

NATIONALISM WITH SHENZHEN CHARACTERISTICS

A Case Study of the Shenzhen Museum

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ROMANISATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

Personal names, place names and titles in Chinese are spelled according to the *Hanyu pinyin* system of romanisation, except in instances when a preferred alternative spelling exists (for example Sun Yat-sen). For Chinese names I follow the practice of giving the surname (family name) first. I use the simplified Chinese character set throughout the text.

Key to abbreviations used in the text:

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
ICOM	International Committee of Museums
KMT	Kuomintang 国民党 (Nationalist Party)
NMC	National Museum of China
PRC	People's Republic of China
SEZ	Special Economic Zone

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¹ All photographs were taken by the author.

I.

INTRODUCTION

The museum is a powerful site for communicating ideas and beliefs in combination with objects that help reinforce a particular narrative. The definition of what a museum is has evolved over time and is ever-continuing. Originally, a museum – or *μουσειον*, ‘institution of the Muses’ – was a philosophical institution and it was only from the seventeenth century that it described an institution that collects, preserves, and displays objects.² The public museum, as most would recognise it today, took shape in the eighteenth century alongside the formation of nation states. Whereas previously most collections were only accessible at the collector’s discretion, the nineteenth century saw a surge of public museums being opened for the ‘public good’. The public good ranged from education on subjects such as agriculture, science, and occupational health and safety, to bringing (high) culture – previously only accessible to the elite – to the masses. The establishment of public museums also facilitated the symbolic formation of a ‘public’ by ‘projecting sentiments of belonging and brotherhood way beyond those of direct experience’.³ The community a museum represents may be national, regional, ethnic, or otherwise. ‘Public museums’ are generally juxtaposed with ‘private museums’; a division that is based mainly on funding and is not as strict as the terms suggest. Many private museums nowadays receive some sort of state funding, public museums increasingly rely on private donations to keep afloat.⁴ The International Council of Museums (ICOM) does not make an ideological distinction between private and public museums in its current definition:

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.⁵

The above-mentioned characteristics can be attributed to either type of museum, although public museums in many cases have more sufficient resources to be able to adhere to ICOM’s principles.

² Lewis 2015, <http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/398827/history>.

³ Macdonald 2003: 2.

⁴ Frey and Meier 2006: 413.

⁵ ICOM 2007, <http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/>.

Because museums are concerned with preservation and education, they are intimately intertwined with history. Unlike formal history education, which is generally aimed at school-going children, and therefore a select part of the own nation, a museum is in the special position that it is open to a much wider audience. This creates an opportunity for a government to present an official view of the nation's history, culture, and identity to not only its own citizens, but also to the outside world. However, not all museums' contents are government-endorsed and might therefore present different interpretations that diverge from official narratives. Museums are not bound by written text, which makes them a useful tool in circumventing sensitive subjects, for example by using more fluid concepts such as 'memory' and 'heritage'.⁶ The museum creates a performance of reality that often closely resembles theatre. However, as Simon Knell points out, 'one is merely a work of fiction which we can like, love or hate as we please; the other purports to be a work of fact and while we can also love or hate it, we also have the option to believe it (or not)'.⁷ Because of the high level of professionalism and the presence of research departments, museums are generally *imagined* to be neutral, authoritative, and trustworthy. A report on public perceptions of museums commissioned by the Museums Association in the United Kingdom stated the following:

Museums hold a unique position of being trusted, which is particularly important given the perceived lack of trusted organisations in society such as the government and the media. Both of these are seen as biased and operating under agendas. Members of the public who took part, see museums as the guardians of factual information and as presenting all sides of the story.⁸

In reality, every museum's narrative serves a purpose, be it political, commercial, or otherwise. The way in which museums represent the past changes continuously, revealing as much (if not more) about the present as the past.

In recent years funding for museums in Europe and the United States has been greatly reduced, both by the government and the private sector.⁹ Many museums have had to put new

⁶ History, heritage, and memory are all representations of the past, yet they are far from synonymous. At the same time, they have overlapping features that can make it difficult to tell them apart. In this thesis history can be defined as knowledge of a recorded past, based on a perceived objectivity, whereas memory is assumed to be more subjective. Unlike memory, which generally draws on an individual or group's experience, history aspires to create a certain distance between the past and its narrator (Wertsch2004: 44). Heritage tends to float between these two concepts, leaning towards history in its manifestations (objects, images, and events), but it is more subjective in its designation (e.g. what is labeled 'heritage' and by whom?) (Hoelscher 2006: 200; 203).

⁷ Knell 2011: 7.

⁸ BritainThinks 2013: 3.

⁹ See for example Nina Siegal 2013, <http://www.artinamericamagazine.com/news-features/magazine/euro-crisis-hits-museums/>, and American Association of Museums 2012, <http://www.aam-us.org/docs/research/acme12-final.pdf?sfvrsn=0>.

projects on hold, shrink or even close down departments. In China, on the other hand, the government is investing heavily in building new museums and refurbishing old ones (e.g. Changsha Provincial Museum that houses the contents of the tomb at Mawangdui, and the National Museum of China that reopened in 2011).¹⁰ Despite this ‘museum fever’, relatively little has been written about the role of museums in China by Chinese and non-Chinese scholars alike. Chinese museums, historic sites, and monuments are occasionally included in literature about Chinese heritage and nationalism, but their relation to politics and society is limited.¹¹ Local museums have received little attention when their themes are not directly linked to an event considered of national importance.

The Shenzhen Museum, in the eponymous southern Chinese city, is one of these local museums that has not received any meaningful attention from scholars. In fact, little research has been done about Shenzhen beyond topics relating to economic development and urban planning. The main theme of the Shenzhen Museum’s permanent exhibition is the city and region’s local history. When one considers that Shenzhen is China’s first Special Economic Zone, it is rather remarkable that this is not perceived to be an important national event. Shenzhen is often seen as the success story of China’s reform policies that were initiated by Hua Guofeng in the late 1970s, and popularised by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s. It is also representative of the ideal of a new, modernised, and economically strong China. The communist ideals of the Maoist era have long been pushed aside to make way for newer ideologies such as ‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’, or, more recently, Xi Jinping’s ‘Chinese Dream’. These shifts in ideology have had a significant influence on the identity that the Chinese state wishes to convey to its citizens and beyond. Alongside a national identity, many Chinese regions and cities develop a local identity that distinguishes them from others. Shenzhen is no exception.

This thesis explores the following research question: how do national and regional identities and their subsequent narratives interact or conflict in the permanent exhibition of the Shenzhen Museum?¹² The national narrative is based on the National Museum of China in Beijing. Furthermore, I will look at how similar exhibition practices of the Shenzhen Museum and the National Museum of China are used to convey a different message. The Shenzhen Museum plays an

¹⁰ The Economist Newspaper Limited 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21591710-china-building-thousands-new-museums-how-will-it-fill-them-mad-about-museums>.

¹¹ Varutti 2014: 5. As I embarked upon this project, two works on Chinese museums have come out in 2014. Namely, Marzia Varutti’s *Museums in China*, and Kirk Denton’s *Exhibiting the Past*.

¹² As Brubaker and Cooper have pointed out, the concept “identity” is ‘constructed, fluid, and multiple’ (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:1). In the context of this thesis it is understood as a collective phenomenon that denotes an imagined sameness amongst members of a group and manifests itself in ‘solidarity, in shared dispositions or consciousness, or in collective action’ (*Ibid.*: 7; Anderson 2006: 6).

important part in communicating the city's identity and its position in China as a model city both to the local population and beyond. Shenzhen illustrates that the way we perceive nationalism has to change in an ever-globalising world, where major cities within a nation can play as large a role in defining the nation as the country at large.

The thesis is divided in two parts. The first part is an historical overview of the role of museums in creating a national identity in China. It will also include my interpretation of the national narrative as can be found in the National Museum of China, Beijing. The second part of the thesis begins with a brief history of Shenzhen and the Shenzhen Museum, followed by an analysis of the museum and its permanent exhibition.

II.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research methodology and theoretical framework are mainly based on museum studies, history, and social anthropology. Doing fieldwork for the first time is fun and exciting, yet rather terrifying too. There were 12,500 square metres of exhibition space to collect data from, which made it a rather daunting task. My research focuses on the permanent exhibition of the Shenzhen Museum, which includes: the Exhibition of Ancient Shenzhen (*gudai Shenzhen zhanxing* 古代深圳展厅), the Exhibition of Modern Shenzhen (*jindai Shenzhen zhanxing* 近代深圳展厅), the Exhibition of Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up History (*Shenzhen gaige kaifang shi zhanxing* 深圳改革开放史展厅), and the Exhibition of Shenzhen Folk Culture (*Shenzhen minzu zhanxing* 深圳民俗展厅). The study is based on five months fieldwork research between August 2014 and January 2015. In order to examine these exhibitions I gathered the following data: exhibition texts (both Chinese and English), documentary films, observations of visitors, and informal conversations with visitors and staff. The texts have been photographed for later reference, and the films transcribed. I also photographed relevant exhibition spaces. I did not record the texts of the audio tour, because they were identical to the exhibition texts and the catalogue. I was fortunate to acquire the catalogue two years ago, as it is now no longer in print. Except for recent additions to the exhibition of Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, the content of the catalogue is still current.

Because I conducted my fieldwork in an unofficial capacity, this made it more difficult to gain access to people for interviews and to official documents. As other scholars have pointed out, making connections in China can be difficult and time-consuming.¹³ Every time I approached the information desk of the museum I dealt with a different staff member, which made it impossible to establish a relationship. The staff were always willing to contact the curator or director's office, but neither were ever available. The museum has only one QQ E-mail address, from which I never received a reply. I could not conduct official interviews with museum attendants or visitors, but did have informal conversations that gave me useful insights. As I neared the end of my stay, I saw possibilities opening up to start making contact with the research and exhibition staff of the

¹³ Sæther 2006: 42; O'Brien 2006: 27.

museum thanks to connections I had made through the university, but unfortunately I no longer had the time to make use of this opportunity.

In order to define the national narrative of China's history, I visited the National Museum of China in Beijing, where the exhibition named *The Road to Rejuvenation* (*fuxing zhi lu* 复兴之路) tells the official history of China from the Opium Wars onwards. I gathered and documented similar material as in the Shenzhen Museum, however, because I had only one day to collect data in Beijing, I relied more heavily on the exhibition's catalogue and secondary literature. I have not used Chinese language secondary literature on Chinese museum practices, because there is very little relevant literature to be found and much of it is inaccessible. Besides, I use the National Museum's narrative merely as a guide to make sense of the variations in the Shenzhen Museum's exhibitions.

In this thesis I conduct a discourse analysis of the collected materials. The term 'discourse analysis' is not unambiguous and means different things to scholars in different fields (or even within the same field). It is traditionally associated with linguistics and within this context is commonly defined as 'everything beyond the sentence'.¹⁴ However, discourse analysis need not be exclusively text-based, but may include all forms of communication, such as sound, image, and other sensory media. It is an analysis of 'messages' in communication. From a sociological point of view, discourse refers to how we communicate and think about the world and everything inside it. Discourse provides structure and order and shapes people's thoughts, values, beliefs, relationships, etc., and therefore forms the basis for human societies. Discourse can also emerge from relations of power and domination, because control over institutions such as media, politics, and education enables those in power to determine its formation. There are both dominant discourses that are considered right and normal, and non-dominant discourses that are marginalised often considered wrong and extreme. Discourse, together with power and knowledge, are intertwined to produce hierarchies.¹⁵

My thesis combines both textual and non-textual discourse analysis to examine how museums play a role in reproducing a certain view of history. A museum is by definition a multimediatic site that combines text, objects, lighting, sound, etc. The non-textual elements are as meaningful as the *literal* messages of the text panels and narrated films. The analysis is based on my interpretation of the museum's perspective (what does the museum aim to convey?) and does not go into extensive detail about how the museum's messages comes across to the audience. I have further

¹⁴ Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton 2001: 1.

¹⁵ Van Dijk 2001: 3-7.

restricted my analysis to how the Shenzhen Museum (and the National Museum of China) approach Chinese audiences from the Mainland. Whereas text is easily reproduced in a thesis, non-textual data can prove more challenging. I have included photographs where possible and relevant, and have described the galleries' atmosphere (including how this atmosphere is created). Again, these descriptions are based on my own perception and should therefore not be read as definitive statements, but rather as informed interpretations that encourages scholarly discussion. Every type of museum requires a different approach, which makes it difficult to define a straightforward methodology for the field of museum studies, let alone a subfield such as museum studies of China. This thesis is an attempt to build on existing scholarship and contribute to this little-developed field.

Finally, a note on translations of Chinese primary sources found in Appendix A: because I am looking at how the Shenzhen Museum conveys its message(s) to the Chinese public, I have decided to re-translate all relevant texts that were already provided by the museum in English. Although this does not make my translation more objective – translations are always subject to interpretation – it does take away the museum translator's interpretation of the texts. Re-translated texts are marked with an (*). Exhibition texts are referenced by their title and corresponding exhibition hall. Furthermore, exhibition texts that are found in the museum catalogue are referenced as regular regular book publications.

III.

CREATING MUSEUMS FOR A PUBLIC

In this chapter I shall give an historical overview of the development public museums in China from the nineteenth century, focusing on national museums. The sections dealing with the Palace Museum of the Forbidden City are based on a paper I have written previously.¹⁶ The final section is a short analysis of the National Museum of China that is aimed at defining the central government endorsed national narrative.

3.1 THE FIRST MUSEUMS OF CHINA

The Chinese museologist Su Donghai claims that China's earliest museum was the Confucius temple in the eponymous thinker's hometown of Qufu, Shandong province, where his residence was rebuilt as a place of worship. The temple exhibited some of Confucius' personal belongings, such as clothing and musical instruments.¹⁷ Although this may not be an institutionalised type of museum, there certainly is a museum-like structure where objects are collected and kept. Besides, a museum can also function as a place of remembrance. Collecting (and commemorating) is not a new phenomenon in China where emperors and private persons alike – the collectors couple Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129) and Li Qingzhao (1084–ca. 1151) is one of the more notable examples – built collections of various types of objects and wrote about them extensively. As Christina Kreps points out, 'the notion that the museum is a uniquely modern, Western cultural invention has become deeply rooted in Western museology' and ignores other forms of collecting practices.¹⁸

Traditionally, Chinese collections were private, only accessible to a select public at the invitation of the collector. The first modern museums in China appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century and were established by Western institutions, such as the Siccawei Museum (*ziran lishi bowuyuan* 自然历史博物院) in Shanghai's French Concession district Xujiahui, founded in 1868

¹⁶ See Van Ling 2014.

¹⁷ Su 1995: 63; Shao 2004: 691.

¹⁸ Kreps 2006: 457. Also see Craig Clunas' introduction to his book *Art in China* (1997), where he points out that the concept of 'Chinese art' is a Western, nineteenth century conception that disparages the value of non-Western collecting practices (p.9).

by French missionary Pierre Heude, and the Shanghai Museum, founded in 1871 by the British Royal Asiatic Society. These museums were primarily meant to support Western researchers in their scientific activities and were hardly involved in Chinese society. The museum as a public institution in China was closely related to nation-building, with intellectuals such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao believing that the museum could play a key role in national reform.¹⁹ Another intellectual and reformer, Zhang Jian, who also believed that education and industrialisation were imperative to the strengthening of the by then imagined Chinese nation, established the Nantong Museum in 1905 after being refused permission to build a Chinese imperial museum-library (*dishi bolanguan* 帝室博览馆) in Beijing, modelled after the Japanese Imperial Museum.²⁰ The Nantong Museum was the embodiment of the Chinese word for ‘museum’, *bowuguan* 博物馆, that literally means ‘hall of many things’. It covered history, natural history, and fine arts, and also contained a botanical garden and a zoo. Unlike later museums, there was no specific narrative. The importance of the museum lies in the fact that it exhibited knowledge in a Western – and therefore ‘modernised’ – style and intended to educate the visitors about the Chinese nation through exhibited objects.²¹ By displaying all those objects in the museum, Zhang managed to transform Nantong ‘from a rural backwater into a modern vanguard’.²² In 1910 the Qing government co-sponsored the first national Chinese exposition: the Nanyang Industry Exposition (*Nanyang quanye hui* 南洋劝业会), which exhibited objects and products from across the Qing empire. The exhibition was one of the first events where the Qing empire was presented as a national unity to its own subjects.²³ Although the reforms came too late to save the Qing from its demise, the practice of exhibiting culture to the public and using it for nation-building purposes had been established. In 1912 the Museum of Chinese history was opened, followed by the Nanjing Museum in 1915 and several other provincial museums in subsequent years.²⁴

The *Xinhai* Revolution (*Xinhai geming* 辛亥革命) of 1911/1912 brought an end to emperor Puyi’s reign and the imperial system that had been in place, in one form or another, for over two thousand years in China. With the subsequent founding of the Republic of China, ‘it was time to

¹⁹ Denton 2014: 17.

²⁰ Su 1995: 64.

²¹ Claypool 2005: 569-70.

²² Shao 2004: 685.

²³ Fernseber 2006: 120.

²⁴ Varutti 2014: 27-28.

make republicans' of not only the people, but also the last emperor.²⁵ In order to ease Puyi's transition from sovereign to free citizen, some of the terms agreed after the abdication were not met, such as his leaving the palace where he remained for another thirteen years before being permanently removed by government officials. In the meantime, as more parts of the imperial walled city were gradually placed under government control, discussion arose about the fate of the imperial collection of artefacts. The government appointed a committee to catalogue the collection that comprised approximately 1.8 million pieces. Many of the revolutionaries considered both the collection and the Forbidden City to be symbols of China's feudal past that had no place in the new Republic. There was a lot of support for destroying the palace and selling off the collection.²⁶ However, in the end the committee managed to convince the government to convert the Forbidden City into a museum to house the imperial collection, which it argued was a national treasure that was 'the crystallization of several thousand years of culture' and could play an important role in building the nation.²⁷ In 1925 the Palace Museum was opened, which drew so many crowds that all traffic in the vicinity of the Forbidden City had come to a halt.²⁸ As with the opening of the Louvre Palace to the public in Paris nearly a 130 years earlier, the opening of the Palace Museum in Beijing symbolised the transfer of sovereignty from the emperor to the people and 'in the name of the people, created a national patrimony out of the seized collections'.²⁹

The 1930s was a promising decade for the development of museology and the professionalisation of museums. In 1935 China established the Chinese Museum Association that published a guide to Chinese museums and a catalogue of museological publications.³⁰ However, the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war and subsequent unrest during the civil war reversed much of the museological progress. In 1937 there were between 65 and 70 museums in China; by 1949 only 25 were left.³¹

3.2 MUSEUMS UNDER MAO ZEDONG

The first decade after the establishment of the PRC in 1949 was a period of (re)building institutions, nationalising culture, and linking it with the new state ideology. Museums were a popular tool in

²⁵ Mitter 2005: 129.

²⁶ Hamlish 1995: 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*: 26.

²⁸ The Palace Museum 2013, <http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/2/@/8797.html#150>.

²⁹ Abt 2006: 128.

³⁰ Su 1995: 65.

³¹ *Ibid.*: 65-66; Denton 2014: 18-19; Varutti 2014: 28.

helping create a new national identity and unity. The government provided funding to establish national museums such as the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of the Chinese Revolution, as well as local museums. The plans for ‘a museum in every county, an exhibition hall in every commune’ (*xianxian you bowuguan, sheshe you zhanlanshi* 县县有博物馆，社社有展览室) was an ambitious endeavour aimed at presenting the official view of the party, educating the people on social and economic policies. However, due to the shortage of museum professionals and relevant collections, many of the exhibitions were amateurish and of low quality.³²

The Palace Museum in Beijing would again play an important role in legitimising the newly established PRC. Although the CCP saw the end of the Qing dynasty as a break with tradition, ironically, it used the same method to legitimise its rule as did the emperors. According to Chinese tradition, whomever possesses the cultural relics of the preceding dynasty can claim to be its rightful successor.³³ The founding of the People’s Republic of China was announced by Mao Zedong on 1 October 1949 atop the Gate of Heavenly Peace (*Tian’anmen* 天安门), the entrance to the Forbidden City. There is not much information about the Palace Museum during the Maoist period, but there are records about restoration works to the palace in the 1950s. Furthermore, the CCP government had most of the imperial collection that was stored in Nanjing during the war returned to the Palace Museum.³⁴ Notably, whereas the previous Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek wanted to disassociate itself from Beijing and its connection to the old imperial order, the CCP government made the city an important part of its own narrative. After decades of foreign presence and internal instability in China, the ‘Century of Humiliation’ (*bainian guochi* 百年國恥) had finally ended and Beijing would once again be restored as the nation’s physical and symbolic centre.³⁵ The Forbidden City and the imperial collection, which are inextricably linked to each other, became linked to the governing centre of Communist rule. Mao proclaimed the founding of the PRC on the gate and would later make the especially constructed, adjoining, Tiananmen Square the centre stage for mass mobilisation of the Chinese people. The doors of the gate no longer opened inwards to the palace, but instead opened outwards to the nation. Right and left of the gate are the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of the Chinese Revolution (now the Chinese National Museum) respectively. Opposite the gate, in the centre of the square is the Monument to the People’s Heroes

³² Denton 2014:19; Varutti 2014: 29.

³³ Wang 2004: 793.

³⁴ Watson 1998: 172.

³⁵ Li and Dray-Novey 2008: 173.

and at the end of the square Mao's mausoleum was built after his death. All these buildings that are central to the CCP's symbolism are set against the background of the old imperial palace. The palace became part of Mao's idea to 'use the past to serve the present', where this space, in the form of the Palace Museum, symbolised the achievements of the CCP.³⁶ It was to remind the people of how the Communists freed the country from the old decadent system, and to show cultural unity through the museum's collection. The Forbidden City was no longer forbidden for the people to enter.³⁷

The Palace Museum's buildings, along with the imperial collection, were spared during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) despite the rallies on Tiananmen Square and masses of Red Guards taking to the streets destroying anything that was considered 'bourgeois'. It is uncertain why the Forbidden City was spared, but it is not unlikely that the museum building and its objects were considered too precious to destroy.³⁸ Barbara Mittler describes in her article that officials would 'save' precious cultural objects to add to their own private collections, suggesting not everyone agreed with the Red Guards' ideas.³⁹ Most museums throughout the country were forced to close down, although some managed to host revolutionary themed exhibitions, such as the Museum of the Chinese Revolution. At the same time, memorial sites related to Mao and the CCP's early history (Shaoshan, Jinggangshan, and Yan'an) were immensely popular with the young Red Guards and appeared throughout the country.⁴⁰

3.3 MUSEUMS FROM THE 1970S

The economic reforms that were initiated in the late 1970s marked a new era for museums. The State Bureau of Cultural Relics (*guojia wenwu ju* 国家文物局; now translated as the State Administration of Cultural Heritage) provided funds to develop and (re)build museums throughout the country. By joining ICOM in 1982, China gained a valuable resource to exchange knowledge about museum practices on an international level. It also sped up the process of bringing the museological world up to international standards. However, it must be noted that the Chinese museum professionals were above all interested in gaining technical knowledge on topics such as

³⁶ Watson 1994: 8.

³⁷ This interpretation of history ignores the opening of the museum by the KMT government during the Republican period.

³⁸ Watson 1994: 15.

³⁹ Mittler 2013: 177-215.

⁴⁰ Denton 2014: 20; Su 1995: 66.

conservation and exhibitionary conventions, not so much in conceptual ideas of the museum.⁴¹ Although cultural and historical museums were plentiful, there were hardly any technological or science museums. In line with the modernisation and industrialisation of the country, these types of museums caught up rapidly within two decades and – similar to the museums of the Republican era – exhibited China’s modernity.⁴²

The Tiananmen protests of 1989 prompted a renewed emphasis on museums and memorial sites in order to fill an ideological void created by the political, social and economic reforms in China since the death of Mao.⁴³ In 1994 the Chinese government published the new ‘Guidelines for Patriotic Education’, which marked the shift from Marxist ideology to more patriotic themes.⁴⁴ According to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (as quoted in Zhao) the aims of patriotic education are the following:

[...] boosting the nation’s spirit, enhancing its cohesion, fostering its self-esteem and sense of pride, consolidating and developing a patriotic united front to the broadest extent possible, and directing and rallying the masses’ patriotic passions to the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics [and] helping the motherland become unified, prosperous and strong.⁴⁵

Notably, the description above does not go into details about what the state considers patriotism to encompass, which makes the term adaptable to any ideology shift that may take place in the future. Furthermore, by using the term patriotism (*aiguo zhuyi* 爱国主义) instead of nationalism (*minzu zhuyi* 民族主义), the Chinese government avoids the issue of ethnicity and emphasises love for China, not specifically the groups that live within the nation.⁴⁶ The Chinese term *minzu* 民族 is somewhat ambiguous in its meaning as it can mean ‘nation’ (e.g. *Zhonghua minzu* 中华民族, the Chinese nation) and ‘ethnic group’. The former includes all citizens of the PRC, the latter is a separate identity marker often associated with non-Han ethnic groups within the nation (*shaoshu minzu* 少数民族). By re-labelling nationalism as ‘patriotism’, the CCP emphasises that all peoples within the Chinese nation have a stake in the fate of the nation and that unity will lead to ‘common prosperity’ (*gongtong fuyu* 共同富裕).⁴⁷ The nation’s unity is based on multiple principles, such as China’s territory,

⁴¹ Varutti 2014: 30.

⁴² Shao 2004: 685.

⁴³ Denton 2014: 21.

⁴⁴ Zhao 2004: 219.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Mitter 2005: 134; Zhao 1998: 290.

⁴⁷ Zhao 2004: 31.

assimilation (or at least affiliation) to the Han Chinese – the idea that the peoples of the PRC have historically ‘always’ been part of ‘China’ – and ‘the Century of Humiliation’, which affected everyone within the Chinese nation, therefore bringing all ethnicities together.⁴⁸ At the same time, the state’s recognition of different ethnic groups inevitably creates diversification, which is explained by the Chinese government as a ‘peaceful’ and ‘harmonious’ phenomenon. Ethnic conflicts of the past centuries up to today are completely ignored.⁴⁹ One must not ignore that the tension between unity and diversity is posing a serious challenge for the PRC government.

Many scholars have stated the importance of modern educational systems in the building of nations, most of all Ernest Gellner. In his work he argues that universal, standardised education plays a key role in unifying and culturally homogenising a nation.⁵⁰ Stig Thøgerson notes that education has been significant in constructing and strengthening the Chinese nation-state by producing loyal citizens.⁵¹ The patriotic education campaign is remarkably explicit. It is not a campaign that is presented in a veiled manner, but rather the opposite, with many museums, for example, proudly displaying their certificates of being a ‘base for patriotic education’ (*aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu jidi* 爱国主义教育基地). Although the campaign is especially aimed at making the youth more patriotic, its reach goes beyond the classroom with policies targeting the military, the entertainment industry, tourism, and neighbourhood committees.⁵² Traditional culture was no longer considered backward and part of an oppressive system, but instead became part of a narrative of national pride and cultural prestige.⁵³ In 2000, Shan Jixiang, director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage at the time, announced there would be three thousand museums in China by 2015, with ‘at least one fully-functional museum for every large or medium-sized city’.⁵⁴ Hundreds of museums, memorials and historic sites have been labelled ‘Bases for Patriotic Education’, whose topics range from ancient cultural relics, events during the so-called ‘Century of Humiliation’, to revolutionary heroes. Museums dealing with the Second Sino-Japanese War – referred to in Chinese as ‘the war of

⁴⁸ The term ‘Century of Humiliation’ refers approximately to the period between the First Opium War and either the end of the Second World War (by the KMT), or the founding of the PRC (by the CCP). This ‘victimisation narrative’ still plays an important role in China’s historiography and politics (Gries 2004: 43-53).

⁴⁹ Zhao 2004: 169.

⁵⁰ Gellner 1983: 37-38.

⁵¹ Thøgerson 2001: 187.

⁵² Zhao 1998: 295.

⁵³ Varutti 2011: 307.

⁵⁴ People’s Daily Online 2002, http://en.people.cn/200212/20/eng20021220_108815.shtml. In 2014 there were already 3,688 museums: Chinanews 2014, <http://www.chinanews.com/gn/2014/02-24/5873408.shtml>.

resistance against Japan' (*kangri zhanzheng* 抗日战争) – stand out in particular.⁵⁵ The advantage of museums, historical sites, and memorial halls over conventional textbook (history) education is its reach beyond merely China's youth, especially considering most of China's museums are free or have affordable admission fees.⁵⁶ A display also makes it possible for visitors to not only read about history, but also experience it 'directly through the senses'.⁵⁷ However, a museum's accessibility and sensory attributes can present a challenge when it wants to convey different messages to different audiences.⁵⁸

In 2000 China's Minister of Culture Sun Jiazheng stated that China's museums should 'show the nation's fine traditions and advanced culture'. He went on to say that 'the museums should promote scientific knowledge and the nation's long history while resisting the decadence of feudalism and capitalism'.⁵⁹ In many official statements the museum's educational value and role as a display of China's great achievements is not uncommon. Su identifies four Marxist-Leninist values of the museum.⁶⁰ The first is 'the value of verifying history', which points to museum collections being the 'original and tactile' objects of history that give people 'direct access to the past'. Because they are 'survivors of history, they are able to verify it' and 'possess an objectivity and reality'. This interpretation of objects as objective and undisputed truth denies the possibility of attributing various meanings to them.⁶¹ The second value is 'the value of knowledge'. According to Su, museum objects can pass on knowledge that is 'supplementary' to books. As Marzia Varutti points out, museums are not seen as 'sites for critical reflection', but merely as places where one can gain factual knowledge.⁶² The third value is 'the value of aestheticism', which Su claims has received too little attention in China. It seems this statement is at odds with the first value, especially as he continues to point out that 'there is different aesthetical consciousness under different ideologies'. If this is the case, how does this coincide with the objective truth of a museum object? The final value Su attributes to the museum is 'the value of morality', which, again, seems to contradict his first and second statement. He writes: 'Chinese museums work rather hard to extol virtues such as patriotism,

⁵⁵ Mitter 2005: 135.

⁵⁶ Chinanews 2014, <http://www.chinanews.com/gn/2014/02-24/5873408.shtml>.

⁵⁷ Denton 2005: 568.

⁵⁸ A good example of this is the Hong Kong Museum of History's permanent exhibition *The Hong Kong Story*, whose narrative needs to satisfy the demands of both the CCP and the Hong Kong population that is not entirely supportive of the Mainland's political influence. The result is an exhibition with a sanitised narrative that has filtered out every issue that may be viewed critically by any party. I have discussed this issue in Van Ling 2015a.

⁵⁹ Xinhua 2000, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2000/Oct/2720.htm>.

⁶⁰ Su 1995: 71-74.

⁶¹ Miller 1987: 105.

⁶² Varutti 2014: 38.

collectivism and selfless devotion by means of displays and exhibitions. [...] 'The moral value of museums lies precisely in eulogising noble deeds, characters and ideals'. Museums are meant to raise people's morality through the acquirement of objective knowledge through the displayed objects. It is important to note that these principles are present in Chinese museums to different degrees, depending on the narrative that is presented. Aesthetics of the objects is becoming increasingly more important and exhibits are no longer merely educational tools, but they can also be appreciated for their beauty.⁶³

The past two decades have seen a great diversification of museums and heritage sites in China, each representing different aspects of patriotism. Besides the more conventional history museums and art museums, new tourism trends such as Red Tourism and Ethno-tourism have had a large influence on the development of new museums related to these branches of the tourism industry. Furthermore, specialty museums are appearing throughout the country, for example the Piano Museum in Shenzhen, the Abacus Museum in Nantong, and the Watermelon Museum in Beijing. There are countless museums dedicated to local heroes.⁶⁴ Although state ideology has facilitated the building of many museums in China, one must not forget their commercial appeal, which has generated the interest of wealthy private individuals to invest in and build museums and art galleries. The Chinese government encourages these initiatives as a civic duty to 'retrieve' and 'protect' cultural relics from overseas.⁶⁵ There is even an exchange market for Chinese cultural relics that have been 'retrieved' from overseas, which allows Chinese individuals to import such items under favourable tariffs.⁶⁶ Finally, museums bring prestige to the owner, city, and ultimately the nation, making it an attractive enterprise for private individuals and government authorities alike.

⁶³ Varutti 2014: 39.

⁶⁴ Denton 2014: 24.

⁶⁵ Song 2008: 46-47.

⁶⁶ China Economic Weekly 2015, <http://news.sohu.com/20150701/n415974424.shtml>.

3.4 THE CHINA STORY: HISTORICAL NARRATIVE AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CHINA



Figure 3.4.1 The National Museum of China.

In the previous paragraphs I explored the recent history of museums and their role in China's nation-building over the past century. Each period came with its own historical narrative that suited the government's policies of the time. What is the current historical narrative of China? Because my thesis focuses on museums, I shall concentrate on the historical narrative as it is presented by the National Museum of China (NMC) in Beijing and not go into formal school education or other presentations of the national narrative.⁶⁷ The narrative of the NMC will also be used in comparison with the Shenzhen Museum in the next chapter. There are many state-sponsored museums in China that present the national historical narrative with subtle variations, however, the most authoritative version can be found at the NMC.⁶⁸ The museum is located in the political centre of China, by Tiananmen Square, which reveals its connection to the CCP. It also indicates that the government regards history and cultural heritage as important elements in legitimising its rule. As Craig Clunas

⁶⁷ For further reading on patriotism in Chinese school education, see Alisa Jones' article in *History Education and National Identity in East Asia* (2005), or Edward Vickers' work on education in China. Florian Schneider and Yih-Jye Hwang have written an excellent piece on representing China's history in media products (2014).

⁶⁸ According to the museum director the NMC is 'the flagship of China's museums'. See Lü 2011, <http://www.chnmuseum.cn/tabid/68/Default.aspx>. Appendix text 1.

points out, '[t]he National Museum acts as a key site of promotion of the existence and validity of the state formation'.⁶⁹

The museum finds its origins at the Imperial College (*guozijian* 国子监) where the Preparatory Office of the National Museum of History (*guoli lishi bowuguan choubi chu* 国立历史博物馆筹备处) was founded in 1912. This would become the National Museum of History (*guoli lishi bowuguan* 国立历史博物馆) in 1926. After several name changes, the museum was moved to its current location in 1959, in time for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the PRC. In subsequent decades the museum has changed its name and contents several times to finally be named the National Museum of China (*Zhongguo guojia bowuguan* 中国国家博物馆) in 2003. It underwent a large-scale renovation between 2007 and 2011, which increased the museum space to 192,000 square metres, including over forty exhibition halls. The museum proclaims to be the largest museum in the world, although it is unclear on which criteria this is based.⁷⁰ There are two permanent exhibitions and several dozen temporary ones covering a wide range of themes, from African art and Russian paintings to calligraphy and ceramics.

The museum's director, Lü Zhangzhen, has stated that the NMC's mission is to inherit and spread Chinese culture in order to develop the national spirit. The museum is a place to 'witness' history. Besides 'showing the history of the glorious achievements of arts and culture and social development of our great motherland,' the NMC is also a 'palace of the entire human civilisation'. The political affiliation of the museum is apparent from the fact that it 'adheres to the development of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics'.⁷¹ The NMC states it focuses equally on history and art. At first glance, the museum's ancient and imperial art collection may appear to be in direct competition with the Palace Museum at the Forbidden City. However, each of the two museums serves a different purpose; whereas the NMC uses its art collection to display the nation's rich cultural heritage, the Palace Museum has made the Forbidden City – the building that houses the art collection – as the centrepiece. This has to do with the symbolic meaning of the Forbidden City as a reminder of Chinese patriots' achievements in 'freeing the people from feudalism' at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷²

⁶⁹ Clunas 1998: 42.

⁷⁰ Lü 2011, <http://www.chnmuseum.cn/tabid/68/Default.aspx>. Appendix text 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Van Ling 2014: 5.

Upon entering the building of the NMC, visitors⁷³ are not specifically directed to follow a certain order of exhibitions. In fact, the size of the building is so overwhelming that it is nearly impossible to visit all the exhibitions in one day. The two permanent exhibitions – Ancient China (*gudai Zhongguo* 古代中国) and The Road of Rejuvenation (*faxing zhi lu* 复兴之路) – present the national historical narrative of China. There is a clear dichotomy between the way China’s ancient and recent histories are presented. Although the Ancient China exhibition is presented in a chronological order, there is no specific narrative that clearly describes China’s political, economic and social development through time. The emphasis is put on the cultural continuity of China’s ancient past and the aesthetics of the exhibited objects themselves. The beginning of the exhibition is set in the Palaeolithic age presenting the first known inhabitants and their artefacts within China’s territory. By placing all events and artefacts in ‘China’, the exhibition establishes a cultural link and continuity between these ancient cultures and today’s China. The lighting of the exhibition – dark and focused – has everything to do with the aesthetics of the objects displayed. A fair number of objects are explained and interpreted, however, more iconic exhibits such as ancient bronzes (fig. 3.4.2) are often placed separately on strategic places within the gallery with minimal or no historical and cultural interpretation ‘as if not to intrude on its aura’.⁷⁴ These objects are treated as if their meaning and relevance is self-evident. They have become mythified because they have lost ‘the memory that they were one made for’.⁷⁵ For the most part, the objects in the Ancient China exhibition are treated more as Chinese art rather than historical or ethnographic objects, both in presentation and interpretation.⁷⁶



Figure 3.4.2 A *ding* at the Ancient China exhibition of the NMC.

The Road of Rejuvenation exhibition continues the ‘China story’, however the format is completely different from the Ancient China exhibition in that there is a narrative that goes into details of the nation’s historical developments, starting with the Opium Wars. Separating the

⁷³ Many different audiences visit a museum for different purposes, making the term ‘visitor’ somewhat ambiguous.

Unless otherwise stated, I generally refer to Chinese visitors from the PRC.

⁷⁴ Varutti 2011: 307.

⁷⁵ Barthes 1998: 117.

⁷⁶ In his ‘Introduction’ to *Art in China* (1997), Craig Clunas points out that the concept of ‘Chinese art’ is a Western invention from the nineteenth century that persists to this day. Because Chinese art is seen as a separate category of art, it emphasises a perceived continuity and homogeneity that only exists through this categorisation.

historical narrative into two exhibitions has resulted in creating a dramatic turn in the Road of Rejuvenation exhibition. The exhibition's title suggests visitors will be able to conclude that, as the narrative of China's recent past progresses, they are witnessing a renaissance of the nation's 'past imperial glory' after a century of struggle.⁷⁷ Like many Chinese history books, this exhibition places China's modernity in the nineteenth century.⁷⁸

The exhibition is quite literally a 'road', because visitors are directed on a fixed route that they cannot deviate from. Being divided into chapters, the exhibition is meant to be 'read' from beginning to end, leaving no space for visitors to explore and plot their own way. The preface begins by reminding visitors of the Chinese people's (unchanging) spirit:

The Chinese nation is a great nation, whose people are hardworking, courageous, wise, and peace-loving. They have made indelible contributions to the progress of human civilisation. For generations, China's sons and daughters have unremittingly pursued national prosperity and strength.⁷⁹

It goes on to describe what visitors can expect to see in the exhibition, including the 'humiliation' during the late Qing period, the 'glorious history' under CCP rule that was made possible by all of China's ethnic groups, and the 'dreams and aspirations' that are being realised today. The narrative is filled with socialist vocabulary, using terms such as 'bourgeois', 'feudalism', 'class', and 'capitalism'. Furthermore, the pre-CCP period is described with negative emotional terms and phrases such as 'humiliation', 'the nation's dignity', and 'the people's misery'. Throughout the exhibition the CCP is portrayed as the protagonist of the narrative who has the people's best interests at heart. Part Three of the exhibition explicitly states the party's heroic role in its title: 'The Communist Party of China takes on the historic burden of making the country independent and liberating its people'.⁸⁰ In fact, the first text panel in this gallery boldly states that the founding of the CCP was an 'earth-shattering event' (*kaitian pidi* 开天辟地), placing the CCP on par with Pan Gu 盘古, the creator of the universe in Chinese mythology. The vocabulary becomes more hopeful and positive in tone; words and phrases such as 'victory', 'tower of strength', 'liberation', and 'progress' are used.

The more traumatic period of CCP history from the late 1950s until the death of Mao (1976) does not deal with politically sensitive events such as the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961; *da yuejin* 大跃进) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976; *wenhua da geming* 文化大革命). There is no text

⁷⁷ Denton 2014: 38-39.

⁷⁸ Zhao 2004: 17.

⁷⁹ Lü 2013: 0. Appendix text 2.

⁸⁰ The Chinese text reads: 中国共产党肩负起民族独立人民解放历史重任.

panel to explain the context of this period, except for one small panel (in Chinese only) that focuses on the technological achievements of the time.⁸¹ By concentrating on the achievements and ignoring the disasters of the Maoist past, the curators managed to frame the story in which there is a ‘historical continuity between the Maoist past and the capitalist present’.⁸² Such strategic omissions are found throughout the exhibition (e.g. 1989 Tiananmen protests). The curators deal with these issues through ‘social amnesia’, rather than discussion. Forgetting is a natural process over time and the museum is often seen as an institution that ‘deliberately interrupts time’s natural order’ through preservation.⁸³ However, preservation is an actively selective process, therefore inevitably contributing to what an audience remembers. Museums arrange ‘the significance of what we already know’;⁸⁴ knowledge that is presented through narratives in history books, television programmes, and other media. This narrative information – in this case controlled by the CCP – is subsequently performed in the museum.⁸⁵ Although those who witnessed the events of the Cultural Revolution have not personally forgotten what occurred, the nation’s collective memory transforms over time the manner in which this event is remembered. The exhibition creates an evolutionary story of success – a mission that is ‘carried on the shoulders’ of the CCP – into the present that promises an undefined, but utopic future, where there is no place for the negative effects of events such as the Cultural Revolution.⁸⁶

The exhibiting style of *The Road of Rejuvenation* is much more formal than that of Ancient China, mainly displaying documents, photographs, and objects related to historic events. Dioramas are used sparsely and mainly for the period before 1949. In order to balance out the historic element of the exhibition, the narrative is accompanied by carefully selected paintings that are meant to appeal to the visitor’s sentimentality. This is also intended with the grand murals (fig. 3.4.3) at the beginning and end of the exhibition, accompanied by patriotic music. As an extra touch, the exit also displays a collage that sums up China’s greatness with military parades and dancing ethnic minorities.

The NMC presents a narrative that closely follows the CCP’s interpretation of historiography. However, as Denton points out, many modern history museums in China do not

⁸¹ Road of Rejuvenation, Part 4, Section 3. Appendix text 3.

⁸² Denton 2014: 73.

⁸³ Crane 2006: 100.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*: 102.

⁸⁵ Wertsch 2004: 174.

⁸⁶ Lü 2013: 384. Appendix text 4.

strictly present this revolutionary narrative.⁸⁷ In the next chapter I shall discuss how the Shenzhen Museum deals with integrating a national narrative into its own local history. This case study not only demonstrates Chinese history museums can move away from the NMC's interpretation of national history, but can even compete with the national narrative.



Figure 3.4.3 Mural in the final gallery of the Road of Rejuvenation exhibition.



Figure 3.4.4 Road of Rejuvenation exhibition final collage.

⁸⁷ Denton 2014: 74.

IV.

SHENZHEN: EPITOME OF THE NATION

This chapter starts off with an historical overview of the founding of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, followed by a brief history of the city's museum. The final sections discuss the permanent exhibition of the Shenzhen Museum.

4.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Shenzhen is a coastal city in southern China's Guangdong province that borders with Hong Kong. Before the founding of the city, Shenzhen was part of the rural county Bao'an that also consisted of Hong Kong, Zhuhai, Zhongshan, and Dongguan. The name 'Shenzhen' first appeared in the seventeenth century when it was used to name one of the defence towers along the Bao'an coast. The name Shenzhen 深圳 literally translates as 'deep drain', which probably refers to the drains between the paddy fields in the area.⁸⁸ The government policies of the late 1970s aimed at modernising and reforming China included stimulating industrial development and foreign trade. In order to experiment with direct foreign investment, Deng Xiaoping appointed several cities along the south-eastern coast of China that were to become so-called Special Economic Zones (SEZs). Bao'an's proximity to Hong Kong made the county a particularly attractive location for the first SEZ and thus Shenzhen was founded in 1979. The cities of Shantou, Zhuhai, and Xiamen followed in 1980. The mission of these SEZs were the following:

- To be a 'window' for observing global trends in economic, scientific, technological, managerial and market developments.
- To be 'a training ground' for talents in the Mainland.
- To be an 'experimenting ground' for reforms such as special economic management systems, flexible economic measures for enhancing economic cooperation and technology interflow between China and foreign countries.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Ng 2003: 429

⁸⁹ Ng 2003: 431.

It would be the first time that a city-level government had to run a local economy on its own. Between 1980 and 1985 Shenzhen's economic, industrial, and urban development surpassed nearly all its targets, giving rise to the phrase 'Shenzhen speed' (*Shenzhen sudu* 深圳速度). The first 26 years saw an annual growth rate of 26 percent.⁹⁰ From a few villages with a population of approximately 30,000 in 1980, Shenzhen has grown into a metropolis with an official population of over ten million people.⁹¹ As Mary Ann O'Donnell observes, the city is often seen as a 'means of rectifying the sins of Mao's past and a sign of the necessity for extending reform to the rest of China'. Since the late 1990s, the city is also seen to represent 'China's commitment to capitalist globalisation'.⁹² The local government also describes Shenzhen as 'China's major international gateway'.⁹³

Shenzhen is a place like no other in China, if only because it is a city where nearly everyone (95 percent) is from somewhere else. The city's average age is 28 and most people who die are buried in their hometown, which explains the relatively few and small cemeteries.⁹⁴ Many people who live in Shenzhen still refer to their parents' hometown identity, although this is now slowly starting to change; I have met several second generation 'Shenzheners' who feel a greater attachment to Shenzhen, than to their parents' place of origin. Shenzhen's identity is characterised by urban and economic development, and 'the shared sense of being away from home'.⁹⁵ The city is proud of its achievements and eagerly promotes its *rags-to-riches* success story, as well as its disposition to welcome migrants with open arms. However, as the city has a growing number of 'Shenzheners', it has tried to create an image of itself as being more than a 'migrant city' where people come only to work. The city's cultural heritage has become an important part of its identity narrative. The government has invested heavily in developing tourism and culture. The 'cultural city' strategy was initiated in 2003, which has attracted many cultural and creative industries.⁹⁶ Furthermore, many cultural heritage sites have been listed on the government's protection list and are being preserved and restored. The most recent examples are Dapeng Fortress (*Dapengcheng* 大鹏城) in Longgang district and the walled city of Nantou (*Nantoucheng* 南頭城) in Nanshan district.

⁹⁰ Bach 2011: 414.

⁹¹ Shenzhen Government 2014, http://www.sz.gov.cn/cn/zjsz/szgl/201408/t20140812_2544647.htm. When one includes the 'floating population', the total may even be around 16 million.

⁹² O'Donnell 1999: 343-344.

⁹³ Shenzhen Government 2014, http://www.sz.gov.cn/cn/zjsz/szgl/201408/t20140812_2544647.htm.

⁹⁴ Bach 2011: 414.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Shenzhen Government 2014, http://www.sz.gov.cn/cn/zjsz/szgl/201408/t20140812_2544647.htm.

Shenzhen portrays itself as a modern cosmopolitan city of endless possibilities, prosperity and cultural wealth. In order to be all it aspires to be, Shenzhen must also show its ambitions to the outside world. As mentioned previously, exhibiting one's success is as important as being successful. This has resulted in Shenzhen realising prestigious projects such as organising the 2011 Summer Universiade, and planning to open a branch of the Victoria and Albert Museum in the Shekou district in 2017. Shenzhen sees itself as the embodiment of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' (*Zhongguo tese shehui zhuyi* 中国特色社会主义), and therefore attributes itself an essential role in building the Chinese nation. It is this image of openness and success, combined with a cultural heritage that can be traced to ancient times, that is promoted and exhibited in the city's history museum, the Shenzhen Museum.

4.2 THE SHENZHEN MUSEUM



Figure 4.2.1 Exterior of the Shenzhen Museum

Within two years of Shenzhen being appointed China's first SEZ, the city's first museum was established in 1981 in the Luohu district: the Shenzhen Museum. According to the museum's website, the Shenzhen Museum was founded because the city needed a place to collect, store, and research archaeological artefacts found on construction sites.⁹⁷ The museum opened to the public in 1988 and welcomed many important figures during the 1990s, including Deng Xiaoping, Richard Nixon, and Henry Kissinger. It is not clear what the museum exhibited at the time, especially considering archaeological conservation and heritage were not high on the agenda at the beginning stages the SEZs development. The website suggests that Shenzhen's government was

⁹⁷ The Shenzhen Museum 2009a, http://www.shenzhenmuseum.com.cn/gysb.do?dispatch=jglc_show&id=1.

concerned with heritage conservation from the beginning, however, it was only in 1992 that the first Heritage Management Office was established under the Bureau of Culture in Shenzhen.⁹⁸ According to figures quoted by Liu Weibing and Ng Mee-Kam, there were about 100.000 heritage sites in 1980 of which only ten percent were preserved by 2006.⁹⁹ Deng Xiaoping's saying 'development is an absolute principle' (*fazhan cai shi ying daoli* 发展才是硬道理), which can be found throughout the city, was only interpreted as economic development. For many government officials, heritage conservation stood in the way of investment and modernisation.¹⁰⁰

In 1998 the government started construction of the Civic Centre (*shimin zhongxin* 市民中心; fig. 4.2.2) in Futian district, which would house the Shenzhen government and provide space for a new 12.500 square metre history museum. The Shenzhen Museum would be split up into two departments; the old building in Luohu district was to house the Shenzhen Museum's ancient art collection, the east wing of the



Figure 4.2.2 The Civic Centre, Futian District, Shenzhen.

Civic Centre was to become the Shenzhen Museum of history. The new museum was opened in 2008, in time to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of China's reform and opening-up. The museum building's location and architecture are as important as its contents. Varuti points out that the architecture of a museum can be seen as its 'packaging', which is designed to attract visitors and make 'a precise statement about the character of the institution'.¹⁰¹ The Civic Centre asserts a contemporary cultural identity and integrates the museum with the Shenzhen government. The structure looks futuristic, using primary colours and geometric shapes, while the Shenzhen Museum's logo (fig. 4.2.3) is reminiscent of Chinese traditional culture. This combination of ancient and contemporary suggests there is continuity between the past and the present.

⁹⁸ Liu & Ng 2009: 292.

⁹⁹ Liu & Ng 2009: 293.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Varutti 2014: 71.

According to the foreword of the Shenzhen Museum's permanent exhibition catalogue, the four exhibitions (Shenzhen Folk Culture, Ancient Shenzhen, Modern Shenzhen, and Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up History) are a permanent monument that records the more than 7000 years' history of Shenzhen and its historical development.¹⁰² The aim of this exhibition is to create and record a collective memory (*jiti jiyi* 集体记忆) that will bring the citizens



Figure 4.2.3 The Shenzhen Museum logo.

of Shenzhen closer together and make everyone of this 'migrant city' feel at home.¹⁰³ As mentioned previously, many inhabitants of Shenzhen are not merely temporary migrants, but are becoming citizens who feel connected to the city. However, most people do not naturally identify with the region's local heritage. Because the city is only 35 years old, many inhabitants do not even consider Shenzhen to have any heritage at all.¹⁰⁴ Museums play an important part in presenting and creating a cultural identity because 'material representations of traditionality and age help to legitimate a [...] group's claims to a unique identity and political power and to their attempts to create a sense of unity among themselves'.¹⁰⁵ As the analysis below will demonstrate, the Shenzhen Museum's curators have framed a narrative that takes migration as the main theme of Shenzhen's ancient past and uses the Reform and Opening-up exhibition to demonstrate an historical continuity in which migration is still key. The collective memory that is created by the museum is as much local as it is national, or even international. The city's identity is ultimately imposed by authority of the local government. It is the official interpretation of identity that is promulgated by government officials and the tourism board. The Shenzhen Museum therefore also serves as the government's calling card to the outside world. The museum's mission statement confirms its affiliation with the local government and its role as an institution that promotes Shenzhen's culture:

The Shenzhen Museum is an [*sic*] unit which works for public good, not for its own benefit, spreading knowledge for the public, and carrying out patriotic education wholeheartedly. As a comprehensive

¹⁰² Rong 2010:1a. Note how Shenzhen's history goes back two thousand years more than is currently attributed to China's national history. Appendix text 5.

¹⁰³ Ye 2010, <http://www.shenzhenmuseum.com.cn/gysb.do?dispatch=gzdh>. Appendix text 6.

¹⁰⁴ Liu & Ng 2009: 290. Whereas the Shenzhen Museum mentions the term 'heritage' quite often, the NMC hardly uses it at all, revealing that both museums serve a different purpose.

¹⁰⁵ Kaplan 2006: 153

museum, it has become an important cultural facility of Shenzhen, giving full play to its function of cultural relics collection, propaganda and education and scientific research.¹⁰⁶

The museum visitors are for the most part local schools – Shenzhen’s youngest and often ‘native’ citizens – and Chinese tourists who do not live in Shenzhen. Furthermore, the museum caters to foreign visitors by providing many of the exhibition texts in English. There are also audio tours available in English, Japanese, Russian, and Korean. However, foreigners make up a very small percentage of visitors.¹⁰⁷ Not all the exhibition’s texts are translated into English, which has probably more to do with available resources than wanting to convey an entirely different message to non-Chinese.



Figure 4.2.4 Entrance Hall of the Shenzhen Museum.

Upon entering the museum, the visitor is drawn towards a large raised-relief map (fig. 4.2.4) of Shenzhen against the backdrop of a stage featuring a wax figure of Deng Xiaoping and his inspection tour vehicle. Deng’s prominent positioning in the museum hall demonstrate that his reforms play a central role in the Shenzhen Museum’s narrative. This is also evident from the layout of the permanent exhibition; it is divided over two floors of which the top floor is entirely dedicated to Shenzhen’s history since the 1980s – The Exhibition of Shenzhen’s Reform and Opening-up History (*Shenzhen gaige kaifang shi zhanting* 深圳改革开放史展厅). The first floor covers the following exhibitions: the Exhibition of Shenzhen Folk Culture (*Shenzhen minzu zhanting* 深圳民俗

¹⁰⁶ The Shenzhen Museum 2009b, <http://www.shenzhenmuseum.com.cn/indexen.jsp> .

¹⁰⁷ The information on visitors is based on my own observations. Unfortunately I was not able to obtain official figures.

展厅), the Exhibition of Ancient Shenzhen (*gudai Shenzhen zhanxing* 古代深圳展厅), and the Exhibition of Modern Shenzhen (*jindai Shenzhen zhanxing* 近代深圳展厅). On the ground floor are a natural history exhibition, a temporary exhibition hall, and a ‘Children’s Hall’. The latter three go beyond the scope of this thesis, however I would like to make two observations. The temporary exhibition hall hosts several exhibitions a year on a wide variety of topics and often collaborates with national and international quality museums, such as the Shanghai Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Although the exhibitions are not directly linked to the permanent exhibitions, the collaborations add to the prestige of the museum – and indirectly the Shenzhen government – and realise their claim of being ‘internationally cutting-edge and domestically first-class’.¹⁰⁸ The museum is very explicit about the aims of the ‘Children’s Hall’: it is an educational area that teaches and ‘nurtures’ children to ‘accept’ Chinese traditional culture.¹⁰⁹ Again, the culture referred to is Han culture, which is presented in an essentialised form, thus completely in line with the patriotic education curriculum.

Although one is more or less guided to visit the exhibition halls of Shenzhen’s history in a certain order by the direction of the escalators, one is free to pick and choose which exhibition galleries to enter. Once inside, the gallery has a fixed route with little space to deviate from the narrative. Similar to the NMC, the narrative is divided into ‘book chapters’; the Modern Shenzhen exhibition even has a book-shaped sculpture to present its introduction. Each individual exhibition’s story, as well as the complete historical narrative is progressive and positive. The visitor is led towards a point where the continuous and unified story of Shenzhen’s progress culminates and celebrates the city’s uniqueness. At the same time the narrative is presented as the epitome of China’s national history, but almost as if Shenzhen’s history is an improved version of that narrative, suggesting Shenzheners are ‘better’ Chinese citizens.

4.3 THE EXHIBITION OF SHENZHEN FOLK CULTURE

The first exhibition gallery is dedicated to the Shenzhen region’s traditional folk culture, representing both tangible and intangible heritage. The gallery is divided into four parts: regional folklore (*qiyu minsu* 区域民俗), Hakka culture, Cantonese culture, and maritime culture. The exhibition has replica displays depicting local customs, festivals, religious processions, and street scenes. Certain displays

¹⁰⁸ The Shenzhen Museum 2009c, http://www.shenzhenmuseum.com.cn/gysb.do?dispatch=jglc_show&id=3.

¹⁰⁹ The Shenzhen Museum 2009d, <http://www.shenzhenmuseum.com.cn/hallen.do?dispatch=hallshow&hallid=5>.

are accompanied by multimedia stands where visitors can get more information on a particular topic. Screens throughout the exhibition display intangible culture such as Cantonese opera, local martial arts, oral traditions, and religious processions. The preface explains that it is important to pay attention to history and traditional culture if one wants to understand the present. Although the introduction acknowledges that culture changes over time, the exhibition itself presents a static and essentialised image of traditional culture that is fixed in an undetermined past.¹¹⁰ It is unclear where many of the traditions come from, which period they originate from, and if they are still present. Although the exhibition concludes by stating that folk culture continues after the Reform and Opening-up period, the museum does not show this contemporary folk culture.¹¹¹ Therefore the folk culture exhibition is in contrast with the modern image of Shenzhen. Because there is no gallery dedicated to modern or recent folk culture, this gallery is presumed to be the definitive guide to Shenzhen's folk culture.



Figure 4.3.1 Diorama of a shopping street.

An exhibition is effective when it convinces the visitor of its narrative. Performance and participation are the key to the Shenzhen Museum's folk culture exhibition. The exhibition is set up as if one were walking through a village where Cantonese and Hakka co-exist. The dioramas (fig. 4.3.1) add to the essentialised view of the cultural elements presented. One can enter a replicated Hakka home, or walk through a shopping street, which makes one *feel* as being part of the exhibition. This feeling is enhanced by street noises in the background and dimmed lighting. The paved road suggests a connection between all the elements of the gallery. Elizabeth Croke points out that sentiment, emotion, and nostalgia are important tools to develop 'a sense of place' in the formation of group identity.¹¹² The folk culture exhibition is separated from the historical narrative of the other three exhibitions, because it aims to connect the modern people of Shenzhen with the former local inhabitants through Han culture.

When discussing the Hakka and Cantonese people, their backgrounds and presence in Shenzhen is oversimplified. For example, one of the text panels describes how the Cantonese people

¹¹⁰ Shenzhen Folk Culture, Preface. Appendix text 7.

¹¹¹ Shenzhen Folk Culture, Conclusion. Appendix text 8.

¹¹² Croke 2006: 173.

traditionally lived in the west of present-day Shenzhen, the Hakka people lived in the east. Both lived separate lives, but due to the long period of (peaceful) co-existence they created some common traditions.¹¹³ The exhibition emphasises that the Hakka and Cantonese people are both Han Chinese from central China who migrated to the south. From the formulation of the text it is clear that these peoples are primarily seen as descendants of the Han Chinese from the Central Plains, any other identity is subsidiary. While 55 ethnic minorities (*shaoshu minzu* 少数民族) are officially recognised in China, over ninety percent of the population are classified as Han. In the official discourse on ethnicity, Cantonese and Hakka are not recognised as non-Han categories. Although there are many cultural, linguistic, and regional differences amongst the Han Chinese, the government considers this ethnic group to be homogeneous, sharing a common origin, (written) language and history.¹¹⁴ This includes a narrative that southern China was occupied by ‘Chinese’ inhabitants since ancient times; a claim that is contested by many international scholars, who hold that the region’s prehistoric inhabitants were more likely to be related to Southeast Asian cultures, rather than the peoples of northern China.¹¹⁵ The Shenzhen Museum pays little attention to ethnic minorities or other ethnic groups, because this topic deviates from the main narrative, which is aimed at creating a common identity through Han migration. This exhibition even explicitly states that Shenzhen has ‘inherited’ national (Han) culture (*minzu wenhua* 民族文化). This is further validated by misquoting the famous Chinese writer Lu Xun. Referring to art works having more international value when they contain more local characteristics, Lu is quoted as saying: ‘the more local, the easier it becomes international (*you difang secai de, dao rongyi chengwei shijie de* 有地方色彩的，倒容易成为世界的)’.¹¹⁶ However, the Shenzhen Museum rephrases the quote to read: ‘the more national, the easier it becomes international (*yue shi minzu de, dao rongyi chengwei shijie de* 越是民族的，倒容易成为世界的)’ In this way, the folk culture exhibition nationalises local heritage to interpret and utilise ‘bygone times that links [*sic*] individuals with a larger collective’.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Shenzhen Folk Culture, Regional Folk Culture. Appendix text 9.

¹¹⁴ Dikötter 2005: 179.

¹¹⁵ Vickers 2003: 72.

¹¹⁶ Lu Xun 2005: 81.

¹¹⁷ Hoelscher 2006: 200.

4.4 THE EXHIBITION OF ANCIENT SHENZHEN

The folk culture exhibition is a prelude that places Shenzhen's historic cultural identity in a national context. The historical narrative begins with the Exhibition of Ancient Shenzhen, where the history of Shenzhen's region is placed beside China's national history from 5000 B.C. to 1839 A.D.¹¹⁸ There is an emphasis on cultural and maritime development of the Shenzhen region. The preface claims that Shenzhen has a history going back 7000 years. Its urban history goes back 1700 years, its history of coastal defence over 600 years and the migration of Cantonese and Hakka people has 'a long history'. The term 'history' (*lishi* 历史) is not used in the strictest sense – written records – but rather as evidence of human activity. The exhibition is divided into five parts that are chronological and thematic:

- 1) *The Predecessor's Footmark* (5000 B.C. – 221 B.C.), which looks at the cultural remains of the mid- and late-Neolithic age, the Shang dynasty and the Zhou dynasty.
- 2) *Beginning of the City* (221 B.C. – 589 A.D.), which looks at the cultural remains of the Han dynasty, the bureaucratisation of salt production, and the establishment of Dongguan 东官 prefecture in 331 A.D.
- 3) *The Maritime Economy* (581 – 1839), which looks at the development of the Shenzhen region as an important coastal area for trade, salt production, fishery, and oyster farming.
- 4) *An Important Strategic Town on Coastal Defence* (1368 – 1893), which looks at the different strongholds of coastal defence, the establishment of Xin'an 新安 county (in today's Nanshan 南山 district) in 1573, Xin'an's evacuation during the early Qing dynasty, and its subsequent restoration.
- 5) *Ancient Migration*, which looks at migration in the Shenzhen region from the Qin dynasty, with a particular emphasis on Cantonese and Hakka peoples.

¹¹⁸ With the Shenzhen region I mean not only the area within Shenzhen's current boundaries, but also those areas beyond those boundaries that are relevant to the history of this part of the Guangdong region. This extends more or less to Guangzhou in the north and Hong Kong in the south.



Figure 4.4.1 Relief at the Ancient Shenzhen exhibition entrance.

At the entrance of the exhibition the visitor is drawn to a large relief (fig. 4.4.1) depicting Shenzhen's evolution from prehistoric times up to the mid-nineteenth century. It is reminiscent of socialist realist art found around Tiananmen Square. The preface reveals that the exhibition will demonstrate how the predecessors of today's Shenzhen went through a lot of effort to lay the foundations of this 'brilliant and magnificent' city.¹¹⁹ Similar to the NMC, the Shenzhen Museum places the city's origins in prehistoric times. However, the focus is less on the aesthetic and mythical qualities of the objects – as is the case in the NMC – instead, exhibits are framed in an archaeological, scientific setting. Whereas the NMC presents its objects as undoubtedly Chinese – prehistoric or otherwise – the Shenzhen Museum's curators have felt the need to 'prove' human existence in the region before the Qin dynasty. A map shows the distribution of tombs and relics of pre-Qin 'Shenzhen' to illustrate the vast area that was inhabited. The displays are made to look like archaeological excavation sites and show dozens of prehistoric artefacts such as pottery and work tools as if they have just been dug up from the ground. Visitors *witness* history before their eyes. In order to link the Shenzhen region to China's national history, the decorative style on local pottery during the Shang dynasty is compared to the decorative patterns found on bronzes of the north.¹²⁰ The exhibition does not mention that the Shenzhen region was not yet part of any 'Chinese' kingdom, nor does it

¹¹⁹ Rong 2010:1b. Appendix text 10.

¹²⁰ Ancient Shenzhen, Cultural Remains of the Shang Dynasty. Appendix text 11.

explain the nature of north and south interaction. It is also not revealed which people this pottery belonged to.

The first bronzes appear during the Zhou dynasty and belonged to the Yue tribes. Although they too are linked to the ‘Chinese’ people of the north, they are not claimed to be biologically or culturally related. In fact, the narrative is framed as such that these prehistoric ‘bellicose’ tribes are contrasted with the (presumed peaceful) Han Chinese that are said to have migrated to the south during the Qin dynasty. A diorama (fig. 4.4.2) reconstructs a group of fierce-looking Yue tribesmen going on an expedition. As Emily Rees-Stokes points out, dioramas present a ‘simplistic and linear story’ that leaves no room for multiple interpretations of the past.¹²¹ The contextualisation created by the diorama makes the exhibits more lifelike, but shows only one reality.¹²²



Figure 4.4.2 ‘Bellicose’ Yue tribesmen.

Although human activity in the Shenzhen region is dated to prehistoric times, the foundation for the city of Shenzhen is placed in the Qin dynasty, making migration one of the recurring themes of the city’s historical narrative. According to the text panel ‘Beginning of the City’, ‘large-scale migration from the Central Plains to the south’ began after Qin Shi Huang conquered the south. The text goes on to state that ‘during the periods of the Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties, Shenzhen was in harmony with the mainstream Han culture’.¹²³ This statement raises several questions: who is meant by Shenzhen? What is Han culture, let alone ‘mainstream’ Han culture? The exhibition does not clarify these issues. Again, Han presence in the region is verified by archaeological finds. Phrases such as ‘developing continuously’ reinforces the idea of progress in the region; a characteristic that is still attributed to Shenzhen today. From the Tang dynasty, Shenzhen’s importance for regional trade and defence is described. The Shenzhen region was merely a collection of villages, but it is referred to as the ‘gate’ of transportation on the southern coast of Guangdong (*Yuehai menhu* 粤海门户). From the Ming dynasty, Shenzhen is one of the strongholds of coastal

¹²¹ Rees-Stokes 2011: 349.

¹²² Lowenthal 1992: 25.pl

¹²³ Ancient Shenzhen, Beginning of the City. Appendix text 12.

defence of southeast China and the exhibition prepares the visitor for what is to come in the next exhibition hall.

In case the visitor may have forgotten about the Hakka and the Cantonese, the final gallery of Ancient Shenzhen is dedicated to their migration to the region. The visitor is also reminded that 'Shenzhen is a modern migrant city. However, during its history there were many phases of migration'.¹²⁴ Whereas the folk culture exhibition emphasised Cantonese and Hakka customs and intangible heritage, this exhibition places the Hakka and Cantonese in the historical narrative through material objects and archaeological evidence. There are also many photographs of Hakka and Cantonese buildings and inscriptions located in Shenzhen. Two extensive diagrams show the development of Cantonese and Hakka clans in the region.

Although this exhibition still tries to place as much history as possible within the boundaries of today's Shenzhen, there is more room for nuance and it is clear that the exhibition shows the history of the region, not just the city. However, emphasis is still put on the continuity of Shenzhen's history, suggesting a linear development starting in the 'savage' Neolithic period until today (hence boasting a 7000 year history). The conclusions that this exhibition draws are that the indigenous people and the Han Chinese co-existed harmoniously and developed the Shenzhen region to what it is today by combining local and Han Chinese culture. Notably, local culture is considered fluid, yet Han culture is implied to be static and the same throughout the whole of China. At the same time 'local' culture is inextricably linked to Han culture and is not explicitly defined. Furthermore, all conflict in the region is attributed to outsiders, suggesting there were no tensions between the different local groups living in the region, even though there are records of local tensions between several clans and ethnic groups, notably during the Ming and Qing dynasties.¹²⁵ The exhibition concludes with the statement that the people 'lived harmoniously together, continuously creating material and spiritual wealth to build a solid historical base for improving the sustainable development of Shenzhen'.¹²⁶ As the narrative progresses, the visitor is regularly reminded of the unyielding determination and supposed connectedness that forms the basis of the Shenzhen region's identity. These characteristics merge seamlessly into the next exhibition.

¹²⁴ Ancient Shenzhen, Ancient Migration. Appendix text 13.

¹²⁵ Leong 1997: 40.

¹²⁶ Rong 2010: 174. Appendix text 14.

4.5 THE EXHIBITION OF MODERN SHENZHEN



Figure 4.5.1 Relief at the entrance of the Modern Shenzhen exhibition.

This exhibition deals with the history of Shenzhen from the first Opium War of 1839 up to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. In addition to the Opium Wars, this exhibition also deals with the following topics: Sun Yat-sen and the Sanzhoutian Uprising (*Sanzhouboutian qiyi* 三洲田起义) against the Qing (1900), the establishment of the Bao'an CCP Organisation (1925), the Guangzhou-Hong Kong General Strike (*shenggang da bagong* 省港大罷工; 1925-1926), the Japanese occupation and subsequent resistance (1938-1944), and the 'Liberation of Shenzhen' from the KMT (1949). The final gallery focuses on the social and economic development of the Shenzhen region during the Republican era.

The English title of this exhibition, 'Modern Shenzhen' raises the question of what is meant by 'modern'. The Chinese title, *Jindai Shenzhen* 近代深圳, is somewhat more specific, because *jindai* 近代 usually refers to the period of the mid-nineteenth century up to either the May Fourth Movement, or the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Similar to the NMC's narrative, the Shenzhen Museum considers the nineteenth century as a watershed for Chinese history and the beginning of modernity in China. The official Chinese reading of history interprets 'modern' in terms of Western military involvement in the Chinese empire and subsequent institutional reforms, ignoring earlier socio-economic developments of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties that may also define China's beginning modernity. This interpretation makes it possible to contrast China's modernising efforts of the nineteenth century with the imperial socio-political system that is perceived to be ancient and outdated. Both the NMC and the Shenzhen Museum

frame their narratives as an interplay between contrast (e.g. ancient versus modern) and continuity (e.g. unity of ‘the people’). The final two exhibitions of the Shenzhen Museum and the NMC’s Road of Rejuvenation share more differences than similarities. However, there is a striking likeness between their exhibition styles. It is unclear whether this is accidental or not; either way, it does highlight the difference in nuance of the museums’ respective narratives.

The exhibition begins in a dim-lit gallery, where a large book in front of a dramatic relief (fig. 4.5.1) presents the introduction of the events that are about to unfold. Again, the relief summarises the events presented in the exhibition. The book analogy has been suggested throughout the exhibition, but this is the first time it is made explicit; this is where the ‘real’ history of Shenzhen begins. A museum’s narrative is not only presented through text, but also through performance.¹²⁷ The First Opium War ‘opens the curtain’ of modern Chinese history, as if one were the spectator of a theatre play. However, a museum is also different from theatre in that the visitor is placed in the middle of the events. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out, it is ‘the movement of spectators through space that distinguishes museums [...] from theatre’.¹²⁸ The exhibition guides the visitor through a chronological order of nationally important events, presented from a local perspective. The introduction boldly states that Shenzhen’s modern history is the ‘epitome of China’s modern history’.¹²⁹ Furthermore, it argues that *because* the Shenzhen region took centre stage in the battles of the Opium Wars and the region borders on present-day Hong Kong, it has played an important role in China’s modernisation. This reasoning legitimises in part Shenzhen’s position as an SEZ. The presentation of Shenzhen’s history as ‘the epitome of China’s modern history’ is problematic, because it gives rise to teleological historiography. The exhibition ascribes a prominent role to Shenzhen in the national history of China. Many of the battles of the Opium Wars were fought at the Pearl River Delta, but the war itself was essentially played out at the imperial court in Beijing.

¹²⁷ Knell 2011: 5.

¹²⁸ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1997: 8.

¹²⁹ Cai 2010: 1. Appendix text 15.

Both the national Chinese narrative of the Opium Wars and the exhibition view this period as one of humiliation and struggle, due to the ‘unequal treaties’ and foreign influence. However, the language used in the Shenzhen exhibition is generally more positive. The focus of the narrative is on the bravery and determination of the local people to defend the Shenzhen region. A film re-enacts the resistance of the people of Shenzhen and Hong Kong against the British in all its goriness, aimed at prompting an emotional response of pride in the visitor. Shenzhen and the NMC both display a diorama that shows brave soldiers loading canons to be fired at the British fleet. The former depicts the Battle of Kowloon (1839; fig. 4.5.2) which is seen as a victory in Chinese historiography;¹³⁰ the latter diorama depicts the Battle of Canton (1841; 4.5.3) that was won by the British. Whereas the NMC accentuates defeat, the Shenzhen Museum stresses victory. To reinforce the idea of the Battle of Kowloon being a success that can be attributed to Shenzhen, a large showcase is dedicated to the local hero Lai Enjue from Dapeng, who lead the Qing forces to ‘victory’. Some of his personal belongings are also displayed to give this hero a personality. In the next gallery more successful achievements are presented, such as photographs and documents that illustrate how the British failed to occupy Shenzhen.



Figure 4.5.2 The Battle of Kowloon at the Shenzhen Museum.



Figure 4.5.3 The Battle of Canton at the NMC.

The next chapter deals with the anti-Qing movement at the turn of the twentieth century. The national narrative focuses on the *Xinhai* revolution of 1911, led by Sun Yat-sen. This event led to the fall of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Republic of China. Shenzhen’s local narrative also addresses the anti-Qing movement in the regional context. Although Shenzhen cannot claim to have overthrown the Qing, the museums does claim that the Shenzhen region was the first to try to overthrow the Qing during the so-called Sanzhoutian Uprising in 1900. According to the

¹³⁰ The Battle of Kowloon took place on 4 September 1839 and ended up in stalemate, according to non-Chinese sources (Elleman 2001: 18).

gallery's description this was one of the earliest anti-Qing protests initiated by Sun Yat-sen.¹³¹ The Shenzhen Museum emphasises that this was a major event of late Qing history which took place in Shenzhen – at that time still Bao'an county – yet few history books or journal articles specifically mention Sanzhoutian.¹³² This event not only places the anti-Qing movement in Shenzhen, it outdoes the nation by being first, even though the uprising ultimately failed. It makes the city a pioneer in China's path to becoming a modern nation-state. The anti-Qing movement is visualised through dioramas that display the 'revolutionary spirit' of the Chinese people. Although the CCP was not established until 1921, the influence of socialism on the anti-Qing movement is suggested by the socialist realist-style sculptures accompanying the Battle of Lanhua Temple exhibit.

The role of the CCP in Shenzhen's historiography is set out in the next three galleries covering the party's founding, the resistance against Japan, and the 'liberation' of Shenzhen. The local CCP committee of Bao'an is attributed an important role in the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike of 1925-1926, an event that 'shocked the world'.¹³³ The party is also described to be the leading force behind the resistance movement during the Sino-Japanese War, leaving out every mention of the KMT. The Bao'an CCP committee is framed as 'a famous force' that led forces who 'continuously attacked the Japanese' and 'rescued China's cultural elite, patriotic democrats, and allied forces of Britain, India, etc.'. ¹³⁴ The exhibition continuously emphasises Shenzhen's and the local CCP's relevance to the nation as a whole, celebrating their heroic endeavours. Both the NMC and the Shenzhen Museum use photography to illustrate the war period. Again, the NMC's photos display a much more negative image, photographs that depict graphic scenes of destruction, mass graves and piled up bodies. The Shenzhen Museum's photographs merely show Japanese presence in Shenzhen, with troops marching through the streets. These photographs are subsequently contrasted by images of cheering Chinese who successfully reclaimed parts of Bao'an county and famous figures – cartoonist Ding Cong and writer Mao Dun, amongst others – who were rescued from Hong Kong by Shenzhen soldiers. Surprisingly, the photographs include images of explicitly mentioned KMT forces. Japanese and British periodicals describing the condition of Shenzhen give a certain validation of Shenzhen's history.

¹³¹ Modern Shenzhen, Development of the Anti-Qing Revolutionary Movement. Appendix text 16.

¹³² Sanzhoutian is located in Shenzhen's Yantian district.

¹³³ Cai 2010: 1. Appendix text 15.

¹³⁴ Modern Shenzhen, A Banner of Southern Guangdong's Resistance against Japan. Appendix text 17.

The following gallery is dedicated to the ‘liberation’ of Shenzhen and the establishment of the People’s Republic of China after ‘Chiang Kai-shek launched a civil war in Guangdong’.¹³⁵ Upon entering the gallery, visitors are drawn towards a painting that covers nearly the entire back wall depicting the flag raising ceremony on the 1st October 1949 at Wangmu Market. All other exhibits are subsidiary. This gallery is intended to stir up emotions of patriotism; the ceiling of the gallery is covered by a huge flag of the PRC that appears to float in the blue-painted sky. The national flag in the painting is surrounded by white doves symbolising the peace that the CCP has brought to Shenzhen. Notably, the only image of Mao Zedong appears in the painting. There are no photographs of the PRC’s first leader in this gallery at all, nor is his name mentioned in any of the text panels.

The liberation gallery proceeds to the final gallery titled ‘Economy and Society’, where visitors – as were they one of the new PRC’s citizens – walk through an arched passage that is modelled on the gate of the People’s Government of Shenzhen Town. However, the transition is rather curious, because the final gallery



Figure 4.5.4 The liberation gallery.

takes the visitor back in time, not forward. Whereas the previous galleries are structured chronologically, this final gallery is arranged thematically, covering Shenzhen’s socio-economic situation during the Republican era. The introduction reads:

After the Opium Wars, China was forced to open its doors and Western capitalist culture entered Shenzhen via Hong Kong. Shenzhen became a region where Chinese and the Western culture collided. On the one hand, the rotten aspects of capitalist culture had a negative influence on Shenzhen; on the other hand, Western democratic and scientific thought, and religion, capitalist production and lifestyle, as well as new culture and education, but above all the establishment of customs and the construction of the railway modernised the economic and social development of the Shenzhen area.¹³⁶

From this point in the exhibition, the Shenzhen Museum displays a surprising deviation from the NMC’s narrative. Whereas the former views foreign presence in a fairly positive light – except for the (undefined) ‘rotten elements’ – the NMC does not credit the West for any positive development

¹³⁵ Caption under a photograph. The Chinese text reads: 蒋介石在广东率先发动内战.

¹³⁶ Modern Shenzhen, Economy and Society. Appendix text 18.

in Republican China. In order to focus the attention on the CCP's future instrumental role in leading China to victory and success, a panel for the Republican era at the NMC reads: 'The imperialist power's invasion shattered China's dream of learning from the West'.¹³⁷ The narrative of the Shenzhen Museum prepares the visitor for what is to come in the final exhibition and legitimises Shenzhen's present status as China's most successful SEZ by suggesting that it has always been open to new ideas and foreign culture. Its message seems to be that capitalism brings prosperity.

Chinese workers going abroad and Western missionaries are described to have contributed to the construction of Shenzhen at the beginning of the twentieth century, bringing new culture, science, education systems and hygiene. The latter is particularly attributed to the missionaries. This inclusion of religion as a positive element in Chinese society is a surprising twist considering the CCP's stance on religion.¹³⁸ Shenzhen is presented as a modern and progressive area, which is illustrated by photographs and objects, such as a printing press, a gramophone, and a radio. Nostalgia is an important element in this gallery, where the curators have tried to recreate an atmosphere reminiscent of the exotic image of twentieth-century Shanghai. Even colonialism is presented in a nostalgic, positive way by accentuating the advantages for Shenzhen bordering on economically advanced Hong Kong. The final passage towards the exit is turned into a replica of Zhongying Street (fig. 5.4.5), a street in Shenzhen's Yantian district where one side belongs to China and the other belongs to Hong Kong. The wax figures of a Chinese and a British customs officer stand beside each other, separated by an unobtrusive boundary marker. The scene looks very friendly and projects an image of mutual co-existence and exchange, rather than the animosity that the NMC presents towards 'the imperialist powers'.



Figure 5.4.5 Zhongying Street.

Before exiting the exhibition, a text panel recaps the narrative so far, but also ensures that the visitor takes away the right message from the exhibition. Shenzhen's modern history follows the

¹³⁷ Road of Rejuvenation, An Earth-Shattering Event. Appendix text 19.

¹³⁸ Although the PRC's constitution guarantees freedom of religion, this is restricted to 'normal religious activities' of religious groups and organisations that are 'not subject to any foreign domination' (Chapter 2 art. 36, http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/2007-11/15/content_1372964.htm). The religious organisations described in the exhibition are not government-endorsed and would have been labeled 'underground' organisations by the CCP today.

same course as the Chinese nation in that it suffered at the hand of foreign invasion and the Qing government's 'incompetence' during the nineteenth century. Qing China and Meiji Japan are compared as a rhetorical device to demonstrate that the late Qing authorities' 'stubbornness' and 'unwillingness to carry out reforms' led to China remaining a backward country that was bullied by foreign powers. The conclusion is very specific to note that the late Qing rulers are to blame, not the earlier Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, who had made China 'peaceful and prosperous'. Nonetheless, the early Qing emperors were part of a 'feudal' system that was finally overthrown in 1911 and the beginnings of a nation were formed. Despite the foreign invasions and domestic troubles of the Republican era, the people's courage and perseverance got them through this difficult period. The people's accomplishments were achieved not without help of the CCP that was 'the mainstay in the Chinese Revolution that finally established an independent and democratic people's republic'.¹³⁹ The conclusion portrays the CCP as a decisive factor in China's success, but also reminds the visitor the Chinese people *understand* (*dongde* 懂得) that the Republican era's reform and opening-up, and innovation is an 'irrefutable truth'.¹⁴⁰ The text goes on:

Reform and opening-up, and innovation [are the key to success]. The people of Shenzhen stuck to this strategy, transforming Shenzhen from a small, backward, and poverty-stricken county, to today's modern metropolis, in a very short period of time. This is an unprecedented achievement. [Shenzhen] has washed away its historical burden and humiliation, and is heading for a bright and prosperous future.¹⁴¹

By using the phrase 'reform and opening-up' – a phrase specifically associated with politics since the late 1970s and symbolic for Shenzhen's recent development – the text aims to convince the visitor that Shenzhen's (and China's) current success was historically inevitable. Furthermore, reform is framed as being part of the Chinese spirit that goes back further than the era of Deng Xiaoping. Shenzhen's success is further emphasised by describing the early town as a backward place and then juxtaposing this with the 'modernised metropolis' of today. Finally, the museum breaks with the collective memory of 'the Century of Humiliation' that is so prominent in the NMC's narrative; Shenzhen has not only overcome the humiliation but has erased it by 'washing it off'.

¹³⁹ Cai 2010: 192. Appendix text 20.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

4.6 THE EXHIBITION OF SHENZHEN'S REFORM AND OPENING-UP

The final exhibition is the main attraction of the museum and covers the entire top floor. Before entering the actual exhibition on the development of Shenzhen as a city, one is directed to a separate space where the Maoist era and the late 1970s are presented. This separation reinforces the contrast between pre- and post-reform Shenzhen. The gallery is set up to look like a village; local villagers sit under a large tree by a river and further down the gallery a diorama (fig. 5.6.1) depicts villagers working in the salt fields and oyster farms. Photographs illustrate the relatively underdeveloped conditions of old Shenzhen, which is in stark contrast with the modern image of the region during the Republican era.



Figure 5.6.1 Locals at work before 1978.

The introductory text panel directly places Shenzhen in the national context: ‘In the late 1970s, after China had undergone the catastrophe that was the Great Cultural Revolution, [the country] found itself at an important historical juncture to set things right’.¹⁴² Whereas the NMC avoids the painful events of the Cultural Revolution, the Shenzhen Museum openly criticises the policies of the 1960s and early

1970s. Achievements such as the Shenzhen Reservoir are acknowledged, but the main focus is on the disastrous consequences of this period. Varutti notes that the Cultural Revolution is a taboo subject for museums. When the topic is unavoidable, this period is reference ‘in vague terms such as ‘dark era’ or ‘dark decade’, and at most it is dismissed as ‘a mistake’.¹⁴³ She also mentions that there is a Museum of the Cultural Revolution in Shantou in Guangdong Province that is under the patronage of local politicians. However, the museum is not accepted by government authorities, who try to block as much publicity about the museum as possible.¹⁴⁴ The fact that the Shenzhen Museum is able to openly criticise this period of Chinese history while being a government-funded institution is rather surprising.

¹⁴² Shenzhen’s Reform and Opening-up, Initial Stage of the Special Economic Zone 1987-1992. Appendix text 21.

¹⁴³ Varutti 2014: 119.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

The Shenzhen Museum goes quite far in its criticism, calling the period a ‘catastrophe’. A film is shown in the middle of the gallery where the Shenzhen region is praised for its water conservancy efforts and high productivity in the 1950s. Subsequently, the rest of the film concentrates on The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, describing them as a period of ‘economic hardship’, that had a ‘disastrous effect’ in the region. Notably, in the Hong Kong Museum of History the topic of Mainland refugees heading for Hong Kong after 1949 is too sensitive a subject to be addressed.¹⁴⁵ Also, the so-called Political Frontier Defense politics are described as ‘damaging’. The ‘poverty-stricken’ country is compared to prosperous Hong Kong. Images and film fragments of Chinese refugees crossing the border are shown as the narrator tells how local Mainlanders fled to the British colony.¹⁴⁶ The film concludes with the remark that after the Cultural Revolution, the Shenzhen people were about to experience order being restored and enter a period of revival. The film is underscored by melancholic music, aimed at triggering the visitor’s emotions. Notably, Mao Zedong is not mentioned anywhere; neither in this gallery, nor any other. Except for two propaganda posters, two seconds of footage from 1949 in the aforementioned film, and the Wangmu Market painting in the Modern Shenzhen exhibition there are no other images at all. Criticising Mao directly is rather problematic, especially for government institutions, which means that the absence of Mao in the narrative is probably to avoid having to deal with his role in the country’s problems.

To further illustrate the backwardness of Shenzhen, information panels show the backward state of Shenzhen before the economic reforms, information panels present the income difference between farmers from Hong Kong and Shenzhen. Next to these panels is an anecdote about Deng Xiaoping who, while touring through Guangdong province in 1977, made the following remark concerning Mainlanders fleeing to



Figure 5.6.2 Shenzhen’s Pioneering Bull.

Hong Kong: ‘This is a problem of our policy, it is not a question of effectiveness of our armed forces’.¹⁴⁷ These final panels are strategically placed at the end of the gallery to create a considerable contrast with the next part of the exhibition. The difference in mood is immediately visible upon

¹⁴⁵ Van Ling 2015b, <https://youtu.be/b3mbMWUgIus>.

¹⁴⁶ Vickers 2003: 70.

¹⁴⁷ The Chinese text reads: 这是我们的政策有问题，此事不是部队能够管得了的。

entering the first gallery of the Reform and Opening-up exhibition. The visitor is confronted by another screen that plays a film showing snippets of Shenzhen's highlights. Accelerated film fragments, stills of the city, and slogans rush across the screen, creating a sense of energy and vitality. In front of the screen stands a replica of Shenzhen's most iconic sculpture: the Pioneering Bull (*kenhuangniu* 垦荒牛; fig. 5.6.2). This bronze sculpture, made in 1984 by renowned Chinese sculptor Pan He, stands in front of the compounds of the Shenzhen Municipal Committee of the CCP on Shennan Road in Futian District and signifies the spirit of Shenzhen as a city of innovation and reform.

The exhibition is divided into the following chapters:

Chapter I: The Initiative Phase of the Special Economic Zone 1978-1992

- The political establishment of Shenzhen as a Special Economic Zone.
- Urban Construction.
- Market-oriented restructuring, economic development part. I, and foreign investment in Shenzhen.
- Deng Xiaoping's 1992 inspection tour and a general tribute.

Chapter II: Period of Creating New Advantage 1993-2002

- Political development of SEZs on a national level and the role of Jiang Zemin.
- Economic development part II, international trade, industrial development.
- The return of Hong Kong, strengthening cooperation between Shenzhen and Hong Kong.
- Urban modernisation.
- Reform of the political system in Shenzhen.

Chapter III: Stage of Practising the Scientific Development Perspective 2003~

- Shenzhen under Hu Jintao.
- Economic development part III.
- Further cooperation between Shenzhen and Hong Kong.
- Development of the cultural sector.
- Development of public services (healthcare, public transport, etc.).
- Shenzhen and the CCP.
- Shenzhen serving the interests of the nation (aid relief, volunteer projects, etc.).

The exhibition is arranged in chronological order, starting with the history of establishing SEZs by the CCP's central government. As with the Modern Shenzhen exhibition, the exhibiting style is similar to that of the NMC, but again, the message is altered to suit Shenzhen's local narrative. The number of text panels, photographs, and exhibits is so overwhelming that visitors can almost *feel* the speed at which the city 'that rose overnight' has been built. The introduction reveals that visitors can expect to see the story of a city that is more than a sub-provincial city that is merely economically relevant.¹⁴⁸ It is an 'experimental field' and a 'window' of the new China, making Shenzhen an example to be followed. The window-metaphor suggests that Shenzhen is a city on display, literally exhibiting itself to the 'outside world'. Furthermore, the city is a 'pearl' in south China, which emphasises that Shenzhen is also a place of prosperity. Throughout the exhibition Shenzhen is portrayed as a place of 'firsts', which enhances the image of the city as a role model.



Figure 5.6.3 Tools used to build Shenzhen.

The exhibition tries to be as comprehensive as possible and goes into a lot of detail on political and administrative processes. Especially the establishment of Shenzhen as a SEZ is dealt with extensively, exhibiting countless documents, photographs and personal items. Personal items are used often in Chinese museums and can include the most unusual, or mundane objects. In this particular exhibition this includes pens, shoes, lunch boxes, and construction tools (fig. 5.6.3). Even when the items did not belong to famous persons, they are still presented as cultural relics, 'silent witnesses to an historic moment'.¹⁴⁹ Visitor feel as if they were right in the middle of the event.

The next important moment in Shenzhen's history is the construction of the city. Huge screens that rise up to the ceiling show the blasting of mountains with the dust clouds and explosions happening right above the visitor's head. The film is underscored by heroic music and a narrator dramatically recites appropriate slogans. This is yet another technique to provoke an

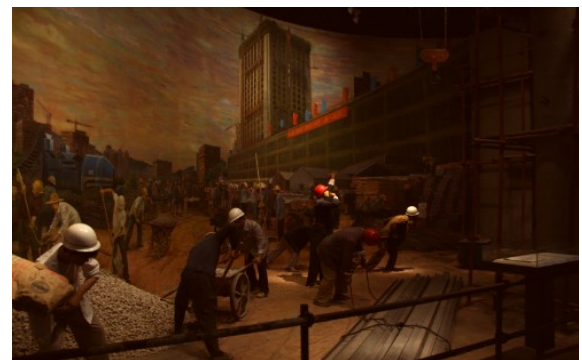


Figure 5.6.4 Diorama of construction workers.

¹⁴⁸ Yang 2010: 1. Appendix text 22.

¹⁴⁹ Varutti 2014: 60.

emotional response. Before-after photographs illustrate the impressive transformation of the landscape. Dioramas (fig. 5.6.4) of construction workers building high-rise buildings and enjoying their evenings in their living quarters make visitors feel as if they are present at these moments as they are happening. Accompanying text panels boast the speed at which the city is created.¹⁵⁰ At this point, the emphasis on migration in the previous exhibitions becomes clear. In order to build Shenzhen, labourers from all corners of China were recruited to work in the city. Even today Shenzhen still relies on migrant labour to continue developing the city. It is therefore imperative that the city is portrayed as a place where outsiders are welcome. A positive historic connection to migration validates this claim better than anything else. The positive climate is strengthened by photographs of happy and smiling workers that read captions such as ‘joyous decorator’. Another photograph depicts young workers writing a letter to their parents; the caption reads: ‘Dear mum and dad, how are you doing’. These captions humanise the persons in the photographs and make them people the visitor can relate to. During my fieldwork research I observed that a vast number of visitors to the museum are Chinese tourists who come from outside Shenzhen. The local government attaches great importance to promoting Shenzhen as a pleasant city to outsiders so a lot of effort is placed in accommodating this audience.

The most prominent crowd-puller is the Deng Xiaoping commemoration gallery. The title of this gallery – Deng Xiaoping’s 1992 inspection tour and a general tribute – indicates that it is more than merely an exhibition; it is a shrine. On an elevated floor stands a statue of Deng Xiaoping planting a tree at Shenzhen’s Xianhu Botanical Garden (fig.5.6.5). As one walks up the ramp that has the date of his visit engraved into the tiles, slanted panels present pictures and famous quotes. The original spade and bucket that Deng used at the botanical garden are presented in a glass cabinet beside the statue. Deng’s hotel room is completely reconstructed to the last detail and even the bus he travelled in is on display. The latter can even be



Figure 5.6.5 Deng Xiaoping planting a tree.

touched. Many Chinese visitors can be seen posing for photographs to monumentalise this ‘witnessing of history’. As with the previously mentioned personal items, these exhibits generate

¹⁵⁰ Shenzhen’s Reform and Opening-up, Initial Urban Construction. Appendix text 23.

what Stephen Greenblatt calls ‘resonance’, which emphasises the objects’ associations rather than their material or historical value; they ‘restore a tangibility’ that the object and its associated event are imagined to possess.¹⁵¹ This tangibility is imagined, because the viewer of the object was never able to hold or possess the object in the first place. Nonetheless, the suggestion is evoked.

This moment in the exhibition is also used to legitimise the reform policies that were introduced in SEZs like Shenzhen. Several display cases exhibit newspaper articles that debate whether the reforms are still in line with the CCP’s ideology. A text panel explains that during Deng’s 1992 tour, he affirms that SEZs are ‘socialist’ rather than ‘capitalist’. However, the panel does not elaborate on Deng’s reasoning. Beside this statement, the newspaper article are presented in a fairly balanced way, with both sides of the arguments well-represented. This either suggests that the debate is no longer an issue, or that the government is confident that SEZs are generally perceived to fit within the Chinese socialist system.

In the second chapter of the exhibition international relations and the return of Hong Kong are the most prominent topics. The ‘handover’ of Hong Kong to Mainland China is a national event that can easily be placed in the Shenzhen context due to the city’s proximity to Hong Kong. The relations between Shenzhen and Hong Kong were already framed in a positive light in the Modern Shenzhen exhibition. The visitor is therefore subconsciously persuaded to interpret the cooperation between the two cities as an inevitability. Photographs of the negotiations and the handover ceremony are accompanied by photographs of related events in Shenzhen. One photograph, depicting citizens of Shenzhen watching the People’s Liberation Army head to Hong Kong, has the following suggestive caption: ‘The whole city turns out to send off the People’s Liberation Army to be stationed in Hong Kong’. This national event’s focus is turned around by Shenzhen attributing an active and important role to itself, namely sending off the army.

The relations with Hong Kong are one of the focal points of Shenzhen’s foreign relations, because the former British colony’s international allure rubs off on Shenzhen. This gallery is another major promotional tool, displaying the achievement of Shenzhen as an internationally oriented city. Newsletters published on the museum’s website show that the Museum regularly receives foreign companies and government officials who are taken for a tour through the museum. Photographs depict countless scenes of important people shaking hands, charts show sister cities and foreign trade growth. The display cabinets are filled with gifts and certificates relating to successful business

¹⁵¹ Greenblatt 1991: 43.

deals and partnerships. The displays about Shenzhen's high-tech sector and other industries add to the city's prestigious image that it wishes to convey to both domestic and foreign visitors.

The final chapter focuses on giving the city a personality and tying up loose ends. The narrative describes that as the city became more established; culture and a pleasant living environment became more important in Shenzhen's development. The exhibition spends a great deal of space on tourism, Shenzhen's cultural scene, environmental protection and public services such as transport and healthcare. As with all other aspects of Shenzhen development, the narrative presents an image of a city that strives to be the first and the best at everything. Showcases exhibit more awards, photographs, and personal items relating to achievements of Shenzhen's citizens. A chart boasts the city's growing number of healthcare facilities and decline in sick people. Furthermore, even an event such as the SARS epidemic is shown in a positive light, where the brave doctors and nurses of Shenzhen work hard to (successfully) combat the disease. This framing of the SARS epidemic completely overshadows the devastating effects that the disease had on the population and is in line with national reporting on the epidemic, which focused on constructing an image that authorities had the disease under control.¹⁵² Shenzhen aims to 'develop the economy while strengthening the development of spiritual civilisation'. In order to make citizens of Shenzhen's inhabitants, the city promotes the so-called 'Shenzhen spirit'. This term is kept vague and is not explained so much through text panels, but rather through the exhibits. There is one panel that presents 'ten thoughts on Shenzhen', which presents one-liners of citizens expressing what they feel describes the city.¹⁵³ The entire exhibition presents the most positive image possible of Shenzhen, which is not only aimed at outsiders but also at the city's citizens. The exhibition aims to spark feelings of pride in Shenzheners as much as it provokes envy from the outside world.

Before one reaches the concluding gallery, a relatively small corner is dedicated to Shenzhen and the role of the CCP. Considering the size of the gallery and the placement of this topic at the end of the exhibition indicates that the CCP's central government and Beijing party politics are far removed from the city. The main text panel is very brief in stating that Shenzhen has integrated 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' with strengthening the construction of the party, carrying out the prescribed education campaigns for party members and combatting corruption. The gallery presents exhibits such as documents, certificates and more photographs of CCP-related events. More unusual are the displayed television, blood pressure meter, and microwave, whose significance

¹⁵² Zhang 2006.

¹⁵³ Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up. Ten Thoughts. Appendix text 24.

are left unexplained. Overall, this gallery gives the impression that the curators struggled to incorporate this topic in the exhibition, especially in terms of presentation. Compared with the NMC, the CCP receives little attention in the Shenzhen Museum's narrative and is mainly present on the background. Whereas the contextual and grammatical subject in most panel texts of the NMC is 'the CCP', the Shenzhen Museum's subject is usually 'Shenzhen'. Party leaders Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin are presented fairly prominently in the exhibition, but Beijing's political context is often left out, or merely a marginal issue. In the national narrative of the NMC it is rather the reverse, referring to every issue in relation to the party. The metaphors with which Shenzhen describes itself – an 'experimental field' and a 'window' – also give rise to a sense of separation. However, this is not a separation from the nation, but a separate status within the nation. Shenzhen's loyalty to the nation is confirmed by the photographs and text panel in the passageway towards the final gallery, where the city declares it 'serves the whole country'. The visitor is reminded of Deng Xiaoping's slogans stating that it is the duty of 'those who become prosperous first to support those who lag behind in prosperity'.¹⁵⁴ The accompanying photographs (fig. 5.6.6) of Shenzhen's citizens taking part in volunteer work, (humanitarian) aid relief, and promoting nationwide economic and trade cooperation 'validate' Shenzhen's position as a role model that serves the nation.



Figure 5.6.6 A showcase dedicated to Shenzhen's aid workers.

To conclude, a massive screen shows animated aerial views of Shenzhen alternated with images of Shenzhen's industry, nature and institutions. The narrative recaps Shenzhen's history and sets out the city's future goals.¹⁵⁵ The epic and uplifting score is combined with phrases such as, 'historical breakthrough', 'model city', 'the new glory of Shenzhen', aimed at stirring up emotions of pride and patriotism. The remaining wall

space has been used to display lists of Shenzhen's awards and 'National No. 1s', messages about its future, and the conclusion. The concluding text panel notes: "The most important experience of Shenzhen is its bravery to venture

¹⁵⁴ Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Facing and serving the whole country. Appendix text 25.

¹⁵⁵ Van Ling 2015c, <https://youtu.be/ZX-2aqFluBo>.

out into the world. [...] History has chosen Shenzhen, and Shenzhen is worthy of its history'.¹⁵⁶ The narrative is framed to point towards a prosperous future for both Shenzhen and the Chinese nation, made possible by the 'invaluable experience' that Shenzhen accumulated by being a place of experimentation. The final sentence of the conclusion suggests that Shenzhen was predestined to become an SEZ; not the Chinese government, but 'history' chose Shenzhen. The proof that Shenzhen has lived up to its history is demonstrated by the accompanying charts boasting awards, 'National No. 1s', and Shenzhen's economic success since its founding. Even the exhibition seems to adhere to 'Shenzhen speed' and gaining 'No. 1s' as it strives to keep the narrative as up-to-date as possible. Whereas the NMC ends during Hu Jintao's term of office, the Shenzhen Museum has already incorporated photographs of Xi Jinping in the final gallery. Upon exiting the exhibition, visitors walk onto an outside terrace where they are confronted with the city's high-rise buildings and bustling noises of the traffic, as if to validate that this utopic place is real.

¹⁵⁶ Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Conclusion. Appendix text 26.

CONCLUSION

The museum's perceived objectivity and authoritative position make it a useful site to convey certain narratives to a large audience. Since the establishment of China's first public museum in 1905, this institution has been associated with the various nation-building efforts and the country's modernisation. Museums exhibit the modern nation not only to the outside world, but especially to the nation's own citizens. As Carol Gluck points out, "modern" is a temporally slippery concept, connoting a chronological period that began several centuries ago as well as the sense of ever-changing up-to-dateness of the contemporary era'.¹⁵⁷ As ideas of national identity and political ideology evolved, so did the museum. China's current national historical narrative places the beginning of modernity as a temporal concept in the mid-nineteenth century at the start of the First Opium War, which marks the so-called 'Century of Humiliation'. This event also marks the beginning of China's 'modernising attitude',¹⁵⁸ which is characterised by technological, industrial, and economic development foremost.

The national narrative that is presented in the National Museum of China emphasises China as a victim of 'feudalism' and 'imperialist aggression' that rose from its dire situation owing to the CCP's endeavours. Above all, the NMC's Road of Rejuvenation exhibition is about legitimising CCP rule in China. As other scholars have pointed out, museums further removed from China's political centre are deviating from the national narrative as it is presented in the NMC; perhaps none so boldly as the Shenzhen Museum. Although the outline of the Shenzhen Museum's narrative coincides with the national narrative, historical events are approached from a different angle. Instead of placing humiliation and misery in the foreground, the Shenzhen Museum stresses the people's perseverance and heroism. The 'Western imperial powers' are not merely the enemy that contributed to China's problems during the late Qing and Republican periods, but also contributed to (at least Shenzhen's) modernisation. The CCP plays a far less prominent role in the narrative; Shenzhen is the subject, not the party. The museum and the city are inextricably intertwined, with a clear role for the museum to 'show off' Shenzhen. The narrative aims to demonstrate that the Shenzhen region's historical events, from the first human settlements in prehistoric times to today, have culminated in the metropolis' inevitable success. The Shenzhen Museum displays all the city's successes and 'firsts', and is proud to present Shenzhen as a 'window' and 'testing ground' for the rest of China.

¹⁵⁷ Gluck 2011: 678.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

These metaphors that are used to describe Shenzhen reveal the freedom the city has to try out new ideas and policies. This freedom is also extended to the city museum, where, unlike in most other government-sponsored museums, the Cultural Revolution is openly criticised without this causing objection from Beijing. However, it must also be noted that the liberties taken by the Shenzhen Museum are limited and are aimed at boosting Shenzhen's image. A more cynical view of the museum's criticism of the Cultural Revolution would be that this is merely a rhetorical device to accentuate Shenzhen's 'miracle development' of the past three decades. Furthermore, the museum leaves little room for alternative interpretations of Shenzhen's history by leading visitors on a fixed route through the exhibitions, and presenting the narrative in an uncritical and easily digestible manner through unequivocal text panels and dioramas. Environmental and social problems are not addressed critically, if at all. The narrative demonstrates Shenzhen's exemplary role. Ultimately, the Shenzhen Museum's 'heroic' narrative and the NMC's 'victim's' narrative are two sides of the same coin; they give rise to a binary view of history that ignores any form of critical discussion.

As the city is maturing and approaching its fortieth anniversary, the museum also aims to present a Shenzhen identity. This identity is not only presented to outsiders, but, most importantly, is also communicated to the city's citizens. Because everyone in Shenzhen is from somewhere else, much more visibly so than in most other cities where people's families might have resided for several generations, drawing people together to form a collective identity has required a very specific narrative. The two key elements in creating Shenzhen citizen's identity are migration and (Han) Chineseness. Shenzhen presents itself as a place that has historically always accepted migrants who coexisted peacefully. These migrants are connected by their descent from the Han Chinese of China's Central Plains. Individuals and ethnic, cultural, or other groups are homogenised into a new group category, 'the migrants', which is subsequently transformed into 'Shenzheners', creating a perceived unique and local culture.

At first glance the Shenzhen Museum may seem to separate Shenzhen from the Chinese nation, by emphasising its own achievements and its unique position as an SEZ. On the contrary, the museum presents the city as the embodiment of China's national policy of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' and equally strives for a 'moderately prosperous society'. Not only is Shenzhen seen as the epitome of China's history, but also of China's future. The exhibition aims to demonstrate that the city is very much a part of China and plays a role in reinforcing the CCP's political agenda by being an experimental field. Despite the increasingly popular notion of a globalised world, we can still hardly imagine it without nations; in many parts of the world national

boundaries are being reinforced with walls and fences.¹⁵⁹ Given the amount of literature being produced by scholars, nationalism does not seem to be in decline either.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, as Rosmarie Beier-de Haan points out, '[i]f it is true that nation-states lose significance in a globalized world, then this should be reflected in how history museums view themselves, and should be especially evident in newly established museums'.¹⁶¹ The case of the Shenzhen Museum demonstrates that nationalism is still a relevant topic that needs a new approach; not only from the nation at large, but also from a more local level, such as the city. Large urban centres can play an important role in representing the nation. In China, events such as the *Beijing* Olympics, the *Shanghai* Expo, and the *Shenzhen* Universiade were important events that promoted and exhibited the nation through the hosting city. Even though nations might not be disappearing, their inner structure is certainly changing. People's increased mobility has transformed both rural and urban landscapes and their subsequent identities. In a country as vast as China, local or regional expressions of nationalism may be a more effective way of creating a unified nation. As Prasenjit Duara already noted in 1995, 'nationalism is rarely the nationalism of the *nation*, but rather marks the site where different representations of the nation contest and negotiate with each other'.¹⁶² Instead of 'contesting' and 'negotiating' different representations of the nation, Shenzhen's approach seems to be one of a *complementing* representation. Besides the city's unique character, all its citizens are still Chinese. However, it is important to note that the cities promoting China most prominently are those situated in the eastern coastal area. Additional research would have to be done to find out if this phenomenon holds true for other regions and how such processes affect nationalism more broadly. .

This thesis has also left many issues unanswered. Due to limitations of space, but also of possibilities of gathering data in China, I have not looked at whether the Shenzhen Museum (and the NMC) has been successful in conveying its message to the audience. Not having interviewed museum staff and government officials has also left questions about the museum's organisational structure and politics undiscussed. For example, what is the nature of the central and local government's influence on the creation of Shenzhen's permanent exhibition? The museum's future vision is another issue that would need further research. Besides, it would be worth examining how and if private museums influence the national narrative. This thesis is primarily about the

¹⁵⁹ Wittenberg 2013, <https://decorrespondent.nl/40/De-terugkeer-van-de-Muur/2665520-ab2f5ba4>.

¹⁶⁰ Only in 2013 John Breuilly published his edited volume *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, a work that not only deals with nationalism in the past, but also in the present. The handbook deals with Western and non-Western nationalism, demonstrating this topic is also still globally relevant.

¹⁶¹ Beier-de Haan 2006: 188.

¹⁶² Duara 1995: 8.

representation of Shenzhen's history in the Shenzhen Museum, which has left little space to go into researching the city's actual history. On the whole, scholars have published relatively little on Shenzhen, limiting their interests mainly to the fields of urbanisation and economic development. There are many research opportunities left untouched in other fields such as sociology, anthropology, and linguistics.

Despite these shortcomings, I hope this thesis inspires other scholars to focus on Shenzhen as a field for new research. As I have shown, such research can yield important insights on how we research nationalism and national identity across different fields, such as history, museum studies, and various sub-fields. Nationalism, for good or ill, is still important for the way we order the world. However, competing, but not necessarily incompatible, intellectual and societal tendencies should prompt scholars to study nationalism from a different perspective.

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APPENDIX: TRANSLATIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Re-translated texts are marked with an (*)

Text 1 (Lü 2011, The Museum Director's Message)

馆长致辞

欢迎浏览中国国家博物馆网站。

中国国家博物馆是以历史与艺术并重，集收藏、展览、研究、考古、公共教育、文化交流于一体的综合性博物馆。隶属于中华人民共和国文化部。

中国国家博物馆已经走过百年的光辉历程。百年来中国国家博物馆积淀了深厚的历史文化底蕴，已发展成为中国博物馆事业的旗舰。这里记载着中华民族五千年文明足迹，展示着我们伟大祖国的历史文化艺术和社会发展的光辉成就，是中华儿女传承历史、开拓未来的精神家园。同时，这里也是中华文明与世界文明对话的重要窗口，是展示整个人类文明的宏伟殿堂。

“中国国家博物馆始终以继承和传播中华文化为己任，经过一代又一代员工筚路蓝缕、拼搏奋斗，在重要文物的征集保护、科学研究、陈列展览等方面取得了显著成就，为促进我国文博事业发展、提高人民精神文化素养、构筑中华民族共有精神家园作出了突出贡献。”

中国国家博物馆将始终”坚持走中国特色社会主义文化发展道路，以建馆百年为新的起点，解放思想、开拓进取，进一步丰富馆藏内容、提升科研水平、改进展陈方式、创新体制机制、优化服务质量、扩展对外交流，加快世界一流博物馆建设步伐，更好地发挥展示中华文明的重要窗口作用，培育民族精神的重要基地作用，引领文博事业科学发展的重要示范作用。”

“把优秀历史文化、革命文化和当代中国先进文化保护好、传承好、展示好，赓续民族血脉、弘扬民族精神，是国家博物馆的光荣使命。”

[...]

中国国家博物馆网站作为本馆的官方网站，将是国家博物馆诸多功能的网上延伸，是我们在网络空间跨地域和时空与公众接触的又一重要平台。我们像建设实体博物馆那样高度重视数字博物馆的建设，我们也特别重视这一特殊平台对实体博物馆在功能方面的补充，我们将通过这一平台加强与公众的联系和交流。尽管如此，我还是希望国内外网友能够有机会来中国国家博物馆参观访问，欣赏国博恢宏的建筑，观赏古今中外的历史和艺术珍品，享受我们的服务。

我相信，当您徜徉于中国国家博物馆这座崇高文化殿堂中，徜徉于历史与艺术的长河中，一定会惊叹中华五千年文明的辉煌和灿烂，赞美世界文明的流光和异彩，感受艺术的纯真和大美，一定会获得身心的愉悦。

中国国家博物馆馆长
吕章申

The Museum Director's Message

Welcome to the website of the National Museum of China.

The National Museum of China pays equal attention to history and art and integrates collections, exhibitions, research, archaeology, public education, and cultural exchange in one comprehensive museum. [The museum] falls under the PRC's Ministry of Culture.

The National Museum of China has already passed a glorious one hundred years, in which it has accumulated profound historical and cultural heritage and has developed to become the flagship of China's museological institutions. Here, the footprints of the Chinese nation's five thousand years of civilisation are recorded, laying bare our great motherland's glorious successes in history, culture, art, and social development. [Here] the history of China's sons and daughters is inherited that will usher the homeland with vigour to the future. At the same time, [this museum] is also an important window for the dialogue between China's and the world's civilisations; it is a magnificent palace displaying the civilisation of all humanity.

"The National Museum of China's mission has always been to carry on and disseminate Chinese culture. As a result of our employees enduring hardships in their pioneering work, struggling and working hard for several generations, we have made remarkable achievements in the

fields of cultural relics protection, scientific research, and exhibition displays. [This] has advanced the cultural development of our country, raised the spiritual and cultural awareness of the people, and has made an outstanding contribution in building the nation's homeland spirit."

The National Museum of China will always "uphold the path of development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, taking the hundred years' establishment of the museum as a new starting point: emancipating the mind and forging ahead; further enriching the content of the museum's collection, enhancing the level of scientific research, improving exhibition styles, innovating institutional mechanisms, optimising the quality of service, and expanding foreign exchange. [This] will accelerate the pace of building a world-class museum, more effectively display the role of being an important window of Chinese civilisation, cultivate the role of being a base for the national spirit, and be a leading role model for museological scientific development."

"The honourable mission of the National Museum of China is to protect history and culture, revolutionary history, and contemporary China's advanced culture, to preserve and display it well, to continue the nation's blood lineage, and to carry forward the national spirit."

[...]

The National Museum of China's website serves as the museum's official website that will be an online extension with many features. It is another important platform where we can come into contact online with the public; crossing regions, time and, space. We want to build a physical museum that attaches great importance to the construction of a digital museum. We also pay special attention to this particular platform, which complements the physical museum in terms of functionality. We will strengthen our connection to and communication with the public through this platform. Nevertheless, I still hope both domestic and foreign internet users have the opportunity to visit the National Museum of China to appreciate the museum's magnificent architecture, view the ancient and contemporary historical and artistic treasures from China and abroad, and enjoy our services.

I believe, when you are wandering through the National Museum of China's halls of sublime culture, you are roaming through a river of history and art. You will certainly marvel at the glorious and brilliant five thousand year civilisation of China, and praise the world civilisation's volatility and splendour, experiencing art's purity and great beauty. You will certainly obtain physical and mental pleasure.

The Director of the National Museum of China

Lü Zhangshen

Text 2 (Lü 2013: 0, Road of Rejuvenation, Preface)*

前言

中华民族是勤劳勇敢智慧和爱好和平的伟大民族，为人类文明进步做出过不可磨灭的巨大贡献。民族兴旺、国家强盛是一代代中华儿女的不懈追求。

《复兴之路》基本陈列通过回顾 1840 年鸦片战争以来，陷入半殖民地半封建社会深渊的中国各阶层人民在屈辱苦难中奋起抗争，为实现民族复兴进行的种种探索，特别是中国共产党领导全国各族人民争取民族独立人民解放、国家富强人民幸福的光辉历程，充分展示了历史和人民怎样选择了马克思主义、选择了中国共产党、选择了社会主义道路、选择了改革开放，充分展示了中国共产党和全国各族人民为什么必须始终坚持高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜不动摇，坚持中国特色社会主义道路不动摇，坚持中国特色社会主义理论体系不动摇，坚持中国特色社会主义制度不动摇。

今天，中华民族已经巍然屹立于世界东方，伟大复兴的光辉前景已经展现在我们面前。中华儿女的梦想和追求一定能够实现！

The Chinese nation is a great nation, whose people are hardworking, courageous, wise, and peace-loving. They have made indelible contributions to the progress of human civilisation. For generations, China's sons and daughters have unremittingly pursued national prosperity and strength.

The permanent exhibition, *The Road of Rejuvenation*, showcases the explorations made by the Chinese people from all walks of life who, after entering a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society since the Opium War of 1840, rose in resistance against the humiliation and misery. They explored all possibilities to rejuvenate the nation. [The exhibition also highlights] the glorious history of the Chinese Communist Party in particular, who led the people of all ethnicities in, the struggle for national independence, liberating the people, and building a strong and prosperous country for the nation. [The exhibition] fully demonstrates how history and the people chose Marxism, the Communist Party of China, the path of socialism, and the reform and opening-up policy. [The exhibition] further demonstrates why the Chinese Communist Party and the people of all ethnicities must resolutely uphold the great banner of socialism and adhere to the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Today, the Chinese nation stands firm in the east and its bright prospects of great rejuvenation are already being demonstrated before us. The dreams and aspirations of Chinas sons and daughters will certainly be realised!

Text 3 (Road of Rejuvenation, Part 4, Section 3)

1964 年至 1970 年，新中国在核技术、人造卫星和运载火箭等领域取得一系列重要成就。”两弹一星”的研制成功，是新中国社会主义建设成就的重要标志，是中华民族的荣耀与骄傲。

Between 1964 and 1970, the new China accomplished a series of important achievements in nuclear technology, artificial satellites, rocket science, and other fields. “Two bombs and one satellite”¹⁶³ was developed successfully and was an important symbol of achievements through the construction of socialism in new China; it was the Chinese nation’s pride and glory.

Text 4 (Lü 2013: 384, Road of Rejuvenation, Afterword)*

结束话

一百多年来，中华民族谱写了团结奋斗、自强不息的壮丽史诗。特别是中国共产党成立 90 年来，在党的坚强领导下，我们伟大的祖国相继实现了从半殖民地半封建社会到民族独立、人民当家作主新社会的历史性转变，从新民主主义革命到社会主义革命和建设的历史性转变，从高度集中的计划经济体制到充满活力的社会主义市场经济体制、从封闭半封闭到全方位开放的历史性转变。历史昭示我们：没有中国共产党就没有新中国，就没有中国特色社会主义；只有社会主义才能救中国，只有改革开放才能发展中国、发展社会主义、发展马克思主义。

¹⁶³ This refers to China successfully detonating an atomic bomb (1964), a hydrogen bomb (1967), and launching a satellite into space (1970).

站在新的历史起点上，面向未来，任重道远。让我们高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜，更加紧密地团结在党中央周围，为全面建成小康社会而奋斗，不断夺取中国特色社会主义新胜利，共同创造中国人民和中华民族更加幸福美好的未来！

Afterword

In more than one hundred years, the Chinese nation has written a magnificent epic of unity, struggle, and endless self-strengthening. Under the strong leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that was founded ninety years ago, our great motherland has achieved a historic transformation: from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, to [a society of] national independence and rule of the people; from the new democratic revolution, to socialist revolution and construction; from a highly centralised planned economy, to a vibrant socialist market economy, and from (semi-)closure, to full openness. History has demonstrated to us that without the Chinese Communist Party there would not have been a new China, nor would there be socialism with Chinese characteristics. Only socialism can save China; only reform and opening-up can develop China, socialism, and Marxism.

Standing on this new point of history, facing the future, we must shoulder the heavy responsibilities [before us]. Let us hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics and unite more closely around the Central Committee, so that we can build a moderately prosperous society in all respects, constantly strive for new victories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and create a happier future for the Chinese people and the Chinese nation.

Text 5 (Rong 2010:1a, Permanent Monument)*

永久的丰碑

内容提要：深圳博物馆新馆（历史馆）中的永久性陈列《古代深圳》、《近代深圳》、《深圳民俗文化》和《深圳改革开放史》，承载着深圳上下 7000 年的文化积淀。记忆深圳历史发展文脉，是一座令人敬畏的历史丰碑。镌刻这座丰碑的主人固然是历朝历代文物的创造者，而构建这座丰碑的人则是一代又一代的文博工作者。他们将一件件文物史料发掘、征集、整理、研究、包装，最后定格在展场的陈列柜中，成为不灭的史诗。

Synopsis: *Ancient Shenzhen, Modern Shenzhen, Shenzhen Folk Culture, and Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up History* are the Shenzhen Museum's (history museum) permanent exhibitions, which hold Shenzhen's seven thousand year history and records Shenzhen's historical development. It is an awesome historical monument. The masters of this monument are the creators of cultural relics through the ages. The people who established this monument are generations of museum staff who excavated, collected, organised, researched, and packed cultural relics and historical records, finally placing them in the display cases in galleries as epics.

Text 6 (Ye 2010, The Museum Director's Message)

馆长寄语

亲爱的观众朋友：

欢迎您登陆深圳博物馆网站，了解和关注我馆最新信息。

首先，我谨代表深圳博物馆全体员工向所有关心、支持我馆事业发展的各位朋友表示诚挚地感谢！因为有了您的理解和支持，我们的服务工作才有更好地进步，我们的展览也才能更加精彩纷呈。

深圳博物馆于 1988 年建成开馆，20 余年来，我馆始终坚持把“服务市民、服务观众”作为我们的工作重点，并以此为基础，着重做好收藏、展览和研究三大工作。一直以来，面对文物藏品数量和质量相对较低、观众文化素质和欣赏水平却普遍较高的现实情况，我们克服诸多实际困难，寻找自身优势坚持办好基本陈列，同时积极与兄弟博物馆寻求合作，吸引大型外来展览来深展出。2009 年度我馆《深圳改革开放史展览》荣获“第八届全国博物馆十大陈列展览精品奖”殊荣，与此同时，近两年我馆举办的《中国国家博物馆典藏精品展》、《三星堆、金沙文物珍宝展》、《齐白石书画精品展》、《湖北出土楚文物展》等诸多大型外来展览在深引起极大轰动，社会反响良好，打破了业内普遍认为的“在深圳做博物馆事业很难，做好这份事业更难”这一观念。

我们希望通过我们的努力，建构起深圳人民的集体记忆，通过那些昔日生活中的普通场景、每个人的寻常经历，找回移民城市外迁人员的社会认同和归属感。

同样，我们也深切地感受到，深圳博物馆前进的每一小步，都离不开热心观众给予的诸多支持，更离不开社会各界人士的无私捐赠。

真诚期待您和您的亲朋好友常来深圳博物馆参观，并欢迎您提出宝贵意见和建议。

深圳博物馆馆长 叶杨

二〇一〇年四月

Museum Director's Message

Dear visitors and friends,

Welcome to the Shenzhen Museum's website. Here you will find the latest information on the museum.

First of all, on behalf of the museum staff and others concerned, I would like to express my sincere thanks to all our friends who support the development of the museum! Because of your understanding and support, the service of our staff will only get better and our exhibitions will be even more fantastic. The Shenzhen Museum was completed and opened in 1988. In more than twenty years, our museum has always made the principle of 'serving the public and the audience' as the main focus. With this basis, we have made focusing on good collections, exhibitions, and research our major three tasks. Although we have always had relatively few cultural relics, their quality, and the audience's appreciation has generally been high. We have overcome many practical difficulties, and have found our advantage lies in our permanent exhibition. We also actively seek cooperation with colleague museums to attract large-scale exhibitions from outside [to be displayed in our museum]. In 2009 our museum's Exhibition of Shenzhen's History of Reform and Opening-up won the eighth place in the National Museum Top Ten Exhibition of Excellence Award. In the same period, in the past two years, our museum organised the exhibitions The Collection of the National Museum of China, Sanxingdui and Jinsha's Cultural Relics and Treasures, Qi Baishi's Painting and Calligraphy, the Unearthed Relics of Hubei, and many other large-scale external exhibition that caused a sensation and a great public response. This changed the view of the museological world that 'running a museum in Shenzhen is a difficult task, let alone doing it well'.

We hope that through our efforts, Shenzhen will construct the collective memory of its citizens through displaying scenes of ordinary life in the past and people's extraordinary experiences, so that they will find a sense of social identity and belonging in a city of migrants.

Furthermore, we sincerely feel that with every small step the Shenzhen Museum takes, we are connected to the enthusiastic audience that has given its support. We cannot do without the selfless donations of the community.

We sincerely look forward to you, your family, and friends coming often to the Shenzhen Museum, and we welcome your comments and suggestions.

The Director of The Shenzhen Museum, Ye Yang
April 2010

Text 7 (Shenzhen Folk Culture, Preface)*

前言

民俗文化，是人类在长期的生产和生活过程中，为适应环境而产生的约定俗成的行为方式和文化现象，是历史和社会生活的生动反映。民俗文化存在着物质文化遗产和非物质文化遗产两种形态，在民间世代传承，又随着时代进步、生产生活方式的交流融合而发展变化。深圳以广府和客家民系为主的传统民俗文化源远流长，丰富多彩。深圳濒临大海，扼珠江入海口，“以海为活”的沿海居民和经此出海的远行者们，在长期的海上活动中又演绎出多姿多彩的海洋文化习俗。

“一个不注重自己历史文化的民族，是没有希望的民族。”尊重、保护传统民俗文化并从中汲取养分是人类文明得以传承和发展的根本。在此呈现的《深圳民俗文化》展览分为区域民俗、广府民俗、客家民俗和海洋文化习俗四大部分，全方位展示鲜活的乡土深圳，期望引起观众的兴趣和重视。

Preface

Folk culture is a long-term development and process of life that make it possible for humans to adapt to the environment. It is a form of behaviour and a cultural phenomenon that is based on a

set of common conventions that vividly reflect the history and social life. Folk culture includes tangible and intangible heritage and is handed down from generation to generation. It also changes over time, evolving and mixing cultures and lifestyles. Traditional folk culture in Shenzhen is rich, varied, and well-established, including Cantonese and Hakka settlements. Shenzhen is located right at the Pearl River estuary, meaning the residents ‘rely on the sea for their livelihood’. Due to the extensive marine activity a rich marine culture has formed.

‘If a nation does not pay attention to one’s own history and culture, then there is no hope for that nation.’ It is fundamental to the heritage and development of human civilisation to respect and traditional folk culture, and to draw the benefits from it. This exhibition, *Folk Culture of Shenzhen*, is divided into four parts: regional ‘Regional Folk Culture’, ‘Cantonese Folk Culture’, ‘Hakka Folk Culture’, and ‘Maritime Folk Culture’, all of which give a full display of Shenzhen’s vivid culture. We sincerely hope to get your interest and attention.

Text 8 (Shenzhen Folk Culture, Conclusion)*

结束话

深圳民俗文化源远流长，在农耕文化的基础上吸收了海洋文化的精华，内涵丰富，兼收并蓄，显示出强大的生命力。它继承了民族文化的优秀传统，并在改革开放后得到复兴和创新与时俱进，注入了新时代精神。多姿多彩的民俗文化犹如强力的磁场，为本地群众喜闻乐见，同时也吸引着众多海内外游客。”越是民族的，越是世界的”，随着深圳向国际化城市迈进，民俗文化也将为世界人民观察了解深圳历史文化提供一个独特视角。

Conclusion

Shenzhen has a long history of folk culture. The essence of maritime culture has been absorbed by farming culture; it is rich in content, diverse, and displays great vitality. Shenzhen inherited outstanding traditions of national culture, which have been revived and renewed after the Reform and Opening-Up, advancing with the times and infusing it with the new era’s spirit. [Shenzhen’s] rich folk culture is like a powerful magnet; lover by the local people, but, at the same time, also attracting people from home and abroad. ‘the more national, the easier it becomes international’. As

Shenzhen strides forward, Shenzhen folk culture will provide a special perspective for people across the world to observe and understand the unique social and cultural dimension of the city.

Text 9 (Shenzhen Folk Culture, Regional Folk Culture)

区域民俗

深圳本土居民主要由西部的广府人和东部的客家人组成。广府人和客家人是历史上形成的汉民族中的两大民系，各自保有本民系的传统习俗，然长期相邻而居，又让他们拥有一些共同的习俗，例如鞭春催耕，趁墟赶集。

Regional Folk Culture

The local inhabitants of Shenzhen are mainly made up of Cantonese in the west and Hakka in the east. Cantonese and Hakka are two large branches of the Han ethnicity that were shaped by history. Each group retained its own traditional customs. However, due to their long-term co-existence, they developed some common customs, such as welcoming the first ploughing of spring by whipping the ox, and going to the country fair.

Text 10 (Rong 2010: 1b, Preface, Ancient Shenzhen)*

前言

当你陶醉在今日深圳的辉煌时，是否曾想到勤劳勇敢的先辈为开拓这方热土洒下多少血汗？是否曾看见历史的车轮在这方热土上留下的斑斑轨迹？

深圳文博工作者经过多年的艰辛劳动，拂去蒙在历史表面的尘埃，以丰富的文物古迹、人文史料，提炼出“先民足迹”、“城市开端”、“海洋经济”、“海防重镇”、“古代移民”五个部分的陈列，展示了地处南海之滨的深圳，有着 7000 多年的人类开发史和海洋经济发展史、1700 多年的城市史、600 多年的海防史、悠久的广府民系和客家移民史，勾勒出古代深圳的历史轮廓。

Preface

When you are intoxicated with the splendour of today's Shenzhen; have you ever thought of the diligence and bravery of [Shenzhen's] predecessors, shedding blood, sweat, and tears to develop this land? Have you seen the historical tracks left in this city?

Through many years of hard work by the staff of the Shenzhen Museum, they removed the surface dirt that covered history, revealing a rich cultural heritage and man-made artefacts. [This led to the following five exhibition topics:] 'The Predecessor's Footprint', 'Beginning of the City', 'Marine Economy', 'An Important Strategic Town on Coastal Defence', and 'Ancient Immigration'. These topics show that Shenzhen, a city on the south-eastern coast of China, has a history of over seven thousand years of human development, and marine economy, 1700 years of urban history, over six hundred years of history on coastal defence, and a long history of Cantonese and Hakka migration.

Text 11 (Ancient Shenzhen, Cultural Remains of the Shang Dynasty)

商时期文化遗存

商时期，长江、黄河流域的居民创造了光辉灿烂的青铜文化，而地处岭南的深圳，社会发展相对滞后，尚无青铜器发现。但是，带有商文化特征的陶器的出土，说明当时深圳地区已受到中原文化的影响。屋背岭类型上商时期文化遗存典型陶器有带流罐、圜凹底罐、圜底釜、高柄豆等，纹饰流行菱格凸点纹、叶脉纹和曲折纹。屋背岭商时期墓地是岭南地区目前已发现的同时期规模最火的墓地。

Cultural Remains of the Shang Dynasty

During the Shang dynasty, people living in the valleys of the Yangtze River and the Yellow River created a brilliant and splendid bronze culture. Because Shenzhen was located south of the Five Ridges, its society's development was somewhat lagging behind and had not yet discovered bronze ware. However, pottery unearthed in the region featured Shang culture's characteristics, which tells

us that Shenzhen was influenced by the culture of the Central Plains at the time. Pottery in the typical Wubeiling style was unearthed in this region, including a pot with a spout, a round pot with a concave bottom, a round-bottomed cauldron, and a standing cup with a high handle. They were decorated with a lattice-and-point pattern and twisted leaf-vein patterns. Wubeiling is the largest tomb of the Shang dynasty to date, found south of the Five Ridges.

Text 12 (Ancient Shenzhen, Beginning of the City)

城市开端

秦始皇统一中原后，挥兵南征百越，于始皇三十三年（公元前 214 年）统一岭南，并设置南海、桂林、象三郡，深圳地区属南海郡番禺县。

秦始皇统一岭南后，大规模的移民带来了中原先进的文化和生产技术，促进了岭南地区的开发。秦末，赵佗乘秦亡之机割据岭南建立南越国，深圳属南越国辖地。两汉魏晋时期，深圳地区进一步融入汉民族的主流文化。东晋咸和六年（公元 331 年）设立东官郡和宝安县，郡、县治所同设于南头，揭开了深圳城市历史的首页。自设郡立县至东官郡裁撤（隋开皇十年，公元 590 年）的近三百年间，深圳成为粤东南地区的政治、经济、文化中心。

Beginning of the City

After conquering all the states of the Central Plains, emperor Qin Shihuang led his army to the south and conquered Baiyue. In the 33rd year of Shihuang's reign (241 B.C.), lands to the south of the Five Ridges were conquered. He set up three prefectures: Nanhai, Guilin, and Xiang. The Shenzhen region belonged to Panyu County of Nanhai Prefecture.

After being conquered by emperor Qin Shihuang, large-scale migration from the Central Plains to the south began, bringing along advanced culture and production techniques to the region south of the Five Ridges, and promoting development. During the late Qin, Zhao Tuo took advantage of the empire's collapse and founded the Nanyue state in the south. Shenzhen was under Nanyue's jurisdiction. During the periods of the Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties, Shenzhen was in harmony with the mainstream Han culture. In the sixth year of the Xianhe reign of the Eastern Jin

(331 A.D.), Dongguan Prefecture and Bao'an Prefecture were established. Their administrative sites were both in Nantou. This is where the first page of Shenzhen's history as a city begins. For nearly three hundred years, from the establishment of Dongguan Prefecture (the tenth year of the Kaihuang reign of the Sui dynasty, 590 A.D.), Shenzhen developed into a political, economic, and cultural centre in the south-eastern region of Yue.

Text 13 (Ancient Shenzhen, Ancient Migration)

古代移民

深圳是现代移民城市，但在她的历史上也有过多次移民。秦始皇“南平百越”，在岭南建立南海等三郡，并“以谪徙民，与越杂处”；汉武帝灭南越国，设立南海等九郡，汉卒 20 余万留驻岭南；西晋时期，因中原战乱频仍，衣冠望族，多有南迁；宋元之际，奇居南雄“珠玑巷”的中原移民为避战乱而南迁，或南宋抗元军民溃散流落珠江三角洲地区；清朝初年因“迁海”、“复界”，导致大批客家人徙居深圳。历次徙居深圳地区的移民与原住民相融合，为深圳的早期开发作出了重要的历史贡献。

Ancient Migration

Shenzhen is a modern migrant city. However, during its history there were many phases of migration. [After] Qing Shihuang conquered Baiyue, he established three prefectures south of the Five Ridges and banished people to south, forcing them to emigrate and coexist with [people of] Baiyue. After Han Wudi conquered Nanyue, he established Nanhai and nine other prefectures. More than 200,000 soldiers were stationed in this region. During the Western Jin, many noble families fled to the south due to wars frequently breaking out in the Central Plains. In the Song and Yuan dynasties, immigrants of the Central Plains temporarily lived in Nanxiong's Zhujixiang to flee the chaos of war. Soldiers and civilians of the Southern Song who fled from the Yuan [also] lived in the Pearl River Delta region. The Coastal Evacuation and its subsequent abolition led to the migration of many Hakkas to Shenzhen. Because they lived together with the native people of Shenzhen, they made important historical contributions to the early development of Shenzhen.

Text 14 (Rong 2010: 174, Ancient Shenzhen, Conclusion)*

结束话

回首古代深圳 7000 年的悠悠岁月，从中可见深圳的古代居民以艰苦的开拓，送走了“刀耕火种”的蛮荒时代；用辛勤的创造，写就了文明时代的历史篇章。深圳的历史文化，既有中华民族传统文化的共性，又有浓郁的地方色彩；内地迁来的人民与当地人民交融并进，不断地创造物质财富和精神财富，为推动深圳的持续发展奠定了坚实的历史根基。

Conclusion

Looking back on seven thousand great years of ancient Shenzhen, it is clear that the ancient Shenzhen inhabitants' settlement was arduous; they bade farewell to the savage times of 'slash and burn'. Through hard work, they wrote a [new] chapter in the history of civilisation. Shenzhen's historical culture resembles Han Chinese traditional culture, but also has rich local characteristics. The immigrants and local people lived harmoniously together, continuously creating material and spiritual wealth to build a solid historical base for improving the sustainable development of Shenzhen.

Text 15 (Cai 2010: 1, Modern Shenzhen, Preface)*

前言

鸦片战争是中国近代史的开端。1839 年，鸦片战争前哨战——九龙海战在新安海域爆发，拉开了中国近代史的帷幕。战败的中国第一次向外国侵略者屈辱求和，签订了第一个不平等条约——《南京条约》，独立的中国走上了半殖民地半封建的苦难道路。

近代深圳是近代中国历史的缩影。从鸦片战争开始抵御英国侵占香港的反殖民斗争，到辛亥革命前资产阶级革命派打响推翻清王朝第一枪的三洲田起义；从中共宝安县党组织建立后领导的农工运动，到支援震撼世界的省港大罢工；从八年抗战，到四年解放战争……在一个多世纪的抗争中，深圳人民是何等的英勇和顽强。

鸦片战争又是中国近代化的开端。中国开放通商口岸，西方资本主义文明陆续输入。仍然做着”天朝大国”美梦的东方睡狮被惊醒，”放眼看世界”，踏上了曲折的近代化道路。深圳毗邻香港，吸纳西方先进的科学技术和思想文化，在中国近代化的历程中扮演着重要角色。让我们穿越时空，领略百年深圳的沧桑，记忆历史的变幻风云，启迪现实与未来。

Preface

The Opium Wars mark the beginning of China's modern history. 1839 was the starting point of the Opium Wars. The Kowloon Naval War broke out in Xin'an waters, opening the curtain of China's modern history. Upon China's first defeat, the country was humiliated into asking the foreign invaders for a compromise; the first unequal treaty, the Treaty of Nanjing, was signed. [from this point onwards], China embarked on a painstaking road of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism.

The history of Shenzhen is the epitome of China's modern history. From the anti-colonial struggle against the British occupation of Hong Kong, to the first shot fired at the Sanzhoutian Uprising by the bourgeois revolutionaries of the *Xinbai* Revolution aimed at overthrowing the Qing dynasty; from the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party in Bao'an County, who led the farm worker's movement, to supporting the world-shocking Hong Kong General Strike; from the eight-year war, to the four-year war of liberation... in more than a century of struggle, the Shenzhen people showed they bravery and perseverance.

The opium war is also the start of China's modernisation. After the Chinese treaty ports were opened, Western capitalist civilisation was gradually introduced. China, the oriental sleeping lion was awakened from the 'Celestial Empire' dream, 'opening its eyes to see the world', the country now embarked on the tortuous road of modernisation. Since Shenzhen borders with Hong Kong, it absorbed modern science, technology, thought, and culture from the West , playing an important role in China's modernisation. Let us pass through time and space to understand those hundred years of great changes, remember the historical situation, and [gain] enlightenment for the present and the future.

Text 16 (Modern Shenzhen, Development of the Anti-Qing Revolutionary Movement)*

反清革命运动的发展

鸦片战争后，国门大开，西方民主思想对中国民族资产阶级产生巨大影响。1894年11月，孙中山在檀香山建立兴中会，开始了近代中国真正意义上的资产阶级民主革命。1900年10月，孙中山领导的三洲田起义爆发，是资产阶级推翻封建王朝的首次武装斗争实践。1911年武昌起义成功，终于实现了资产阶级建立共和制度的梦想。

Development of the Anti-Qing Revolutionary Movement

After the Opium Wars, China opened its doors and Western democratic thought had a great influence on the bourgeoisie of the Chinese nation. In November 1894, Sun Yat-sen founded the 'Revive China Society' in Honolulu, which really marked the beginning of the Chinese modernisation by the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. In October 1900, the Sanzhoutian Uprising, led by Sun Yat-sen, broke out; this was the first armed struggle to overthrow feudal Qing dynasty. In 1911, the Wuchang Uprising succeeded and finally realised the dream of the bourgeoisie to establish a Republican system.

Text 17 (Modern Shenzhen, A Banner of Southern Guangdong's Resistance against Japan)*

南粤抗日的一面旗帜

1937年7月7日，日本制造“卢沟桥事变”，抗日战争全面爆发。1938年11月深圳沦陷后，中国共产党领导深圳人民迅速组建抗日武装队伍，不断打击日伪顽军，逐步建立抗日根据地，积极营救滞留香港的中国文化精英、爱国民主人士和英、印等国盟军，成为南粤抗日的一面旗帜。

A Banner of Southern Guangdong's Resistance against Japan

On 7 July 1937, Japan caused the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident', and the War of Resistance against Japan broke out. In November 1938, after Shenzhen was occupied by the Japanese, the people of Shenzhen, led by the Chinese Communist Party, quickly organised an army to resist against the Japanese. They continuously attacked the Japanese forces and established anti-Japanese bases step by step. They rescued China's cultural elite, patriotic democrats, and allied forces of Britain, India, etc.'. They became the banner of Guangdong's resistance against Japan.

Text 18 (Modern Shenzhen, Economy and Society)

经济社会

鸦片战争后，中国国门被迫打开，四方资本主义文化通过香港进入深圳，深圳成为中西文化的碰撞地区。一方面，资本主义文化的腐朽因素对深圳产生负面影响；另一方面，西方的民主、科学思想和宗教，资本主义的生产、生活方式以及新的文化、教育特别是海关的设立和铁路的建造，推动广深圳地区经济社会的近代化进程。

Economy and Society

After the Opium Wars, China was forced to open its doors and Western capitalist culture entered Shenzhen via Hong Kong. Shenzhen became a region where Chinese and the Western culture collided. On the one hand, the rotten aspects of capitalist culture had a negative influence on Shenzhen; on the other hand, Western democratic and scientific thought, and religion, capitalist production and lifestyle, as well as new culture and education, but above all the establishment of customs and the construction of the railway modernised the economic and social development of the Shenzhen area.

Text 19 (Road of Rejuvenation, An Earth-Shattering Event)*

开天辟地的大事变

帝国主义列强的侵略，打破了中国人学习西方的梦想。十月革命一声炮响，送来了马克思主义，使中国的先进分子把目光从西方转向东方，从资产阶级民主主义转向社会主义。五四运动推动了马克思主义的传播，中国工人阶级开始作为独立政治力量登上历史舞台。马克思主义与中国工人运动相结合，产生了中国共产党，这是开天辟地的大事变，中国革命的面貌从此焕然一新。

An Earth-Shattering Event

The imperialist powers' invasion shattered China's dream of learning from the West. The sound of the canon shot of the October Revolution sent Marxism to China and made progressive Chinese turn their attention from the West to the East; from bourgeois democracy to socialism. The May Fourth Movement pushed forward the spread of Marxism and the working class appeared on the stage of history as an independent political force. The integration of Marxism and the worker's movement brought gave birth to the Chinese Communist Party. This was an earth-shattering event that brought new vitality to the Chinese revolution.

Text 20 (Cai 2010: 192, Modern Shenzhen, Conclusion)*

结束话

深圳百年的近代史，与中华民族的命运紧紧维系在一起，经历了百年的屈辱、百年的抗争、百年的求索；既有苍凉与悲壮，也有亢奋与辉煌。

百年来中国和世界的历史提出了一个我们无法回避的问题：中国何以如此落后？何以总是挨打？最重要的原因是清政府顽固拒绝进行彻底的改革。18 世纪后，西方已在科学技术、经济、文化思想等方面实现先进性的转型，中国仍沉醉在康乾“太平盛世”。日本

进行明治维新，迅速实现了近代化，国力大增。清政府夜郎自大，故步自封，以致付出了惨重代价。

辛亥革命推翻了两千多年的封建帝制，建立共和。民国时期，军阀混战，日军侵略，中国仍然处于内忧外患之中。中国共产党登上政治舞台后，成为中国革命的中流砥柱，最终建立独立、民主的人民共和国。

历史的代价让中国人民懂得了必须坚持一条颠扑不破的真理——改革开放，开拓创新。深圳人民正是坚持改革开放，从贫困落后的边陲小县，弹指一挥间，发展成现代化大都市，创造出前无古人的伟大业绩，涤荡了历史的重负和耻辱，并将驾驭富强、昌盛的未来。

Conclusion

Shenzhen's hundred years of modern history is closely related to the fate of the Chinese nation. In a century, Shenzhen suffered humiliation, resisted against Japan, and sought [to find a solution to the nation's problems]. It is a history of sadness and tragedy, but also of aspiration and brightness.

The history of China and the world in these one hundred years a raised an inevitable question: why did China lag behind? The most important reason is that the Qing government was too stubborn and refused to carry out complete reform. In the eighteenth century, the West had already achieved cutting-edge transformations in technology, economy, culture, thought, etc., while China still indulged in 'peace and prosperity' of the Kangxi and Qianlong periods. Japan's Meiji Restoration quickly realised modernisation and its national strength vastly increased. The Qing government's arrogance and complacency came at a heavy price.

The *Xinhai* Revolution overthrew the feudal imperial system, which had ruled China for over two thousand years; a republic was established. During the Republican period, China still had to deal with domestic and foreign troubles, such as warlords and the Japanese invasion. After the Chinese Communist Party entered the political arena, they became the mainstay of the Chinese revolution, eventually establishing an independent and democratic people's republic.

The cost of history made the Chinese people understand an irrefutable truth: reform and opening-up, and innovation [are the key to success]. The people of Shenzhen stuck to this strategy, transforming Shenzhen from a small, backward, and poverty-stricken county, to today's modern

metropolis, in a very short period of time. This is an unprecedented achievement. [Shenzhen] has washed away its historical burden and humiliation, and is heading for a bright and prosperous future.

Text 21 (Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Initial Stage of the Special Economic Zone 1987-1992)

经济特区开创阶段 1978-1992

20 世纪 70 年代末，经历了“文化大革命”灾难的中国，正处在拨乱反正的重要历史关头。面对和平与发展成为当代世界主题的新形势，我们党深刻总结了国内外社会主义建设的历史经验和教训，开始探索中国特色社会主义现代化道路。

1978 年 12 月，党的十一届三中全会召开。从此，我国进入了改革开放历史新时期。改革开放需要一个支点和突破口，为此，改革开放的总设计师邓小平创造性地提出建立经济特区的战略构想。1980 年 8 月 26 日，第五届全国人大常委会第十五次会议批准了《广东省经济特区条例》，深圳经济特区式诞生。

Initial Stage of the Special Economic Zone 1987-1992

In the late 1970s, after China had undergone the catastrophe that was the Great Cultural Revolution, [the country] found itself at an important historical juncture to set things right. Faced with the new situation of peace and development, which had become the theme of the contemporary world, our party profoundly summed up the historical experiences and lessons of socialist construction at home and abroad, began to explore the path of modernisation through socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In December 1978, the Chinese Communist Party's Third Plenary Session was held. From then on, China entered a new historical period of reform and opening-up. To support and achieve reform and opening-up, Deng Xiaoping, the main architect of [this policy] proposed the strategic idea of establishing Special Economic Zones. On 26 August 1980, the Fifteenth Meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress approved the "Regulations for Special Economic Zones in Guangdong Province" and the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone was born.

Text 22 (Yang 2010: 1, Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Preface)*

前言

深圳，中国最早的经济特区之一，祖国南方的一颗瑰丽明珠。她在改革开放的期待呼唤中诞生，沐浴着改革开放的阳光雨露成长，以改革开放的“试验田”和“窗口”而闻名遐迩，借改革开放的东风而展翅腾飞。

1978年，党的十一届三中全会开启了中国改革开放的历史新时期。30年弹指一挥间，深圳从一个落后的边陲小县一跃而成为一座美丽的现代化大都市，综合实力位居国内大城市前列，其发展之迅猛，变化之巨大，举世瞩目，被称为“中国的奇迹”。深圳的发展和成就，是我国改革开放以来实现历史性变革和取得伟大成就的一个精彩缩影和生动反映。她以成功的实践，向世界展示了中国特色社会主义的勃勃生机和光明前景。

Preface

Shenzhen, one of China's earliest Special Economic Zones, a magnificent pearl of the motherland in the south. The city was born amidst the high expectations of the call for reform and opening-up, and grew up in the rain and sunshine of this policy. Shenzhen became well-known as an 'experimental field' and a 'window' for the reform policies and fared well by the them.

In 1978, the party's Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee opened a new historical period of reform and opening-up in China. In a short time span of thirty years, Shenzhen grew from a backward border county, into a beautiful modern city, heading the list of domestic large cities in terms of strength. Shenzhen's rapid changes and huge growth made the city world-famous, being known as the 'Chinese miracle'. Shenzhen's development and achievements are the epitome and a vivid reflection of our country's impressive achievements and historic transformation since the reform and opening-up [policies]. Shenzhen's success has demonstrated the vitality and bright prospects of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' to the rest of the world.

Text 23 (Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Initial Urban Construction)

开创时期的城市建设

1979 年深圳建市后，蛇口工业区首先进行了开发。深圳经济特区建立后，大规模的城市开发和建设全面铺开。深圳市委、市政府在中央和广东省的正确领导和大力支持下，组织力量多次修订特区发展总体规划，并选择建设罗湖作为开发特区的第一战役。中央军委及时调遣两万基建工程兵支援深圳特区建设，来自四面八方的几十万建设者云集深圳，成为开发特区的“开荒牛”。经过数年奋战，深圳城市基础设施建设初具规模，崛起的“一夜城”为城市经济发展奠定了基础，并创造了闻名全国的“深圳速度”。

Initial Urban Construction

After the founding of Shenzhen as a city in 1979, the Shekou Industrial Zone was developed first. After the establishment of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, large-scale urban development and construction were well underway. Under the wise leadership and strong support of the central government and Guangdong, the Shenzhen Municipal Committee and Municipal Government revised the overall plans for the Special Economic Zone several times, and chose Luohu as the first location to be developed. Thereupon, the Central Military Commission dispatched twenty thousand military infrastructure engineers to support the construction of the Shenzhen. Hundreds of thousands of builders from all over China came to Shenzhen to become the ‘pioneers’ of the development of this Special Economic Zone. After years of hard work, Shenzhen’s urban infrastructural construction took shape. The city arose overnight, laying the foundation for the city’s economic development and becoming known for its ‘Shenzhen Speed’.

Text 24 (Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Ten Thoughts)

十大观念

1. 时间就是金钱，效率就是生命
2. 空谈误国，实干兴邦
3. 敢为天下先
4. 改革创新是深圳的根，深圳的魂
5. 让城市因热爱读书而受人尊重
6. 鼓励创新，宽容失败
7. 实现市民文化权利
8. 送人玫瑰，手有余香
9. 深圳，与世界没有距离
10. 来了，就是深圳人

Ten Thoughts on Shenzhen

1. Time is money, efficiency is life.
2. Idle talk puts the country in jeopardy, getting right on the job will invigorate the nation.
3. Pioneering
4. Innovation is at the core of Shenzhen, it is Shenzhen's soul.
5. Let the city be respected because its people love reading books
6. Encourage innovation, be lenient towards failure.
7. Realise citizens' cultural rights.
8. Give people roses and their hands will be fragrant.
9. There is no distance between Shenzhen and the world.
10. Once you arrive, you are a Shenzhenener.

Text 25 (Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Facing and serving the whole country)*

面向全国服务全国

深圳不断增强服务全省、全国的大局意识，在不断加快自身发展，增强综合实力的同时，按照邓小平同志关于“先富带后富、最终实现共同富裕”的思想，广泛开展与西部地区、革命老区和广东省贫困山区的对口扶持活动，不断加强与内地各省、市经贸合作，努力促进区域协调发展。

Facing and serving the whole country.

Shenzhen continuously strengthening its awareness of serving the province and the whole country. While constantly accelerating self-development, the city also enhances the country's strength. In accordance with comrade Deng Xiaoping's concept – ‘areas that become rich first will support the areas that are behind in order to ultimately achieve common prosperity’ – the city will offer extensive support to the western areas, old revolutionary areas, and poorer parts of Guangdong. The City will continue to strengthen provincial and municipal economic and trade cooperation with the rest of the country in an effort to promote balanced regional development.

Text 26 (Shenzhen's Reform and Opening-up, Conclusion)*

结束语

改革开放 30 余年，在历史的长河中只是一瞬间，深圳却创造了世界工业化、城市化、现代化史上的罕见奇迹。她不仅迅速改变了自身的面貌，而且充分发挥了辐射带动和示范作用。深圳作为体制改革的“试验田”、对外开放的“窗口”和现代化建设的“示范区”，为全国改革开放和现代化建设积累了宝贵经验。她的成长历程和辉煌成就，是坚定不移走中国特色社会主义道路取得伟大胜利的一个精彩缩影和生动例证。

深圳的重要经验就是敢闯。敢闯的本质就是勇于创新，创新是深圳的灵魂。历史选择了深圳，深圳无愧于历史。深圳经济特区的历史使命没有结束。蛇口炮声仍犹在耳，前

海开发已然风起云涌。人们热切期待着她在全面建成小康社会、夺取中国特色社会主义新胜利的伟大征程中，继续牢记使命，勇挑重担：继续解放思想，改革开放，凝聚力量，攻坚克难，加快建设现代化国际化先进城市，努力当好推动科学发展促进社会和谐排头兵、中国特色社会主义的示范市、全面建成小康社会的“先锋城”。

Conclusion

Thirty years of reform and opening-up; it is but a moment in the course of history. Nevertheless, a rare miracle of industrialisation, urbanisation, and modernisation have been created by Shenzhen. The city not only radically changed its appearance, but also carries out its role as an example [to be followed]. As the ‘experimental field’ of structural reform, the ‘window ‘of opening up to the outside world, and the ‘demonstration area’ of modernisation, Shenzhen has accumulated valuable experience for nationwide reform and modernisation. The course of growth and the remarkable achievements of Shenzhen make the city the epitome and a vivid illustration of the victory that can be achieved when keeping to the path of ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’.

The most important experience of Shenzhen is its bravery to venture out into the world. Innovation is the soul of Shenzhen. History has chosen Shenzhen, and Shenzhen is worthy of its history. The mission of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone has not yet ended. The cannon’s thunder of Shekou is still ringing in our ears, while the development of Qianhai is already well underway. People are enthusiastically looking forward to Shenzhen building a moderately prosperous society; a great journey to win new victories for ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’. Shenzhen will continue to bear in mind the mission and heavy responsibilities: continue to emancipate the mind, reform and opening up, gather strength, overcome difficulties, accelerate the construction of a modern international city, strive to promote scientific development, and promote social harmony in the years to come. [Furthermore, Shenzhen] will be a model city of socialism with Chinese characteristics, a ‘pioneering city’ building a moderately prosperous society.