

The Invisible Driver: A Case on Urban-Clan in the Contemporary Urbanizing China

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Abstract

Contrary to the popular myth that clans, as traditional Chinese rural organizations, have been almost extinct in the process of urbanization, the clans in Shenzhen actually flourish. Thanks to the reform and opening-up policy, this international metropolis boasts clans which have successfully obtained unique existence and revitalization. As one of typical urban-clans in Shenzhen, Wen clan in Gangxia village experienced the reconstruction of the clan's land under the external political pressure. In the cruel process of reconstruction, the authority of clan was challenged strongly. In today's society, socialist market economy is developing day by day. Wen clan of Gangxia village revived due to the reconstruction of old city. However, the main economy control function of the clan has been replaced by a limited company; cultural function of the clan, the clan association. We can think the clan has declined after suffering from the dreariness and reconstruction in in the urbanization process from this perspective. But we can also think the clan doesn't disappear in the Chinese cities, it just continues to interact with the city in another form from another perspective.

Keywords: China, Urbanization, clan

1. Introduction

China is experiencing the urbanization process in large scale. The Chinese urban population has reached 771,16 million by the end of 2015 while the number of Chinese urban population was 437,48 million by the end of 1999. That means, stepping in the new century, China's urban population almost doubled in just over a decade (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, October 9, 2017). The rapid urbanization resulted in inevitably a large number of villages disappeared in the modernization drive, most of which transformed into one part of the city. The clan, which once had a deep bench of terrorists and an infrastructure in the villages, also had to live through trials and hardship in the urbanization (Sun, 2003). The special group "Urban-clan" was born out of this social trend. In 1990s, David Faure, the chair professor of history studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and Helen Siu, the professor of anthropology studies of Yale University advocated the His-anthropology theoretical paradigm in the research of Chinese society and clan in China. According to their points, the clan is essential in Chinese studies, we can try to see the evolution of society through the evolution of clan (Faure & Siu, 1995). The changes of the urban-clans in China is a microcosm of China's transformation process of urbanization.

1.1 Literature review

In the field of the study about the clan in Chinese society, the name of Maurice Freedman is difficult to be ignored. Since the 1940s or the 1950s, the basic cognition about the clan society has been established in the Western sinology. On the basis of the form of the clan society in Africa, the western sinologists regard the clans whose basic composition is blood relationship as the product from anarchy (Evans-Pritchard, 1940; Fortes & Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In fact, Scholars like Yueh-hwa Lin had made a lot of contributions in the field of Chinese clan before Maurice Freedman (Lin, 1947), the main contribution of Maurice Freedman is putting forward the basic frame of the theory of Chinese clan. Based on the research in China, especially in south China, Guangdong, Fujian and other places, Maurice Freedman discovered that though the places mentioned above were under the control of the central government, there are abnormally a great number of developed clan organizations. Therefore, Friedman in his writings *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* and *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* pointed out that the lineage can be considered as the buffer zone between the state government and the villages, it has a certain variability.

That is why since 1980s, Xianen Ye and other clan scholars focused on the clan issues like tax, servitude, fighting, legal system, regional development and so on in the region of pearl river delta of Guangdong (Tan & Ye, 1982; Ye, 2007; Liu, 1992). Some scholars, however, selected the north Fujian province as sites to unfold the exploration about the rural society economy, power, the structure evolvement and so on. (Zheng, 1985) The research above suggests that in traditional Chinese society the main function of clans is to control property. As the leading force in local society, clans map onto the economic development and resource allocation therein.

As regards research on clans and society, city-clan is discussed by very few scholars, which may result from the phenomenon that ancestral halls and rituals—two tokens of clan—are rarely seen in cities. Hugh D Baker, a city-clan scholar, believes that the development of urban clans comes across numerous restrictions, of which the toughest is the loss of clan fields. The property of a clan is based on fields. Clan members mainly profit from the investment returns yielded by these fields. That explains the main reason why urban clans can hardly sustain growth without clan fields. In addition, clans are no longer homogeneous in the urban context. The differences between clan members are caused by their careers and social status, which makes groups featuring hereditary fields impossible though they are very common in rural clans. Lastly, as urban populations are geographically mobile, clans have great difficulties in being stable (Baker, 1977).

However, more and more studies on urban clans mostly focus on the turn of the century with their resurgence and reconstruction, developmental trend and adaptive strategies for urbanization as the main issues (Dai & Zhang, 2014). It means that Chinese clans remain robust faced with today's rapid urbanization

Then the question is: With the fast pace of today's urbanization, how does urban clans survive when the clan field, clan's members and population were greatly impacted and how would they adjust to the current situation?

1.2 Research Objects and the Research Methods

This paper will present the development history of a clan in the urban region of the south China in the past ten years. It is Wen clan in Gangxia village. In the past few decades, Shenzhen has experienced a large-scale transformation of urbanization. Many Aboriginal villages are vanishing in the developing city. Gangxia village locates in the center business district (CBD) of Shenzhen. Wen clan dominates Gangxia village. Ten years ago, Gangxia is the name of a village. At present, Gangxia means one part of CBD of Shenzhen urban. At the same time, Wen clan proceeded the urbanization the variation process from "visible" to "invisible". In a sense, It is the epitome of countless urban clans in China. In other words, Wen clan is important in the urbanization of Shenzhen. The change of Wen clan is even demonstrative and meaningful for other big cities which are experiencing the urbanizing process in China.

The research methods applied in this paper includes but no limit to historical literature analysis and anthropological fieldwork.

2. Tracing Wen Clan's Root (before 1949)

In the earlier part of this century, you can easily feel the ambience of chaotic street life over the whole Gangxia village: continuous buildings shakes hand with each other; the ground floor of buildings crowded with low household stores and eateries; settlement of the second floor is more like ants generally crowded. There are many low and middle-income tenants, some of them are young white-collar workers, migrant workers and traders. All in all, Gangxia is a typical urban village. Here the high and low were mixed together. It is crowded, brightly-lit. The loud voice erupted this village any time. It was no-tiring Gangxia.

Just like most urban-villages in other places of China, Gangxia village is single-surname village. This means that, there are "invisible" influence exerted by the blood-relationship-based clan beyond the "visible" administrations from grass-root regulative organs like sub-district office and neighborhood committees. As a matter of fact, it is Wen clan that dominates the urban-village which seems a little barbarous. Wen, the strong clan, has a clan network throughout Shenzhen, Dongguan(another big city near to Shenzhen) and Hong Kong. In spite of the powerful clan background, Gangxia keeps a low profile for a long time in this bustling cosmopolitan city. Surprisingly, Gangxia is ultimately famous for gaining huge commercial profits during the urbanization due to the powerful Wen clan.

The media calls Wen clan as "the descendants of Tianxiang Wen", which is incorrect. As what is indicated by "the Song on Wen's Pedigree in Lingxia Village" which was reviewed by people of Wen's clan of Lingxia village at the end of Qing dynasty, Tianbi Wen, the brother of Tianxiang Wen is the real ancestor of Wen clan of Bao'an country, for the song sings: "Our ancestor is Tianbi Wen, Zhongxun(the second generation), Yinglin(the third generation) and Ruolong(the forth generation)"(Guo, 2002). According to County Records of Dongguan and County Records of Xinan of Chongzhen edition in Ming dynasty, Yinglin Wen ,the grandson of Tianxiang Wen has gone into seclusion in the eastern of Guangdong province since Jingding period of Yuan dynasty. However, Tianxiang Wen, the famous official loyal to his sovereign in the southern Song dynasty even paid a visit to Inner Lingding Island, Bao'an country(the old name of Shenzhen, Dongguan and Hong Kong regions in Qing dynasty) for his was captured by Hongfan Zhang(he became general of Yuan dynasty later) at that time. When he passed by the Inner Lingding ocean, the Pearl River estuary, he wrote the well-known poems: "A death befalls all men alike, I'll keep a loyal heart to make a name in history!" It seems that it is reasonable to think Wen clan of Bao'an country as "the descendants of Tianxiang Wen". Tianxiang Wen is so famous that even the people of Wen's clan are happy to proclaim themselves "the descendants of Tianxiang Wen".

Standing in this modern city, on behalf of the traditional clan, the force of Wen clan is strong. There are

seven branches in Wen clan of Bao'an in the eastern of Guangdong province, Wen clan of Gangxia is just one branch of them. "the Song on Wen's Pedigree in Lingxia Village" points out that the first men who settled down in Bao'an country, the east part of Guangdong are Gengjie Wen and his wife in Yuan dynasty. From then on, Wen clan multiplied and split into seven branches gradually. Also, we can find the records about the seven branches of Wen clan of Bao'an in another historical file "A Study of the Origin and Development of Wen clan of Bao'an (made by Wen clan of Taiheng village, Hong Kong)". Wen clany in Bao'an District of Shenzhen had seven branches distributed in Hong Kong's Xintian village and Shenzhen's Baomei village, Shanmen village and Shanwei village and so on. The burial grounds that located in Songgang, Shenzhen is still under the control of Bao'an Wen clan. As public assets, burial grounds in Songgang are shared by seven branches equally, Gangxia Wen clan is no exception.

Gangxia Wen clan and Taiheng Wen clan in Lok Ma Chau in Hong Kong are one branch. Therefore they followed the same tradition. A custom of endogamy made the clan a relatively secluded and stable settlement that was immune to outsiders. According to the statement of people in Gnagxia Wen clan, Taiheng Wen clan is a big clan who is good at using the means of iron fist. "Taiheng village is incorporated villages, it consists of three unincorporated villages; Xintian village consists of six unincorporated ones. There is village office in Taiheng village while there is rural committee in Xintian. Taiheng and Xintian control thirties villages of Wen clan in the New Territories together. Each village has an ancestral hall, which is made up of a member who from Wen clan and a resident from alien clan"(Wan, December 4,2014). To James L. Watson, the famous anthropologist's minds, Wen clan in the New Territories has a strong ability in property control. After the field work on Wen clan in the New Territories in the 1960s, Watson discovered that Wen clan was a great landlord. In the past centuries, Wen clan have worked hard with family businesses from generation to generation. Wen clan owned one hundred and twenty-six parcels in the New Territories and 65% earth in Sha Tin district in the early 20th century. Wen clan controls hundreds of acres of land in the name of the core ancestor hall. The lands under the name of core ancestral hall are administrated by three big ancestor halls. Each of them has produced affiliated ancestor halls which own some part of the clan's property. By that analogy, A strict system of land control of ancestral halls has been formed, which continues today (Watson, 2003).

Despite of the gap of river between Shenzhen and Hong Kong, Gangxia village and Taiheng interacted with each other frequently and the friendship between the two villages became solid more and more. As what the people of Gangxia Wen clan recalled, they were three or four years old before 1949. At that time, "we went to the fairs by following our parents at every three, six and night. Villagers of Gangxia usually went to fairs in Hong Kong. Before 1949, we often went to Hong Kong's fairs"(Wan, 2014) In order to maintain the clan, these two villages also set up a clansmen association, which still regularly held various clan activities, such as the collective activity of sympathy for the old at the seventh day of the first lunar month held in Taiheng village. Every year the clansmen association invites 700-800 old men in these two villages to attend the dinner, as an expression of respect for older senior citizens. Gangxia village keep in close touch with Taiheng village via jointing activities held by the clansmen association.

3. A Declining Urban-clan (1949-1980s)

In spite of the title "the Descendants of a Famous Official", Gangxia Wen clan almost declined after 1949. Gangxia village has been relatively unknown for more than half a century, although it has xtensive clan networks and powerful clan support.

So different from the powerful Taiheng Wen clan of the same branch, the land foundation of Gangxia Wen clan experienced breaking-in the Land-reform Movement which began in 1960s and lasted for about twenty years. Gangxia Wen clan preserved the its land in this movement. However, it's noticed that the underlying structure of land distribution has undergone a fundamental change from then on. "The border of Gangxia village didn't change, the scale of Gangxia didn't change. Only the portion of land which was distributed to everyone changed.....All of the Gangxia's land has been redistributed to the individual" (Wan, 2014). That means, land-reform movement has greatly weakened clan's authority of disposing of the land.

After surviving from the structural reconstruction of clan's land, Wen clan of Gangxia had to face that its authority began to taper off during the period of the Great Cultural Revolution. According to the memories of the villagers of Gangxia, Mao's socialist beliefs took the place of the worship to ancestors after 1949:

Worship to ancestors were getting no longer popular among the villagers of Gangxia after the liberation. Most of the villagers in Gangxia, including my brothers insisted on expelling the ancestor's memorial tablets out of home.... After the liberation, the poor turned over. They weren't poor any longer, which made Chairman Mao a great people and his huge influence felt by local people. Therefore, Chairmen Mao were canonized by local residents gradually. Finally, Mao ,instead of ancestor, was adored and worshiped by villagers .In villagers' opinion, Mao was almighty, on the contrary, ancestors have limited ability.....As time goes by, people of Wen clan didn't talk about legends, ancestors or anything like that. Feudal superstitions can't be propagated (Wan, 2014).

Under this social background, even the seventy or eighty years of ages in Gangxia village still feel strange forward the stories of ancestor. “Seven branches” is nothing more than a fuzzy concept for most of them.

Adding to the clan’s woes, two-third of the men in the village have fled to Hong Kong or abroad in the duration of the Great Cultural Revolution. The loss of personnel meant that the foundation of the clan was gradually shaken. Since the 1950s, “Escaping from the Mainland China to Hong Kong” has become a popular trend among villagers in Shenzhen. At that time, one ballad in Bao’an country said, “night-tenth of the houses are empty universally; for the old and the children are at home, the youth has escaped to Hong Kong”.

This kind of behavior occurred due to the changes of social circumstances. The Great Cultural Revolution came to an end by 1970s, so that a large number of common people could get rid of both tangible political chains and invisible mental shackles. They were urgent to realize their own value of life. Stimulated by the discrepant individual income and distribution between Shenzhen and Hong Kong, villagers in Shenzhen began to escape to Hong Kong, the world of capitalism just across a river wildly. “(at that time) The villagers of Gangxia swarmed towards Hong Kong. Only if one or two villagers planned to Hong Kong, a lot of people responded. . . .two-third people has escaped to Hong Kong or aboard”, one seventy-year old villager of Wen clan said. He even escaped to Hong Kong by swimming across the sea between Shenzhen and Hong Kong. He can still see the scene of sea with typhoon.

The Wen clan of Gangxia also lost large tracts of clan fields. From the year of 1992 the private hills and fields were expropriated by the government at a low price and were transformed into the central park at that time. As of 2007 Gangxia village located in the central axis of the Futian district of Shenzhen, covered only 150,000 square meters of old houses and homesteads with one hundred thousand population, which paled in comparison with the 2,000 mu (1.3 million square meters) of paddy fields before liberation. The acreage of Gangxia in 1949 was several times of that in 2007. The old local villagers can speak on the change of the border of Gangxia with great familiarity:

(Looking at Figure 1) Bao’an, we are at the boundary of Bao’an district at present. . . .I am well familiar with the former Gangxia where there were many hills and mountains. The hill next to the tunnel of Meilin region still can be found, it is so great that it isn’t bulldozed yet when other around hills has been flattened. That position where the statue of Xiaoping Deng stands used to be a high mountain. . . .however, the height of the hill was cut down after it was flattened. Shenzhen futian Sheraton, Great China International Exchange Square, Fu Hua Road in Futian District used to be the portions of Gangxia village’s farmland. The parcel of Shisha that is on the verge of the border Xiangmi luke, including Bamboo Forest (zhuzi lin) also used to be one part of Gangxia village’s farmland. Are there a large canal near to Women’s and Children’s Hospital in Xinzhou region? Now the canal is in the possession of Yitian village. However, its past is Gangxia’s farmland in 1950s when Gangxia village was in the period of People Community Stage (Wan, 2014).

This interview record points out that the huge tracts of farmlands and hill areas of Gangxia village has been bordered by Fuhua Road and the canal in Tianmian region until 1970s. The farmland was often dominated by rice, sweet potatoes and peanuts. The hills and mountains were often occupied by litchis. The land status of Futian district where Gangxia village located in experienced a rapid change of land nature after 1984 due to the expropriation on farmer’s land. In this evolution about the land, the standard of compensation for local farmers’ plots in hills and mountains for private use was the income of crop’s five-year harvest in local region. For yields with poor crop, the standard of compensation might be lower. Homestead and old houses are transformed from rural collective land to industrial and commercial development land. In the middle of 1980s, the means on land’s expropriation mentioned above insured the government obtained the villagers’ private land for at a low price on the one hand; made use of the plots as factory buildings by the centralizing development of attracting businesses and investment on the other hand. In 1998, the Gangxia villagers’ private plots in hills and mountains were transformed into Lotus Hill Park and Bijia Hill Park successively after being expropriated at the low prices. Nothing remained in Gangxia village but homesteads and old houses. The map of the village has been drastically reduced.

The loss of material foundation also accelerated the collapse of spiritual basis. During the Great Cultural Revolution, ancestor worship was stigmatized as superstition, and then the Wen clan of Gangxia village gradually became a typical urban clan without ancestral halls and ancestral awareness in the 1990s. From the late 1950s to the end of the 1990s, the ancestral hall “Wu Fang Ci(the ancestral hall of five branches)”, built in Ging dynasty, was gradually abandoned in this four decades. “Wu Fang Ci” was built by Yi Wen’s five branches descendants. Yi Wen was the son of Cui Wen. Yi Wen had six sons. Cheng Wen, the eldest son had no descendants, so the descendants of Yi Wen was considered as “five branches descendants” and the hall named “Five Branches ancestral hall”. In the process of urbanization, this ancestral hall inevitably faced with the fate of being abandoned and demolished. According what Weiqiang Wen, the member of Wen clan said, “Wen’s ancestral hall of Gangxia village(Wu Fang Ci) was demolished in 1980s when the government imposed it. After the demolishing, villagers built a pavilion named “Wen Wei Ge”, the recreational center of Gangxia next to the

original site. According to the clan's stipulate, building house in the front of ancestral hall was forbidden. After the demolishing, villagers were allowed to build houses around the "Wen Wei Ge". The ancestral hall has been abandoned for a long time when demolished (Xie et al, 2015).

In the rapid vortex of urbanization, facing both of the clan's material and spiritual basis are weaken , the best choice for Gangxia village seems to button up one's mouth and keep silence, the same to the majority of other urban-clans in China.

4. The Revival (1990s-present)

The foundations of Gangxia joint-stock company and clan association ceased the declining of Gangxia Wen clan in 1990s. In 1985 the remaining clan fields and property were collected for the establishment of Gangxia village Enterprise co., LTD and later Gangxia village Wen Clan co., LTD. Though the management of capital stock bore the hallmark of a clan:

"(villagers) are not allowed to retreat from their positions. The share denomination could not be changed after confirmationThe behaviors like inheriting, buying and selling, hypothecating and transfer the possession of the individual stakes are forbidden. The stock equity is still owned by Gangxia village Enterprise co., LTD" (Xie & Guo, 2015).

Just like a kid who awakes from sleep recovers the toys which once belong to himself, Gangxia village Enterprise co., LTD released a clear signal about the recovery of the consciousness of the Wen clan via the construction of stock equity's distribution , management and moving in the frame of clan. In a certain sense, the share structure of the company shows a reference to Wen clan's land management structure of the New Territories: Collective accumulation of shares occupying the great 49% in the whole company equals to the core ancestral hall which dominates the main property of the clan; the regulation that the behaviors like inheriting, buying and selling, hypothecating and transfer the possession of the individual stakes are forbidden replicates the Wen clan's discipline that the land of the clan is not allowed to be sold to people with different family name. The main purpose of the regulation and the discipline mentioned above is to Preserve the clan's property integrally.

At the beginning of a new millennium, the transformation of the old houses and homesteads in Gangxia village was high on the agenda for Shenzhen's urbanization. The Shenzhen Municipal Government, the Futian District Government and the delegation from Jindi Parkway Real Estate Company frequently contacted Gangxia Village co., LTD to discuss matters concerned. An initial detailed "framework agreement" was eventually reached to guide the transformation of Gangxia village.

However, unlike the successful expropriation ten years ago, the reconstruction plan had a major impact upon the simple and weak economic & ecologic chain of the village. Before the government initiated reconstruction, the villagers in Gangxia village had taken advantages of rural homesteads to build clusters of "handshaking buildings" and rented them out. (The buildings are separated by only a meter or so and residents of neighboring blocks can reach out from their windows and high-five.) In the late 1980s, most buildings in Gangxia village had four storeys, and every family could receive a monthly rent of 3,000-4,000 yuan. As of 2014, this figure reached as high as more than 100,000 yuan one month for some villagers.

As early as 1992, together with the establishment of Gangxia Village Enterprise co., LTD, a clan association was founded by the Wen clan in Gangxia village and that in Taiheng of Hong Kong. In its initial period, the association was primarily responsible for organizing the villagers to an annual gathering on the seventh day of the first lunar month in village H of Hong Kong. The organizers would invite clan elders to the gathering and extend respect and care to them.

However, the reconstruction plan made by the Shenzhen Municipal Government turned the association into a highly cohesive interest group. Firstly, some clan members in Gangxi village explicitly protested against the previously signed "framework agreement" in light of the reconstruction examples of Yu'nong Village and CaiWuWei village. The transformation of these two locations had mainly employed the several-flats-with-one-staircase buildings that were similar to Hong Kong public housing as compensation for the housing removal. Built by cheap materials, these buildings fell in market value and thus directly damaged the villagers' interests. Therefore, clan members refused to accept this sort of relocation compensation stipulated in the framework agreement.

Additionally, the Wen clan in Gangxia village urged the government and the developers to reconstruct the low-commercial-value east zone of Gangxia village after the completion of the transformation of the high-commercial-value west zone, in a bid to maximize the profits brought by urbanization. This behavior embodied intense collectivism within the clan.

Meanwhile the Wen clan association in Gangxia village required that Gangxia Village co., LTD should enter into the negotiation on reconstruction as a partner of the real estate company and should end up constantly securing the dividend of "the West Zone of Gangxia Village Real Estate Project". In 2007, the Wen clan association in Gangxia village put forward a proposition based on a 2005 blueprint devised by the CPPCC committee of Futian District that the villagers could develop the land due to be expropriated through fund raising

and accomplish urbanization on their own. According to the proposition, 2,000 members of Wen clan in Gangxia village and other areas of Hong Kong and Macao would obtain 520 million yuan by means of fund raising and loans, and would finish the development of Shi Street in Heyuan districts within two years. Once the objective was achieved, S street would boast 300,000 square meters of residence and the developers could cash out about 9 billion yuan. Every villager who had donated more than 10,000 yuan would get a 1.5-million-yuan cash return and his shares in the company.

The Wen clan association in Gangxia village even envisioned a pattern of capital operation that went beyond the limit of the clan, so that more indigenous people could gravitate to the consortium. According to another fund-raising plan proposed by the Wen clan association, the villagers could buy shares which were equivalent to the market value of their housing area, while the clan members without a local house, such as Hong Kong and overseas dwellers, could purchase shares with RMB. The price of per share was 100,000 yuan with a purchase ceiling of 20 million yuan (The Wen clan association in Gangxia village, 2007). The same was true of the indigenous villagers in other villages. For example, if one-square-meter housing area was valued at 20,000 yuan, a 4,000-square-meter building owned by a villager was equivalent to market value of 80 million yuan. On completion of the reconstruction, the villager could only get back a 3,000-square-meter building while the rest (i.e. 1,000-square-meter area or 20 million yuan) was deposited in the company as shares to yield regular dividend from the company's revenues. The plan embodied an idea to "extend the scope of clan" in Bao'an District among the clan members in Gangxia village and other indigenous people.

In order to achieve the goals, the Wen clan association in Gangxia village united the villagers and did their utmost to strive for the maximum profit. For example, when the association fought for the proprietary rights of E'di village where lied the Wen clan ancestral graves and the snack street of the west zone in Gangxia village, they constantly propagated the knowledge in Property Law by handing out some brochures to the villagers. And in the process of negotiation, they especially emphasized the stipulation in the Article 61 of the Property Code of the People's Republic of China enacted at the fifth session of the tenth "the National People's Congress"(NPC), March 6, 2007 that "Owners of immovables and movables shall be entitled to lawfully possess, use, benefit from and dispose of the immovables and movables".

After several rounds of talks, the government and the real estate company finally had to rewrite the standard of compensation. The Jindi Real Estate Company paid the villagers indemnities by a standard of 12,800 yuan per square meter of residential land and 23,800 yuan per square meter of commercial land. Obviously the powerful clan dominated the process and result of the reconstruction.

The compensations of high demolition made the multimillionaires, even the billionaires among the Gangxia villagers. The humble village known as "the descendants of Tianxiang Wen" had been relatively unknown in the past. However, it finally became the moneybags manufactory depending on the power of clan. Really it may be said world-shaking! In today's society, the case of Gangxia village let people go over the proverb "The squeaking wheel gets the oil". The case of Gangxia village also opens the new pattern that urban-villagers antagonizes the government depending on the clan. That is why imitations who try to gain huge compensation began making inroads into the market during the reconstruction of old city, provoking rthe controversy on "Whether the artificially high prices of real estate is led by the high demolition compensation or not ? " Just like one butterfly in Amazon Rainforest, Wen clan only occasionally waves its wing, but it turned out to be a tornado in China's reconstruction of old city.

However, it is quite a paradox that the Wen clan who is good at playing politics and creates the fortune legends beaming from ear to ear, prefers a more behind-the-scenes role in this city. The clan became one kind of "invisible" force again, dominating the fate of this region and people of clan at a low profile.

5. Conclusion

As one of typical urban-clans , Wen clan in Gangxia village experiencedthe reconstruction of the clan's land under the external political pressure. In the cruel process of reconstruction, the authority of clan was challenged strongly. In today's society, socialist market economy is developing day by day. Wen clan of Gangxia village revived due to the reconstruction of old city.

However, the main economy control function of the clan has been replaced by a limited company; cultural function of the clan, the clan association. We can think the clan has declined after suffering from the dreariness and reconstruction in in the urbanization process from this perspective. But we can also think the clan doesn't disappear in the Chinese cities, it just continues in another form from another perspective.

The case of Gangxia village shows that the importance of conventional rural villages should not be neglected in the process of modern urbanization. "Urban development has not disintegrated clans. Instead, it provides opportunities for clan property to reproduce and appreciate, promotes clan activities and indirectly renders clans alive in new forms."(Gao, 2005) Urbanization does not necessarily mean "destroying the old and establishing the new". Instead, to some extent, tradition and modern as well as past and future can coexist in urban space. How to fulfil the blueprint of "urban-rural harmony" in China by integrating clans into urban

culture, politics and space is the tricky question worth thinking and further exploring.

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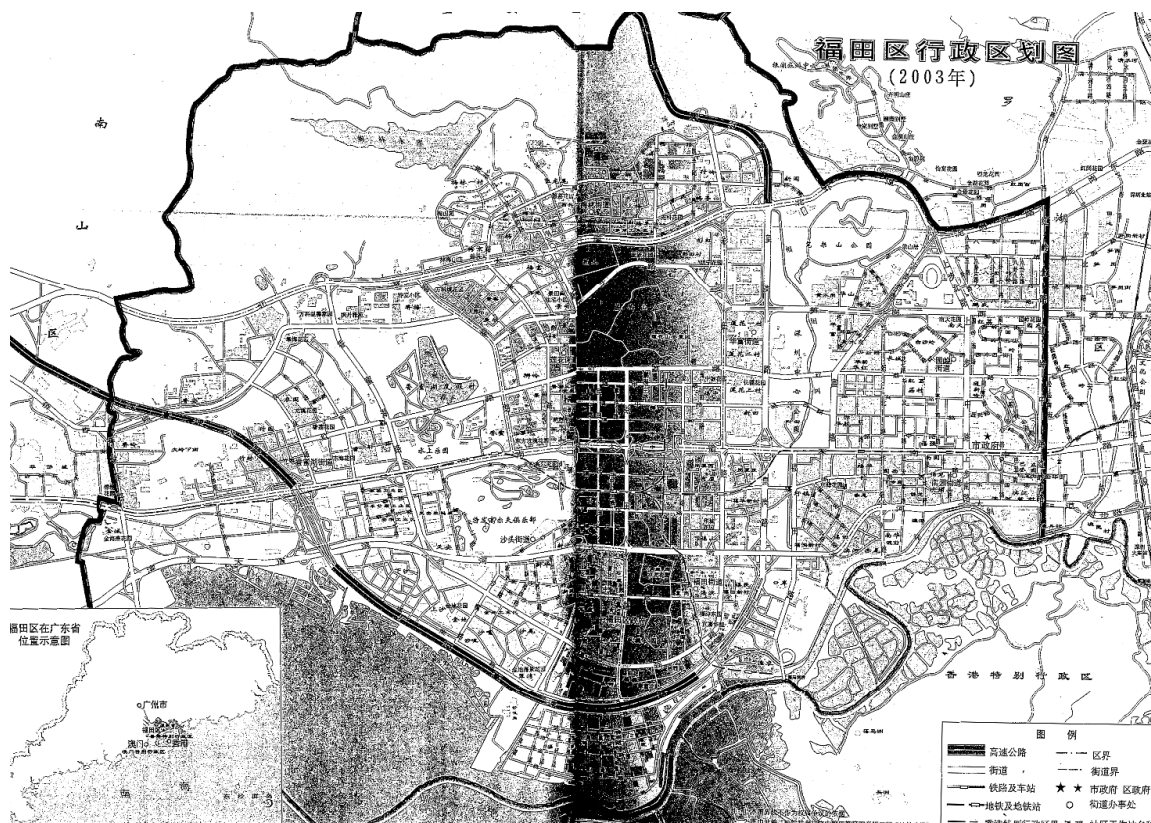


Figure1. the Map about Administrative Areas in Futian District, Shenzhen(2003)
Photograph: The local Chronicles committee of Futian district, Shenzhen ed. (2012), *Records on Futian district, Shenzhen(1979-2003)* , Shenzhen Local Chronicles Press. (in Chinese)