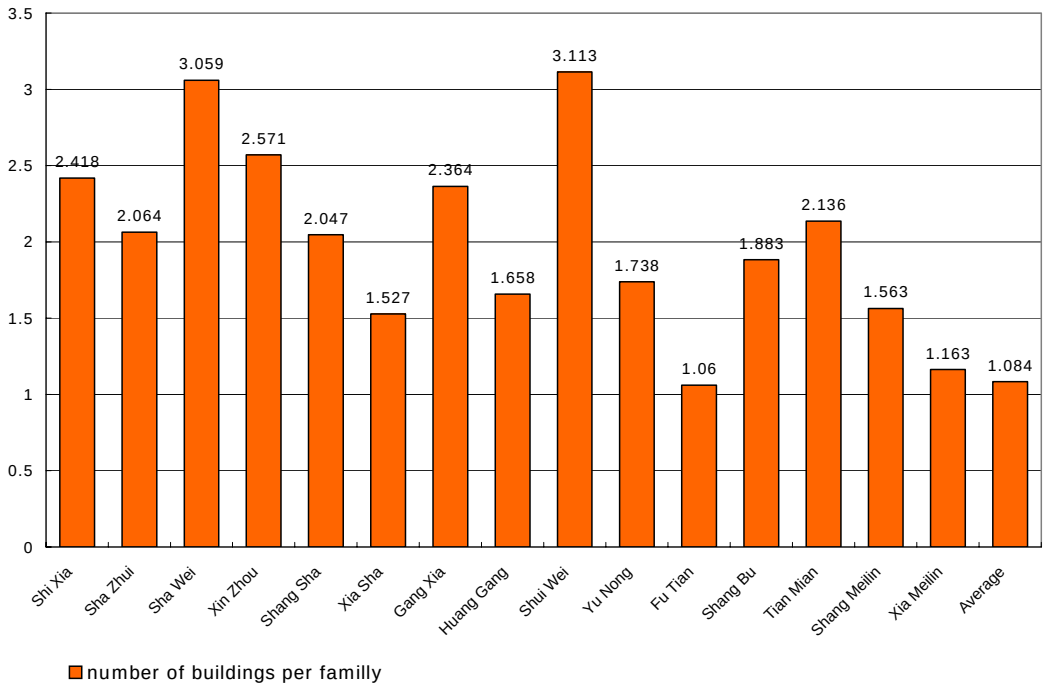
[2] The "three arrivals and one supply" includes the following activities: processing with materials, processing according to samples and assembling parts conducting supplied by the investors or clients and conducting compensation trade. Raw materials are provided from Hong Kong and finished product are mainly sold in Hong Kong and then expanded to Taiwan and other countries in Europe. The factories of production are located in Shenzhen and other cities in the south-east China in order to make use of low-cost land and labour resource there.



	Fu Tian	Gang Xia	Tian Mian	Huang Gang	Shui Wei	Shi Xia	Xin Zhou	Shang Sha	Sha Wei	Sha Zhui	Xia Sha	Yu Nong	Shang Meilin	Xia Meilin	Shang Bu	Average
proportion of residential land	78	78.2	65.1	57.5	45.4	70.1	70.9	82.4	62.5	74.6	61.5	81.9	74	78	80.5	69.5
proportion of industrial land	5.09	5.81	13.3	7.77	11.4	9.38	10	8.49	15.3	9.18	4.26	13.4	11.2	10.4	5.11	8.42
other lands	16.91	15.99	21.6	34.73	43.2	20.52	19.1	9.11	22.2	16.22	34.24	4.7	14.8	11.6	14.39	11.1

(Source: Shenzhen Urban Planning and Land Administration Bureau)

Figure 3-3: The proportion of utilizing lands of "villages" in Futian District

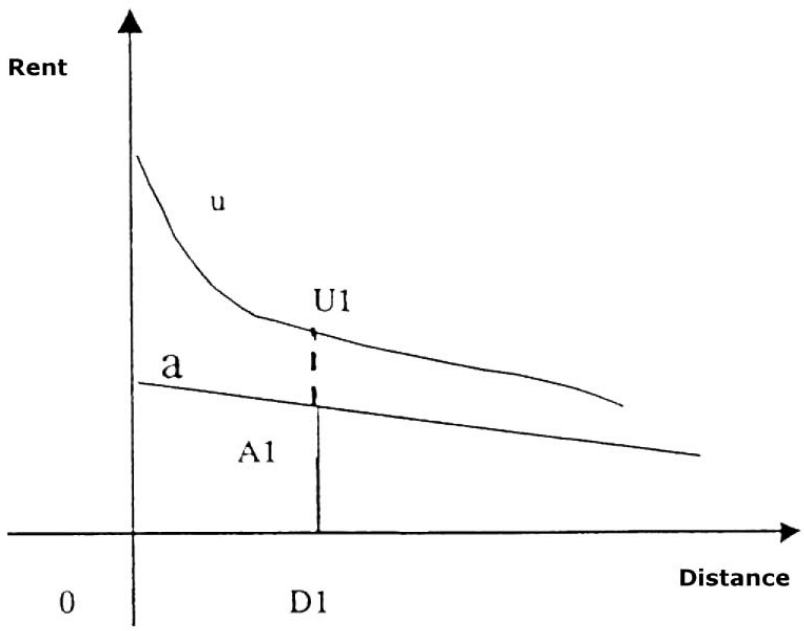


(Source: Shenzhen Urban Planning and Land Administration Bureau)

Figure 3-4: Number of private buildings per family in the villages in Futian District

(a) Analysis of land property right

"Villages" in Shenzhen scatter into every corner of the city and most of them no longer possess any agricultural lands. According to the current Land Administration Law of the People's Republic of China, the property of lands collective-owned by villagers are not allowed to be sold, transferred or leased for non-agricultural constructions except for the transition due to a bankrupt, or merge of enterprises who gained construction lands legally. For a long time, lands of "villages" in Shenzhen have been declared to be state-owned land, but still they are not allowed to be on the move. However, the fact is that, lands of "villages" have created "usage-added-value", but the forbiddance of land transferring has made such value hard to realize. "Villages" land that have superior location are not able to realize the differential land rent I from the location and differential land rent II from supplemental investment, and the value of land has not been maximized. Once villagers in "villages" seize this signal, the great contrast between the land compensation (for house sites that have being requisitioned) and the potential value as urban land become the interest factor that drives villagers to transfer land property rights by market price stealthily (*Figure 3-5*). The land price of "villages" gradually



(Source: Du Yansong 2004, 61)

Figure 3-5: Comparison of land rent between the urban and "village" in Shenzhen

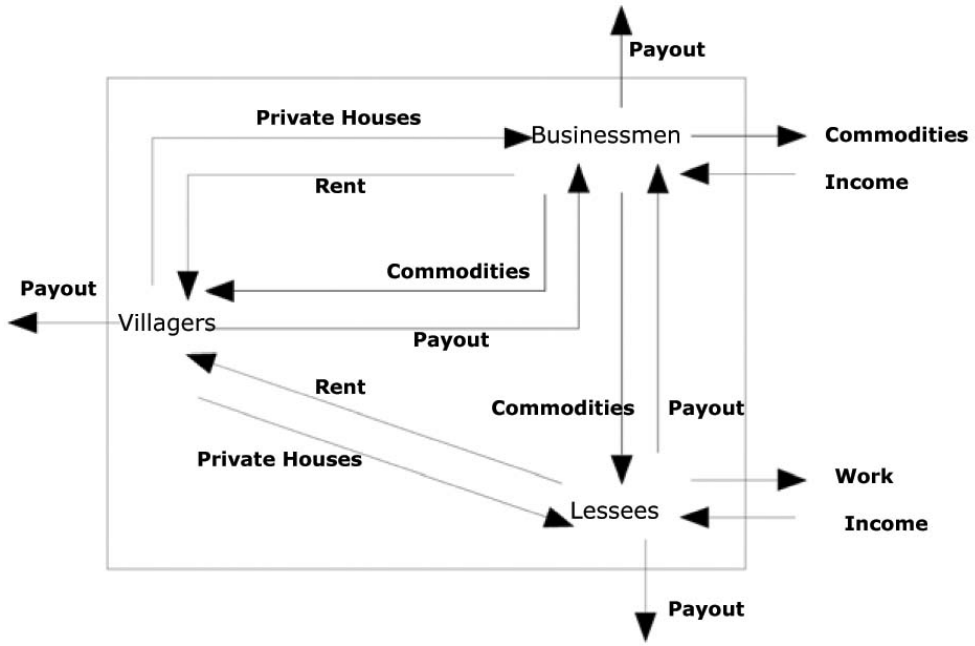
drops as its distance to the city centre increases. Since the cultivation functions of these lands have been lost and the property has been restricted from transferring, the location value cannot be fully realized and therefore, the decline range is lower than that of urban land price, which is resulted from the simplex functions of houses in "villages" and poor environment. On point D, the margin of land rent between urban land and rural land is U-A. If villagers in "villages" transfer land use in the market, they can gain this portion of added-value.

(b) Economic operations of "villages"

Economy in "villages" mainly involves the following activities: the operation of joint-stock companies; the economic activities of original villagers; the economic activities of the floating population in "villages". The relationships among these three economic agents are: joint-stock company acts as the organization manager of economic activities in "villages" and the operating entity; Original villagers are the shareholders of the joint-stock company and employees, also villagers are the individual operating entities in the economy of "villages"; floating population are the backbone of economy of "villages". They are the customers of the joint-stock company and lessees of the original villagers' property, also they are the main operators and consumers of various industries in "villages".

Economic activities in "villages" are deployed among the above subjects and can be divided into two types:

1) Property leasing. There are two parties in this operation: the joint-stock companies and original villagers become one party and lessees of "villages" property and operators are the other. These two parties form the main economic activities in "villages" by property and land rent and are mainly represented by house rent, workshop rent and various business service facility rents. By conducting these property renting activities, "villages" have formed a relatively isolated economic system.



(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part1, Constituting Harmonious Futian District, 40)

Figure 3-6: Economic pattern in the “villages” in Shenzhen

2) The second type is the operating activities attached to house building. The operators who rent property in “villages” mainly conduct these activities, including business service package (e.g. shopping), living service package (e.g. entertainment) and process manufacturing, etc. The service objects include villagers in "villages" and circumjacent urban citizens. Through such economic activities, economy in "villages" builds a certain degree of relationship with urban economy, but these activities still feature in comparably visible regional characteristics (*Figure 3-6*).

From economy point of view, the reason why "villages" come into operation is that it relies on two backbones: the first one is that lessees in "villages" continually provide rent and make consumption. The second one is people inside or outside "villages" come to "villages" to consume. Most "villages" depend on the first one while a few of them depend on the second one, such as Shazui Village depends on the consumers outside "village" (*Figure 3-7*).

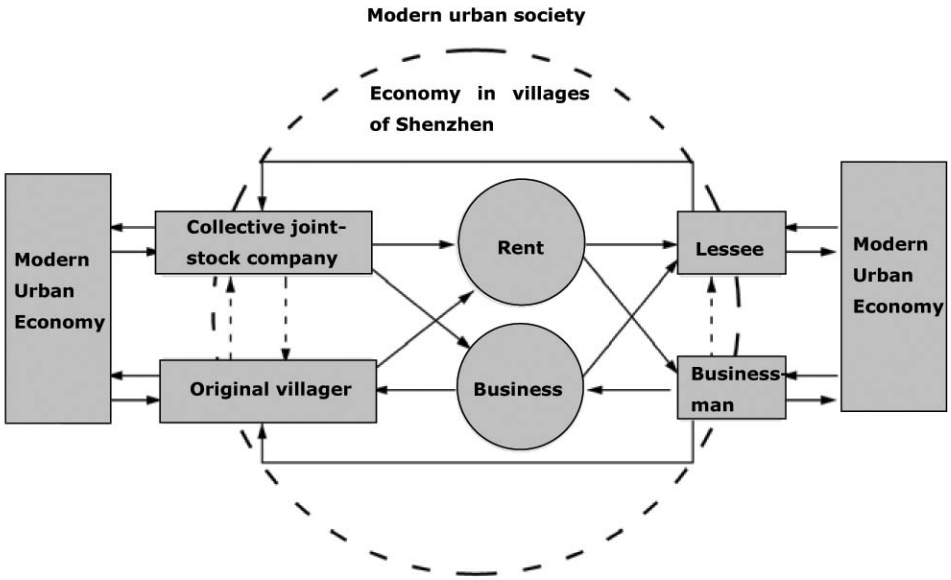


Figure 3-7: Economic system in the "villages" in Shenzhen

(4) Policy factor

Policy environment has the decisive function in the realization of rural-urban land transformation. Policy influencing rural-urban land transformation can be classified into two types: 1) Classified by policy contents, policies influencing rural-urban land transformation include population policy, residency policy, economic development policy, financial policy, land policy, administrative area division, agricultural land protection policy, etc. Each policy has different degree, duration, and impact on rural-urban land transformation process. 2) Classified by spatial dimension, policies influencing rural-urban land transformation include state policy, regional policy and local policy, which influence the land transformation from macro-view, meso-view and micro-view.

The impacts of special policy environment on the rural-urban land transformation mode are shown as follow:

1) During the construction process of SSEZ, favourable economic development policies have attract massive domestic and foreign investment, which promote the rural-urban land transformation, and enable the SSEZ to complete its massive infrastructure construction;

2) Land policy not only provides enough spatial supply, and as the advance-

ment of construction, it also brings massive agricultural land into urban land system;

3) Population policies enable a large number of immigrant workers flooded into Shenzhen for employment opportunities, which result in house demand greatly exceeds the government and real estate developers' ability. At the same time, villagers' own houses in the SSEZ nicely supply this market gap and make strong benefits. Therefore, villagers in "villages" are more dependent on land and post a rejecting attitude to the government's rural-urban land transformation. Just in such special policy environment, the rural-urban land transformation in SSEZ shows different characteristics.[3]

[3] More detail contents on the rural-urban land transformation in Shenzhen will be explained in *3.1 Persistence & Transformation of Land Structure,* in *3 Persistence & Transformation of Economic Structures.*

3.2 Persistence & Transformation of Economic Organizations

3.2.1 Formation of Collective Economy

In 1950, Bao'an County (former Shenzhen city) organized peasant communities, and after the land reformation, mutual aid teams and primitive cooperatives were established. By March 1956, agricultural production advanced cooperatives were implemented and from then on rural collective cooperative economy stepped into history stage. Collective cooperative economy enhances the ability to resist natural disaster and to develop agriculture, thus promoting the development of rural economy. However, In October of 1958, the People Communes sweep all over the county. And this collective producing way frustrated the peasants' producing enthusiasm and made the agricultural production in Shenzhen stagnant for a long time.

In 1980, SSEZ was established. Urbanization in this area (special in Luohu District that has been developed primarily) has been in a fast pace. A large number of lands that previously collectively owned by original villagers in Luohu District had been requisitioned by the government in a short time to meet the construction demand of this area.[4]

As massive collective economic land was requisitioned, Luohu District was basically deviated from agricultural production. Under the guidance of leaders of village committee, each village sets up lots of collective enterprises and with the fees from land acquisition to build workshops, sets up "*three arrivals and one supply*" enterprises, hotels and other service industries, resulting in the fundamental changes in collective producing operation activities.

In September of 1982, people communes were removed from every village and villagers selected village committee with administrative village as unit to manage collective economy and these committees act as the root origination. Since the economic development land were determined by the number of people and with the land acquisition fee given by the government, these benefits from "land selling"

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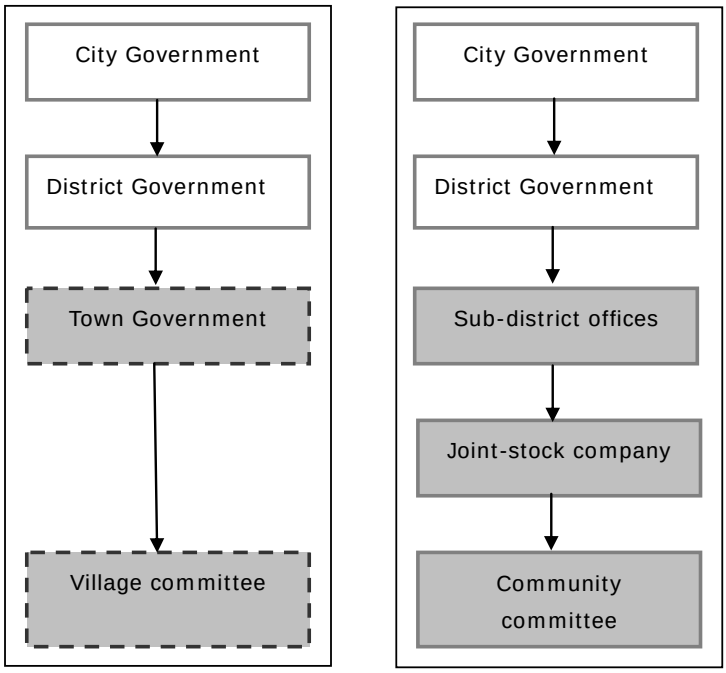
[4] See *Interim Regulations of Building Land of Villagers in Cooperations in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone* (1982.9.17)

make the villagers inevitably facing the fact of "distribution according to work" and "distribution according to share", which make Shenzhen Luohu District the cradle of community share-cooperation system in China. In 1983, Cainong Company was established in Cainong Village in Luohu District. Villagers set up Longfei business building and Tianbei industry workshop and these facilities were managed according to joint-stock system.

In 1983, 24 joint-stock enterprises were set up based on community joint-stock system constructed on the red-line land distributed by the government and formed the earliest share-cooperation system-Luohu mode. Subsequent community share-cooperation systems in Shenzhen or even in the Pearl River Delta Region possess similar characteristics with Luohu mode (*Figure 3-8*).

In 1992, there were 68 administrative villages and 176 natural villages with a population of over 40,000. In November of 1992, Shenzhen Government decided to implement urbanization in the SSEZ, and based on the original administrative community and villagers to introduce joint-stock system into the cooperatives in



Management system before 1992 Management system after 1992

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part2, Inspecting “Urban Village”, 168)

Figure 3-8: Comparison between management systems in the “villages” in Shenzhen around 1992

the collective economic and the established village companies were identified as joint-stock enterprises and built up community committees. Sixty six joint-stock companies and a hundred community committees were established. Those original villagers not only became urban citizens, but also became the shareholders of these joint-stock companies.[5]

3.2.2 Management Systems in "Villages"

"Villages" have adopted joint-stock-company-oriented community management system. The system can be divided into three levels: the top level is sub-district office, the middle level is joint-stock company, and the bottom level is various shops, individual operators, original villagers and out-comers.

(a) Sub-district office

If refers to the basic government delegated institution of district government. It stays at the same level as town institution and represents district government to implement management function to social economic activities. But the implementation of its management function to the economic development, construction

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[5] The regulations of stock allotted for the villagers:

1. Members who have been living in the village since 1952 and their children can be allotted 100% stock;
2. Members who have been living in the village from 1st January,1953 to the end of 1963 and their children can be allotted 80%-90% stock;
3. Members who have been living in the village from 1st January,1964 to the end of 1969 and their children can be allotted 60%-70% stock;
4. Members who have been living in the village from 1st January, 1970 to end of 1978 and their children can be allotted 40%-50% stock;
5. Members who have been living in the village since 1st January, 1979 up to now and their children can be allotted 20%-30% stock;
6. Villagers who had ever worked in government offices or corporations and have not returned to the village can not be allotted any stock;
7. Villagers who had ever worked in government offices or corporations and have returned and worked in the villages finally, they can be allotted 100% stock;
8. Original villagers who have settled down in Hong Kong or other countries can not be allotted any stock.

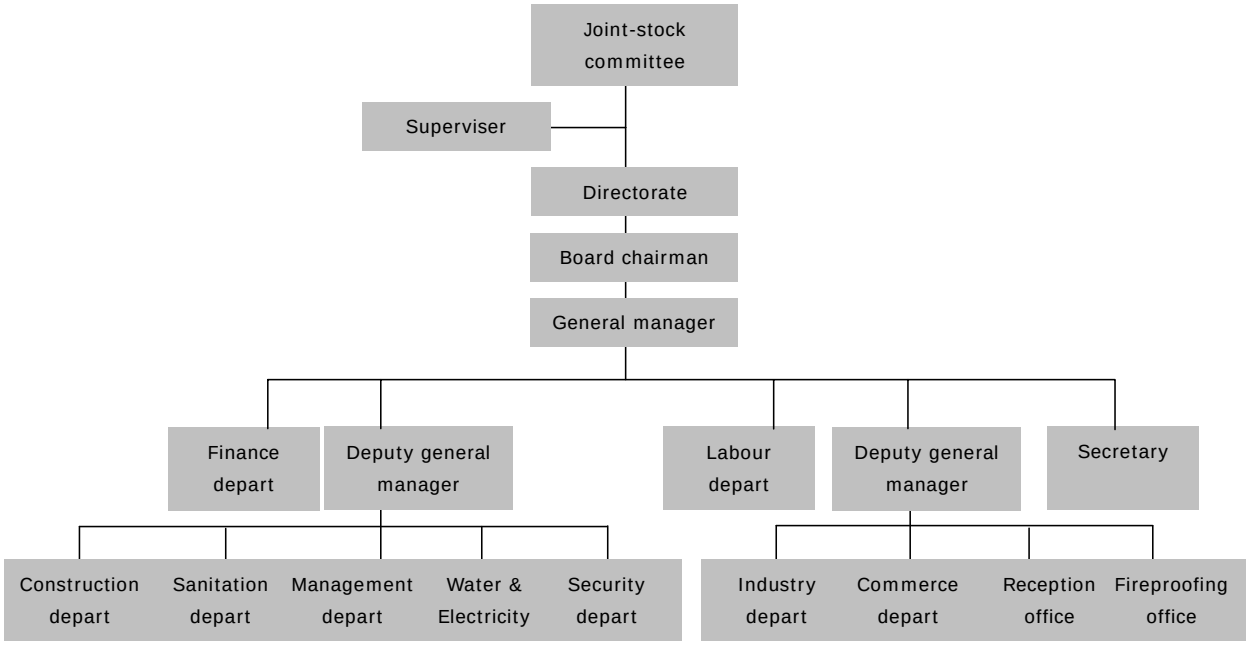
(include municipal infrastructure construction, real estate development, etc.) of "villages" inside its administrative region is realized by the cooperation between community committee and joint-stock company. This results in the absence of government management to "villages".

(b) Community committee

It derived from the administrative village committee during the rural urbanization in 1992. There are three operating mechanisms in the management system of "villages": The first type is that, community committee, joint-stock company and root Party branch are relatively independent and function their own duty such as Shang Meilin Village and Xia Meilin Village in Futian District. The second type is that, community committee, joint-stock company and root Party branch are cross-functioning, and that is, general manager or chairman of the board also acts as the director of community committee. The third type is that, community committee, joint-stock company and root Party branch adopt the same crew. All small "villages" adopt the third type, such as Shuiwei Village. Most of "villages" adopt the second or third type. Community committees sometimes depend on joint-stock company for economic benefit. Because of the long-term villagers awareness such as clan blood relationship and the strong impact of economic benefit, the dominant management subject and power center are actually in the joint-stock company's hand.

(c) Joint-stock companies are the actual governors of communities in "villages"

Joint-stock company’s operation is based on land property right under the collectivity concept, by means of collective economic organization and distribute property equally according to villager component in the beginning of the establishment of such organization. The directorates of joint-stock company are elected by shareholder representatives and are responsible for making decisions on important issues concerning company operation and village issue management (*Figure 3-9*).



(Source: Village Committee of Shangsha Village)

Figure 3-9: Structure of joint-stock company in Shangsha Village

3.2.3 Joint-stock Company

(a) Constitutions of joint-stock company

1) Village properties, includes business building, trade market, hotels, etc;

2) Self-reserved land of village;

3) Compensation from land acquisition

These three aspects are related and interchangeable. Village economy is a typical "land rental economy" and "property rental economy". In the past peasants cultivated lands, now they cultivate "buildings".

(b) Characteristics of joint-stock company

1) A joint-stock company is not a genuine economic unit and it is a mix entity the integrating economy, society and administration. Community committee becomes the dependency of joint-stock company. It is not only governed by the upper government institution (street office) but also has the joint-stock company as its upper institution;

2) It is a family governing institution with clan meaning. Most employees of the

joint-stock company are the local villagers and few outcomers are employed. The staffs of community committee are mostly local villagers and it is a rule that outcomers can not occupy important roles in the community committee.

(c) Functions of joint-stock company

1) A joint-stock company institutes the policies of community and targets of economic development, plans and constructs public facilities in the community;

Such as infrastructures inside villages (roads, water supply and drainage, power supply), it collectively establishes governing institutions as the "small government" inside community, and the expense of the public function of community are supported by the collective economy. Investment in administrative social issues accounts for 22% net income of the collective economy. Due to the large investment of the collective economy, infrastructures inside villages are complete, from kindergarten to elementary school, from senior center and community cultural center and from ancestral hall to office building[6];

2) It possesses judicatory structures such as civil mediatory and public security organizations. Civil mediatory organizations not only settle with internal civil disputes, but also deal with internal labour-capital disputes of the enterprises;

3) It possesses the power of financial allocations and its financial structures can treat with assembling, financing assets and credits; For example, it subsidizes the salaries of community committee, provides cars and office site, subsidizes office expense or other necessaries. The government provides limited expenditure to each community committee each year;

4) It promotes the succeeding and development of community culture;

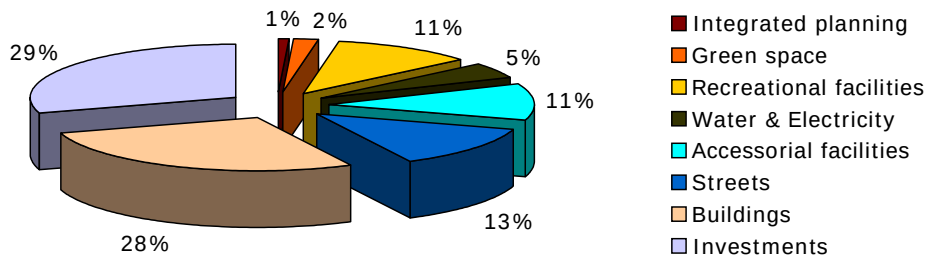
Collective economy re-mobilizes traditional social resource and as a result enhances the cohesive force. In the “village”, people from the same clan get together with relatives by means of ancestor worship on each Tomb-sweeping Day. In recent years, ancestral temples are renewed and become the recreation sites. The reconstruction funds include donations form clansman, but more of them are from

[6] From 1992 to 2004, the amount for constructing public facilities, for example, streets, water-electricity, drain contamination, fire protection of 15 collective joint-stock companies in “villages” in Futian District in Shenzhen came up to 800 million (Tan Gang 2005, 55).

the support of collective economy resources. The interposition of collective economy into the folk social activities not only increases the scale and level of these activities, but also in a certain degree overcomes difficult situation of the massive resource lost, which is brought by the destructive destroy of rural land after the Revolution. Because of the participation of collective economy, this historical community can re-develop and re-utilize traditional resource in a large scale;

5) It institutes welfare policies in the "villages";

On the social welfare issue, village shareholders only need to pay a certain accumulation fund to take part in the cooperative medical care established by the "village" and obtain 50% of reimbursement in the sanitation house inside "village" or appointed hospitals outside "village" and the seniors in "villages" can get 250 *yuan*[7] pension each month; On the equal distribution of community resources, the collective economy establishes an adjustive mechanism between the poor and the rich in the community scope by means of joint-stock system. This mechanism has reduced the wide gap between shareholders at a certain degree. Moreover, it affords the fully opportunities of works for the villagers (*Figure 3-10*).



(Source: Research on development planning about Xiasha Village 2002)

Figure 3-10: Proportion of investments in Xiasha Village (1992-2002)

[7] Official exchange rates between U.S. dollars and Chinese *yuan*, 1 U.S. dollar=8.014 *yuan* (the number was valuable on 15th, April 2006).

3.2.4 Protective-style Economy

From the traditional Chinese culture point of view, modern economy development is generally restrained by the absence of recognized, documented and reliable laws to protect the free development of businesses and industry, and the basic benefit and right are sometimes not protected by laws. At the same time, Weber considered that, *"in such an environment where tradition are advocated, particularism interpersonal relationship are emphasized, informal system and the requirement of modern rational labour organization that conducting industry production, social moral holding universalism and the combination of people by business relationship have, on the contrary, blocked the development of modern economy objectively"* (Weber 1993,256ff). Business bargaining is commonly seen among strangers and settlers on the spot. However in "villages", *"due to the blood relationship and land relationship, social structures are represented in a relatives and blood relationship or similar forms. These kinds of relationships sometimes restrain the competition and conflicts in the business area, and thus make business activities hard to exist in traditional villages"* (Fei Xiaotong 1998, 75). In the complex particularism social relationship network in "villages", modern business operations can not precisely coexist with economic rational spirit and result in the creation and development of "protective-type economy". In 2003, the amount of total assets of 15 joint-stock companies in Futian District in Shenzhen came up to 2.06952 billion, the amount of capital assets was 1.03501 billion and the proportion of net asset is 43.14%. On one hand, the proportion of net assets of some joint-stock companies was higher (even the number of net asset is more than that of total asset in Tianmian Village), indicated that the using asset ratio is lower and a large number of assets of joint-stock companies were left unused. On the other hand, although the asset scale of several joint-stock companies is huge, the net asset ratio is relatively lower. For example, the number of total assets of Shangbu joint-stock company is 0.28 billion, but the amount of net asset is only 19.24 million, and net asset ratio is only 6.87% (*Table 3-4*).

Table 3-4: Assets of joint-stock companies in Futian District in Shenzhen (2003) (unit: x10^4)

Joint-stock company	Total asset	Net asset	Capital assert	Asset from buildings
Shangbu	28000	1924	16765	15873
Huanqing	20124	11927	10408	9657
Gangxia	14962	3233	2743	1860
Shuiwei	16307	5676	12203	6927
Yunong	5839	2271	3129	1630
Shixia	11371	8704	6159	5300
Xinzhou	9000	6700	2500	1511
Shawei	2600	2100	1658	1210
Shazhui	15087	9145	11044	9654
Shangsha	9233	8730	11981	11110
Xiasha	42003	-	11800	8042
Shang Meilin	13606	11800	-	6086
Xia Meilin	10750	8895	9592	4174
Tianmian	8070	8175	8898	8710
Total	206952	89270	103501	91744

(Source: Tan Gang 2005, the data of Huang Gang Village in Futian District is not included here)

(a) Comparably low market risk

Most of capital assets of joint-stock companies from buildings comes up to 0.91744 billion, which takes up 89% of total capital assets. The total number of property area (including factories, offices, residences, public facilities, commercial buildings, etc.) is 1,172,206 m^2. This asset structure indicates that property rental business is primary a business conduction of joint-stock companies, and other business activities are affiliated and attached themselves to property economy (*Table 3-5*).

Property rental dominated "villages" economy is a kind of low-risk collective economy form, regardless viewing from the existence manner of property or the operation management. *"The safe-first maxim, a logical consequence of the ecological dependence of peasant livelihood, embodies a relative preference for subsistence security over high average income"* (Scott 1976, 29). Land and related properties are valuable aspects in the center of city. So long as the superior location is not changed greatly, these high economic returns will unaffectedly continue.

Table 3-5: Property types of joint-stock companies in Futian District (unit: m^2)

Villages	Factories	Offices	Residences	Marketplaces	Eateries	Public facilities	Others
Huanqing	7000	4688	15622	9368	9300	6373	-
Shazhui	30526	3862	16411	26955	17137	1124	2974
Shangsha	53500	3300	1000	24800	2590	13800	23277
Tianmian	35290	-	20714	-	17900	700	-
Shuiwei	17000	8000	20000	52000	-	8000	-
Shixia	46000	5000	9000	15000	500	2000	-
Xia Meilin	54149	2500	151139	4579	2745	2317	-
Xinzhou	10066	700	7200	8885	-	800	-
Yuheng	-	1500	15000	-	-	8000	-
Shawei	20000	2000	2500	3000	-	1500	-
Gangxia	15000	1500	25000	25000	30000	-	-
Shang Meilin	14272	-	39139	11373	-	5000	-
Shangbu	-	-	-	-	-	-	110000
Xiasha	43058	4808	-	20323	-	18765	-
Total	345861	37858	322725	201283	80172	68379	136251
	Total area: 1172206 m^2						

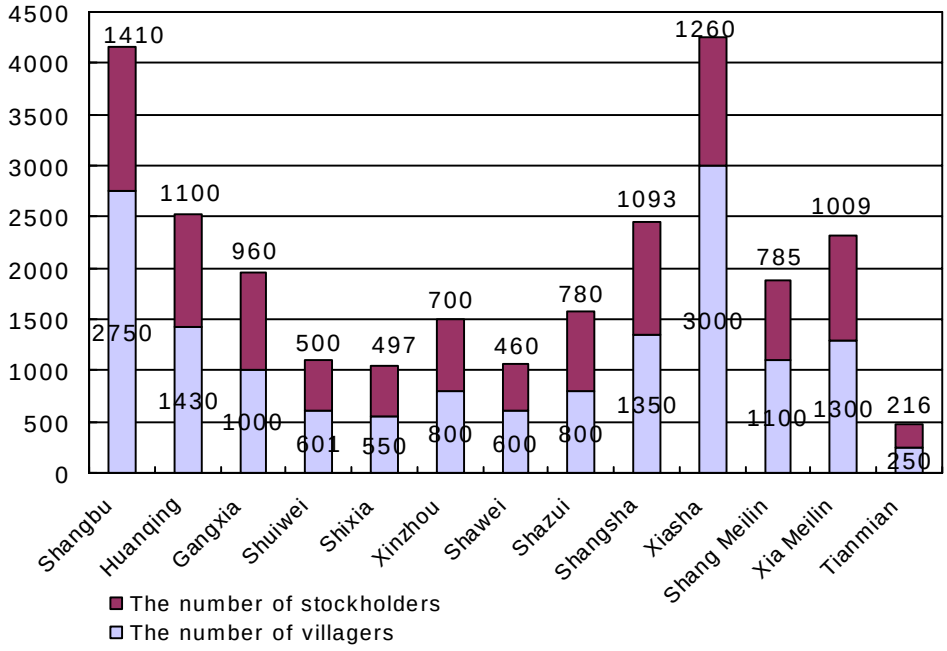
(Source: Tan Gang 2005, the data of Huang Gang Village in Futian District is not included here)

The property rental business conducted by village collective enterprises have already shifted the main risks to the property lessees, thus villages are protected in a maximum scale from market risks because of their unique property superiority.

(b) Distribution according to membership & comparably simple operation management

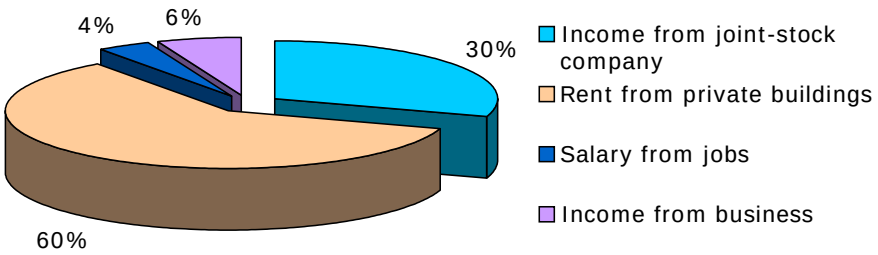
In 13 joint-stock companies in Futian District (not including Huanggang Village and Yunong Village), the number of original villagers is 15,531, and the number of stockholders is 10,770. The proportion of stockholders in total original villagers is 69.4% (*Figure 3-11*). Except for the children born before 1996, the persons living in the “villages” for marriages after 1996, and the seniors coming back from abroad, all the other original villagers become the stockholders of collective joint-stock companies and can get the bonuses from the companies at the end of every year.

Distribution according to village membership is the real form of "share right given by nature" on distribution and it includes two levels of right. The first level is that villagers with village membership naturally have the right to share collective distribution, the second level is that villagers with land contract right have the right to share collective distribution legally. Distributions under such rules are strongly exclusive. This exclusiveness can be reflected in two levels: exclude all people without village membership and exclude new villagers without land in a certain



(Source: Tan Gang 2005, 52)

Figure 3-11: The number of stockholders and villagers in the “villages” in Futian District



(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part1, Constituting Harmonious Futian District, 27)

Figure 3-12: Income structure of villagers in the “villages” in Shenzhen

time gap, or force original villagers who lose village membership to give up land and thus completely to give up share right of collective distribution. Most benefits of villagers are rents from land or constructions on the lands. This is because of their low education level and lack of skill or knowledge, and thus they are in a disadvantage position in urban employment competition (*Figure 3-12*).

Simplified property rental becomes primary way for the villagers in Shenzhen for making a living. According to *Research on "Villages" Reconstruction Report in Futian District (2004)*, the structure of villager family income is generally as follow: Melon-cutting from joint-stock company accounts for 30%, private rent accounts for 30%, salary from work or part-time job accounts for 4% and income from private business (shop, factory or company) accounts for 6%. This structure shows that, without private rent and melon-cutting from joint-stock company villagers would be difficult to survive.

(c) Comparably low labour holding volume

In public sites of "villages", especially in ancestral temples or elder activity centers, young men and women can be commonly seen playing chess or mah-jong. Massive unemployment coexisting with economy development is a common problem in many "villages" in Shenzhen. In fact, the above three aspects are related intrinsically: property rental economy brings high market benefits, market risks are shifted outside as much as possible. Operation is simplified and at the same time brings in the inevitable high unemployment rates.

3.3 Informal Economies

3.3.1 Informal Economies in "Villages"

The term of "informal economy" was first introduced in the context of economic activity in developing societies (Hart 1973). The phase was used thereafter as an umbrella term to describe ways of making a living outside the formal wage economy either as an alternative to it or as a means of supplementary income within it (Bromley, Gerry 1979). To Feige, the informal economy describes all unreported and unmeasured economic activity falling outside the scope of a nation's techniques for monitoring the economy (Feige 1977). For Portes, the informal economy refers to all income-producing activities outside formal sector wages and social security (Portes 1981). To Tanzi, the informal economy is gross national product that because of non-reporting and/or under-reporting is not measured by official statistics (Tanzi 1982).

There are two types of informal economies existing in the "villages" in Shenzhen. Firstly, the management activities of informal economy are legitimate, but they have not gotten through relative procedures from the departments of revenue, business administration and quality control of government. For example, the villagers only paid some amount of management fee to collective joint-stock company, and the amount is less than 10% of their rent income. The joint-stock company acts as self-management organization of "villages" and the villagers do not need to pay extra taxes to the government. This informal economy includes four types as followed,

(a) The part of tax evasion from renting the private houses by the villagers;

Those who are familiar with the city recognize the extent of illegal construction in the "villages". With the exception of a few of the most important boulevards such as Binhai Avenue, there are illegal constructed buildings along many city streets and throughout the "villages". The further one moves away from the main streets, the more of these kinds of buildings one can find. The high density of informal buildings in the "villages" has strong contrast with the surrounding environments. These illegal buildings serve mainly practical functions; most of parts are rented to

large numbers of floating population, except small parts acting as living places for original villagers (*Table 3-6*).

Table 3-6: Building area of the "villages" in Shenzhen

Districts	Building area of "villages" in Shenzhen ($x10^4$)	Building area of districts ($x10^4$)	The proportion of building area of "villages" to whole area of district (%)
Luohu	541	2456	22
Futian	571	3913	15
Nanshan	446	2054	22
Yantian	85	282	30
Total	1643	8705	19

(Source: SUPLAB 2004)

Large amount of rural collectivities and families adopt the "land selling-housing building-renting" road map and their main income is from property rent and house rent.

(b) The part of tax evasion from property renting by the joint-stock company;

The tax from property renting (such as supermarkets, hotels, office buildings, etc.) by the joint-stock company takes up only 10% rent income.

(c) The part of tax evasion from commercial and service industry by the joint-stock company;

In the "villages" in Shenzhen, since village public security, conservancy sanitation and other public managements are supported by collective joint-stock company. Moreover, the trades in the "villages" are enrolled as "individual enterprises" rather than "corporations" (*Table 3-7*). Consequently, these individual enterprises in the "villages" only pay sales tax to the "villages". However, other management fees (such as tax for individual income, tax for corporation income, etc.) should be paid to the departments of government by the enterprises in the city.[8]

[8] Normally, there are three kinds of taxes should be paid by the enterprises in the city. Firstly, state tax; secondly, local tax; thirdly, the taxes are regulated by some administration depart of government, rather than by the formal laws, such as sanitation management fee, public

Table 3-7: Informal shops of "villages" in Futian District

Villages	Total number	Trades				
		Hairdressing	Restaurant	Drugstore	Department store	Others
Shawei	200	20%	5%	50%	Only one	25%
Shazui	1100	5.6%	3.5%	82%	0.2%	8.7%
Shangsha	2200	10%	15%	70%	0.25%	4.75%
Xiasha	780	14%	7%	40%	1%	38%
Xinzhou	800	20%	20%	40%	3%	7%
Shixia	618	14.4%	9.1%	50.2%	0.5%	25.9%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District, part2, Inspecting "Urban Village", 37)

(d) Streets vendors without license of business

Throughout the streets of "villages" in Shenzhen, street vendors sell a variety of items from handmade gift materials to vegetables. Sometimes they stand in a specific place like a street corner. Others are itinerant, changing locations depending on the time of day or the day of the week, or simply canvassing from door to door. Unlicensed street vendors are less visible in the city than they are in the "villages" because in the city they are more likely to be penalized by the government. Their informal and itinerant business attracts clients from every spectrum of the local population, as well as further fields (*Plates 3-1 and 3-2*).

Plate 3-1: A peddler in Shangsha Village

security fee, employment enrollment fee, birth-planning fee, green space share fee, education appending fee, etc. In fact, these fees are as the ways to increase the income and welfare of the departments as illegitimate fees.

Another type of informal economy's economic activity seriously violates the laws also exists in the "villages". For example, illegal smuggling, traffic in drugs, prostitution, gangsterdom, production of bogus, etc.

Plate 3-2: A peddler in Shangsha Village

Shenzhen Government has renovated the informal economy for some times, but every time after the punishment, the activities would disappear provisionally, then emerged again shortly after. This relation between informal and formal economies is like twinborn bodies, when the government punished informal economy, formal economy changed from prosperous into languorous state, and therefore, resulted in bad effects on the income of villagers and this is the reason why leaders of "villages" and villagers let them alone, or even protect the activities.

(2) Reasons for business prosperity in "villages"

1) Usually, the "villages" are located in or near the center of city, which has preferable geographical location to business;

2) Higher population density of habitation affords large deal of opportunities for business, for instance, net density of population comes up to 928 persons per hectare;

3) The coexistence of rural and urban systems in the "villages" in Shenzhen results in blank areas of management that becomes the bleeding ground for informal economy. Slack control and management, and lower taxation have attracted a great number of self-employed individuals, whose production cost is not high.

3.3.2 Existence Rationalness to Economy Rationalness

The first person to analyze whether peasants' economic behaviours have economic rationalness from economics point of view is Chayanov, who is the representative of the organizing and producing school in Russia. In his opinion, small-scale peasant economy behaviour is irrational and the bourgeois economy analysis of peasant behaviour based on "rational economic man" is not proper. Peasants and economic man in bourgeois age have nothing in common. They are not cold-blood rational animal but represent a new human culture, a new human consciousness. In his opinion, peasants basically have two differences with capitalist: 1. Peasants depend on their own labour instead of employed labour so it is hard to calculate their salary. 2. Peasants' products are mainly for family consumption instead of striking for maximum profits in the market, so it is impossible to measure their profits. These two aspects determine that peasants' behaviour can be measured by unit product cost or benefit and should be measured by the balance between the degree of meeting consumption need and the degree of hardship in working. Once the balance is reached, their living needs are basically met and thus peasants are reluctant to further investment in labour. In Chayanov's opinion, small-scale peasant economy is an independent system that different from capitalistic enterprise. It has its own unique operating logics and rules. It pursues optimized goal and measurement based on advantages and disadvantages, and reflects on the measurement of degree of consumption satisfaction or degree of labour hardship instead of the calculation between profit and cost.[9]

In 1976, Scott expatiated more comprehensively on this kind of opinions and raised the "moral economy of the peasants" theory with the background of South and East Asia peasants' characteristics in the beginning of the 20th century. In his opinion, though researches on small-scale peasants belong to the economics category, it should be finished by researching the society and culture of small-scale

[9] Chayanov thinks that peasant family is the foundation for agricultural economic activities. The crucial element of family economy is based on satisfying the demands of labour supply and consumption. When "hardship degree" as subjective feeling resulting from increasing the labour and consumption satisfaction by increasing products come up to balance, the amount of economic activity would be definite (Thorner, Kerblay and Smith, ed.1986, 12f).

culture. Based on his research on the specific production, life and communication in the South-East Asia, he considered that, peasants possess strong mutual-benefit view and their economic behaviours are based on moral consideration instead of rationalness; they believe in "subsistence-first" and "safety-first" principal. Obtaining comparable stable output becomes their standard in production decision-making, even this decision will reduce average income, it will be made as long as it ensures family living. At the same time, peasants on marginal production will prefer safety to benefit. Whenever a new technology with higher benefit as well as uncertainty, they will always prefer low-risk producing technology even though this technology brings lower benefit.[10]

On the contrary of this small-scale rationalness explanation, another economic school of economists demonstrate "economic rationalness" and explain the "universalness" of peasant economic behaviour. Theodore William Schultz thinks that it is wrong to scold the slowness and blindness in traditional agriculture and the lack of rationalness in economic behaviour. He further pointed out that peasants all over the world are the calculative businessmen when estimating cost, profit and various risks. The amount of coins, times and depths of cultivating, time for planting, irrigation and harvestry, the combination of man-made tools, irrigative channels, livestock and simple equipments, all these aspects can well consider the marginal cost. Peasants manage all activities in an efficient manner in his small, independent and scheduling area. Under the traditional technology condition, peasants maximize every profitable opportunity and resource and they are the enterprising, efficient and rational economic men (Schultz 1964).

Popkin challenges the view of “moral economy” by Scott, presenting the peasant as an economically rational agent motivated primarily by private interest. In particular, Popkin argues that common problems of collective rationality-public goods problems, free-rider problems, prisoners’ dilemmas-afflict village society

[10] Moral economists regard security as quintessentially important because the peasant is poor and always close to the danger line. A small drop in production can have disastrous effects on the existence of the household. This concern with subsistence and security is called the “safety-first” principle: peasants are averse to risk and focus on avoiding drops instead of maximizing expected profits (Popkin 1979, 8).

and greatly undermine the stability of community welfare practices and institutions. Popkin's approach represents a form of aggregative explanation, viewing social phenomena as the outcome of the rational behaviour of individual participants within an environment of choice. Scott's approach has elements of functionalist explanation, arguing that some social phenomena are caused by the workings of a system of norms that are well adjusted to the community's subsistence needs. The moral economy view postulates that traditional social institutions are shaped to maintain that peasant communities and villages embody institutions that provide collective welfare, smooth out subsistence crises, and assure a minimal standard of welfare for every village member. Patterns of reciprocity, forced generosity, communal land, and work-sharing helped to even out the inevitable troughs in a family's resources which might otherwise have throws them below subsistence.

A central issue between Scott and Popkin is the effectiveness of shared norms and values in regulating traditional village society. Popkin expresses skepticism that norms and values effectively shape peasants' social life, seeing them as actors largely be subjected to the manipulation of self-interested. He expects to find that norms are malleable, renegotiated, and shifting in accord with considerations of power and strategic interaction among individuals. There are always tradeoffs between conflicting and inconsistent norms. Norms and values thus play only a secondary role in explaining social patterns and forms of collective behaviour in traditional society.

Another aspect of popkin's skepticism about the effectiveness of shared norms is that village institutions and practices are highly flexible, giving way easily to the arrival of a new set of social and economic forces such as market forces. When local elites see opportunities to profit from wider commercial activities, even if these activities are forbidden by traditional institutions and practices, they will stretch institutions accordingly. Likewise, if new economic opportunities become available to the village poor as in the form of city labour; their individual choices will change custom and local institutions. This argument suggests that local customs, institutions and practices have little constrains in the face of large-scale changes in the economic or social environment; individuals pursuing private or family interests in the new context will alter custom and institutions along the way.

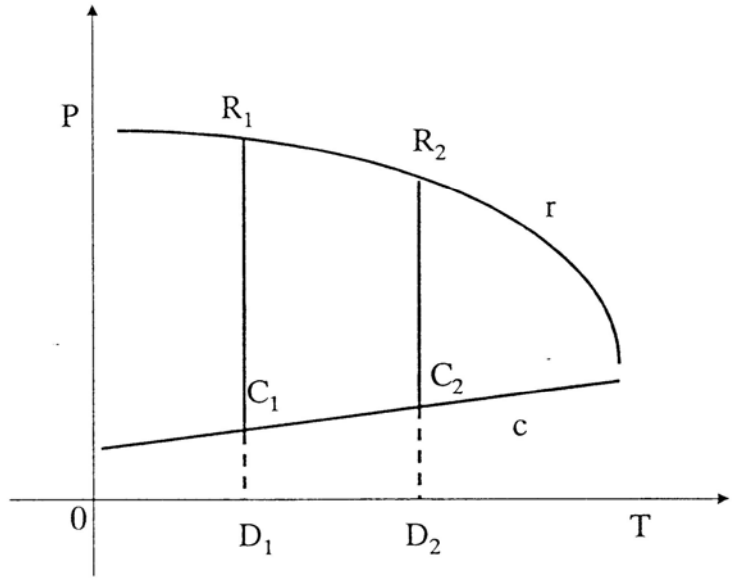
Based on the research on literatures of economic operations in the south and north China in the Ming and Qing Dynasty, Huang Zongzhi points out that, for several centuries, under the pressure of population and land, Chinese peasants did not follow the economic rationalness rule that pursuit maximum profit. Instead they conduct over-intensive agriculture activities in order to maintain the existence of family, even if the marginal profits of these activities are reducing (Huang Zongzhi 1992). On the other hand, his view will be anything but agree with Chayanov's theory and disagree with Schultz's view. Instead his considers that each theory mode they described is not suitable for China's reality. Villagers who involve in the commercial operation in the Pearl River Delta Region in fact possess two sets of logics. From economic rationalness point of view, the dense buildings inside "villages" are the result of peasants' pursuance for maximum land and house rent profit under the situation of fast growing of rent of land and house. The government only allows the buildings on the house sites up to 3 stories high. If a villager's building is higher than 3 stories, he will be fined. But most villagers' buildings are 6-8 stories high since the increased profit is more than the penalty.

In my opinion, small-scale peasant production that satisfies family need will be replaced by the operating "production" (land and house rental) that pursues market profits, and peasants will transfer from Chayanov 's "irrationalness" to Schultz 's "rationalness".

(a) "Selective incentive" in the collectivity of "village"

"Selective incentive" means to award individuals who make contribution in the collective activities and punish devastating behaviours. There is an external "selective incentive" from government that drives rational individuals in the group adopt behaviour that is in favour of this group (*Figure 3-13*).

It is assumed here that in the same "village", on the same point all private houses have the same unit costs and profits. X axis refers to different date of constructing of illegal private house, Y axis refers to price. Curve R refers to the accumulated rent profit after deducting fine illegal private houses on different constructing dates per m^2, line C refers to constructing cost of building per m^2.



(Source: Du Yansong 2004, 64, redrawn and reedited by the author)

Figure 3-13: Selective incentive in different period

Since the punishment degree is weak, government have not had such building pull down and many illegal private houses are not taxed as those legal houses. As a result, illegal private houses bring high profits and these early houses have comparably low constructing cost. The profits on the two constructing point are R1-C1>R2-C2. The earlier the illegal private house is built, the more profit villager will gain, which forms a "selective incentive", namely constructing buildings earlier to the greatest extent.

(b) Reasons for the difficulties in the land administration in the “villages”

1) The irrational distribution of land benefit is the potential reason for the difficult situation in the current land administration and development;

On one hand, the government feels the pressure of controlling floating population and pulls down illegal buildings, but on the other hand, the vested beneficiary, different departments and villages that have land use will still explore and search for more benefits from the uncontrolled land. The dense illegal buildings in "villages" are only superficial phenomena; the fundamental content is pursuing for economic profits maximum among different interest groups in the transformation process from planned economy to market economy.

2) Economy rationalness of villagers

In the more and more "free" world, on one hand, "free" means the reduction of restriction and the increase of individual's options, and at the same time it means the weakening of economy rationalness restriction and when this restriction completely collapses, the desire of pursuing benefit from the dissimilation of economic rationalness will lick up all kinds of souls.

At the same time, massive "villages" are built inside cities and occupy many precious urban construction lands, resulting in urban land waste. Especially "villages" that located in the central area of the city occupy the most precious land which has the highest urban differential land rent. According to common practices, these lands are most suitable for business, office and high-grade residency use, but in the real life these lands are "villages" with disorder layout, poor infrastructure and living environment. What's more, the underground rent market in "villages" have great impacts on the regulated urban real estate market, resulting in the great lost of land trading benefits and tax which ought to be turned into the city. This has made the city suffer a great economic lost.

The disharmonious architecture structure represents the burst-out economic rationalness and is one of the dissimilation results in the transition period of finding new rules. It also demonstrates that peasants in China are in the process of changing from "existence rationalness" to "economic rationalness".

In fact, the real rationalness of villagers roots in their social relationship network in their lives. When the villagers want to break through this network due to external stimulation, this network will still produce great influence, thus making that apparent fissions still have the deep continuity. But sometimes people will not hesitate to destroy all the past values, especially when rationalness that has been oppressed for a long time is wakened. People can build up a building in several months, but it is hard for them to build history on the remains, which will need great expense to make history resume. The real rationalness is the rationalness that harmonizes traditional philosophy into modern economic rationalness.

Summary

In Shenzhen, the complete economic sources of "villages" basically have close relationship with land resources. They are either from the direct transformation from self-reserved land leasing (including house sites given for villagers and industrial lands given to collectivities by the government) or from the combined transformation of land acquisition compensation and safe-reserved land leasing, thus forming large scale property leasing economy. In the property-leasing-dominated "protective-type" economy mode, market risks are shifted outside as much as possible, management requirements and benefit measurement standards are comparably simple, and all these enable such community to continue to maintain and create profits and not become the eliminative object of the urban market despite of the unsound external environment and operating mechanism as well as the insurmountable characteristics of disadvantage community.

Scott postulated a historical progression from traditional village society to modern rural life. In the former, communal norms and redistributive institutions work to secure the subsistence needs of the poor. In the latter, the modern state and a commercialized economy have fragmented this moral economy in both the institutions that embodied it and the values that supported these institutions.

Joint-stock economy in the community takes advantage of property leasing and the close relationship with the collective economy organization to develop a corporate economy system that has its intrinsic incentive, and at the same time possesses a certain scale of capability and advantage under the market economy condition, thus realizes the coexistence of economy development ability and incentive under the urbanization background. Provide the disadvantaged group "villagers" that have been non-agriculturalized a protective shelter and lay out a "bridge" for them to complete urbanization.

At the same time, in the "villages" where urban corporate community is located, house rental market and the floating population habitat have become an important fact. This market and habitat created by the local villagers' supply and the demand of the floating population have become a unique social space in the urban community. On one hand, due to the inherent characteristics of the floating population

(such as fluidity and heterogeneity), plus the limitation of current administrative system, house rental market is related with many social problems. For example informal economy is a very distinct social problem. On the other hand, it brings out positive influence on the poor, owning to a great number of working opportunities. Moreover, house rental market solves many problems and makes up the large market gap in the great rental house demand of the floating population and provides them with an affordable, sizable habitat.

As the urban "heterogeneity" in the urbanization, "villages" create a brand new folk world and miracle in the cities. The exceptional prosperity of the folk market formed by unprompted village shops is a lively reflection of such miracle. The logic of this folk field has demonstrated that, civilian spirit enables the common people to think, to act; and that the ability to act is the fundamental reason to the realization of prosperity in such field.

4 Persistence & Transformation of Spatial Structures

Before the Reform and Opening up Policy was carried out, most lands in Shenzhen belonged to rural category and social spaces were formed by traditional clan rules, blood relationship, and earthbound relations. These spaces harmonize with natural environment and the living space in each village represented by traditional living spatial form with regional characteristics. After the implementation of Reform and Opening up Policy, especially along with the rapid urbanization in China, rural lands and traditional villages are inevitably brought into the urban scope after the urban expansion. The spatial form of traditional villages has been changed and at the same time, villages are preserved in a special "heterogenous" form in urban space.

Generally speaking, the transformation process of spatial form of "villages" is accompanied by the control and transformation of space power. This power control and transformation are not a natural process, instead they are realized by multi-ways: policy-making of the government, the pressure from the social economic environment and the transformation of social public image of "villages". On one hand, the government controls and restricts the development of "villages" by making various policies, regulations and laws by legal instrument and by means of space organization, community management and propagandas. From *Provisions of Strictly Prohibit Building Illegal Private Houses in the Special Economic Zone (1982)* to *Decisions of the Standing Committee of the Peoples' Congress Of Shenzhen City on Firmly Investigating and Dealing with Illegal Building (1999)*, a series of regulations have restricted the living space of "villages" in city and this space becomes narrower and narrower and ultimately disappears.[1]

1 More detail contents on the element of policies will be explained in Section 1 *Current Reconstruction*, 1.2. *Policies on the Reconstruction by the Government*, in Chapter Five *Reconstruction in "villages".*

On the other hand, the rental market of "villages" continues to develop along with the city development and massive floating population entering. This situation scales up the tense relationship between traditional resident community space and the dense rental-oriented resident space that with seeking profits as its intention, and will ultimately result in the complete collapse of traditional resident space. At the same time, since the negative reports of problems in "villages" (such as fire protection, safety, living conditions) from the media, the original community images have changed from "harmoniously coexist with natural environment" to "the stubborn illness of city", while original villagers also change from common villagers to "clipping coupons class" and are not recognized by the mainstream society.

From historical point of view, there are two forms in the village spatial transformation process, that is, traditional villages and "villages" in city. In this chapter, comparison and analysis of the differences and transformation process of these two forms will be conducted from a diachronic point of view.

4.1 Spatial Forms of Traditional Villages

Unlike the traditional cities in China, the spatial plans of Chinese traditional villages are relatively free and flexible, and are not restricted by uniform form. But this does not mean that the forms of Chinese villages are rambling. Normally, the

(Source: Village committee of Huanggang Village)

Plate 4-1: Airscape of Huanggang Village in the 1970s

forms not only are restricted by the functional systems of villages, but also affected by natural environment, concepts of clan, folk custom and cultural psychology. Consequently, there are some common rules that can determine the spatial layout of the villages although the sights of villages are colourful.

4.1.1 Spatial Images of Traditional Villages

In general, assembling together is the most primary layout mode. "The following reasons can explain why Chinese peasants selected this mode. Firstly, the area of land for every family is small, which make people settled together possibly, the distances form the houses to farms are not long. Secondly, the need of safe and thirdly, under the equitable principle of land, offsprings inherited heritages (including lands) from their ancestors, make the generations step by step accumulate, and then become comparatively big villages" (Fei Xiaotong 1985, 4) (Plate 4-1).

4.1.1.1 Religion Images

In a clan society bounded by blood relationship, the symbol of clan-ancestral hall becomes the core of village and all other constructions are built around it. *"In principle, to this very day, every sib has its ancestral hall in the village. In addition to paraments of the cult, the temple often contained a tablet with the 'moral codes' recognized by the sib, for the sib had the unquestionable right to lay down the law for its members- a right which operated not only praeter legem but, under certain conditions and even in questions of ritual, contra legem. The sib faced the outside world with solidarity"* (Weber 1951, 88). Various ancestor worships, litigations, happy events and other big clan events are held here. Generally ancestral halls are built in the locations with continent traffic; some of them are located on the entrance of "village", with roads connecting to the outside world. Ancestral

Plate 4-2: Sculpture of Bodhisattva from the square of Xi-asha Village

halls are open and become the bazaar trade center (*Plate 4-2*). “Multi-deities” is a distinct character of Chinese traditional religion. The villagers do not specially believe in one kind of religion. 32% villagers have no religious belief while 68% have. The religions mainly include Islamism, Buddhism and Taoism, with a few villagers believing in Christianism, Catholicism and other folk beliefs (*Table 4-1*). In other words, they adore ancestors, Amitabha and Kwan-yin from Buddhism and the God of Wealth from Taoism. In the “villages” in Shenzhen, offering sacrifices to multi-gods is prevalent phenomenon, which embodies the acceptance of polynary cultures by Chinese traditional villages.

Table 4-1: Religious beliefs of villagers

Buddhism	Taoism	Islamism	Eastern Christianity	Roman Catholicism	Other folk beliefs	Non belief of religion
18%	15%	20%	5%	2%	8%	32%

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part4, Step in “Urban Village”, 96)

4.1.1.2 Fortification Images

Safety defence is the primary function derived from villagers’ need of escaping the influence of chaos caused by war and threat of bandits. As early as the primitive society, people were bounded by blood relationship, and were settled down in embryo villages. Banpo Village consists of a big house in the center, and 46 small houses around.

And most doors of these small houses face to the big house and radiate inward. This village has entrenchment as its boundary. The big house is the center of politics and culture of Banpo Village. Ancient people chose this inward-radiated settlement space to obtain integrated fortification advantage from the blood relationship strength, and therefore to achieve the purpose of survival and development (*Plate 4-3*). Currently some

(Source: Liu Peilin 1997, 42)

Plate 4-3: Space of Banpo Village

military watchtowers are still preserved in "villages" in Shenzhen (*Plate 4-4*).

(Source: Shen Xinjun 2004, 9)

Plate 4-4: Rudimental military watchtower of Xinzhou Village

4.1.1.3 Fengshui Images

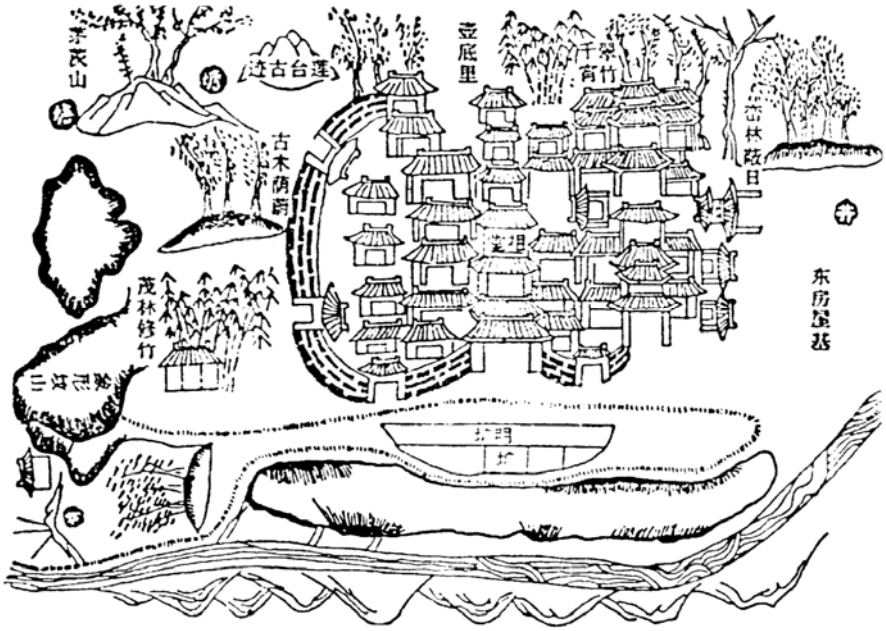
Fengshui is the study of wind direction, stream and other topographical characteristics of house surroundings in order to indicate calamity or good luck and is a principle that guides house or cave design.

The focus of *fengshui* theory is the relationship between human and environment. This is consistent with the cosmology that "people and heaven combine into one". Only by choosing suitable natural environment can human survive and develop. *Fengshui* mode is an ideal environmental mode summarized by long-term life experience, and has a great impact on the formation and development of ancient resident houses, villages and cities. Each site choosing, exposition to the sun, spatial and scenery structure have unique environmental images and profound humanist meaning, and represent an organic integration thinking that tightly combines heaven, earth and human. On choosing house site, villagers make full use of the "bear the shadow and embrace the sun, back hill and face water" theory (*Plate 4-5*).

(Source: Liu Peilin 1997, 128)

Plate 4-5: Optimal location of village

The essence of *fengshui* is a universe animated by the interaction of *yin* and *yang*, in which an ethereal property known as *qi* (life breath or cosmic energy; also called *shengqi*) gives character and meaning to a place at whatever the scale-city, town, village, residence, gravesite, etc. *Yin* sites, which are optimal for burial, frequently fall away from the sun to the north or northwest and render the female aspect, passivity and darkness, as well as the Earth and moon. The divination of a



(Source: He Xiaoxin 1990, 80)

Plate 4-6: The map of the village in Longyan county, Fujian

Note: Terrain deficiencies around the village are countered by the planting of groves of bamboo and trees on the north and west of the village.

suitable grave site or *yinzhai* (an abode for the dead) using *fengshui* idioms has a long history of bringing good fortune to those continuing to live and "comfort" to those who occupy the *yinzhai* (Ahern 1973; Freedman 1966). In addition, locating a building site for a dwelling for the living, a *yangzhai*, as well as for a settlement such as a village-in a quest for benefits for those who are alive-similarly has been defined in both popular lore and written manuals.

In the search for an auspicious landscape configuration according to *fengshui*, it was expected that shortcomings, imperfections, and lacunae would be encountered-since few locations were considered universally ideal-and modifications would be necessary to rebalance a site.

(Source: Knapp and Lo, ed. 2005, 120: Fig.5.22)

Plate 4-7: The Earth God shrine in Hongkeng village

Note: The shrine is nestled beneath an imposing old tree, and is also adjacent to the village shuikou. Hongkeng village, Yongding county, Fujian.

The planting of a grove of

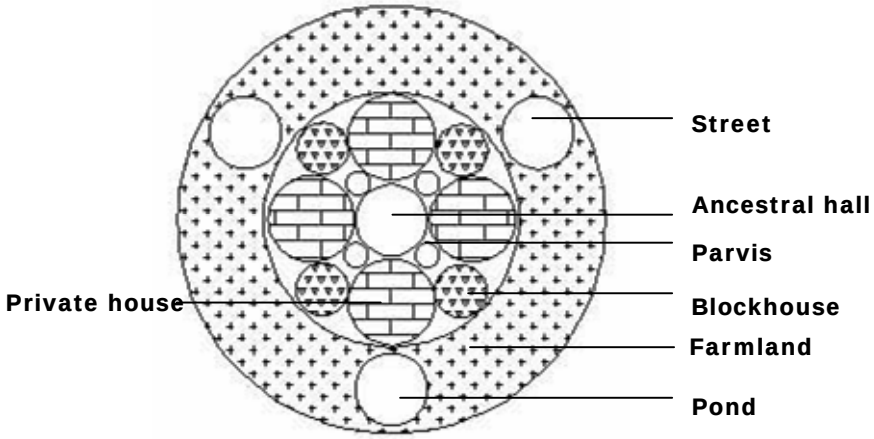
trees, sometimes even a protective line of trees, as well as dense stands of bamboo (*Plate 4-6*) was judged helpful in overcoming terrain deficiencies, such as the absence of a needed ridgeline. In southern China, special attention was paid to *shuikou*, the location of water inlets and outlets, as a stream coursed through a village. Associated with an outsized or odd-shaped rock, enormous camphor or banyan tree, or an extensive clump of bamboo, *shuikou* sites in many villages are viewed as numinous or sacred places. They often provide a location for a shrine to the earth god or other local deity, as well as for ancestral halls (*Plate 4-7*). In Fujian and Guangdong in southern China, *mingtang* (a semicircular pond or "bright or cosmic court"), sometimes was dug at the front of a village or an individual dwelling, and the dwelling was sited within the break in slope of a hill (*Plate 4-8*). These extensive remedies might be strategically situated to "summon good fortune and keep misfortune at bay" (*qi ji bi xiong*).

(Source: Knapp and Lo, ed.2005, 121: Fig.5.25)

Plate 4-8: The hemispheric mingtang in Nankou township, Guangdong

4.1.2 Spatial Forms of Traditional Villages

The spatial form of traditional villages mainly consists of living facilities (houses, public buildings, water supply and drainage facilities), production facilities (form land, irrigation works, farm animal, etc.) and fortification. The environment forms of village consist of spatial elements such as house sites, farmland, hills and forest, rivers and land, etc. The subdivision of land, configuration of farmland, house site selection, road network, water system constitution and topographical characteristics and other aspects are directly influencing the constitution of village spatial form. An intact village should be the collection of above aspects as well as their inter-relationships (*Figure 4-1*).

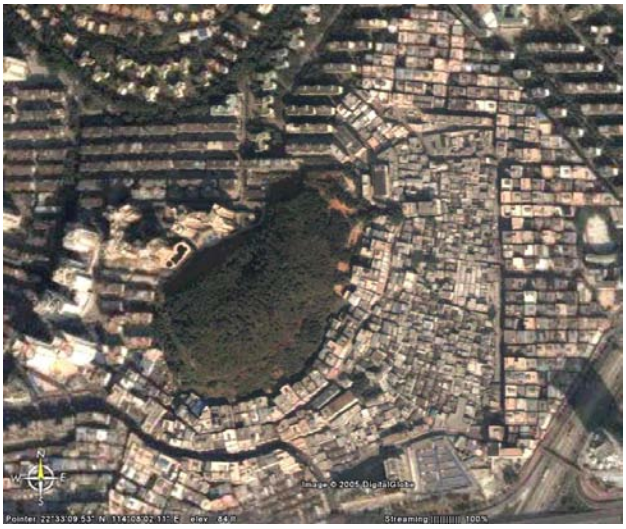


(Source: Guo Liyuan 2005, 48)

Figure 4-1: Structure of traditional village

(a) Road systems

Road systems of traditional village generally feature in dense road net and clear classification. Road are arranged according to natural condition and changed with terrain. Huang Beiling Middle Village and Down Village located on the foot of Huang Beiling Mountain currently still preserve some traditional village road characteristics. The whole village built by the hill, with the main road parallel with contour line and secondary road vertical to contour line, alleys between houses



(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-9: Huang Beiling Village from sky

(Source: Duan Chuan 2004, 100)

Figure 4-2: System of streets of Huang Beiling Village

parallel with contour line. In Huang Beiling Middle Village and Down Village, road system can be divided into three levels: street, path, and alley. Street is the main artery connecting with city roadway; "path" intersects with "street" and is the in-between structure connecting house and village main roadway; "alley" is the footpath in front of a house in “village” (*Plate 4-9, Figure 4-2*).

(b) Communication space

"Street" is a multi-functional space activity network, which involves activities such as traffic, business transaction, promenading, viewing, etc. "Alley" is also an important living space besides acting as "traffic space", such as chatting and playing chess with neighbours, doing housework. Temples in “village” are also an important public ground and communication space.

As a complete unit of production and living, village has multiple functions. The first one is its production function. Farmlands around the village provide villages main cultivating sites. Within the dense settlement space are the living grounds for villagers. Houses and courtyards are the main sites for the courtyard economy and "family enterprise" with individual family as unit. Some agricultural byworks are done in these sites, including breeding, knit work, air-drying, storage, etc. The second one is its living function. Village provides buildings and outdoor public grounds such as square, public garden, ancestral hall, scenery construction (booth, near pond and well, street of village, etc.) for sociality, education, clan activities, religion, and folk culture activities. The perfect production and living functions mechanism satisfy the need of daily living functions that are isolated and independent, and build up powerful internal cohesive force (*Table 4-2*).

Table 4-2: List of basic functions and facilities of traditional villages

Sorts of functions	Contents of functions	Contents of activities	Space of activities
Production functions	Farming	Plowland, planting, irrigating, fertilizing, reaping, transporting, etc.	Farmland, terrace
	Family Production	Breeding, cultivating, coarse machining of farm produce, weaving, spinning, drying, depositing	Courtyard of family
Living functions	Function of dwelling	Daily family life	Houses
	Sociality	Talking, entertainment, congregation	House, inward courtyard, street of village, alleys, near pond and well, in the ancestral hall and public garden
	Education	Propagandizing morals and affording place for the children of villages to learn.	Old-style private school, inward courtyard of ancestral hall
	Activity of clan	Periodical ceremony for sacrificing ancestor, regulations of clan and family, etc.	Ancestral hall (main, sub-ancestral hall)
	Activity of religions	Sacrificing for folk god, and organizing all kinds of religious ceremonies	Temple
	Folk activities	Festivals commemorate activities, performances, folk activities	Street, square, public garden, etc.

4.2 Spatial Forms of Current Villages

4.2.1 Spatial Forms

Massive floating population flowing into “villages” in Shenzhen for inhabitancy brings out impacts on the land structure of original villages (*Figure 4-3*).

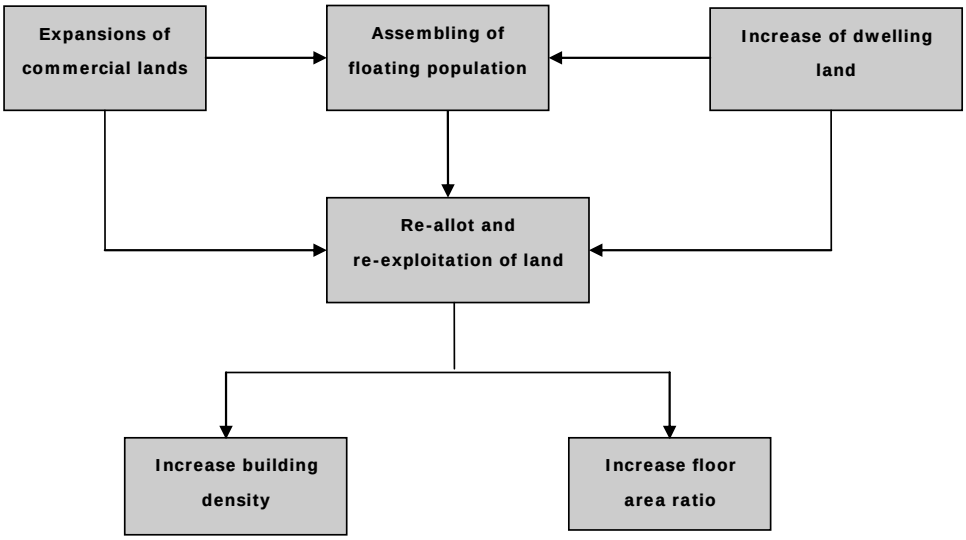


Figure 4-3: Impacts on land utility from the floating population

The land utility function in “villages” is dysfunctional. Residential, industrial and commercial lands are mixed together. Residential land occupies the largest portion in the village lands and there is no agricultural land. The uniform land resource planning and management destroys the uniformity of urban land utility and results in serious waste of urban land resource.

(Source: Dieter Hassenpflug 2003)

Plate 4-10: Inward scene of “village” in Shenzhen

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

(a) Road systems

Community planning mode, which is based on house site policy, determines the dens grid layout of village road system. Road system is divided into three levels: street, alley and pathway. A street is generally 5 to 15 meters in width (*Plate 4-10*). It is not only the main roadway connecting outside world but also is the most important business space and public space in "villages". An alley connects a street and a building, and is commonly 3 to 5 meters in width. It may also sometimes acts as communication and business spaces, and there are a few shops in the alley. However, due to the depressive space feeling, basically it can not act as communication space (*Plate 4-11*). In "villages" that have been reconstructed and relocated, the thinking of respecting and being compliant with nature is replaced by the omnipotent modern technology. The development of modern technology breaks all terrain constrains on road system. As a result, nearly all "villages" have the same new road system, which is straight horizontally and vertically. City development has impacts on road system in "villages", for example, Gangxia Village is divided into two parts by the city road (*Plate 4-12*). And traditional street and alley space that coexist with road system have been destroyed or even disappear due to the change of resident groups. According to the maps taken from the sky, settlement forms of "villages" in Shenzhen can be categorized into five shapes: block, strip, ringed, scatter and mixed shapes (*Table*

(Source: Dieter Hassenpflug 2003)

Plate 4-11: One shop in the alley

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-12: Gangxia Village from Sky

4-3, Plates 4-13, 4-14, 4-15 and 4-16).

Table 4-3: Shape sorts of "villages"

Form of villages	Names of villages	Characteristics
Block form	Sungang Village, Chiwei Village, Shuiku New Village, Yumin Village, Hubei New Village, Gangxia Village, Shuibei Village	Village form comparably concentrates. Distances from boundaries to the center are nearly the same.
Strip form	Yulong New Village, Tianxin Village, Dawang Village, Nanyuan Village	This type of villages generally relies on river, road as axis and lay out in strip form. Houses are arranged densely in lines.
Ringed form	Hubei Village, Luofang Village	Villages are constrained by hills and waters and are arranged in a ringed form along ponds and hills.
Scatter form	Dushu Village, Honggang West Village, Nigang Village, Heao Village	Due to the hills and subsequent road planning, village houses scatter into several groups. Lands between these groups are non-village lands.
Mixed form	Buxin Village, Xinping Village, Yu Lanfang Village, Changling Village	Due to the influence of hills, water systems and modern city planning and other factors, villages are arranged irregularly.

(Source: Guo Liyuan 2005, 75)

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-13: Hubei New Village from Sky

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-14: Buxin Village from Sky

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-15: Hubei Village from Sky

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-16: Nigang Village from Sky

(b) Resident group

Since every villager owns a certain houses site for house construction and these sites' area are basically the same, each building in the resident group occupies similar area and floors, and these buildings are lined up in grids. As a result, the layout of buildings in the resident group is basically in a dense rectangular grids layout.

(c) Communication space

At present, there are two types of the public space in “villages” in Shenzhen. One type is traditional public spaces bequeathed from old days, for instance, resting space under big banyans (*Plate 4-17*), entrances of houses, under the eaves, entrances of shops and ancestral halls. Commercial streets formed by two rows of shops along the streets are important public

Plate 4-17: Public space under a tree of Huang Beiling Village

spaces in the “villages”. Although most of spatial configurations of “villages” have changed enormously, traditional communicating styles and corresponding space are still retained in new architectural space. The other type is modern public spaces, similar to gardens, squares in the residential districts of city, which are introduced by the designs of architects and urban planners who canonize modern architectural and planning theories.

The Cultural Square in Xiasha Village embodies multi-dimensional and comprehensive characteristics. In this square, ancestral temple represents traditional clan culture, Kwan-yin and sleeping Buddha statues represent Buddhism culture and large true-life people statue represents contemporary folk culture and also there are museums with modern atmosphere, etc. The square almost becomes a show space of every culture. This square satisfies various needs of different people: people can spend their leisure time, or hold a memorial ceremony, or view and admire the surroundings, and it is full of folk culture atmosphere. From this level of meaning, "villages" itself can be considered to be a thumbnail of the multi-dimensional culture of Shenzhen city.

(d) Auxiliary facilities

1) Business and service industry

Most peripheral areas of "villages" take advantage of regional superiority to establish compositive business that serves the surrounding street blocks, for example, comparably large food and restaurant industries and large marketplace. Business inside "villages" focuses on retail and small shops, and business on the area that is near the main road and activity grounds are most flourishing. Although business inside “villages” is not large in size and not high in grade, it can serve very well for the low-income groups who live in the "villages", such as small restaurants and public phone booths for the floating population. The narrow spaces in alleys are for business services that have not much requirements in location with lower-rent, such as waste collections, mah-jong rooms.

2) Cultural, educational & recreational facilities

Overall, cultural, educational and recreational facilities in "villages" are few in number, small in size as well as low in grade (*Table 4-4*).

Table 4-4: List of facilities of “villages” in Futian District

Villages	Elementary school	Kindergarten	Gymnasium	Cultural center	Center of elders
Xia Meilin	1	7	-	1	-
Shang Meilin	2	2	-	1	1
Xiasha	2	2	1	1	1
Shangsha	1	4	1	1	1
Shawei	-	2	1	-	-
Shazui	2	2	1	2	1
Xinzhou	3	4	1	1	1
Shixia	1	2	1	2	1
Shuiwei	2	1	1	1	1
Gangxia	1	2	-	-	1
Tianmian	1	1	1	1	1
Futian	2	3	2	1	1
Shangbu	2	-	2	-	5
Total	20	32	12	12	15

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part4, Step in “Urban Village”, 41)

4.2.2 Villager Houses

Due to the continuity of history development, current village buildings combine the following characteristics: new and old, primitive simplicity and modernity, orderliness and disorder. According to construction forms, constructions in "villages" can be divided into the following four categories:

(a) The first generation: brick-and-tile houses

Generally, this type of houses has one floor (a few of them have two floors) and features in blue bricks, clay-applied, black tile cover the top and ridge on the top. Brick-and-tile houses were mainly built after 1949. Due to the influence of the house owners' economic condition, most of these old houses are kept down to the present. The quantity of such constructions is small, but they are scattering in villages (*Plate 4-18*).

(b) The second generation: brick-concrete houses

This type of house generally has 3 to 4 floors and was built in the 1980s. Each building occupies an area of 200 to 600 m^2, features in grey *Shui shua* stone (exposed aggregate finish) of main appearance, commonly a garden in front of the

house which is formed by bounding wall and suitable virescence and maintains rural courtyard characteristics (*Plate 4-19*).

(c) The third generation: the reinforced concrete-structured houses

It is based on reconstruction of the first and second generation. This type of houses has 4 to 8 stories and with shallow bricks in appearance (*Plate 4-20*).

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District. Part4, Step in "Urban Village",35)

Plate 4-18: The first generation buildings

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District. Part4, Step in "Urban Village",35)

Plate 4-19: The second generation buildings

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District. Part4, Step in "Urban Village",35)

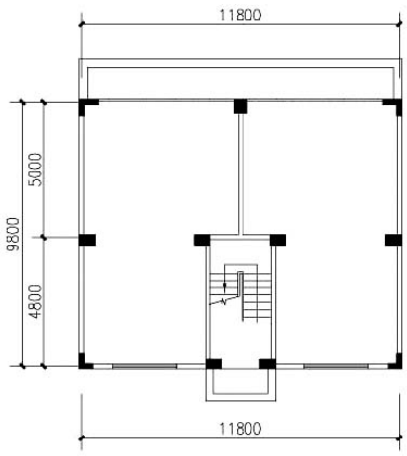
Plate 4-20: The third generation buildings

(Source: Reconstruction Research of "Urban Village" in Futian District. Part4, Step in "Urban Village",35)

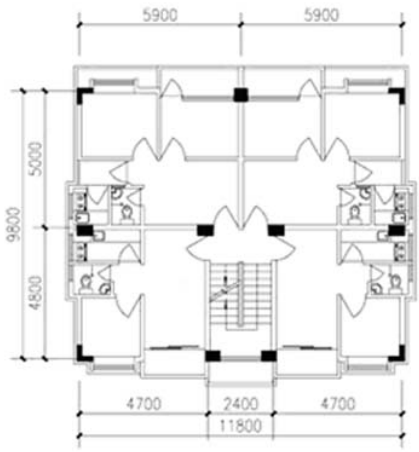
Plate 4-21: New generation buildings

(d) New generation buildings

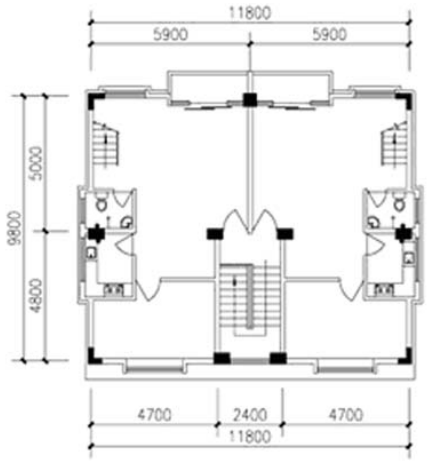
A typical plane function structure of new generation buildings is: First floor (4.5 meters high) is used for shops, and the upper floors are used for living (several families on one floor) (*Plate 4-21*). At the beginning of the 21st century, high apartments (more than 10 floors) began to appear in "villages". Houses with good



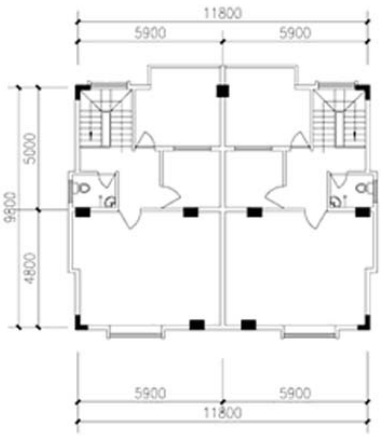
1. First floor plan



2. Plans from second to fifth floor



3. Sixth plan floor



4. Seventh plan floor

(Source: Shen Xinjun 2003,16, reedited by the author)

Plate 4-22: Plans of typical building

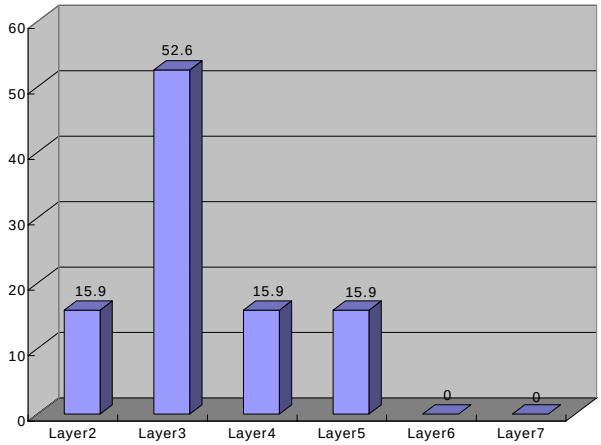
conditions are equipped with talk-back systems and public areas (such as aisles and lifts) are equipped with cams (*Plates 4-22*).

Besides the transformation from traditional houses to modern apartments,

"villages" during this period also experienced great changes in spatial forms (*Plate 4-23*).

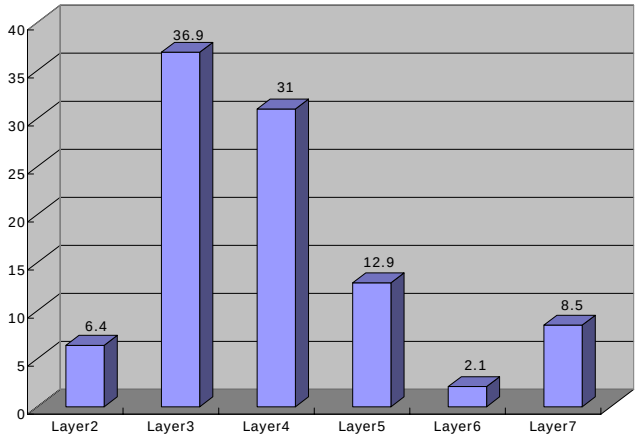
(Source: Village Committee of Huanggang Village)

Plate 4-23: Airscape of Huanggang Village



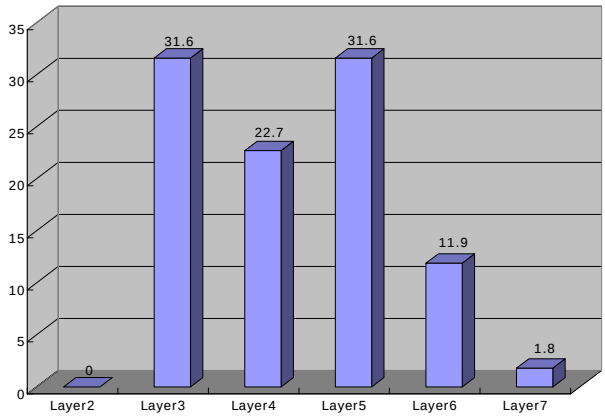
(Source: Du Yansong 2004,35)

1. Floors of “villages” in Shenzhen before 1980



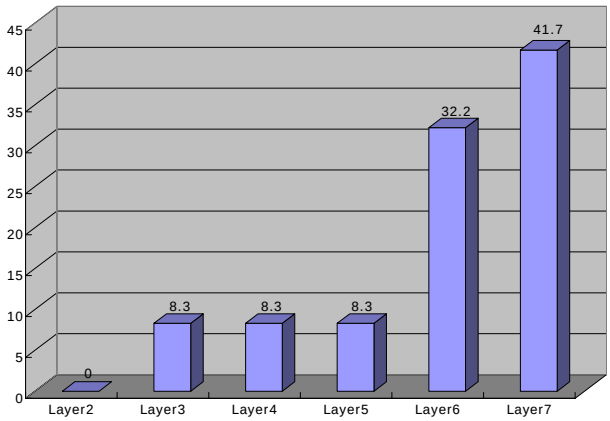
(Source: Du Yansong 2004,35)

2. Floors of “villages” in Shenzhen (1980-1984)



(Source: Du Yansong 2004,47)

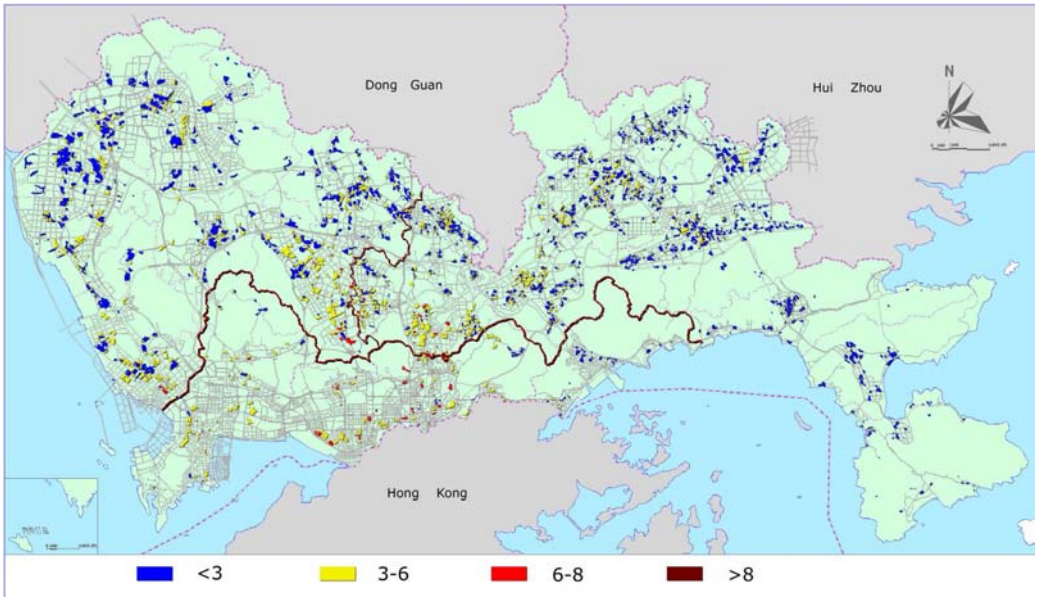
3. Floors of “villages” in Shenzhen (1990-1994)



(Source: Du Yansong 2004,47)

4. Floors of “villages” in Shenzhen (1995)

Figure 4-4: Floors of “villages” in Shenzhen



(Source: Urban Planning & Design Institute of Shenzhen)

Figure 4-5: Average number of floor of “villages” in Shenzhen

According to the analysis of the construction year and the number of floors (*Figure 4-4*), buildings with 3 floors that were built before 1980, from 1980 to 1984, from 1990 to 1994, and after 1995 are 52.6%, 36.9%, 31.6%, 8.3% respectively, which presents a declining trend. By contraries, the proportion of houses with 6 floors in all houses in the same time period are 0, 2.1%, 11.9%, 32.2% respectively, presenting an increasing trend (*Figure 4-5*).

4.2.3 Case Study

I take the current development state of Xiasha Village, Shangsha Village and Shazhui Village as examples, and base on specific materials and data to make a comprehensive analysis on the buildings and spatial environment in order to get a more in-depth comprehension on the spatial forms of current "villages" in Shenzhen.

4.2.3.1 Xiasha Village

Xiasha Village is located on the southwest of Futian District, and is near the center of Shenzhen city with three main transportation lines: Binhe Road, Shennan Road, and the Guangzhou-Shenzhen Highway. It is superior in location and transportation. The functions of road systems and various land functions in Xiasha Village are specific in relationships. Recreational squares and cultural, sport facilities are reasonably comprehensive. Other public spaces also have unique characteristics that can hardly be seen in other “villages”. But as far as private

Plate 4-24: Torii of Xiasha Village

Plate 4-25: Modern high-rise buildings around Xiasha Village

house groups are concerned, the space structure is apparently in a mess: from the current village map, the layout of houses along the Furong Road is in order while other parts are orderless. The roads between most of houses are just narrow alleys. External spaces outside private buildings are very small and cannot meet the

Plate 4-26: Garden of Xiasha Village

Plate 4-27: Museum of Xiasha Village

requirement of basic sunlight or ventilation.

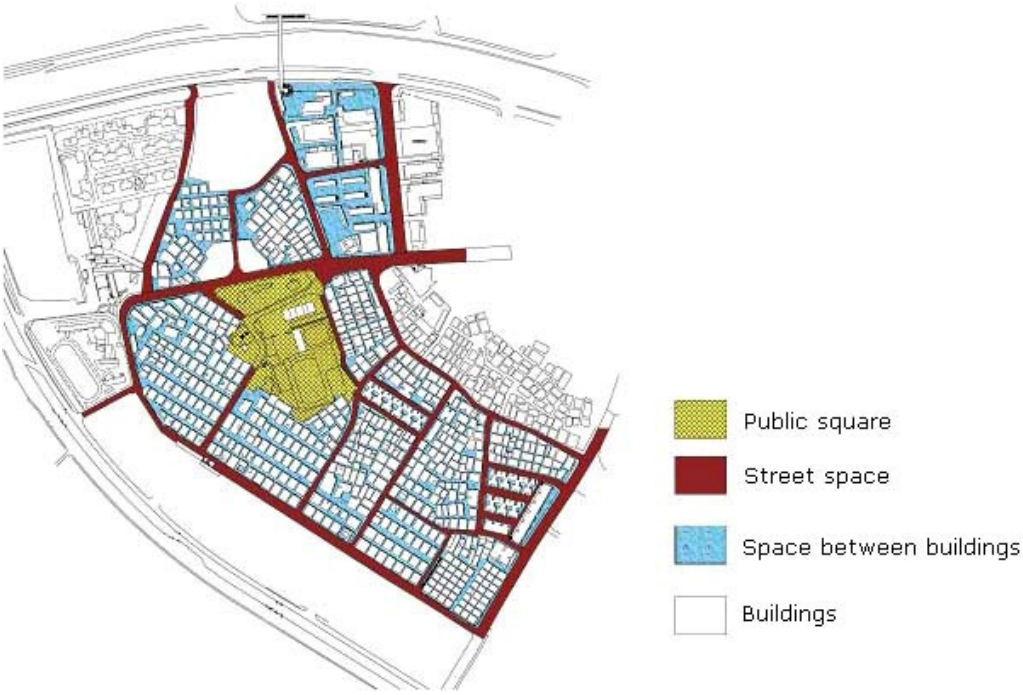
Basically business activities inside “villages” are concentrated on the first floor of residences, and are lack of large-scale business space. On the south of the “village”, the high-rise commercial buildings including Jinyu Lanwan and Hong Jing-wan Garden throw shadow on most of buildings of the “village” for most of dates which make them lacking sunshine and in the form the besieging force on the “village”, and make them appear to be very constrained (*Plates 4-24, 4-25, 4-26, 4-27, 4-28 and 4-29, Figures 4-6 and 4-7).*

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-28: Xiasha Village from sky

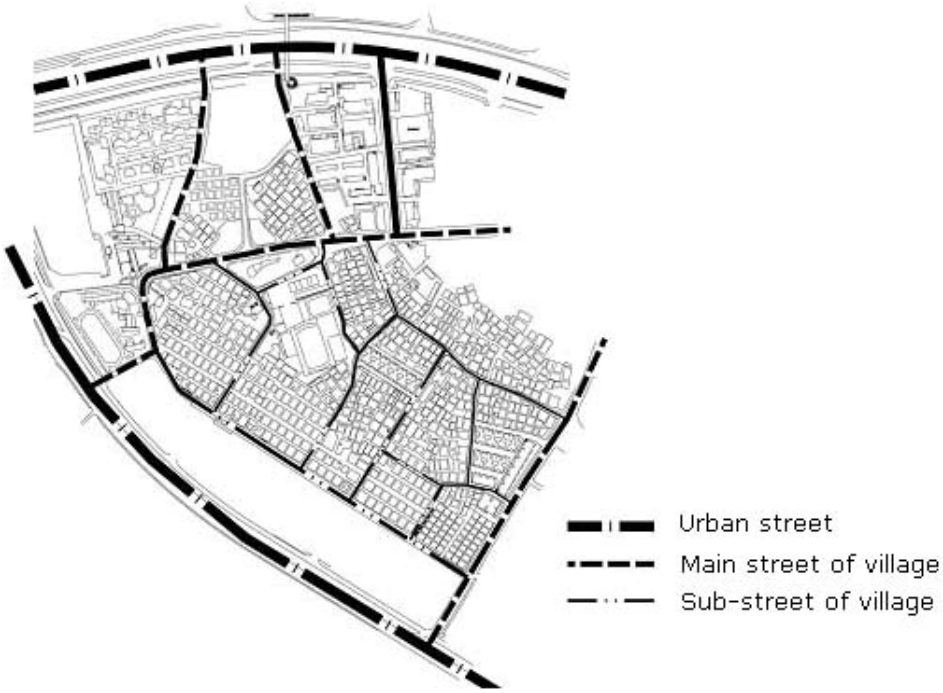
(Source: Shen Xinjun 2003, 44, reedited by the author)

Plate 4-29: Square of Xiasha Village



(Source: Renewal Old City Zone Bureau in Futian District)

Figure 4-6: Space of Xiasha Village



(Source: Renewal Old City Zone Bureau in Futian District)

Figure 4-7: Streets of Xiasha Village

4.2.3.2 Shangsha Village

Shangsha Village has a comparably comprehensive main road system. Besides business space that in shop forms, there are also other large specific marketplaces. Thus business is comparably flourishing. However, due to the fact that business land and resident land are mixed together, the construction spaces appear to be orderless. The “village” is in great short of public facilities, such as recreational and cultural or sport facilities. The Shangsha Sport Park currently under construction may ease this situation in the future (*Plates 4-30, 4-31, 4-32, 4-33 and 4-34, Figures 4-8 and 4-9*).

Plate 4-30: Torii of Shangsha Village

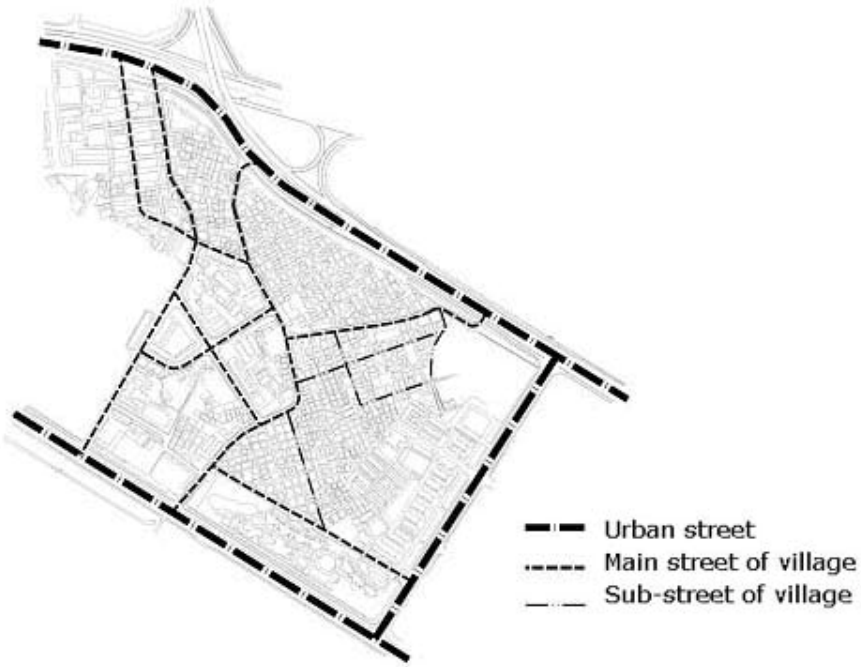
Plate 4-31: Ancestral hall of Shangsha Village

Plate 4-32: Private buildings in Shangsha Village

Plate 4-33: Theater of Shangsha Village

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-34: Shangsha Village from sky



(Source: Renewal Old City Zone Bureau in Futian District)

Figure 4-8: Streets of Shangsha Village

(Source: Renewal Old City Zone Bureau in Futian District)

Figure 4-9: Space of Shangsha Village

Because buildings in Shangsha Village are arranged in a certain angle with the main city road and the surrounding buildings, the arrangement presents a disordered visual impression and results in the poor view of the main city road -Binghe Road- along the village. Similar to Xiasha Village, although there are some delightful spaces on the village main road, most accesses to the inside buildings depend on the narrow alleys among buildings. External spaces of buildings are very limited and cannot meet the need of sunlight and ventilation. The 27-story commercial building, Jing Haiwan Garden, goes against the sunlight, ventilation of the village buildings, and also gives an oppressive feeling.

4.2.3.3 Shazui Village

The land area of Shazui Village is nearly the same with that of Shangsha Village, but the number of houses is only 60% of the number in Shangsha Village, and the construction area is 73% of the amount in Xiasha Village. Road system inside the "village" is simpler and consists of two main roads: one is circling the "village" and another runs straightly through the whole "village". Relationships between various functions are clear: industrial land is located on the northeast and northwest, city commercial house land is mainly located on the east and west side of the "village". On the left side of the village's entrance, there is a small park for villagers' activities. Although the area is small, it is very quiet due to its independent location. Except for the partial disorder construction space located not far from the right side of the village's entrance, most other space is in order and sub-road system is clear. All these conditions provide a favourable environment for business operation, thus business systems inside the "village" are very developed with median size business, entertaining spaces. This is also the most outstanding characteristic of Shazui Village.

(Source: http://earth.google.com)

Plate 4-35: Shazui Village from sky

When the night gently falls, neon lights begin to flash in the “village” and become a "small Hong Kong".

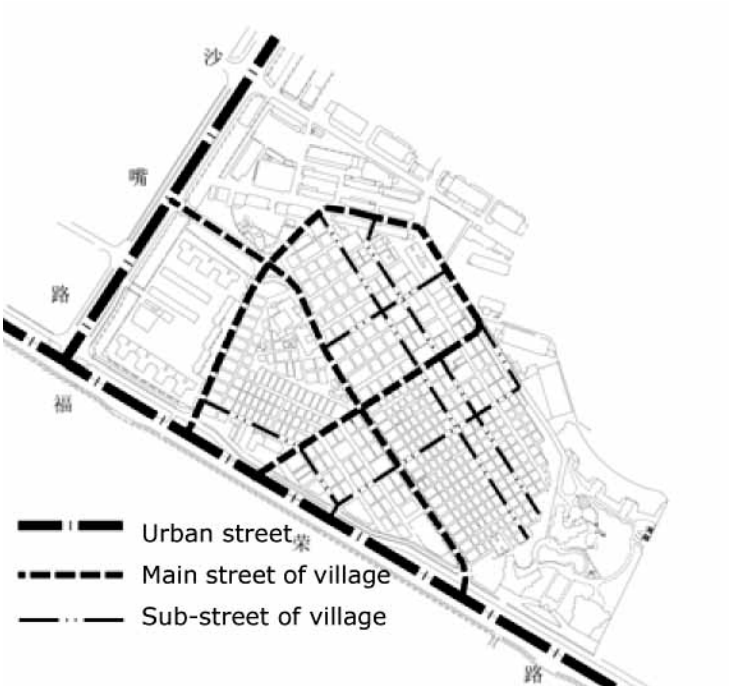
Plate 4-36: Primary street of Shazui Village

Plate 4-37: Torii of Shazui Village

Plate 4-38: Secondary street of Shazui Village

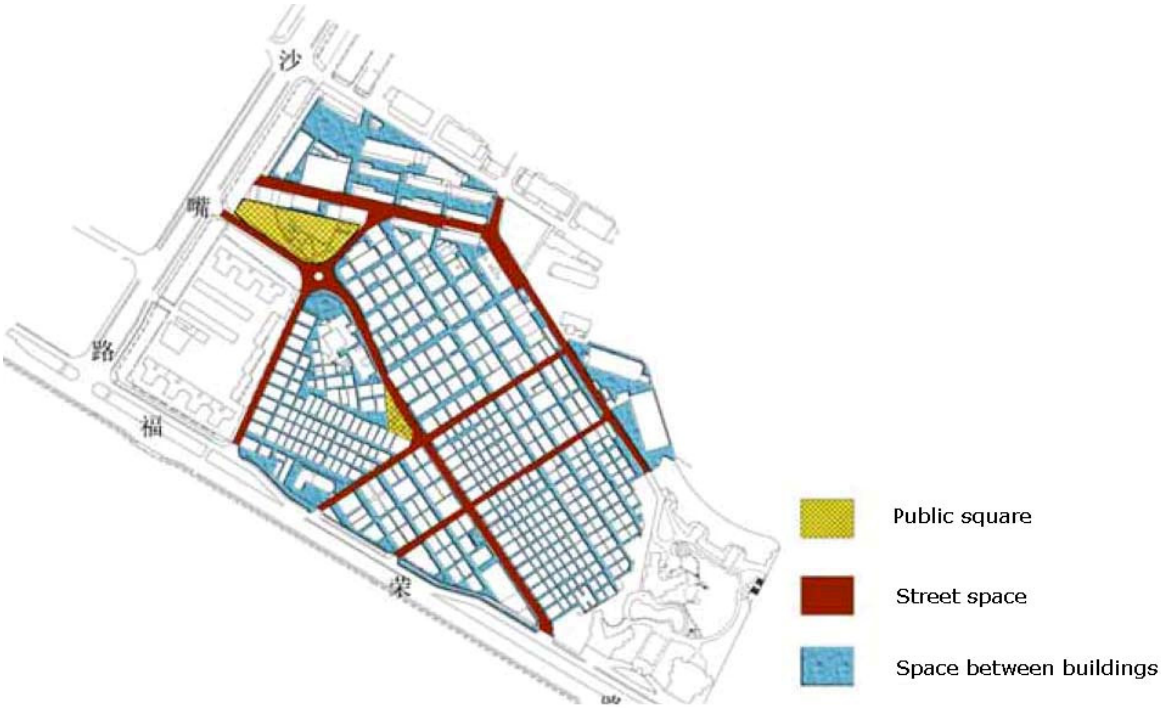
Plate 4-39: Torii of Shazui Village

Although the inside space is inevitably crowded and lack of sunshine and poor ventilation as other “villages” in Shenzhen, the construction of main road is pretty comfortable. Furthermore, except for the high-rise buildings of Jingdi Seaview Garden on the east side, other sides of the “village” are home to multi-floor buildings or open lands without shelter. Therefore, the general space of this “village” does not have an oppressive feeling as in Shangsha Village or Xiasha Village (*Plates 4-35, 4-36, 4-37, 4-38 and 4-39, Figures 4-10 and 4-11*).



(Source: Renewal Old City Zone Bureau in Futian District)

Figure 4-10: Streets of Shazui Village



(Source: Renewal Old City Zone Bureau in Futian District)

Figure 4-11: Spaces of Shazui Village

4.3 Traditional Buildings in Current Villages

Rental houses are the main component of "villages". They have decisive significance to the spatial structure and environment condition of "villages". At the same time, cultural constructions inside "villages" are the material carriers of villagers' traditional thinking and they have lot of connections with the development of "villages" in Shenzhen.

4.3.1 Torii

Although not every “village” in Shenzhen has a torii, it is a very popular practice to set up a torii on village main entrance. During the feudalistic period, torii was used to record fealty, loyalty and reputation, and was a symbol of great honour. In current "villages" in Shenzhen, torii is still the monument of clan glory in villagers’ subconscious. But the feudalistic functions of these torii are degraded and become the carriers of villagers' sensibility and good wishes. On the upside of the torri is the name of village, and both sides are the torri couplets. The content on the opposite side is the same with the front.

In fact, torri is the transmutation of door. Therefore the cultural property of torii - no matter it is unreligious or religious - are related with the door culture in Chinese architecture. For this reason, torii is also the terminus of village geographical extent.

Entering the torii means entering the village. The torii becomes the dividing line that defines the outside and inside of a village. From this point of view, torii has a definitive spatial territory function. It is also a declared board showing the existence of a village. This kind of “building board and stele” activities has enhanced the territorial range. Tracing back to the

Plate 4-40: Torii of Shuibei Village

origin, the existence of torii has inseparable relationship with the family and group territorial conception from the traditional small peasant economy that villagers inherited.

Plate 4-41: Torii of Shuibei New Village

Torii in "villages" in Shenzhen are not the leftovers of the early villages and most of them were built in the 1980s and 1990s. Torii are various in construction forms, and are not limited to old fixed forms. Most of them are particularly archaized, and some of them are very modern. These torii become important culture scenes of "villages" (*Plates 4-40 and 4-41*).

4.3.2 Ancestral Temples and Temple Halls

Ancestral temple always occupies an important position in traditional village houses. Chinese folk houses-ancestral temple with clan name as its basic unit reflects the relic of ancient blood relationship groups. The conception of big family passes down from generation to generation along with the rise and fall of thousands of year feudalistic dynasties and becomes the focus of villagers' consciousness, and ancestral temple is just the reflection of such culture. There is even a saying as "where there is a clan, there is an ancestral temple".

From this, one can imagine how close the relationship is between traditional ancestral temple and clan. However, the number of ancestral temples is not as much as that of torii in "villages" in Shenzhen, since lots of temples were removed due to various reasons in the quick development and transformation process of the early villages and few were built afterward. But this does not necessarily mean that villagers' clan conception tends to be indifferent. In fact, its position on villagers' mind and effect on holding the big family together is no less than torii, which can be embodied from some villages' high recognition ancestral temple.

Currently typical ancestral temples in "villages" are: Huanggong Temple in Xiasha Village, ancestral temple in Huang gang Village, Zhang Temple in Huang Beiling Village, etc. Normally some temple halls are built on the ancestral temple side, and some are built individually. Temple hall is not only built for a single family name to worship. It connects surrounding several clan groups by worshipping a temple.

Plate 4-42: Indoor scene of ancestral hall of Xiasha Village

Huanggong Temple in Xiasha Village has a history of 500 years, and is one of the biggest ancestral temples in Shenzhen. The temple hall is built on the right side of the ancestral temple (*Plates 4-42 and 4-43*). On the evening of the 15th of the first month in a lunar year, all family members get together in front of the temple enjoying big dishes, which has become an important clan activity (*Plate 4-44*). Considering the size and the form, ancestral temple in Huanggang Village is the representative one. This ancestral temple was rebuilt after the transformation of the village in 1995. The original temple hall was small in size, and due to the expansion of city, it was "removed" to the edge of the "village", thus it can no longer satisfy villagers' requirement for the symbol, and central position of clan was then abandoned. The new ancestral temple of Huanggang Village is located on the end of the central axis of the community, and is built on white marble base. The temple is the high-point of the village hypsography. Before entering the ancestral temple people must pass through two

Plate 4-43: Indoor scene of ancestral hall of Xiasha Village

Plate 4-44: Square of Shangsha Village

wide and tall steps in front of the ancestral temple and the square. Its standard of etiquette system is the highest in "villages" in Shenzhen. The temple hall is located on the right side and a little back of the ancestral temple. The clan and territorial conceptions represented by ancestral temple have deep root in villagers' consciousness.

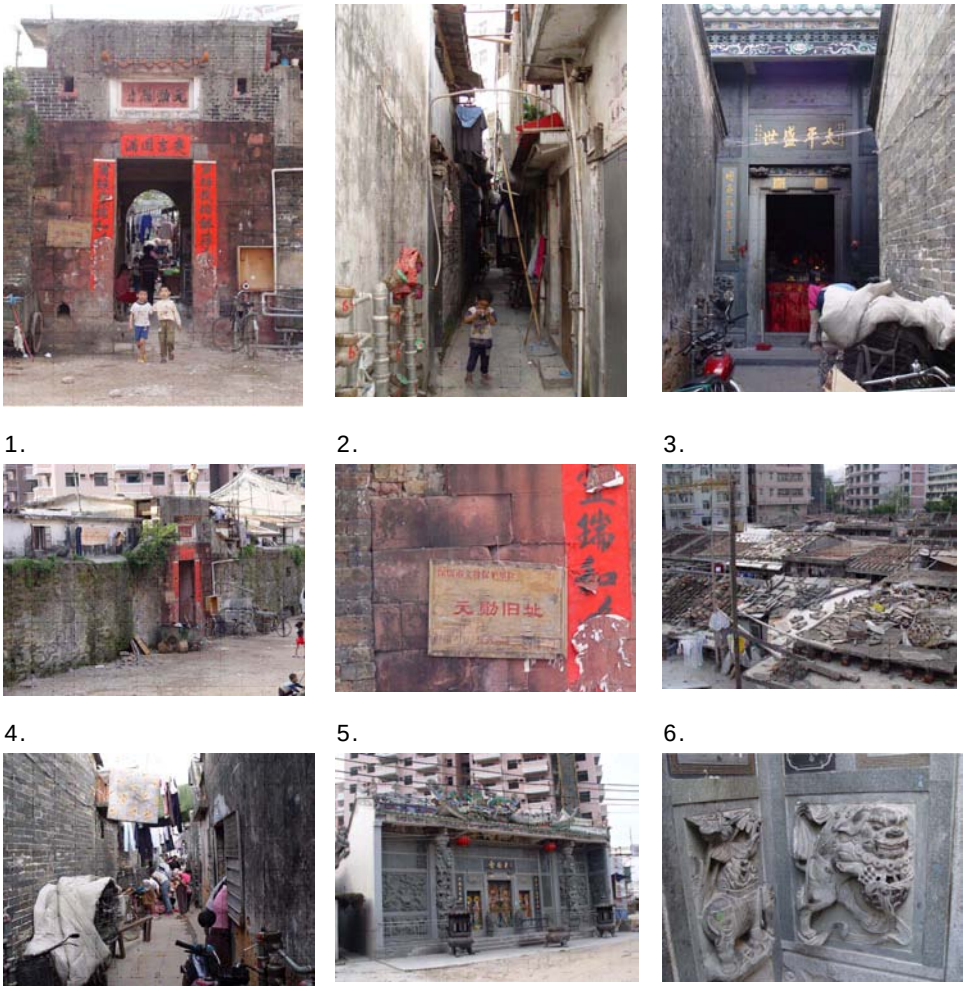
4.3.3 Other Traditional Buildings

There are other traditional constructions besides torii, ancestral temple, temple hall. Most of them are the traditional houses built in the early time of the village. They have very high cultural relic value due to their long history of existence. Inside SSEZ, these constructions are mainly concentrated in Sungang Village and Nantou Ancient City and essentially belong to traditional construction category. Current expansions of rental houses in "villages" have seriously destroyed these constructions (*Plate 4-45*).

Plate 4-45: An old building in Huanggang Village

4.3.3.1 Yuanxun Dwelling in Sungang Village

Sungang Village is established at the end of Yuan Dynasty and at the beginning of Ming Dynasty. It has a history of more than 500 years. Its creator named He Zhen is a "founder of the state" of Ming Dynasty. There is a famous *"Yuanxun Dwelling"* (Founder of the state Site) in the village. The old village layout is basically reserved currently. The development of the village concentrates on the new-built



1. Entrance of Yuanxun Dwelling
2. Indoor scene of Yuanxun Dwelling
3. Ancestral hall in Yuanxun Dwelling
4. Exterior scene of Yuanxun Dwelling
5. Dilapidated nameplate of Yuanxun Dwelling
6. Airscape of Yuanxun Dwelling
7. Indoor scene of Yuanxun Dwelling
8. Temple of the Queen of Heaven on the right of Yuanxun Dwelling
9. Relievo on the wall of temple in Yuanxun Dwelling

(Source: Shen Xinjun 2004, 37, reedited by the author)

Plate 4-46: Yuanxun dwelling in Sungang Village

Sungang New Village that on the surrounding of the original village. But the building in the old village is still used by the villagers to obtain rent, and it does not receive proper protection. Because of the disorder structure and low grade lessees as well as without necessary measures for protection and fireproofing, this ancient relic has already been destroyed seriously and may disappear completely due to artificial or accidental disasters (*Plate 4-46*).

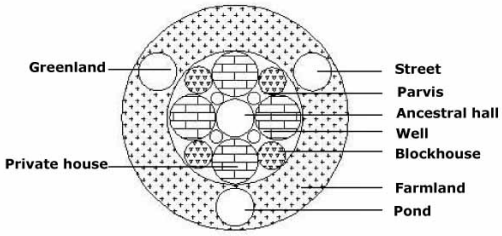
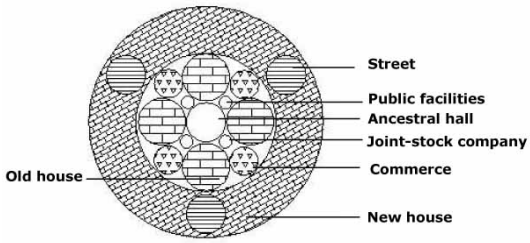
Summary

In the urbanization process of villages, the relationships between cities and villages change along with the influence of natural geographical conditions and historical social factors, and their spatial forms have been changed fundamentally. From the original point, strip, ring form of settlement to become a part of city after a long historical transformation and finally to be absorbed and assimilated.

On the time line from the diachronic aspect, the transformation of villages' form structure, the establishment of the current situation and the expansion of the constructed area are synchronous. In the 1970s, villages in Shenzhen are quiet and pastoral. In the 1980s, with the large scale city development construction after the establishment of SSEZ, massive city production elements entered into villages: "three arrivals and one supply" factories settled down and the emergence of village and town enterprises. The rural characteristics of village were further degraded. Large amount of farmland became non-agricultural land. But there was not structural change in the forms of villages. As the pace of urbanization speeding up (especially after the 1990s) and due to the state new projects requisitioning land, enterprise relocation land, real estate development land, etc., villages have been surrounded by urban land, thus "villages" in Shenzhen emerge. These portions of villages that have lost their lands depend on land leasing. With the stimulation of rental market benefit, villagers "cultivate houses" instead of "cultivate land". Due to the dualistic rural-urban land management system and the fall-behind city planning management, the construction of villager houses gets into a disordered situation.

On the spatial line, current "villages" in Shenzhen city and its surroundings form a "villages" -marginal villages-natural villages- spatial layout. The distance between village and city center results in the different stages of these villages (*Table 4-5*).

Table 4-5: Transformation of “villages” in Shenzhen

Patterns of village	 Structure of natural village	 Structure of “village” in Shenzhen
Social features	Religions	House sites
Transformation of lands	Agricultural land	Non-agricultural land
Economic pattern	Farming	Renting, joint-stock company
Population structure	Local villagers	Immigrant settlement for the floating population
Retained buildings	Ancestral hall	Ancestral hall
Spatial characters	Order of space	Heterogeneity of space
Conclusion of transformation	The systems of traditional villages gradually collapsed, then evolved into a “heterogeneous” dwelling space.	

5 Reconstruction in “Villages”

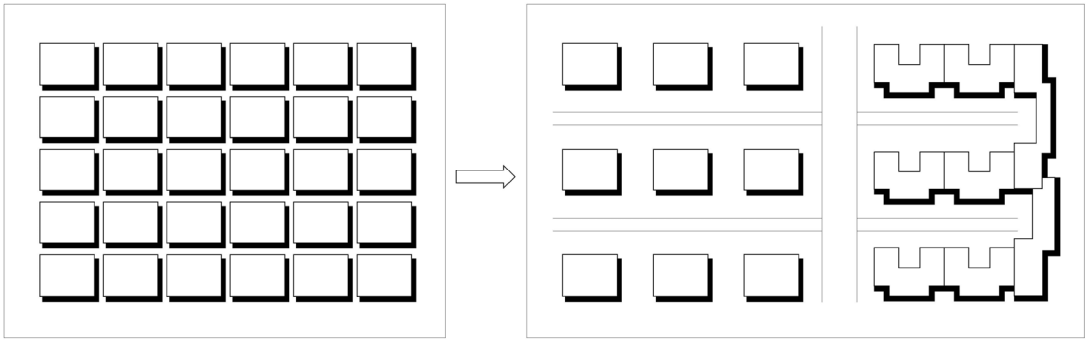
5.1 Current Reconstruction

5.1.1 Reconstruction Modes

5.1.1.1 One-off Overall Reconstruction

One-off overall reconstruction refers to re-planning and designing old house sites that have no retainable value after removal; adjusting the land use function or change the size, standard or type of the houses; reconstructing houses or other buildings or facilities; completely improving the quality of the building environment and optimizing land usage. This type has the largest project volume and highest cost and is suitable for "villages" located on important streets or areas of the city and has serious impacts on city planning and urban scenery with a disordered layout and high building density.

All families are temporarily relocated outside the “village” and move back after the reconstruction is completed (*Figure 5-1*);



(Source: Li Junfu 2004, 191, redrawn and reedited by the author)

Figure 5-1: Sketch of reconstruct pattern of land

Note: Removing the buildings in old village and constructing the buildings in the new one

(1) Characteristics of one-off overall reconstruction

1. Difficulty in financing operation;
2. Large removal work volume and high relocation cost. Yunong Village,

Gangxia Village and Shawei Village as examples.

Case 1: Yumin Village in Futian District

Reconstruction scale: before reconstruction, Yumin Village had a total area of 2.23 hectares, 33 dwelling houses and 42500 m^2 of construction area (*Plates 5-1, 5-2 and 5-3*). After the reconstruction, the total construction area is 66500 m^2 with a floor area ratio of 3, the ratio between the original construction area and new area is 1:1.5.

The community equipped with a cultural square, community service center, kindergarten, library, network monitoring center, village history museum, chess room and other facilities (*Plates 5-4, 5-5, 5-6 and 5-7*).

Comments: the reconstruction funds are solely from villagers and no participation of real estate developers who seek for profits. The new houses are completely for villagers use and avoid the excessive expansion of developing intensity and give respect to the history and current condition of the village. However,

(Source: Village Committee of Yumin Village)

Plate 5-1: Yumin Village in the 1950s

this project is completed under the condition that the volume is small. When dealing with large scale project and villagers are incapable in economic affordability, it will be hard for this method - depending on villager’s financing - to be successful.

(Source: Village committee of Yumin Village)

Plate 5-2: Yumin Village in the 1980s

(Source: Village committee of Yumin Village)

Plate 5-3: The buildings of Yumin Village before reconstruction

Plate 5-4: Indoor scene of Yumin Village after reconstruction

Plate 5-5: Courtyard of Yumin Village after reconstruction

Plate 5-6: Kindergarten of Yumin Village after reconstruction

(Source: Village committee of Yumin Village)

Plate 5-7: Exterior scene of Yumin Village after reconstruction

Case 2: Yunong Village in Futian District

Yunong Village is located on the edge of Huanggang Port and is near Shenzhen River, with Hong Kong just on the opposite side. Due to its particularity in geographic location, it became the first "village" in Futian District to be overall reconstructed. There are 108 private houses occupied some 130,000 m^2 that need to be removed. Among these houses, 18 private houses (occupy about 60,000 m^2) need to be removed with dynamite, the highest one has 16 stories and the lowest is 9 stories, and 15 of them are between 11 and 16 stories. On 22nd, May 2005, 15 private houses with an area of 50,000 m^2 in Yunong Village were blown up (*Plates 5-8, 5-9 and 5-10*).

Reconstruction scale: currently there are 70 families with 31,000 m^2 of construction area, floor area ratio is 5.8, the ratio between the original construction area and new area is about 1:6.

Function orientation: high stories residential community

Source: http://www.dayoo.com, 22nd, May 2005)

Plate 5-8: Yunong Village before explosion

(Source: www.thebeijingnews.com, 22nd, May 2005)

Plate 5-9: Yunong Village during the explosion

(Source: www.southcn.com, 22nd, May 2005)

Plate 5-10: Yunong Village during the explosion

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District. Part3, Inspecting “Urban Village” (2))

Plate 5-11: Sketch of Gangxia Village after reconstruction

Comments: the above case is a typical way for large-scale commercial transformation. In order to reach the economy balance in their own transformation range, the scale of transformation and area involved become larger and larger. With the intention of getting high economic profit returns and the demand of people for a healthier environment (more green land), real estate developers commonly adopt the "remove the old (existing houses) and build new (commercial houses)" way, thus the height of new buildings continues to increase (*Plates 5-11*).

Case 3: Gangxia Village in Futian District

Reconstruction scale: reconstruction area covers 23.2 hectares with 478 families. The current population is 68,000, ratio between permanent residents and temporary residents is 1：33. After transformation, total construction areas are 68,200 m^2, floor area ratio is 5.8, the ratio between the original construction area and new area is about 1:1.3.

Function orientation: auxiliary commercial area for city center CBD

Transformation mode: Intervention of real estate developers and one-off overall reconstruction

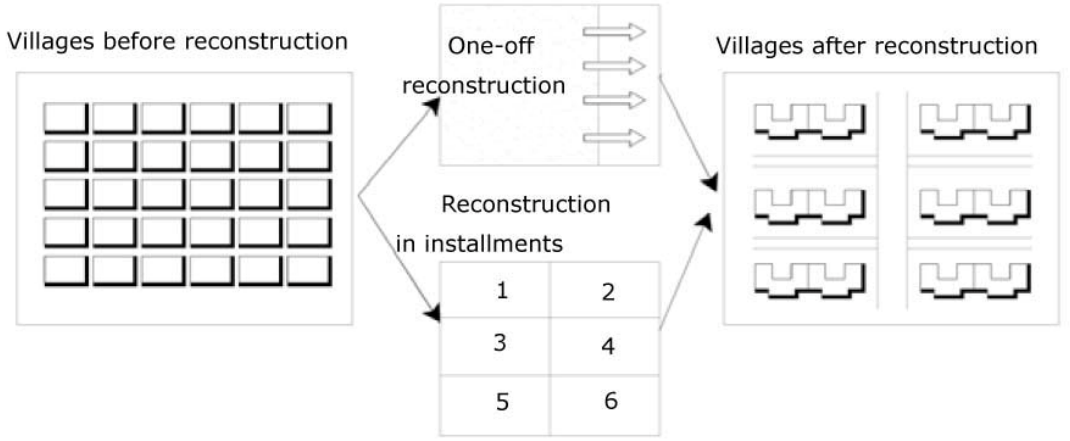
Comments: Gangxia Village is located in the central area of Shenzhen city nearing the subways, and these dual territorial predominances add up to more proven external conditions, a better market as well as better conditions for the intervention of real estate developers objectively.

5.1.1.2 Cycling Reconstruction

A land operating method named "extract density" can be adopted under the cycling reconstruction (*Figure 5-2*). It emphasizes that the transformation of "villages" is a continuous renovating process. In the current transformation practices, "extract density" method is used to solve problems such as exorbitant density, poor sunlight and ventilation, potential fire disaster by removing partial houses and temporary buildings that are poor in quality while reserving most of resident buildings with good construction quality. Concurrently, the roadways inside "villages" are expanded; green land is increased; public auxiliary facilities are improved, and the building density is lowered. At the same time, new resident area is built by utilizing non-constructed lands available inside “village” to relocate villagers being removed. The principle of this method can be summarized as: control the old village, transform the old village, construct new village and replace the old village.

"Extract density" type of partial adjustment is a common method used in the current "villages" transformation in Shenzhen city. To sum up, adjusting mode of land operating mainly features in the following aspects:

1. Less removal volume and low in removal cost and back-relocation cost. Since a number of old buildings are reserved, the total financial input is reduced substantially;



(Source: Li Junfu 2004, 189, redrawn and reedited by the author)

Figure 5-2: Sketch of regulative pattern of land

2. The construction of new village results in that, many houses in the old village are used for rental purpose instead used by the house owners and these houses become a main income source of the old village;

3. The new and old villages are in a virtuous cycle: Land income from old village before increment can somehow support the development of the new one while the land income after increment from the new village can support the transformation of the old village, such as Tianmian Village.

5.1.1.3 Adjusting Reconstruction

Adjusting reconstruction is to transform illegal buildings on the basis that reserving most buildings in "villages"; to control the construction of new buildings; and to repair and unify the overall external appearance and conduct internal decorations. Compared with the above two types of development, adjusting reconstruction has the smallest project volume, and mainly applies in the following three aspects:

1. Remote "villages" with less floating population, small in scale, unapparent contradictions with city and mainly for villagers;

2. "Villages" that possess historical culture value and other values and that are not proper for large scale reconstruction;

3. "Villages" located in the city center or key area;

These villages have serious problems and contradiction in transformation, but they do not possess qualification to conduct overall transformation, and it serves as the makeshift.

This kind of transformation typically has smaller project volume and requires less funding.

Case study: Tianmian New Village in Futian District

Reconstruction scale: currently this village possesses a land area of 1.8 hectares, 51 five-story resident houses with a total construction area of 0.28 km^2 and the floor area ratio is 1.56. After transformation, the total construction area is 0.83 km^2, floor area ratio is 4.62 and the ratio between the original construction

area and new area is about 1:3.

Transformation mode: real estate developers are the main investing body and have gained profit from cooperating in the transformation of Tian-mian Village. Joint-stock companies are the direct beneficiaries since the trans-formation increases the overall property value. However, houses of the original villagers are not brought into the overall transformation plan, resulting in the problem of incomplete transformation.

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District. Part3, Inspecting “Urban Village” (2))

Plate 5-12: Tianmian New Village after reconstruction

Comments: its transformation is carried out with the precondition that pre-serving the existing old village’s main style, features and structure. The planning of the new village meets the requirement of road system while paying respect to the traditional culture of the village (*Plate 5-12*).

5.1.2 Policies on the Reconstruction by the Government

In the analysis of this study, I have adopted boundary rationality hypothesis for the rule and regulation agent –government and the microeconomic behaviours agent involved in the land use process of “village”. Boundary rationality refers to human behaviour that “has conscious rationality but this rationality is limited” (Arrow 1970). According to Douglass C. North, the limitation of human contains two connotations: the first one is that, the more complex an environment is, the more complex and uncertain the world becomes in the non-personal exchange form; and the more exchange, the greater uncertainty, thus information become more inadequate. The second one is that human has limitation in calculating and understanding the environment since human can never be omniscient (North 1990).

(a) Bounded rationality in economic activity agent

Herbert A. Simon has further developed this hypothesis. He pointed out that traditional economic theory has assumed a conception of “economic man”, and it posses “economic” and “rational” characteristics. Even though their knowledge about the environment is not complete, at least they are comparably rich and intensive. They have a methodic and stable preference system and possess strong calculating capability with which they can calculate the highest point of preference they can reach in their alternative action plans (Simon 1989). However, usually they cannot get all the information related to decision-making, and they have limits in individual thinking, thus usually no one can be fully rational, they can only possess “bounded rationality”. Thus people can only strike for satisfied results instead of optimum results. In a word, human’s starting point is rational, but it is not necessary means that they can surely reach their pre-concerted goal. Instead people usually are not able to reach their goal because of their limitation in knowledge, experience and information.

(b) Entrepreneurial tendency of government

With the development of administrational, financial and taxation system reform, local government transforms from single agency of the state into absolute economic interest body. Under the system background, the role of government is similar to enterprise in market competition. *“There is a multitude of cases in which governments, with general approbation, assume powers and execute functions for which no reason can be assigned except the simple one, that they conduce to general convenience. We may take as an example, the function (which is a monopoly too) of coining money… prescribing a set of standard weights and measures is another instance”* (Mill, Winch 1986, 800). In every society, politicians who control the power determine the behaviour of government. Thus just like any rational individual, government concerns its own survival, reputation, wealth, power, etc. Since the limitation of rationality in individuals plus the influence of the rigidity of ideology, group interest conflicts and the limitation of social knowledge, the behaviour of government is also bounded rational. Unfortunately, new-liberalism urban policies implicate that the government is focusing on improving the flexibility

of enterprises and economic competition power of private institutions, rather than on the social and spatial equity, full-chance employment, social welfare. The center of new-liberalism urban policies stresses to increase the competition power of individuals in the market, private-owned right of public residence, and accommodation of residence is totally determined by the market, thus weakening social warfare afforded by the state. Consequently, “constructing for the poor” embodying the equity right to live transforms into “constructing for the rich” manipulated primarily by the market, in order to pursue the maximum profits.

(c) Opportunism

Opportunistic behaviour tendency refers to the behaviour tendency that gains interest by iniquitous means. For example, deceived behaviour in dealing parties who have asymmetric information, selling fake commodities under the unsound legal system, deputies’ infringing behaviour to consignors (owners), bribery in smuggle deal, operator’ s tax dodging, authority rent-seeking and rent-setting, etc., all of these are the representation of opportunistic behaviour tendency. Actually opportunistic behaviour is the complementarities to the hypothesis of human’s pursuing for maximizing his own interest. It indicates the strong motive of human in pursuing his self-interest and at the same time, his behaviour is very complex, which involves legitimate and lawless means. Especially under a social environment with unsound legal system, people are more likely adopt opportunistic behaviour to maximize his interest. As a result, the straightforward purpose of the establishment, implementation and development of policy should lie in providing a protective mechanism against anti-opportunistic behaviour (Liu Xinyuan 2002).

Over the past 20 plus years, Shenzhen Government has framed many policies, statutes and bye-laws (*Table 5-1*), which can guide, normalize and adjust the development of villages but yet fail to solve problems thoroughly in aspects of society, economy and construction. Retrospection and evaluation of former policies and laws become necessary, and is beneficial to detailed analyses of the formation and development of “villages”.

Table 5-1: Primary regulations of land management in SSEZ (1982-2005)

Nr	Year	Document
1	1982	*Provisions of farmland layout in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
2		*Provisions of Forbidding Illegal and Private Construction of House in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
3		*Interim Regulations of Building Land of Villagers in Cooperations in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
4	1983	*Supplementary Provisions of Forbidding Illegal and Private Construction of House in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
5	1986	*Notice of Further Reinforcement of Farmland layout in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
6	1987	*Interim Methods of the Management of Illegal Building and Land-use in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
7		*Notice of the Reinforcement of Red-circled Land in Special Economic Zone by Shenzhen Municipal Government*
8	1988	*Decisions on Problems in Managing Illegal and Illegal Land Use and Registrations of Land by Shenzhen Municipal Government*
9		*Notice of Prohibition of Private Construction and Land Use in Access of Standards and Illegal Phenomena*
10	1989	*Provisions of Land Expropriation in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
11		*Compensation for Land Expropriation and Removal in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
12		*Urgent Notice of Forbidding Illegal Occupation of Land and Private Rent in the Country*
13	1992	*Interim Regulations of Urbanization of the Country in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
14		*Byelaws of Registration of Real Estate in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
15		*Byelaws of House Rent in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
16	1993	*Management of Problems Caused by Property Right of Real Estate in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
17		*Detailed Rules of Implementing Byelaws of House Rent in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
18		*Provisions of Management of Real Estate in Shenzhen*
19	1995	*Byelaws of Supervising of Framed Land in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
20	1999	*Decisions on Prohibition Against Illegal Construction by Standing Committee of Shenzhen People's Representatives Meeting*
21	2001	*Provisions of Management of Illegal Private House Left Behind History in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
22		*Provisions on Management of Illegal Constructions of Production Operations Left Behind History in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*
23	2004	*Decisions on Prohibitions of Illegal Construction and Land Use by Shenzhen Municipal Government*
24	2005	*Compendiums of Overall Layout of Rebuilding Village(the Original Villages)in Shenzhen (2005-2010)*

(d) Analysis of time

There are several crucial turning points during the development of “villages”. One is instituting red-circled lines of new villages at the beginning of 1986; the second is the expropriation of farm land traced back to 1989; the third is the ur-

banization of villages since 1992; the last one is the reinforcement of management of illegal construction since 1999. According to the above four points, the development of policies and laws of “village” can be put into five stages (*Figure 5-3*).

1) Stage 1 (1980-1985): the beginning of building up policies

After the establishment of SSEZ and along the development of "three arrivals and one supply" enterprises, rich villagers began to build their own new houses. Without proper guidance from the government and an overall program, disorder occurred in the construction of “villages” in SSEZ. In 1982, the government made *Interim Regulations of Building Land of Villagers in Cooperation in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone* to guide the construction and development of “villages”. It was the first document specialized in the aspect. Confined by the developing level of SSEZ and the former low economy condition of villagers, early villages mainly were located in the central area of Luohu District and its surrounding areas. But as SSEZ developed faster, the construction of villager's house tended to be widened. All the construction followed the regulation in 1982 with few violations.

1. Fuguang Village in Nanshan District (1999)

2. Fuguang Village in Nanshan District (2002)

3. Fuguang Village in Nanshan District (2004)

(Source: China Academy of Urban Planning & Design Shenzhen)

Figure 5-3: Fugang Village in Nanshan District

2) Stage 2 (1986-1988): enrichment and consummation of policies

Policies in this stage made clear and detailed provisions of management of red-circled land, land in access of standards, land scale and private conveying of land, and illegal or illegal use of land against the layout, etc. For example, *Notice of Further Reinforcement of Farmland layout in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (1986)*, *Interim Methods of the Management of Illegal Building and Land-use in Special Economic Zone,* and *Notice of the Reinforcement of Red-circled Land in Special Economic Zone by Shenzhen Municipal Government (1987)*, *Decisions on Problems in Managing Illegal and Illegal Land Use and Registrations of Land by Shenzhen Municipal Government,* and *Notice of Prohibition of Private Construction and Land Use in Access of Standards and of Other Illegal or Illegal Phenomena (1988)*.

3) Stage 3 (1989-1991): land expropriation

In 1989, Shenzhen government began land expropriation through *provisions of Land Expropriation in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (1989)*, to require collective land in a unified way. In this case, original villagers could have no land but the one out of red-circled lines in “villages”. The document also defined the size of “villages” and the amount of expropriation, choosing a piece of land for developing trades, and services for “villages” from requisitioned land. Spontaneously, procedures on compensation of land expropriation and allowance for resettlement were established in *Compensation for Land Expropriation and Removal in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (1989)*. Hence Shenzhen Government set down to frame boundary between collective land and private land for construction in every “village”, resulting in most of villages' original collective land national owned. House rent became the most important source of villagers' living income. Therefore, original villagers tried to gain land for private construction in a fierce way, with some land surpassing the red-circled lines. A trend of competing to get lands, build houses and vie with others began.

4) Stage 4 (1992-1998): urbanization of villages

Interim Regulations of Urbanization of the Country in Shenzhen Special Eco-

nomic Zone (1992) changed rural population into urban population, rural management system into urban management system, and maintained the right to use the original land for collective industrial enterprises and private residence to “village” and their villagers. However, lacking prompt support and guide from the government on overall program and construction, the constructions of real estate in original villages were imbalanced and the second trend of competing for land was triggered. In this trend, villagers increased the height of buildings from 3 or 4 floors to 7, 8, or even 12 floors; locations of buildings were more intensive; more and more roads in the range of collective land and other public lands were occupied.

5) Stage 5 (1999-present): management and rebuilding

Facing with the trend to gain lands in the former stage, the government made *Decisions on Prohibition against Illegal Construction by Standing Committee of Shenzhen People's Representatives Meeting (1999)*. In it the principle that each family should only own one house site, and its area and construction area should be within the standard prescribed by the government was highlighted.

Based on the definition of illegal private house, *Provisions of Management of Illegal Private House Left behind History in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (2001)* draw a division line of date for all of illegal private houses: 5th, March 1999. According the provisions, the illegal private houses before 5th, March 1999 would receive sensible treatment after handing in a small amount of fine, while houses built after that date should be seriously prohibited. In fact, the “one size fits all” policy could achieve nothing but only stimulating the behaviour of illegal construction of private houses, posing “an alternative stimulation” for the collective response of villagers to “compete” for lands, and eventually leading to a scale of illegal behaviour (*Figure 5-4*).

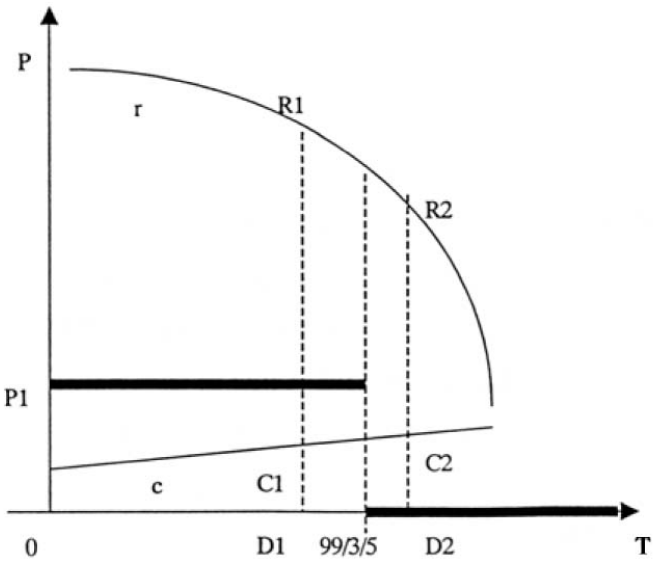
Hypothesis 1: Same amount of floors and area of villagers' houses in different stages;

Hypothesis 2: Disregard of the effect on rent caused by the age of houses;

Hypothesis 3: Disregard of difference in locations of houses and rent.

In Figure 5-4, R refers to accumulated rent earning that illegal private houses gain after handing in fine to government. The amount of r decreased as the age of building increases. C refers to the original cost of construction, which has been

rising up in the past 20 years. Thus c also increases with time. From the above, the net yield of illegal private houses built before 5th, March 1999 is greater than that after that date. In other word, R1-C1>R2-C2. In terms of provisions, illegal private houses in “village” built before 5th, March 1999 have compensation P1 in the removal after handing in fine, while buildings built after that date are forced to break down, without any compensation. The solid lines in the picture refer to the amount of compensation per m^2 in different time. Villagers who built illegal private houses in the early stage have received long-term profit from rent, and even received compensation in the removal; on the contrary, villagers built houses later received severe punishment. The situation is rather unreasonable and revealed the existence of an “alternative stimulation” which encouraging adventurous villagers' collective behaviour. This is also the primary cause of the more and more severe problems of illegal construction, resulting from the ineffectness of punishment by the government.



(Source: Du Yansong 2004, 70)

Figure 5-4: Influence from the policy of the government

5.1.3 Difficulties in the Reconstruction

(a) Conflict between urban civilization and lineage group civilization

The particularity of "villages" in geographic location lies in that they stay in the fast growing modern constructions in Shenzhen city in a form of rural society. The original villagers under the influence of traditional rural culture still consider land as their survival capitals. This way of surviving and developing is essentially different from that of urban citizens.

(b) Conflict between the requirement of urban planning and requirement of villagers

The income of the original villagers and joint-stock companies are mainly from private house rent. Thus the high dependence on private houses and the limitation of self-employment make them have to depend on land to obtain more income and make this as their developing goal. With this goal, it is hard to be compliant with the municipal government’s goal for overall city development.

(c) Conflict between the declining in the total number of private houses and the need of cheap rental house market

The transformation of "villages" (especially the "push over and reconstruct" type of transformation) will directly lead to the loss of current low-cost rental houses in "villages" that are suitable for middle and low income groups. If these houses are built according to the design criteria of low-rent houses after the reconstruction, the existing problems on environment and safety will not be improved; and if the houses are built as high quality commercial houses, the accommodation of low-income groups will become a big problem disturbing the government.

(d) Conflict between substantive transformation cost and limited funds afforded by the government

The transformation includes the following costs: removal cost, villager relocation cost, constructing cost, environmental cost, management cost, time cost, human resource cost, social risks cost, etc. Since the government are not able (and not necessary) to bear the cost, a rational cost share mechanism is required between the original villagers, joint-stock companies, government and real estate developers to pay the cost of "villages" transformation, and to effectively realize the capital financing for the transformation, and through a cost-income associated relationship to carry out the simulative mechanism to realize and promote the transformation of "villages". This is just the essential problem that has not been solved for many years.

The costs should be distributed based on the affordability of different groups and the degrees of control. For example, the government should take on social risk cost and this cost requires the government to give guidances and control from

urban society management point of view; joint-stock companies should be responsible for the management cost of the transformation as well as removal and constructing cost; real estate developers may bear some cost of low-rent houses construction and reduce this cost by their industrial preponderance; the original villagers may bear a certain relocation cost and thus resolve the financial difficulty before transformation, and may get a certain compensation from houses’ income after transformation.

(e) Different expectations between the government and interest groups in "villages"

Due to the need of city management, the government needs to guide the development of "villages" from an overall point of view. Thus the government will put more focus on how to harmonize the partial development of "villages" and the overall development of city. For the original villagers and joint-stock companies, the concern is more on their current interest and income issues after the transformation, including:

1. No reduction in economic income;

2. Maintaining the stability of blood-relationship and lineage group relationship;

3. Maintaining the permanence of property right of house sites;

4. Preferring house compensation to money compensation in order to maintain the future economic way out. The government has to carefully consider the interest need of villagers and joint-stock companies in order to reach the desired goal of transformation.

5.2 Soft Reconstruction

5.2.1 Causes for Soft Reconstruction

5.2.1.1 Great Value of "Villages" in Shenzhen

In this study, I measured the establishment, maintenance of urban corporate community, as well as the significance of necessary attention and support from a non-agriculture "villager" point of view.

1) Urban corporate community meets the demand of villagers who are searching for organizational support for their interest in the process of non-agriculturalization and urbanization process. Essentially benefit derived from the process of urbanization should be shared with the villagers. However, for a very long time, the city-county dualistic structure and system in China have put villagers' interest in a disadvantage position from the social structure and system level. That is, the system and structure constrain villagers from enjoying their expected benefit of urbanization, such as sharing the value-added benefit of land. While being extruded by the powerful system and structure force, urban corporate community naturally becomes the "backbone" for villagers as it serves as a home to villagers' interest. In "villages", the community protects villagers’ lives and it can be easily found that, the comfortable living condition of these villagers are in great contrast with the marginal lives of villagers who transfer from non-agricultural to agricultural household registration by land acquisition. This contrast itself is the best interpretation of the significance of urban corporate community. For example, social welfare functions and systems are provided to villagers by collective organizations, rather than by the systems of city. Moreover, it is very difficult for the villagers to find jobs in the city, since their educational experience is mostly at junior high school or elementary school level. Once they lost the land of agriculture, they cannot make a living outside the “villages” due to the limitation of educational level. Buildings’ rents on house sites are unique income resource for them. Indeed, the “villages” in Shenzhen serve as a safety umbrella preventing the original vil-

lagers from economic crisis and external pressures.

2) Self-governing is another evidence that urban corporate community has the reasonable value of being. In the survival logic of this community, the vital fasten-belt of benefit relationship, the specific trust-relationship structure, the special social relation network, the comprehensive "local knowledge"[1] system and the operable advantage of "selective incentive", all these strengths determine the potential and practical self-governing ability. In those "villages" where I have been to for research purpose, self-governing shows many specific efficiencies and results. In these corporate communities, self-governing nearly covers every aspect of community life with its own funds. Public facilities such as kindergartens, schools, temples, culture activity centers, etc., are so luxurious that even urban communities cannot compete with. This kind of self-governing ability consists of many social elements and cannot be neglected in the future transforming.

3) The unique inheritance and innovation of the urban corporate community build a unique social space that acts as the "cushion" for those non-agricultural villagers who possess little market/social competency, protect them from the frontal shock of urbanization and marketization. This kind of protect of "cushion" is not only for "loaves and fishes" but also for social mentality. In the fast and fuss pace of urbanization and modernization, and with the support of "instrumental rationalness", fame and benefits perusing are prevalent. However, villagers in the "villages" can maintain a sense of being helpful and honest. Common agricultural productions and similar production activities, common beliefs of religions and ethics among the members, especially the seniors make the “villages” a close community. Caring for each other in the neighbourhood and local common responsibilities are ideal forms of community and social relations.

4) The “villages” in Shenzhen are the habitat for the floating population

For the low-income floating population, “villages” not only provide low-price

[1] Geertz thinks that local knowledge is a kind of significant system based on culture and it includes sensibility, cognition, and morality. Moreover, it has close relation with regulations, politics, and customs, beliefs, symbols, and programs. In running logic of local knowledge, strategy of community and relative agreement has more reasonable and feasible characters, compared with other compellent regulations (Geertz 1983).

renting houses, but also reduce the required cost and difficulties in their migration and floating process (*Table 5-2*). Besides the low price, convenient rent procedure and low dealing cost are also important factors in attracting floating population to settle down. Lessees only need to show their identity card, temporary residence permit card, marriage and birth certificate, and pay rent deposit (generally equal to one month rent payment) to live in.

Table 5-2: Rents of buildings between the “villages” in Shenzhen and Shenzhen city

Urban residence	Average rent (*yuan*/m^2 month)
Jinyu Lanwan	58.25
Jindi Garden	21
Haojing Hao Garden	31
Shangsha Village	15-25

(Source: Reconstruction Research “Urban Village” in Futian District, part3, Inspecting “Urban Village”, 151)

According to the trend analysis of city development in China, the urbanization level in China reached 36.09% in 2000, indicating that China has stepped into the fast development period. If China's urbanization level reaches the world average level (50%), there will be 0.192 billion peasants entering into city (not include floating population from small or medium towns). At the same time, since the government is not strong enough to handle low-income housing issues, currently there are only three allocation sites (Huang Mugang Temporary Habitat, Lianhua Hill Temporary Habitat, Meilin Allocation Site) in Shenzhen. On the other hand, market powers perusing economic benefits do not care about the needs of these low-income disadvantage groups. Compared with the high tax and high welfare in western developed countries, at present China is not able to establish a system and institution that can help the rich give feed back to the society and help the poor. On the issue of house supply, the "new poor class" (jobless people in city) has almost drained off the government and therefore the government has no spare effort to handle the housing issues for the floating population. As a result, "villages" in Shenzhen plays an important role in the housing issue of the floating population. They provide the low-income class with the minimum housing and surviving environment that maintain their survival and development in city by means of cheap leasing industry and low-end service industry acting as the bumper in the ur-

banization process. At a certain degree they ease the housing contradiction in the urbanization process and play an important role in social stabilization, labour force supply, economy promotion and city development. Villagers' income from leasing, business operation and collective economy are transformed into urban consumption and investment by means of taxing, saving and consumption, thereby promoting the expanding production in city. The floating population in "villages" provide the city with massive labour forces for jobs that local citizens are not willing to take.

5.2.1.2 Reasons for the Transformation of “Villages”

I summarize the reasons for the transformation from traditional villages into the “villages” in Shenzhen as followed:

(a) Mode of “earning money from land” from economic dimension

Under the conditions of market economy, villagers who lose land of cultivation rely on renting the buildings on house sites in order to make a living. The income from leasing of private houses is larger than the forfeitures for going beyond the criteria instituted by the government. Accordingly, the original villagers increase ceaselessly the floors of private buildings, in order to get the maximum rent from a large number of the floating population.

Villagers’ rational behaviour is the incontestable driven force of non-agricultural activities (Scott 1976; Schultz 1964; Popkin 1979; Chayanov 1986). Without necessary regulation, villagers' rational behaviour will follow their own rational logic. "Differential mode of association" in the benefit cooperation of small villagers and "follow the herd" tendency are the straightforward reflection of such behaviour logic. In real life, villagers’ rational behaviours of pursuing the maximum rent fee are intervened by some "irrational" factors. All these influencing variables contribute to the "villages" landscape.

At the same time, Dualistic urban-rural land system enables villagers to gain the ownership of land in low price or even free. House sites were allotted by the community to every household. Villagers could attain the rent to the greatest extent, after increasing the floors of the buildings.

(b) Lacking of strict management of the government from political dimension

After taking up the agricultural land as urban land, the government let loose the affairs of village to the villagers themselves. Furthermore, the social warfare and share from collective organization in the "villages" are only shared within the group of villagers. Large numbers of floating population rush into the “villages”, which bring out heavy pressures to the management of “villages”. It is inevitable that higher criminal rate and disordered environment emerge gradually in the “villages”. The inefficient policy of relative government departments rather than urban corporate community bears the "undeniable" responsibility for the "abnormality" in the appearance of villages. Under the dualistic urban-rural management system, the “absence” of formal systems in the “villages” provides soil for informal systems to grow, develop and play a more important role.

(c) Scarcity of low-paid houses for the immigrants from social dimension

Under the limitations of land resources and funds, the government cannot afford enough houses to be settled by many immigrants. The “villages” become preferable selections for the immigrants as settlements, owing to their advanced location condition (convenient traffic) and lower rent compared with those of the houses in the city.

In a word, in spite of being located in the range of city, “villages” in Shenzhen still retain some characters of rural community and embody specific rural-urban disparities. Even under the conditions of urbanization and market economy, the duality between urban and rural society in China, such as management systems, land system and social status differ obviously from each other. The above three systems are crucial in this dualistic structure, and are root factors for the forming of current phenomena in the “villages” in Shenzhen, which afford important attestations for valuable reconstruction of “villages” in Shenzhen.

5.2.1.3 Disadvantages from Large Scale Reconstruction

For a long time, theories and methods of city planning in China are influenced by western modernism city planning theories that take physical design as the focus.

Treating city development as a linear evolution ignores the history and actuality. Lewis Mumford had made profound criticism to this kind of planning:

“The subordination of the contents of urban life to the outward form was typical of the baroque mind; but its economic costs were almost an extravagant as its social losses…the avenue will not swerve in its course or alter its width by a few feet in order to save a fine tree or keep intact a precious building” (Mumford 1961, 392).

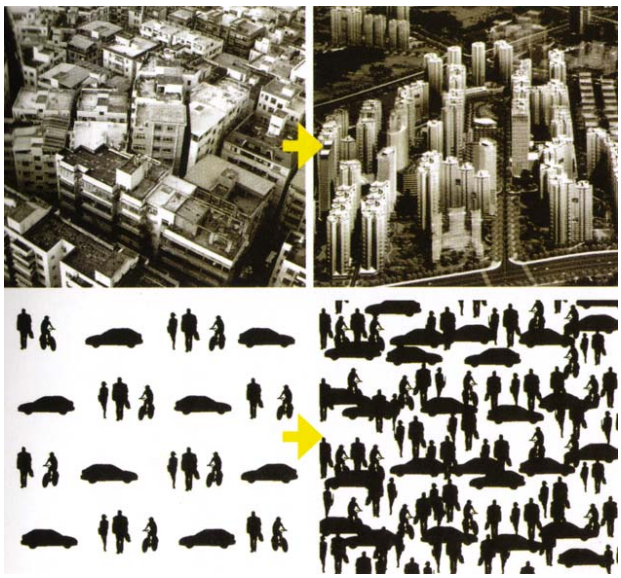
Large scale transformation in fact is an unsustainable developing mode. What it reflects is a developing view and mode of the industrial age. This mode proposes to spur economic development by high accumulation and high consumption; regards economic growth as economic development, and regards economic growth as the sole goal of human social development. The outcome is that the human society has to pay the high price of exhausted resources, worsen environment and collapsed society.

In the planning design and management of old village renovation, some planning personnel hold completely negative attitudes to the "functional and spatial disorder" of traditional villages, and emphasis on function separation and usage purification, pursuing "rational" urban spatial form and uniform visual space order, etc. are mainly demonstrated in the following five aspects:

(a) Simplification in transformation method

An obvious difference between old village transformation and new village construction lies in that, transformation faces more city construction actuality and complex social economic contradictions.

In large scale transformation, the developers will certainly simplify various problems in order to get back huge funds. However, most of the traditional



(Source: URBANUS Architecture and Design 2006, 13)

Figure 5-5: The densities of population and traffic increase after demolition on large scale

old villages possess a complex social economic structure which is formed along the long history and provide abundant, comfortable living space and employment opportunities for various income groups. Simplified large scale transformation not only thoroughly destroys such structure and complexity, but also brings the raise in land price and house price, which disable a group of low-income villagers coming back and makes some villagers lose their income source, and the once prosperous streets become desolated and difficult to recover their vitality. For a long time, city renovation commonly uses some new development and new area to replace "old and ruin" area. This simple and monomial thinking plus the top-to-bottom city planning and management system have always dominated the city. The early large-scale city renovation in western countries from 1939 to the beginning of the 1970s is the product of such thinking mode. Except for that some commercial enterprises had gained profits, most people "got more kicks than halfpence". The society pays the price to compensate the wealthy enterprises and a few high-income groups but scarifies the daily life, environment and culture heritage of most residents (*Figure 5-5*).

(b) Increase social inequity

Shenzhen is a special city, which is straightly reflected in the population structure. In such a city with high population floating rate, rental houses in the rental market become the preferred choice for most floating population and 63.7% of the population obtain housing by leasehold. Rental markets in Shenzhen can be divided into three categories: revolving housing provided by the government, commercial houses in the third tier market and rental houses in "villages". The government directly provides revolving houses for the floating population but only counts 0.8% in the rental market share. Among these houses a substantial amount of houses are particularly provided for civil servants and registered population.[2]

[2] Since 1949, urban housing has been provided within a socialist system in China. Both the private house building industry and speculative building were effectively eliminated during the early years of the socialist system and the private rental sector was systematically brought under the control of the state. The government, through economic planning, directed a large amount of capital to housing development. Under the socialist ideology, public-sector housing provision formed part of the socialist welfare system. Housing provision, especially for those

The transformation of "villages" on one hand forces a large amount of floating population who can not afford buying houses leave "villages", and on the other hand, there is no established underlet house system. Gangxia Village in Futian District has a residential population of 68,000 and after transformation, the housing proportion is 34%, the business proportion is 30%, office proportion is 33%, public facility proportion is 3% and the population reduces to 7000.

(c) Absence of public participation

Public participation refers to, in social economic activities involving public interest, that the public should enjoy more democratic power on the basis of enjoying basic rights (such as Equal Right, Right to Know, Right of Disposal) protected by laws. In fact, it comes into being to compensate the insufficiency of market mechanism, and is another "non-market power" besides government power.

Since large scale transformation involves direct interest of many villagers and groups, public participation in such transformation has great significance. However, because it involves too many interest parties, it is hard to harmonize many interests. Public participation sometimes will cause delay or stagnation of the project implementation and directly impact on the profits of real estate developers. Due to this reason, public participation in large scale transformation is very limit. Apparently the absence of public participation will hurt the interest of those original villagers, and nor satisfy the new future users; On the other hand, since various social economic conflicts in the transformation are not properly dealt with, villagers are repellent to the transformation and will easily raise serious disputes and negative social influence.

(d) Lack of flexibility in planning design

Since large scale transformation is a one-off large scale reconstruction according to the same period design style, it inevitably lacks of historical and cultural accumulation, and is pale in spatial appearance. Mumford once pointed out: *“Baroque planners tacitly assumed that their order was external. They nor merely*

employed directly by the state, was a responsibility of the state (Wang Yaping and Murie, Alan, 1996).

regimented space but they sought to congeal time. Their ruthlessness in clearing out the old was equalled only by their stubbornness in opposing the new: for only one order could harmonize with their kind of plan-namely, more of their own. In short, a baroque plan was a block achievement. It must be laid out at a stroke, fixed and frozen forever, as if done overnight by Arabian Nights genii” (Mumford 1961).

From this point of view, the "new" blocks built in a large scale one-off transformation will be the same "old" blocks lacking of vitality in the next several decades.

(e) Resulting in serious waste of social resources

Jacobs claimed that, large scale transformation is an "inherently wasteful way". Because large amount of social capitals[3] are accumulated in "villages" in Shenzhen and most houses in the "villages" are short in age, reconstructing these villages will mean the lost of fortune, no matter by what means. Even calculated by cost price, the removal of 9.06 km^2 of construction area in "villages" will result in 9.1 billion *yuan* loss in social fortune and if calculated by market price, this number will reach 27.2 billion *yuan* loss (*Table 5-3*). Houses in "villages" not only can be used for medium or low income resident for living, but also some houses can be used for

[3] “*A field, that is, both as a field of forces, whose necessity is imposed on agents who are engaged in it, and as a field of struggles within which agents confront each other, with differentiated means and ends according to their position in the structure of the field of forces, thus contributing to conserving or transforming its structure*” (Bourdieu 1998,32).

The “structure forming” function specially indicates the intrinsic motivation, energy and potentiality of field. It also indicates that field is an active existence which has the ability of self-adjusting and updating. Thus, the key of these various specific forces is the various capitals that containing resource value, especially social capital. That is because “social capital” is not only a kind of resource, more of it is a kind of power which can be used by actors to implement power function in a field as well as used to occupy a location, thus enable the actor having the power to equip a field (Liu Shaojie 2002).

“*The field of power is the space of the relations of force between the different kinds of capital or, more precisely, between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding field, whose struggles intensify whenever the relative value of the different kinds of capital is questioned; that is, especially when the established equilibrium in the field of instances specially charged with the reproduction of the field of power is threatened*” (Bourdieu 1998, 34).

some high- income residents after proper alteration. In a situation that the floating population in Shenzhen is facing the problem of short-supply of houses, large scale transformation project will remove all these regular houses and no doubt, this is a waste. Transforming the "villages" into high-grade dwellings will increase the rent and directly impact the business transaction’s cost of the city.

At the same time, large scale transformation will have a negative impact on the overall city environment: it forces some villagers and most floating population to move out, demolishes large amount of houses with historical values and small groceries that provide income for medium or low income groups and causes the stagnancy of medium or small business in the reconstructed and surrounding area, it also causes a large number of unemployed population.

Table 5-3: Economic loss from the reconstruct of “villages” in Shenzhen

Data	Private houses	Collective property	Total
Area (m^2)	7,699,036	1,358,273	9,057,309
Cost (*yuan*/m^2)	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total cost (10^5*yuan*)	769,903.6	135,827.3	905,731
Market cost (*yuan*/m^2)	0.3	0.3	0.3
Total market cost (x10^5*yuan*)	2,309,719	407,482	2,717,193

(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part1, Constituting Harmonious Futian District, 77)

5.2.1.4 Inspirations from Urban Reconstruction Theories & Practices in Western Countries

After the Second World War, reconstruction period in the western cities generally undergoes changes such as: removing slums-reconstruction in the neighbourhood - community renewal, and basic theories that guide city reconstruction practices are changed accordingly: gradually changing from "modernism" that suggests a single-goal, limited-content large scale reconstruction to a "sustainable human settlements" that suggests a comprehensive-goal, rich-content construction of human settlements.

(a) Large scale "city renovation" movement after 1939

Initially each country underwent "city renovation" movement that features in large scale reconstruction in order to ease the urgent houses problems. Under the

guidance of "modernism" city planning theory proposed by Congress International Architecture Modernism (CIAM), western governments drew up ambitious city reconstruction plans by means of large scale reconstruction and proposing big change to city central area. Cities with long history like London, Paris, Munich, New York, Boston and Philadelphia had large amount of buildings (destroyed or un-destroyed) that were removed and replaced by various "new" and "international" high-rise buildings. However, the brand-new buildings and urban space gave citizen an urban environment that was tedious and lack of historical feeling and humanity (Jacobs 1961). "City beautiful movement" is titled as "the second destruction" (the Second World War as the first) by scholars afterward. Sometimes large scale reconstruction is related with removing slums. On one hand, removing slums gives a good reason for the government to conduct large reconstruction; on the other hand, in the view of many planners who are obsessed by the modernism of city planning, social problems such as "slums" raised in the industrial revolution can be solved by utilizing fortune and technologies accumulated in the industrial revolution, and by adopting "scientific" methods. As a result, many governments put forward the "completely remove slums" slogans in the city reconstruction. The specific way to do this is: removing any material environment in the area where slums are located, and relocate villagers to the "sample houses", then arranging projects that bringing high tax income to the locations where slums are originally located, and attracting high-income residents to this area.

And then, the fundamental factors to the emergence of slums-poverty and employment problems- were not solved. Thus, “The method fails. At best, it merely shifts slums from here to there, adding its own tincture of extra hardship and disruption” (Jacobs 1961, 284). After the reconstruction of Yunong Village in Futian District, low-income residents who originally lived in Yuanong Village are moved to Huanggang Village which had not yet reconstructed. Larger numbers of low-income residents were forced to move out the central area, which resulted in larger slums on the edge of the inner city. “At worst, it destroys neighbourhoods where constructive and improving communities exist and where the situation calls for encouragement rather than destruction” (Jacobs 1961, 284). It results in the destruction and disintegration of urban social economic structure, and further

worsens the slum problem and leaves behind massive hard-to-resolve social contradictions.

(b) Reflection on the mode of "reconstruction by removing slum"

Early in the 1950s, Jane Jacobs expressed doubts on the "modernism" type of reconstruction in big cities in USA and made in-depth reflection on questions such as diversification of city, people's need for communication, neighbourhood life and slums. Just as what Jane Jacobs pointed out, behind the large scale "bulldozer" type of removing slums and reconstruction movement is the kee-jerk thinking mode featuring "modernism". Essentially speaking, it is a physical measure, and the complex urban issues cannot be solved through simple physical measure. It can not fundamentally solve social problems commonly found in slums such as un-employment and crime. Instead, it will result in a series of unexpected outcomes due to the incomprehensive thinking and simplified handling method:

1) The removing operation brings some negative impacts due to the ignorance of lower class interest.

1. Some local governments adopt high-handed and harshly manner on treating ordinary resident;

2. Residents are not pleased with their new replacing houses: Too high in and too remote, extract transportation cost (due to the travel distance), poor in quality and all these can not meet the need of low-income families. Instead these houses are not as good as those old houses in the city central area, though there are not very good in sanitation;

3. New houses usually become slums again or empty houses threatening social security because they are not recognized by local neighbours.

2) People become more and more aware of the community life in the old resident area that has been removed. These communities have been there for a long time, where people have a close relationship and are rich in social life. But such community and its inner structure have been destroyed in the removing plans. "Caring for and maintaining the original community" will always be an issue in the future transformation.

3) In order to avoid the destruction of removing plan on traditional culture in

city, it is necessary to protect original historical buildings and sights, save limited resources, reduce destruction to natural environment and sights. In such situations, people will begin to recognize the historical meanings of these old resident area, which were considered to be worthless and representing poverty and dark life. Those low-story houses on the road sides and groceries or restaurants on the street corners, or sometimes some small factories along the streets become isolated in the planned high-rise units. In such planning, the concept of street no longer exists.

4) The seeming purpose of this kind of slum removal movement is to replace old houses with fine and standard-compliant houses, but in fact, the actual reason why this removal plan is welcomed by real estate developers is that there are few new houses that lower in rent after the removal of worthless slums, and the land is prepared for new investment opportunity in order to gain more returns. Some houses only need proper improvement to change them into new houses with better quality, therefore it is necessary to conduct various feasibility and economic rationality experiment.

(c) Sustainable development of residency

After the 1960s, many western scholars began to make reflections, from different points of views, on the "city renovation" movement, which features in large scale reconstruction. From different academic perspectives, they pointed out the fatal limitations of the method handling complex social, economic and cultural issues by large scale schedule, form and structure planning. At the same time, nearly all of them show great attention on the traditional gradual-type planning and small scale reconstruction modes.

Jane Jacobs criticized the large scale reconstruction from social economic point of view. She pointed out, city is the product of human gathering and settling down and millions of people settle down in cities. These people have different interests, abilities, needs, fortunes or even tastes. They are correlated and are continuously adapting with each other, and finally they create the complex and interdependent city functions, and form a rich and colourful city space with vitality. Moreover, large scale reconstruction had not really "unsluming" the slums, but it just moved the

slums to another place, and in a larger scale, creating new slums (Jacobs 1961).

Alexander further criticized large scale reconstruction from psychological and behavioural point of views. In his opinion, the complex actual environment reflects human behaviour, deep level and complex need (such as mental or psychological); and represents the cultural value of city (Alexander 1965). However, large scale reconstruction denies this value in a so-called "tidy city plan" and separates city functions, therefore it is very ridiculous. He emphasized that, "alive" buildings and city design should explore the complex deep level relationship between city and human behaviour ("pattern language").

There is no doubt that, reflections from the theory circle have comprehensive impacts on the difficult renovation practice on old cities in western countries. At the same time, the emergence of substantial developing thinking and residential environment conception urge the further evolvement of old city renovation theory and practice. From the beginning of the 1970s, developer-dominated large scale reconstruction with simplex content and form was gradually replaced by various medium or small scale renovation plans.

On one hand, the goal and content of city renovation are richer and new patterns are emerging, such as "community development" in the United States, "rehabilitation of historic site" and "adaptive reuse", "community architecture" "self-help", etc. in the Europe.

Although there are differences between various planning theories and practices, they are against large scale radical reconstruction and pay more attention to the balance between human and environment (including human, natural environment and social cultural environment). They also pay more attention to the flexibility of the planning itself and adaptability to environment. At the same time, they emphasize public participation in planning and pay attention to the effective multilateral cooperation between government, community, individuals and real estate developers, engineers, social economic scholars with the main goal of improving environment, creating employment opportunities and promoting the harmony of neighbourhood.

(d) Inspirations

City renovation theories and practices from western countries bring a lot of in-depth inspiration to the transformation of "villages" in Shenzhen. They can be summarized as follows:

1) Revival of humanism. City renovation begins to pay more attention to the ergonomic scales and needs. It emphasizes the importance of participation of villagers and community. The focus of renovation shifts from large scale removal to general renovation of community environment, revival of community economy and community neighbourhood construction with villagers' participation.

2) Enhancing the consciousness of protecting cultural relic. City renovation puts more emphasis on the protection of historical relic, spends more effort on the in-depth research and effective usage of current environment, proposes to protect the "good" part of environment while renovates and repairs the "bad" part.

3) Planning and designing change from simplex material environment to comprehensive residential environment that integrates social, economic development planning and material environment improving planning. Emphasizing on the planning process, planning continuity and making general policies for environment renovation and development are its main contents.

4) The thinking of substantial development gradually becomes consensus. Future city renovation will inevitably put more emphasis on the protection of environment and resources as well as the construction of houses and community.

5) The mode of city renovation changes from the developer-dominated large scale reconstructive mode to a small scale, grading, careful and gradual mode that is organized by the community itself.

In a word, the valuable practical existence of “villages” in Shenzhen, the multi-facet factors (from social, economic and political dimensions) resulting into the transform of villages, and the inspirations from theories and practices on city renovation in western countries afford the reasonable theoretical and thinking base for the reconstruction practices in the “villages” in Shenzhen, which will be discussed in the next part.

5.2.2 Rehabilitation Using a Soft Way

5.2.2.1 Basic Principles of Soft Reconstruction

(a) Integrity of reconstruction

City is a harmonized and unitive whole unit, so its "integrity" should be considered when transforming old village resident areas. That is, reconstruction planners ought to study the layout and culture characteristics of the area being transformed and its surroundings, and to follow the historical rules of city development in the renovation process while maintaining the comparative integrity of city texture in this area.

(b) Spontaneity in reconstruction

Proposing the combination of "top to bottom" and "bottom to top" city planning, protecting rights and interest of disadvantage groups, encouraging various kinds of resident participation in order to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of residents and organizations and draw up renovation plan from the actual need of residents. Community protection, especially the protection for low-income communities, and the environment improvement with resident’s participation become a widely accepted new strategy since the end of 1970s. Governments increase economic subsidy for old house renovation. Some of these subsidies are used to subsidy low-income groups in the renovation area, and some are used to organize the participation of the residents and community. Turner has pointed out, that once residents hold the decision-making power on major issues and are able to freely design houses, build up maintenance and management and make contribution to living environments, the potential of individual and the whole society will be created and inspired. On the contrary, if people have not control power or sense of responsibility on major decision in the process of inhabitation, the inhabitation environment may become a barrier to the achievement of individual value, and become an economic burden (Turner 1972).

Community constructions change the unreasonable relationship between all participants due to the long-term shackle of modernism city planning thinking, and therefore ensure the effective operational process of resident’s participating in

residential environment renovation.

As for professionals (including architects, planners or other professionals), they should apply their techniques and specialties to help residents to handle environment issues. They should become "enablers" or "educators" instead of "propagators" or "providers" who stand high above and give their specialty as charity. As for local government, it should promote (instead of prevent) residents to participate and provide relative legislation guarantee and become the supporter and assistor, not only acts as a governor. As for residents, they should take the "responsibility" of environment creation; change from negative receivers to positive "volunteers". As for each participant, community cooperative conception means to cooperate with other participants to develop a "creative partnership" and make effort to create an excellent community together.

(c) Continuity in reconstruction

The transformation of old village residential area is conducted continuously based on the city actuality, which has historical accumulations. Therefore the design of renovation plan should pay respect to history and actuality. Major issues, social, economic conditions and city management relationship in such area should be fully understood. At the same time, living conventions of residents should be respected. Various tangible or intangible resources and treasure created in history and passed down from generation to generation should be inherited. Culture inter-perforation and diversity are what city features in and simplex culture is fatuous and stuffy. Multiplex residential cultures that combine new and old and various class resident ’s cultures should coexist with each other, and this coexistence not only can reduce the "isolation" phenomenon and create colourful community, but also can protect the overall culture characteristics of the city.

(d) Economic characteristics in the reconstruction

Total construction area of "villages" in Shenzhen has exceeded 150 km^2. The huge total construction and investment volume become the toughest issue in the transformation of "villages". Dividing houses by various qualities and adopting different mode of renovation to reduce the destruction of renovation to the current social and economic life of city as much as possible. On the economic aspect, the

degree of transformation should not excessively raise the standard of area and facilities for the houses being renovated, and make such houses still suitable for unmarried residents, young people and floating population to live and also suitable for their financial affordability. Also the transformation should make the original residents still be able to live here by restricting rent policy to ease the pressure from relocation and increase in rent. It should also strike to retain original various business and other economic activities to increase employment.

(e) Humanism measurement in reconstruction

Various residents from different social classes live in the city together and create colourful blocks. These blocks are fundamentally different from those highly secure "small communities" that have definitive function designed in the modern city planning system. They are the foundations for maintaining city diversity and also are the foundations of city life. Diversity in city can enhance living quality and can accord with the direction of substantial development.

1) Small block can increase the amount and area of traffic and increase communication opportunities;

2) The coexistence of aged buildings can satisfy the need of resident with different affordability. The recycling of aged buildings is also a way to save resource and to realize the substantial development of city;

3) Dense concentration of people can exert the function of various public facilities in the city, increase the comfort of living in the city and reduce waste of social resource caused by excessive distance between home and work place.

5.2.2.2 Reconstruction of “Villages” from Overall Urban City Aspect

(1) The development of "villages" should follow the need of city development

In the new situation that China has joined the WTO and the Pearl River Delta Economic Cooperation Zone is established, Shenzhen is facing the adjustment of industrial structure, the percentage of labour intensive industries gradually drops while the percentages of high technology industries and the third industries go up year after year. Current economic activities of joint-stock companies focus on la-

bour intensive industries, therefore "villages" that break away from urban legal system and administer system will become the biggest barrier in the development of Shenzhen.

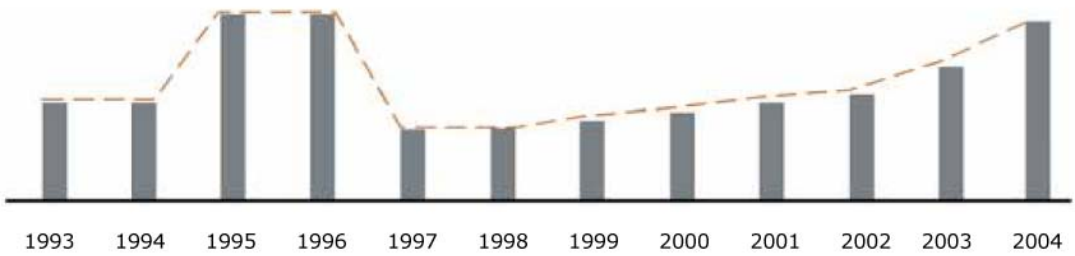
(a) Trend of population change in "villages"

To a certain extent, floating population is the base of the development of "villages", therefore judging the trend of the change in the floating population has a vital significance.

In 2005 the number of floating population in China is 130 million, and in 2010 this number will reach to 160 million. Surplus rural working forces are still the main force, and currently there are about 130 million surplus working forces in the rural area in China. Thus the migration of these working forces will continue. The Pearl River Delta Region, Yangtze River Delta Region and Region around Bohai Sea will still be the places for these floating populations to enter. In the 1990s, Pearl River Delta Region accumulated most of the floating population while in the beginning 10 years of the 21st century, Yangze River Delta Region and Region around Bohai Sea have grown up and become important areas attracting the floating population. In the future, areas attracting these floating populations will be divided into three places: the Pearl River Delta Region, Yangtze River Delta area and Region surrounding the Bohai Sea. As one of the central cities in the Pearl River Delta Region, Shenzhen will still attract 200,000-300,000 floating population each year, though it’s attracting ability will gradually weaken.

(b) Trend analysis of rental market in "villages"

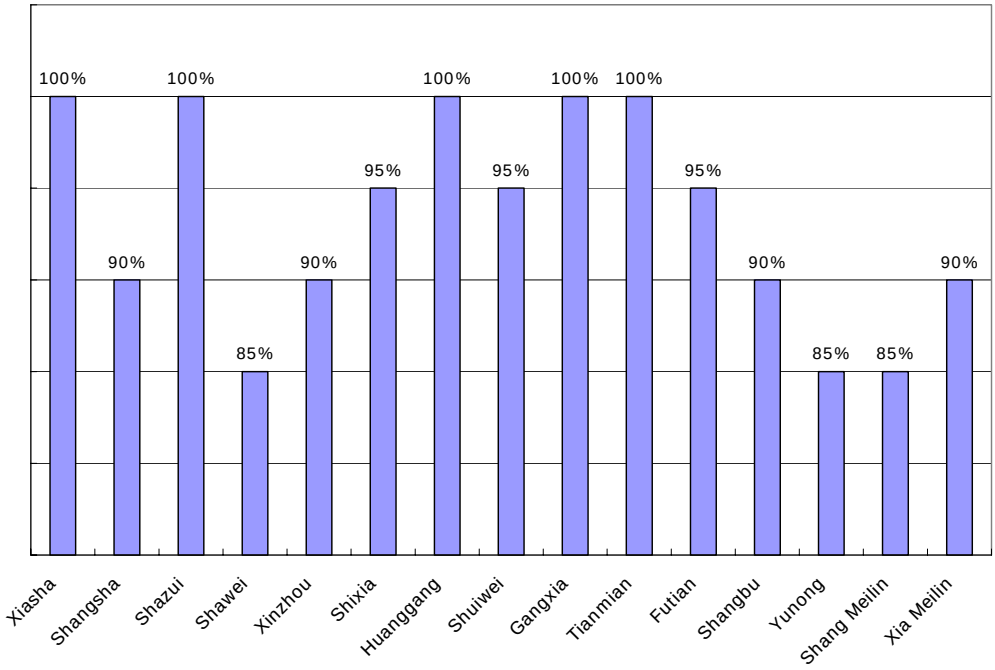
Rental market in “villages” mostly takes on the "low rent" function of the city. In history, the overall rate of rent reached to a relatively high level in 1995 and 1996 and in 1997 it dropped to the lowest point due to the influence from economic aspects. At that time, vacancy rate was more than 50%, but in 1999 the situation became better and rent has increased steadily. During 2003 and 2004 it came back to a comparably high level, and in the past three years, rent level in "villages" basically stayed at the same level (*Figure 5-6*).



(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part1, Constituting Harmonious Futian District, 55)

Figure 5-6: Trend of rent ratio of “villages” in Futian District

Currently, the demand of private houses in “villages” is steady, and a balance between demand and supply is mostly reached. Take "villages" in Futian District as an example, rent rate in these "villages" are high with the lowest point of 85%. The rent rates of some “villages” in superior locations and with better environment even reach to 100% (*Figure 5-7*).



(Source: Reconstruction Research of “Urban Village” in Futian District, part1, Constituting Harmonious Futian District, 54)

Figure 5-7: Rent ratio of “villages” in Futian District (2004)

(2) Principles of reconstruction of “villages” from overall urban city aspect

(a) Construction of Low-rent houses

The transformation of "villages" is to change the previous collective-owned land to a state-owned land, transfer the use of land, remove low grade houses that take on low-rent function and construct new commercial houses and office buildings. Since the areas for commercial uses and offices are defined according to the future area planning and current market in the surroundings, and are less in amount, they will not bring serious impacts to the market. Therefore the impact of the transformation of "villages" on market goes to the house market, including commercial house rental market and low-rent house market. The scale of legal low-rent houses should be enough to accommodate the present low-income population in "villages" that have proper employment. However, some villages possessing superior geographical locations are transformed into commercial houses in order to make full use of these precious land resources. Only some "villages" will be transformed into legal low-rent houses. As a result, the supply of such legal low-rent houses can not meet the demand of the market, and the government may have the responsibility to build these houses in order to satisfy such needs.

(b) Government's support on the employment and re-employment of original villagers

1) Setting up special institutions, for example, employment guidance and service center for original villagers, to give guidance and support for villagers on employment and re-employment;

2) Encouraging original villagers to join employment and re-employment training and strengthen their competitive abilities;

3) Organizing villagers who wish to obtain employment to join employment and re-employment training and strengthen their competitive abilities;

4) Exploring commonweal employment positions inside "villages" communities or in a larger scope that preferentially admit original villagers;

5) Establishing multi-levels (municipal, district and block) special employment funds for villagers' employment issues and encouraging original villagers to obtain

employment or to start own business.

(c) Comprehensive improvement and pivot transformation

A comprehensive improvement will not involve any new construction of buildings except for a few municipal public facilities, rather, it will adopt various means to improve the living environment in "villages" including the external looking of buildings, public space, public facilities, and municipal facilities. Compared with reconstructing in another place, overall reconstruction or partial reconstructions, this kind of transformation helps to transform "villages" into living communities with comprehensive auxiliary facilities and completely changes the living environment for villagers, and as a result, these communities can better harmonize with city environment. Furthermore, this can effectively improve living conditions for the floating population whereas the living cost does not increase dramatically.

A pivot transformation aims at "villages" that have great impacts on the improvement of overall city structure and pivot functions:

1) "Villages" that affect the overall city environment, the pivot is the "villages" inside the range of first-class water resource protected area (*Table 5-4*);

2) "Villages" that affect the improvement of city industrial structure;

1. "Villages" located in the central area of city, district and housing cluster;

2. "Villages" inside high-tech industrial zone;

3. "Villages" inside port-pivot-type logistic parks

3) "Villages" that have direct impacts on subway traffic points, including area inside the 200 meters range of subway stations (high intensity transformed area) and 200-500 meters range surrounding these stations (medium intensity transformed area).

4) "Villages" that affect the overall city image

1. "Villages" in the key sight areas;

2. "Villages" inside the 100 meters range on both sides of the key sight axes;

3. "Villages" in other important sight areas

Table 5-4: List of reconstruction of “villages” in Shenzhen

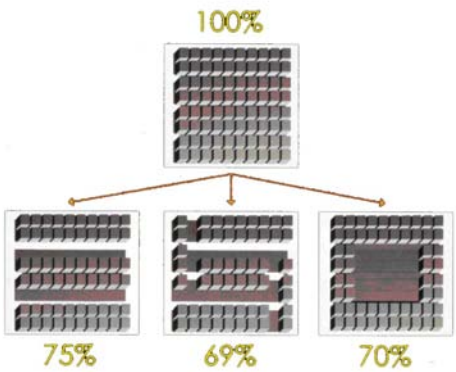
List	Shenzhen Special Economic Zone		Shenzhen City	
	Plot area (km^2)	Number	Plot area (km^2)	Number
First class water resource protected area	28.56	3	245.57	19
Area surrounding subway stations	181.24	31	696.08	56
Logistic parks	25.26	11	55.4	14
Inside high-tech zones	24.01	3	284.52	23
Central area and secondary central area	10.15	1	416.4	20
Key sights	124.59	30	717.66	73
Summation of various kind of "villages"	393.81	71	2311.63	199
Total	802.18	127	9202.94	345

(Source: China Academy of Urban Planning & Design Shenzhen)

5.2.2.3 Case Study Using a Soft Way

Compared with “hard reconstruction” such as one-off overall reconstruction and cycling reconstruction, a “soft reconstruction”[4] adjusting transformation for instance, is more reasonable and practical, under the condition of unaffordable substantive transformation cost and drastic interest conflicts between the government and villagers.

Take the dense model as an example, in order to improve the spacing and to comply with fire code



(Source: URBANUS Architecture and Design 2006, 15, reedited by the author)

Plate 5-13: The dense model

[4] Compared to “hard reconstruction”, which advocates large scale material reconstruction, denies the cultural values, and separates city functions, the characters of “soft reconstruction” include that, the importance of participation of community, the protection of historical relics, the thinking of substantial development, etc. In one word, “soft reconstruction” emphasizes on planning and designing change from simplex material environment to comprehensive residential environment that integrating social, economic development planning and material environment improving planning.

requirement, the third and the sixth rows within an eight row grid are removed, which results in a 25% removal of total construction spaces. It allows the rest houses to maintain good spacing and to face the street. If the rate of demolition reaches 30%, better streets and gardens can be created (*Plate 5-13*). To ensure the maximum increase in value of the whole neighbourhood, some other measures should be introduced:

(a) Continuity of the street shops

Stitching and filling the unnecessary spaces between buildings, and making the ground and first floors continuous street shops will dramatically increase the property value of the villages;

(b) Increasing parking and green space

Underground and ground floor parking structures are built on a demolished house site, and in addition, garden and activity spaces are put on the roof of the parking garage;

(c) Turning the individual houses into a townhouse

Adding elevators and improving the house layout;

(d) Making full use of the roof top as a community activity space

Adjusting the relative floors of the roofs and combining them into a larger space: adding gardens and recreational facilities, the roof top can be transformed into a community activity space.

Step 1: Demolition

Carefully choosing the low quality, smaller and central located houses to demolish;

Step 2: Stitching

Stitching the clearance of the houses and making the dense individual houses into a townhouse;

Step 3: Infilling

Infilling the empty corners and edges with new houses, and adding elevators and corridors in the inner yards of the town-house;

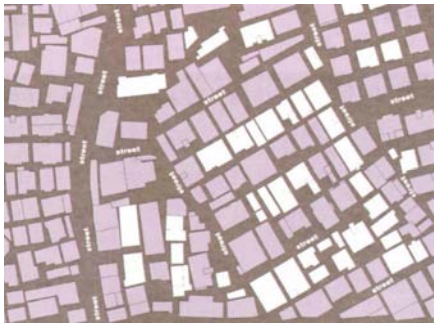
Step 4: Digging and refilling

Digging out the yard on first floor and build a 2-story parking garage and adding a roof top garden and social areas. Underground parking could be linked with adjacent parking garages;

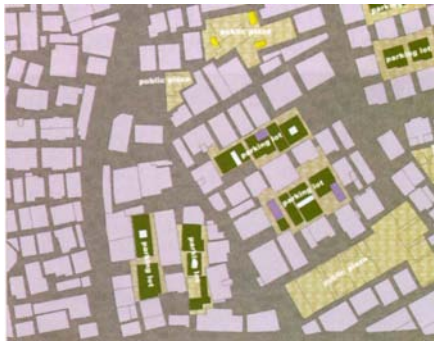
Step 5: Additions on the top

Creating additions on the 6-10 stories houses so that they are 9 stories tall on average, in order to turn the roof into a community area. It can then be bridged with other houses block roof tops (*Plates 5-14 and 5-15*).

Old view



Demolition

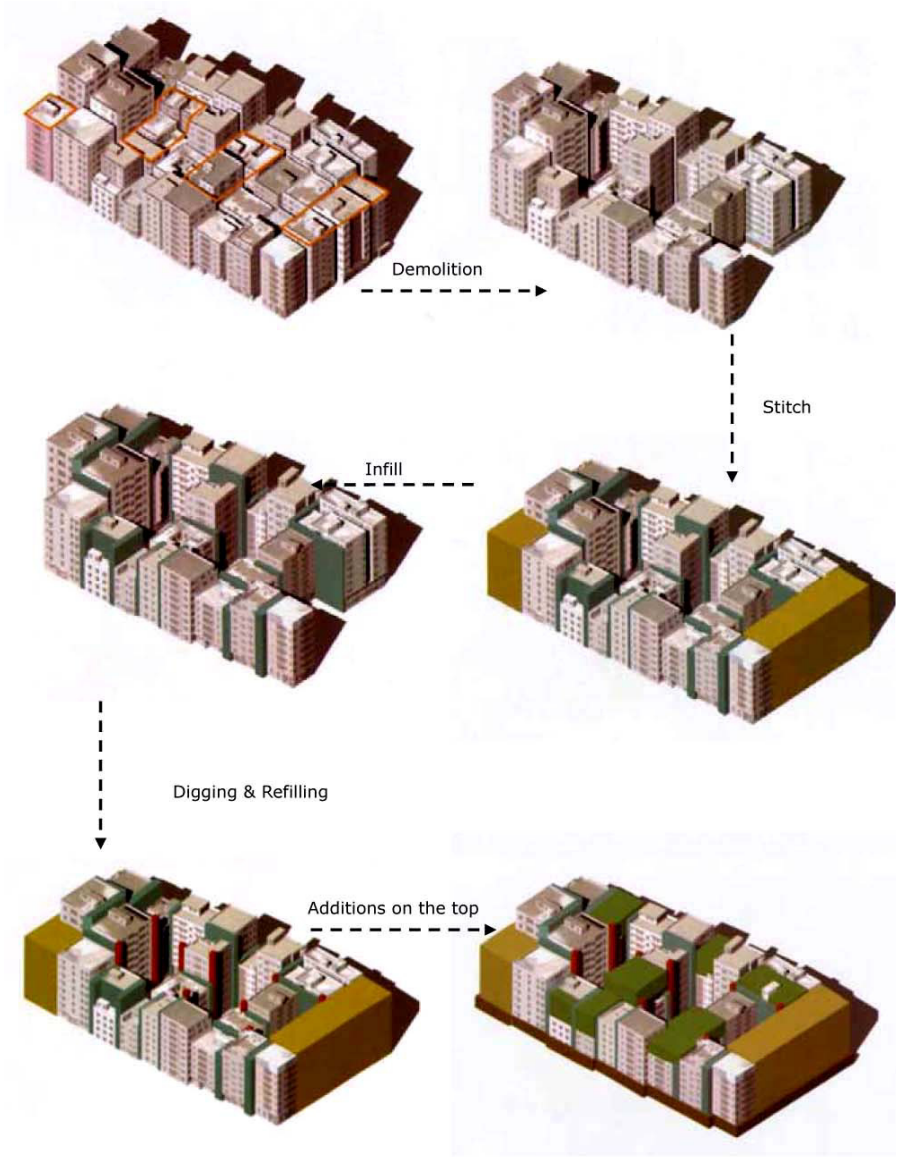


Filling

Adding

(Source: URBANUS Architecture and Design 2006, 28f)

Plate 5-14: Plans of renovation



(Source: *URBANUS Architecture and Design 2006*, 24f)

Plate 5-15: Renderings of renovation

(e) “Villages” in city merge into the city in a natural way

Goal 1: A clear defined space

The transformation will achieve an overall improvement of urban density and environmental quality. The dynamic rehabilitation will not increase floor area ratio.

It will cleanup the existing dense buildings and fragment public spaces; turn

the high density houses into sparser density multilevel townhouses; and lay out better defined and richer commercial streets, service roads, and courtyard type public spaces.

Goal 2: Vertical function zones

Vertical function zones can fulfil the needs of commercial and community activities. The ground floor and second floor can be used as street shops to make the ground floor a friendly scaled and active pedestrian street. The community activities are located in the inner courtyard garage roof, and on house roofs.

Goal 3: Maximum increase of property values

The transformation strategy will dramatically improve the commercial, houses, transportation and community facilities to gain the highest possible increase in property value.

Goal 4: Maintain traditional neighbourhood relationship

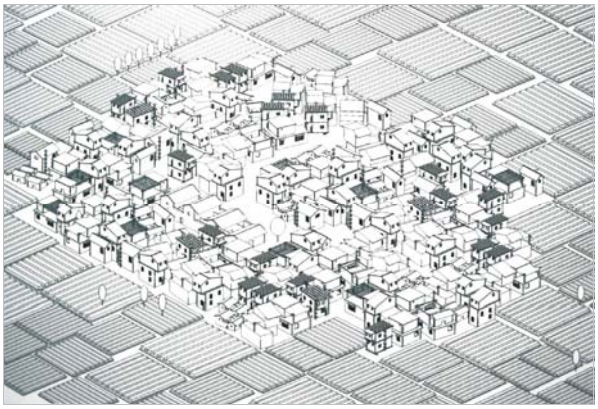
The rehabilitated houses will enable some villagers to keep the traditional life style and relationship in the “villages”. Other parts of the houses can be rent out under the management of the corporation, which will direct them into more modern urban economic activities.

Goal 5: Extend the urban context and energy

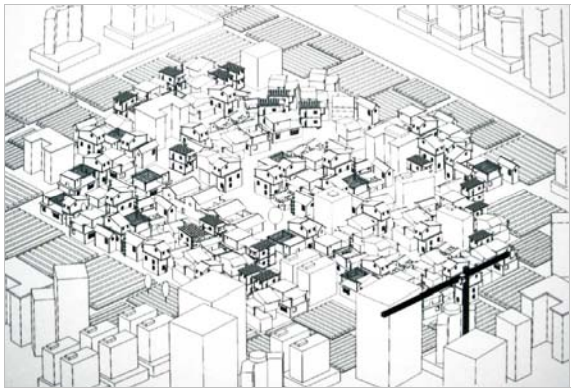
The dynamic rehabilitation of the “villages” in Shenzhen will transform its closed and chaotic space and building form. It also maintains the existing life style, spatial character and historical culture, which is indicative of a city with a progressive and sustainable development.

Summary

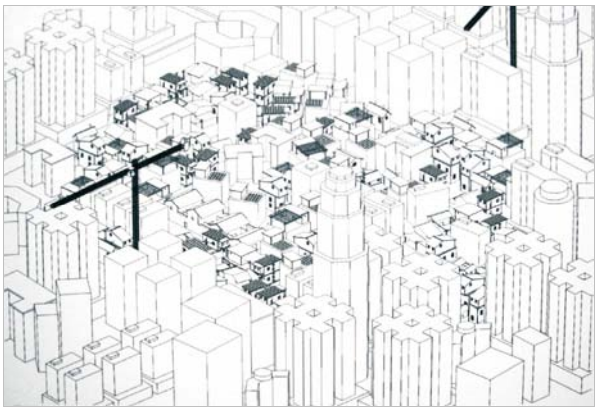
In "villages" that have already moved into city, the gap between the "swiftness" of the development of SSEZ and the "slowness" of government initiatives have resulted in various social problems: from the early illegal land selling, illegal collaborative house building, to the later large-scale house building that do not follow government regulations. The thorough urbanization of "villages" will be the end-result of development (*Figure 5-8*). At the same time, it is also a gradual history developing process. In 2005, 52.53 hectares land in "villages" has been transformed, and 1.1481 km^2 of construction area has been removed and reconstruction area is 1.9628 km^2 while new construction area is 0.8147 km^2. According



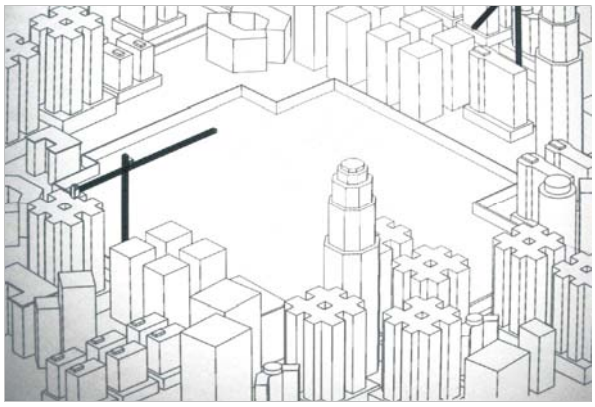
1. Natural village



2. Purchasing of land



3. Houses to rent of “village” in Shenzhen



4. The “village” after urbanization

(Source: Underline Office 2005)

Figure 5-8: The transformation process of natural village

to *Compendiums of Overall Layout of Rebuilding Village (the Original Villages) in Shenzhen (2005-2010)*, the total controlled transformation volume in each district in Shenzhen in the future 5 years are as follows: (*Table 5-5*)

Table 5-5: Reconstruct area of “villages” in Shenzhen in five years (unit: $x10^5$ m^2)

Data		Luohu District	Futian District	Nanshan District	Yantian District	Bao'an District	Longgang District	Total
Total plot area demolished		30	40	80	30	410	300	890
Total floor area demolished		80	130	200	40	400	300	1150
Total floor area rebuilt		145	190	365	110	1030	750	2590
Including	Residential floor area	100	125	310	90	920	670	2215
	Working floor area	15	35	20	5	10	5	90
	Commerical floor area	30	30	35	15	100	75	285
Total floor area for integrate renovation		570	540	520	60	860	820	3370

(Source: Compendiums of Overall Layout of Rebuilding Village (the Original Villages) in Shenzhen (2005-2010))

As a disadvantaged social group facing the possibility of losing interest at any time, "villages" depend on social network it is involved to obtain and protect its interest. Corporate community is the most reliable and effective organization to depend on for villagers entering into city, thus it has irreplaceable social functions. The possibility of organically transforming "villages" in Shenzhen is raised here, as another option besides overall removal adopted by the government.

Two points need to be specially brought forward:

1) The transformation of "villages" should not only transform the living pattern of villagers, but also change the social morphology of "villages" while avoiding unilateral transformation limited to house construction morphology. It should involve the transformation of social morphology such as city to accept floating population, especially low-income floating population, and to give guidance to villagers' employment issue;

2) Due to the differences among "villages", transformation plan should be drawn up according to the specific situation in each village. The scale of each transformation mode should comply with rational regulations and controls to maintain a healthy, coordinated and substantial development of social economy. Great pressure on city infrastructure and serious impacts on city public finance and

city real estate market that derived from improper transformation scale should be avoided.

"Villages" are typical phenomena reflecting the great urban-rural disparities in cities of China. It is predicted that there are 0.85 billion people who originally live in the rural area coming into cities. Among these people, 0.15 billion of them entering into cities by means of land-expropriated and the change in resident status, while 0.7 billion others joining city lives by leaving their land for a temporary work, or conducting a business. These two parts of people have different destinies due to the distance between their habitat and city. But usually they will live in the same area in the city: one party is the house owner while the other party is the lessee. Such area is just the "village". Therefore, the essential of "villages" problems is: how the city realizes the process of sharing urbanization harvest with villagers who lose their land (the original villagers in Shenzhen) and villagers who leave their land (the floating population).

Conclusion

During my academic study in "villages" in Shenzhen and in the search for the "reality" behind these disorder buildings, I felt shocked not only by the sight of thousands of buildings stacked up in a high density, neither by the legends happened in these habitats of floating population, nor by the negative phenomena and problems criticized by the government and the medias related to these legends, but also by the various survival and transformational rules indicating the peculiar logics of operation of "villages" corporative community, and the significance embedded in these rules that possess historical value.

In the history of "villages" in Shenzhen, rich traditional cultural resources that are directly related to the folk life in urban corporate community still exist today, synchronously agricultural economy of urban corporate community is transformed into joint-stock economy, and natural villages are transformed into "heterogeneous" space of city.

As a corporate community that possesses history culture, social relationship network, rich and different resources and capitals become the primary resort for the persistence of traditional culture of corporate fields. Pierre Bourdieu's field theory has great significance in observing and analyzing the transformation and persistence process of "villages" in Shenzhen under the urbanization.

The most significant fact in the modern social transition is that modern societies have surpassed traditional societies, and cities have surpassed the country. Weber, Durkheim, Tönnies, Simmel and others devoted themselves to cultivating the essence of social transition. The most influential theory to observe and analyze it is the two-tiered approach of ideal type. Tönnies made distinction between"Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft", Durkheim distinguished "mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity", and Redfield analyzed "folk society and urban society". In those classical theories, the former transit to the later is considered to be a general rule of transition from traditional society to modern society, and from traditional community to modern community.

However, ever since Redfield used the dependent relationship and interactive

framework of “great tradition” and “little tradition” to explain various complicated phenomena in the transition from tradition to modern in 1950s, he suggested that a folk-urban continuum can be formed in the transition from folk society to urban society. “Both terms, ‘city’ and ‘country’, are not and have never been limited or restricted to their obvious denotations: ‘city’ is not and has never been only urban. As a category it always encompasses (includes, embodies, embraces) itself and its opposite, the country” (Hassenpflug 2002, 46). Generally, social groups and culture characterized by weak “potential” will take their own “little tradition” as “bridge” and agency, in order to enter or melt themselves into a “great tradition“ that embodies great “potential” to seek for space to live and develop. There are many different types of transitions that villagers enter and get melt into “great tradition” through their individual “little tradition”. There are exploration and development of traditional resources in “segmentation”, such as the frequent relation between a great flow of peasants to cities and the network of kinship, and of earthbound relations; alternatively, there are assistances and utilization of resources of a whole corporate network, such as the traditional corporate community’s organization of local resources during the process of non-agriculturization of villages; and “villages” in Shenzhen is of the latter situation.

The network of organization of corporate community is the most important social space for many “little traditions” to depend on in villagers' social lives. Besides, no matter what theories it is based on, such as the “cultural network of power” mentioned by Prasenjit Duara in his research on villages in northern China, or “differential mode of association” by Fei Xiaotong or “spider-net-like” interpersonal relationship pattern which is raised by Zhuang Kongshao in the tracking study in Huang Village, or the opinion by Yan Yunxiang in his research on anthropology where relation network was supposed to be both a game of power and a manner of living (Duara 1988; Fei Xiaotong 1985; Zhuang Kongshao 1999), they all indicate that “villages” have gone through a long history, every kind of civil benefits and civil rights need to depend on this corporate network. The corporate community as a field contains much motivation and many resources for the development of society and the evolution of human (Lan Yuyun 2005). Through the baptize of marketization and urbanization, the network of organization of corporate

community is penetrated with rationalized spirit, and its function of “protection” and “restraint” gets weaker, yet it is still owned by members in the groups and is the single most important social resource they can utilize and depend on. Ever since the Reform and Opening-up, villagers as the most fragile social group in social structure, have been using their own social resources as the unique effective and convenient agent to enter city lives, and actually the resources also consist of the most effective and convenient agent in all social lives. For villagers, the network of relation in a “village” is most significant and is the living scene where they make their living and development, so corporate community is no doubt the social space that they can provide by utilizing the most important resource “social capital”. *“social capital… is created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action…social capital is an important resource for individuals and can greatly affect their ability to act and their perceived quality of life”* (Coleman 1990,304ff). Those can explain the reasons why traditional culture characters as important social resources in “villages” in Shenzhen still retain now, although their geographical locations have “moved” into the city.

“An agrestic village is composed with consanguinity, relative, geography, clan, folk beliefs, customs and other deep social nets connecting together, its finality cannot be settled easily by non-industry and industrialization” (Li Peilin 2002). There are conflicts between different interest groups (government of city, real estate businessmen and villagers), and also there are various impacts among different cultures (traditional culture and modern culture) during the process. More importantly, Chinese traditional rural cultures are decaying and even disappearing, which is then bring out the loss of spirit.

The following conclusion can be made based on the above analyses: urban corporate community formed in the process of non-agricultural development and urbanization is an organizing dependency on which villagers melt into city and adapt to urban life. The unique inner-structure and function determine that comparing with other organizations, it has a better performance, efficiency and more humanity care. Firstly, corporate community which is re-organized in the non-agricultural process currently is the only and the most effective organizational resources that can be utilized and has significant meanings in protecting villagers’

interest and benefit; secondly, in the short term, other approaches do not have the advantage and the effect as urban corporate community has on the focusing degree of public affairs in the comprehensive urbanization process; thirdly, the "new" key connotation of urban corporate community, including its community management functions, is the main reason for which such community has the rationality of being; fourthly, urban corporate community will inevitably face many problems in the urbanization due to its inner fixed characteristics (lack of external support), but to a certain degree it has the ability to self-repair and problem solving under the precondition that, the government and society have a fair, impersonal view of "villages", and base on this view providing multi-supports, especially providing rational system arrangement and policy supports.

Consequently, in order to preserve and protect social system and cultural heritage within the “villages”, and gradually make the coordinative development of “great tradition” represented by cities and of “little tradition” represented by “villages”, “soft reconstruction” rather than “hard reconstruction” should be adopted by the government, during the recent reconstruction of “villages” in Shenzhen.

Zusammenfassung

Während meiner Forschungen in den Dörfern in Shenzen und der Suche nach dem realen Leben in diesen ungeordneten Siedlungen war ich schockiert, nicht nur in Anbetracht der Menge der Gebäude, die in hoher Dichte neu errichtet wurden, oder der Erzählungen der „Floating population“ in diesen Siedlungen und der Phänomene und Probleme, die von der Regierung und den Medien kritisiert werden, sondern auch über die Vielzahl der Überlebens- und Transformationsregeln, die in der eigenen Logik der Dorfgemeinschaft enthalten sind und die tief in der Geschichte der Dörfer verwurzelt sind.

In den Dörfern in Shenzhen existieren bis heute viele traditionelle kulturelle Ressourcen, die direkt Bezug nehmen auf das Alltagsleben in der städtischen Gemeinschaft. Gleichzeitig wird die landwirtschaftlich geprägte Wirtschaft der städtischen Gemeinschaft in eine „joint-stock“-Wirtschaft transformiert und traditionelle Dörfer werden zu heterogenen Stadträumen.

In einer Gemeinschaft, die ein reiches kulturelles Erbe besitzt, sind die Netzwerke der sozialen Beziehungen und vielfältige Ressourcen die Hauptquellen zur Erhaltung der traditionellen Kultur. Die „Feldtheorie“ von Pierre Bourdieu hat eine große Bedeutung in der Beobachtung und Analyse der Transformations- und Erhaltungsprozesse in den Dörfern in Shenzen.

Der wichtigste Faktor in den modernen sozialen Veränderungen ist die Tatsache, dass die Moderne die Tradition und die Städte die ruralen Räume überholen. Weber, Durkheim, Tönnies, Simmel und andere haben über diese sozialen Veränderungen geforscht. Die einflussreichste Theorie der Beobachtung und Analyse ist der zweistufige Idealtyp-Ansatz. Tönnies unterschied zwischen „Gemeinschaft“ und „Gesellschaft“, Durkheim sah Unterschiede zwischen „mechanischer Solidarität“ und „organischer Solidarität“ und Redfield analysierte die Landbevölkerung und die Stadtbevölkerung. Grundansatz dieser klassischen Theorien ist die Transformation von einer traditionellen zu einer modernen

Gesellschaft und von einer traditionellen Gemeinschaft zu einer modernen Gemeinschaft.

Wie dem auch sei, seit Redfield das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis und den interaktiven Rahmen von „great tradition“ und „little tradition“ benutzt hat, um komplizierte Transitionsphänomene von der Tradition zur Moderne zu erklären, schlug er die Existenz eines Land-Stadt-Kontinuums vor, dass bei dem Wechsel von einer ländlichen zur einer städtischen Gesellschaft entstehen kann. Beide Begriffe, „Stadt“ und „Land“ sind nicht und waren niemals beschränkt auf ihre offensichtliche Bedeutung: „Stadt“ ist nicht und war nie nur auf das urbane beschränkt. Als Kategorie enthielt „Stadt“ immer sich selbst und auch das Gegenteil, das „Land“ (Hassenpflug 2002, 46). Im Allgemeinen werden soziale Gruppen, die durch schwaches „Potenzial“ gekennzeichnet sind, ihre eigene „little tradition“ als Brücke oder Mittel nutzen, um in eine „great tradition“ einzutreten, die ein großes „Potenzial“ zur Suche nach Raum zum Leben und zu Entwickeln besitzt. Es gibt viele unterschiedliche Erscheinungsformen, wenn Dorfbewohner durch ihre eigene „little tradition“ in eine „great tradition“ eintreten und sich vermischen.

Es gibt die Entdeckung und Entwicklung traditioneller Ressourcen der „Segmentation“, wie z.B. die enge Verbindung zwischen den großen Strömen von Bauern, die in Richtung der Städte ziehen und dem Verwandtschafts-Netzwerk und „Earthbound“-Verhältnissen. Andererseits gibt es auch die Unterstützung und Nutzung der Ressourcen eines kompletten “Corporate”-Netzwerks wie die traditionelle Organisation der Dorfgemeinschaft während der Prozesse der De-Agrarisierung von Dörfern; und in den Dörfern in Shenzhen existiert diese Situation.

Das Netzwerk der Organisation der Gemeinschaft ist der wichtigste soziale Raum für viele „little traditions“, von denen das soziale Leben der Dorfbewohner abhängt. Egal welche der Theorien betrachtet werden, wie z.B. das „kulturelle Netzwerk der Macht“ dass Prasenjit Duara in seinen Forschungen über die Dörfer in Nord-China beschrieb, oder die unterschiedlichen Formen der Vereinigung von Fei Xiaotong, die

„spinnennetz-artigen“ persönlichen Verhaltensmuster, die von Zhuang Kongshao in seiner Feldstudie über Huang Village beschrieben werden oder die Anthropologie-Untersuchungen von Yan Yunxiang, in denen Beziehungsnetzwerke als Machtspiele und Lebensweise beschrieben werden (Duara 1988, Fei Xiaotong 1985; Zhuang Kongshao 1999); alle gehen davon aus, dass die Dörfer durch einen langen historischen Prozess gegangen sind und alle Formen der zivilen Benefits und Rechte von diesem Gemeinschaftsnetzwerk abhängen müssen. Die Gemeinschaft als Handlungsraum enthält viele Motivationen und Ressourcen für die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft und die humane Evolution (Lan Yuyun 2005).Durch die Entwicklung der Marktwirtschaft und dem Urbanisierungsprozess dringt „rationaler Geist“ in das Netzwerk der Gemeinschaft ein und die Funktionen des „Schutzes“ und „Einschränkung“ werden schwächer, aber sind immer noch im Besitz der Gruppenmitglieder und sind die wichtigste soziale Ressource, auf die sie sich verlassen können und die sie nutzen können. Seit der Reform und der Öffnung haben die Dorfbewohner als die schwächste soziale Gruppe ihre eigenen sozialen Ressourcen genutzt, um so Zugang zum Stadtleben zu erlangen.

Für die Dorfbewohner ist das wichtigste Beziehungsnetzwerk das in ihrem Dorf. Die Gemeinschaft ist deshalb zweifellos der soziale Raum, der sie mit der wichtigsten Ressource „Social capital“ versorgt. “social capital… is created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action…social capital is an important resource for individuals and can greatly affect their ability to act and their perceived quality of life” (Coleman 1990, 304ff). Das erklärt, warum die traditionelle Kultur weiterhin wichtige soziale Ressource in den Dörfern in Shenzhen ist, auch wenn ihr geographischer Ort nun in die Stadt „gezogen“ ist.

“An agrestic village is composed with consanguinity, relative, geography, clan, folk beliefs, customs and other deep social nets connecting together, its finality cannot be settled easily by non-industry and industrialization” (Li Peilin 2002).Nicht nur die Konflikte zwischen den unterschiedlichen Interessensgruppen (Stadtregierung, Immobilienunternehmern und Dorfbewohner), sondern auch die Einflüsse der unterschiedlichen Kulturen (traditionelle und moderne Kultur) während dieser

Prozesse führen zu einem allmählichen Verlust der traditionellen chinesischen ländlichen Kultur.

Die oben dargestellten Ausführungen ergeben folgende Schlussfolgerungen: Die städtische Gemeinschaft, die im Prozess der De-Agrarisierung und Urbanisierung geformt wurde ist ein Faktor, der dazu führt, dass die Dorfbewohner mit der Stadt „verschmelzen“ und das Stadtleben adaptieren. Im Vergleich zu anderen Organisationsstrukturen führt die besondere innere Struktur und Funktion zu dieser Verschmelzung: Es gibt eine bessere Performance, höhere Effektivität und mehr Fürsorge. Erstens ist die Gemeinschaft, die im De-Agrarisierungsprozesse reorganisiert wird, momentan die einzige und effektivste Organisations-Ressource, die genutzt werden kann und die eine wichtige Bedeutung für den Schutz der Interessen der Dorfbewohner hat. Zweitens haben andere Ansätze kurzfristig nicht die Vorteile und Effekte, die städtische Gemeinschaft in Bezug auf die öffentlichen Angelegenheiten im gesamten Urbanisierungsprozess haben. Drittens liegt die neue Schlüsselbedeutung der städtischen Gemeinschaft in ihren Managementfunktionen. Viertens stehen die städtischen Gemeinschaften zwar zweifellos vor vielen Problemen im Rahmen des Urbanisierungsprozesses aufgrund ihrer inneren Strukturen (fehlende Unterstützung von außen), aber zu einem gewissen Grad haben sie die Möglichkeit zur Selbstreparatur und zum Problem-Lösen unter der Vorrausetzung, dass die Regierung und die Gesellschaft eine fairen, unpersönlichen Blick auf die Dörfer haben und in Folge dessen unterschiedliche Unterstützung bereitstellen, vor allem in bezug auf rationale „System-Arrangements“ und politischer Unterstützung.

Konsequenterweise sollte zur Erhaltung und zum Schutz des sozialen Systems und des kulturellen Erbes in den Dörfern, sowie zur stufenweise koordinierten Entwicklung der „great tradition“ der Städte und der „little tradition“ der Dörfer eher „soft reconstruction“ anstatt „hard reconstruction“ von der Regierung beim Wiederaufbau der Dörfer in Shenzhen angewandt werden.

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Glossary

Pinyin	Chinese	English
Chengshi cunshe gongtongti	城市村社共同体	Urban corporate community
Chuantong cunshe gongtongti	传统村社共同体	Traditional corporate community
Cunban qiye	村办企业	Village-owned and managed enterprise
Cunji	村籍	Village citizenship
Cunmin weiyuanhui	村民委员会	Village committee
Cunmin xiaozu	村民小组	Village small groups
Cunshe gongtongti	村社共同体	Corporate community
Diyuan guanxi	地缘关系	Earthbound relations
Feinong hukou	非农户口	Non-agricultural household registration
Getihu	个体户	Individual enterprise/entrepreneur
Gufen gongsi	股份公司	Joint-stock company
Hukou	户口	Household registration
Jiazu	家族	Kindred group
Jiti jingji	集体经济	Collective economies
Jumin weiyuanhui	居民委员会	Resident committee
Liudong renkou	流动人口	Floating population
Mingong	民工	Peasant worker
Mu	亩	Land measurement, equal to 0.0667 hectares
Nong zhuan fei	农转非	Transferring from agricultural to non-agricultural household registration
Sanlai yibu	三来一补	Three arrivals and one supply
Xian	县	County
Xiang	乡	A sub-county district, formerly a commune
Xiangtu Guannian	乡土观念	Parochialism
Xingzheng cun	行政村	Administrative village
Ye yuan	业缘	Occupation relation
Zhai jidi	宅基地	House sites
Ziran cun	自然村	Natural village
Zongzu	宗族	Lineage group

Attached Plate: Important events of “villages”

Time	Government policies	Current situation				
		Economy and administration	Land		Construction	Market
			New village land	Land for collective development		
		Collective rural economy. Village's committee self-governing. Villagers gradually change the living pattern from agriculture-dominated to depending on income from renting houses and collective properties.		The government expropriates scattered rural land by means of projects.	Small-scale self-constructing private houses, less expropriated lands and most villagers build houses according to regulations.	Villagers build houses mainly for own use, low-rent market has not yet established.
1982	Issue *Interim Regulations of Building Land of Villagers in Cooperations in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone* and make it a rule that each family can have 150m^2 land for house building, and house site cannot exceed 80 m^2.		Gradually draw up red line for new village land use			
1984						The fast growing economy attracts massive labour forces, low-rent houses market is established and demand exceeds supply.
1986	Issue *Notice of Further Reinforcement of Farmland layout in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*		New village red line basically defined.		Villagers increase the pace of preempting land for private houses construction, this period of preemption is relatively conservative and the duration is long and houses are generally lower than 5 stories.	
1989	Issue *Provisions of Land Requisition in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*			The government uniformly expropriates all collective lands and gradually transfer collective land use without any compensation		
1992	Join-stock company established	Villagers become urban citizen, village's committee transformed into residents committee, product teams transformed into join-stock companies				
1994	City planning land and resources departments terminate approving private houses construction.				Preemptively building private houses begin to expand and as high as 7-8 stories.	Supply and demand in balance, market competition becomes more severe.
1996	Determine stock split in the join-stock companies.	Income and dividend of join-stock company and villagers' income tend to be stable				Economy worsen, need less than demand.
1999	Issue *Decisions on Prohibition Against Illegal Construction by Standing Committee of Shenzhen People's Representatives Meeting*				Large-scale preemptive construction break out and this tendency last about two years, private houses commonly above 8 stories, "villages" structure primarily established	Market supply increase by years, but demand still exceed supply, rent level steadily rise.
2002	Issue *Provisions on Management of Illegal Constructions of Production Operations Left Behind History in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone*				Vicious preemptive construction, private house above 10 or even 15 begin to emerge	Market demand basically steady, supply go on increasing, rent-level remain steady.

Notes: this chart adopts annalistic method to summarize important evens and the marking of each stage in the development process of "villages". Lengthways direction refers to the stage marking the specific content. Grey thin lines refer to breadthways time relationship and red thick lines refer to the marking of stages.

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Weimar, 05.04. 2006

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