Political Archipelago: Repoliticizing Post-Umbrella Revolution
Hong Kong

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Political Archipelago
Repoliticizing Post-Umbrella Revolution Hong Kong

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Introduction
Background

From the Greek polis to the later Roman citivas, the problem of \textbf{democratic political public realm} lies in its negotiation with external forces. These external forces include but are not limited to urbs (physical foundation of the city) and nomos /lex (laws). Starting in the 19th century, industrialization began to rapidly corrode the democratic political realm. Capitalism and urbanization brought in insatiable production goals and endless expansion of the city. They then became the dominating forces shaping not only the political public sphere but also the entire city:

“...economy transcend the boundaries between public space and private space, ... as the principal mode of governance for the whole of urbanity. The essence of urbanization is therefore the destruction of any limit, boundary... [that is not] the infinite, compulsive repetition of its own...”

Nowadays, the \textbf{democratic political public realm further degrades and dematerializes}. Governments and corporations have depoliticalised and privatized public space; they are now just empty open space that feed on nostalgia of its past. The residues of the public realm has retreated inwards so much that it detaches itself away from the city. The public realm will eventually disconnect from the real and exist only in the virtual space of the Internet.

2. Ibid, Aureli.
Thesis Statement

Background

This project aims to **re-politicize the public sphere of post-Umbrella Revolution Hong Kong**. Umbrella Revolution was one of the latest defining events of democratic struggles in Hong Kong. Like other protests, civil disobedience and revolutions, Umbrella Revolution was more than just “organized public dissents”; it was an **experiment of an alternative democratic sphere for agonistic struggles**. The occupation temporarily altered, reoriented, disoriented or debilitated the existing boundaries and thresholds in the city. It resisted the logic of the city to create a space of exception. However, these temporary alterations did not leave significant permanent imprints to the city. At the end, these temporary traces of an alternative democratic sphere are turned into the banal background of the everyday life. The city once again falls back into the orchestrated amnesia as part of their capitalist fantasy.

Project Proposal

This project proposes a political archipelago that confronts the tides of the governmental and capitalistic authority of the city. Through this continuous **making/unmaking process upon the traces of political sites**, these “islands” are the **anchor points** for future force of urban resistance to the city.

Political History of China and Hong Kong

Hong Kong was colonized by British Empire under the Convention of Peking after China’s defeat in the Opium War in 1860. It has undergone drastic cultural, social and political changes under the rule of the British Empire for almost a century. Hong Kong became a separate entity from China; it is the fusion of the East and West.

Hong Kong, however, was not unaffected by the political turmoil in Mainland China. The Cultural Revolution (1966-67) and Tiananmen Massacre (1989) has thousands of refugees from Mainland to Hong Kong. The Tiananmen Massacre sparked one of the first democratic campaigns in Hong Kong that set the foundation for future democratic development.

Hong Kong was returned to China on 1st July 1997. The Chinese Central Government and United Kingdom signed the Sino-British Declaration, which promise the citizens of Hong Kong a high level of autonomy for 50 years. Under the One Country, Two Systems, Hong Kong and China are two separate jurisdictions. Hong Kong can inherit the former British governmental system with separation of powers: Executive, Legislative and Judiciary. The Executive includes the Chief Executive (5-year term) and the Executive Council. Legislative includes the 70-member Legislative Council. Judiciary includes the Court of Final Appeal and other lower courts. However, the Chief Executive has to be appointed by the Central Government, and the Hong Kong Garrison is still in charge by the Central Military Commission from the Chinese Central Government.

Nowadays, the Chief Executive of Hong Kong is not selected based on democratic procedures according to International standards. The Chief Executive is elected by a small group of voters, who are then elected by a selected group of professionals. This procedure is against Article 45 in Basic Law of Hong Kong, which was part of the agreement between United Kingdom and Chinese Central Government. According to Article 45 in Basic Law, “The ultimate aim is the selection of the Chief Executive by universal suffrage...in accordance with democratic procedures.” Universal suffrage, which is the right to vote of all citizens, has become one of the major demands from the Hong Kong citizens. The Central Government’s refrain from a democratic election has sparked public outcry from the society. The Hong Kong Government has also attempted to reinforce measures to restrict dissent from the society. One of the key events was the attempt to establish Article 23 of Basic Law in 2003, which could potentially give unlimited power and censorship to the government: “shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, session, sedition, subversion against the Central Government,..., to prohibit foreign political organization or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region,... establishing ties with foreign political organization or bodies.”

The attempt to legislate the Article 23 has sparked massive demonstration on 1st July that paralyzed the heart of the city. The political demonstration later evolved into an annual parade that hundreds and thousands participate.

At the end of the 50-year of high autonomy is looming, the Chinese Central Government tightens its grip on its subjects and Hong Kong Government. The major political events have projected possible assimilation of Hong Kong into “another Chinese city” in less than 50 years. The only way that Hong Kong citizens can safeguard their human rights is to have a government that is representative of their political interest. Umbrella Revolution in 2014 was the latest political event in Hong Kong in response to the denial of universal suffrage in 2017.
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Umbrella Revolution

a case study
What is Umbrella Revolution?

Umbrella Revolution is an act of civil disobedience that took place in Hong Kong in 2014. It was a 3-month occupation started outside of Central Government Complex, which is the Hong Kong Government headquarters. The occupation was a final act after a series of attempts to demand government for universal suffrage in 2017.

The movement started to take into shape on 16 January 2013. Dr. Benny Tai, one of the three leaders of Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP), proposed civil disobedience as a new form of protest to pressure the government to introduce universal suffrage in Hong Kong. Dr. Benny Tai, Reverend Chu Yiu-ming and Chan Kin-man founded Occupy Central with Love Peace on 28 March 2013. The organization proposed to peacefully occupy the main financial districts in Hong Kong if the government does not conform to the election to democratic procedures of international standard. OCLP organized many forums and rallies to promote their value to the public.

The critical moment of the movement was on 31 August 2014, the day when the Chinese Central Government denied universal suffrage of Chief Executive in 2017. The decision sparked outrage in the city. Student-led political organizations, which were independent of OCLP, started citywide student strike. They also started occupying the plaza outside of government headquarters on 26 September 2014. The movement continued to spread from Admiralty, where the main government headquarters is located, to other parts of the city. The police violence angered the movement and the protestors felt fertile to sustain the occupation. It ends when the occupied site was cleared and many were voluntarily and involuntarily arrested in mid December 2014. The streets once again returned to the daily hustle and bustle.

Timeline of Umbrella Revolution

16 Jan Civil Disobedience’s Deadlines Warned
Benny Tai
29 Mar Occupy Central with Love and Peace is founded
6 Jun Declaration Day
23 Sep Umbrella Revolution is named; multiple boycotts across the city; multiple occupations
28 Sep Access to Central Plaza (4K)
29 Sep Three Occupation Sites; (100K+)
30 Sep Attempted to Reclaim Civic Plaza
1 Oct Occupation ends
14 Oct Government agrees to communicate with Student Organizers
20 Oct Campaign launched
31 Aug Universal Suffrage Denied
26 Aug 27 Police Crackdown (TVB, South China Morning Post, SCMP, Apple Daily, Now News, RTHK, Metro Radio, Etc.)
28 Aug Police retreated
2 Oct Government agrees to communicate with Student Organizers
14 Oct Public Consultation on Electoral Reform
17 Oct Public Consultation on Electoral Reform
25-26 Nov Car-Free Day
15 Nov New Government Spokesman appointed
30 Nov-L Dec Student organizers led protests to surround government headquarters; talks
3 Dec Occupy Central organizers voluntarily surrender to law
16 Dec Demanding immediate response, march to Government headquarters
11 Dec Clearance in Admiralty (200 arrested)
This project started by looking into Umbrella Revolution as a case study. The occupation has altered many aspects of the city temporarily: crossings, traffic pattern, landmark, circulation, programs, and many more. These alternations are however temporary; they do not tend to leave permanent imprints onto the existing city. The government has cleared out all the remaining structures, posters or protestors that remained on site.

If the umbrella revolution cannot leave permanent impact onto the city, what can be the progressive tool for future force of urban resistance in the city?

The project further investigates the temporary protest structures and their significance in the movement. By documenting and cataloging these structures and components, the project reveals how they repurposed the infrastructure in public space.

These structures are also constantly assembled and disassembled, put together and taken apart. The reasons are simple: their user needs fluctuates by the number of occupants everyday, and police and other anti-occupation protestors constantly remove them. The act of construction is therefore significant for the occupants. It is an act of resisting the spatial logic of the city. It is an experiment of an alternative democratic society in the center of this endless urbanity created by the governmental and capitalist authority.
Components of protest structures: as-found, brought-in and repurposed.
BARRICADE TYPE I

BARRICADE TYPE II
ROAD BLOCK TYPE I

ROAD BLOCK TYPE II

ROAD BLOCK TYPE III
Public Art: Umbrella Stand

Public Art: Hundred Umbrellas
3
Operations of Traces
The temporary act of resisting spatial logic of the city was eventually erased by the government and time. The tangible evidence of the alternative democratic sphere was removed and forgotten. To combat such amnesia of the political past, the project dived into exploring how to turn the temporary into permanent.

The project comes to understand traces as the incomplete, fragmented and partial of the subject. It is neither the absence nor the presence; it is neither tangible nor intangible. The traces are a result of simultaneous construction and destruction. It fluctuates between the solidity of existing and vacuum of non-existing.

Through analyzing and categorizing the following memorial objects, the project extracts possible operations on the traces, and hence ways to turn the trace of the democratic struggles into permanent progressive tools of change.

This project has distilled four operations upon the study: abstraction, absence suggests presence, defamiliarization and camouflage.

### Operations of Traces

**Presence**
- Tangible
- Existence of Something

**Absence**
- Intangible
- Unrepresentable

**[abstraction]**
- Simplification of presence to a concise, recognizable figure

**[absence suggests presence]**
- Using the negative of the subject to define and suggest the subject itself

**[defamiliarize]**
- Dissociation of the perceivable from symbolism and meanings; disorientation.

**[camouflage]**
- Dissolve the subject into the context; banal and unexceptional; a process of rediscovering

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**Examples**

- **Monument Against Facism**, Hamburg-Harburg
- **World Trade Center Memorial**
- **Central Saint Martin**, Stranton Williams Architect.
- **Serpentine Gallery**, Herzog de Meuron Architects.
- **Berlin Wall Memorial**.
- **Casa della Memoria**, Baukuh.
- **Memorial of the Murdered Jews of Europe**, Peter Eisenmen.
- **Jumping Castle War Memorial**, Brook Andrew.
- **Shooting of Michael Brown**.
_Abstraction_

Simplification of presence to a concise, recognizable figure.

_Berlin Wall Memorial, Berlin_

_Central Saint Martin, London_

_Absence Suggests Presence_

Using the negative of the subject to define and suggest the subject itself.

_Monument Against Fascism, Hamburg-Harburg_

_World Trade Center Memorial, New York City_
**Defamiliarize**

Dissociation of the perceivable from its symbolism and meanings; disorientation

**Casa della Memoria, Milan**

**Memorial to Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin**

**Camouflage**

Dissolving the subject into the context; banal and unexceptional; a process of rediscovering.

**Jumping Castle War Memorial, Cockatoo Island**

**Shooting of Michael Brown, Ferguson, MO.**
This project proposes a political archipelago that confronts the tides of the governmental and capitalistic authority of the city. Through this continuous making/unmaking process upon the traces of political sites, these “islands” are the anchor points for future force of urban resistance to the city.
“The islands of the archipelago, on the other hand, **confront the forces of urbanization** by opposing to urbanization’s ubiquitous power their explicitness as forms, as punctual, circumscribed facts, as stoppages”.

Admiralty Occupy Zone

The Admiralty Occupy Zone was the first occupied among the three major occupied zones. It was first occupied on 26 September 2014 and was cleared by 11 December 2014. The total occupied period was 77 days.

The occupied zone is the two-way main roads right outside of the Hong Kong Government headquarter in Admiralty, the central financial district in Hong Kong. The high-traffic main road was the main artery of the district and the city, and the occupied movement has forced new traffic pattern around the site. The proximity of the occupation to the headquarter is symbolically significant. It is also a sarcastic statement as the original design of the headquarter is intend to show “the door of the government is always welcome to its citizens”.

The occupation zone has the greatest area among the three occupied zone. It requires many strategic defense tactics since the site is the most opened among the three. The occupants have experimented with different barricades and roadblocks for different sections of the road.

The occupation zone also has “The Grand Stage”, a platform for organizer to announce and broadcast important messages to the occupants. This feature distinguishes the occupied zone as the more organized among the three. The surrounding commercial buildings provide amenities such as restaurants, bathrooms and water that help with sustaining the movement. The many shop owners from around the occupied sites also helped with the occupants by providing resources to them. The organized and well-maintained public art attracts many visitors in the site, and the popularity helps with spreading and sustaining the occupants.
The Causeway Bay Occupy Zone was occupied from 28 September to 15 September for 79 days. The occupied zone is a wide road cutting across a middle to up-scale commercial district, intersected by the tramline. The site is surrounded by more than 10-story high commercial buildings. The façade of these buildings are all covered with enormous billboards, and the buildings cantilevered over the sidewalks. The occupants occupied on one way of the main road, but they had occupied the entire road at the peak of the occupation. The site is much smaller than Admiralty.

As the main road is one of the major routes for double-decked buses, the occupation have caused some disturbance to the traffic pattern and inconvenient to the locals and shoppers. The occupy zone is closed to the subway station and therefore attracts equal numbers of spectators and participants. The nearby commercial malls again were convenient for obtaining resources for the movement.
The Mongkok Occupy Zone was occupied from 28 September to 27 November for 61 days. Located across the Victoria Harbor from the other two sites, the Mongkok area was an old district with tenement housings (tanglau) intercepted by skyscraper trendy malls. For most part of the district, the ground level are shops and vendors while the uppers levels are homes of the lower to middle class. The streetscape is full of overhanging neon signs and billboards with no lack of traffic. With both local flea market and high-end malls, Mongkok attracts many shoppers of all age and backgrounds. The densely populated district is also home to many middle and high schools and many nightclubs, thus the populations of the pedestrians are leaning towards teenagers and young adults.

Mongkok was also infamous of its past as gang-infested grassroots area. The many pubs and nightclubs around the area built up a thriving nightlife that has historically attracted crimes and gang culture. Many movie and literature work also framed the image of Mongkok. The gang culture, however, still exists till today.

The crowded and narrow streets of Mongkok presented new challenges to the occupants. The occupants have occupied the wider portion of the district, the Nathan Road, which is the main artery of Mongkok and other neighboring districts. It is also the occupy zone with occupants that have more attitudes than the others. There are much more notorious confrontation between the occupants and the police, and many have suspected or blamed on gang involvement.
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