PRACTICE IN HONG KONG WITH
OPTIMISM OVER DESPAIR

"Onlookers are changing China"
New Weekly, 2010

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Royal Danish
Academy

Architecture
Design
Conservation

Pre text

Welcome to the program.

This program is intended to provide a framework for understanding my project, for myself, and for all those who need to make a proper evaluation of it. This project, including last semester's research, is based on my observation of the applied spatial strategy in Hong Kong's social movements. These strategies have been developed into those we can see in 2019, the Anti-extradition Bill movement. But the changing circumstances of the present make the continuation of the social movement almost impossible. This project is firstly an investigation and research, including a review of those spatial strategies and spatialities in social movements in Hong Kong and an attempt of proposing new strategies for architects to engage in the new situation. The propositional work of this project will be an application of such strategy, as an open possibility, which expresses in the form of design and space to manifest localization and contextualization.

First, my previous research will be shown in the chapter **Hong Kong & Its Political Context** as the premise and the theoretical base. The broader context of this project is Hong Kong, and I will introduce the unique historical and political factors of Hong Kong to illustrate the ground that nurtured civil disobedience and the main political agendas of the contending parties.

In the next chapter **Mobilization of Social Movements**, we can see how these factors have shaped the spatiality of social movements in Hong Kong, which has been changing from the rise of civil society in Hong Kong, to the

Anti-extradition movement in 2019. These spatialities will be interpreted through various theories. What's most important is the dialectic and reciprocal relation between social movement and its Resistance Space will be revealed. Then Based on that, these spatialities would be introduced as a design methodology for communal architecture design.

The next chapter is **Mobilization of Community**, which is my speculation about the future situation and the chance for architecture to intervene. Due to the extreme inequality between counterparts and the impact of Covid-19 on public gatherings, social movements in Hong Kong are in a predicament. Combined with the new political agenda of the HKSAR government and a non-discursive approach to political participation, I will thus present the funding model and the political diagram of this project.

The fourth chapter **Socialization In the Grey Zone** will be the elaboration of choosing the rooftop as the site of this project. Then I will introduce my site, Sham Shui Po, one of the most crowded areas in Hong Kong with several visual references and material preferences.

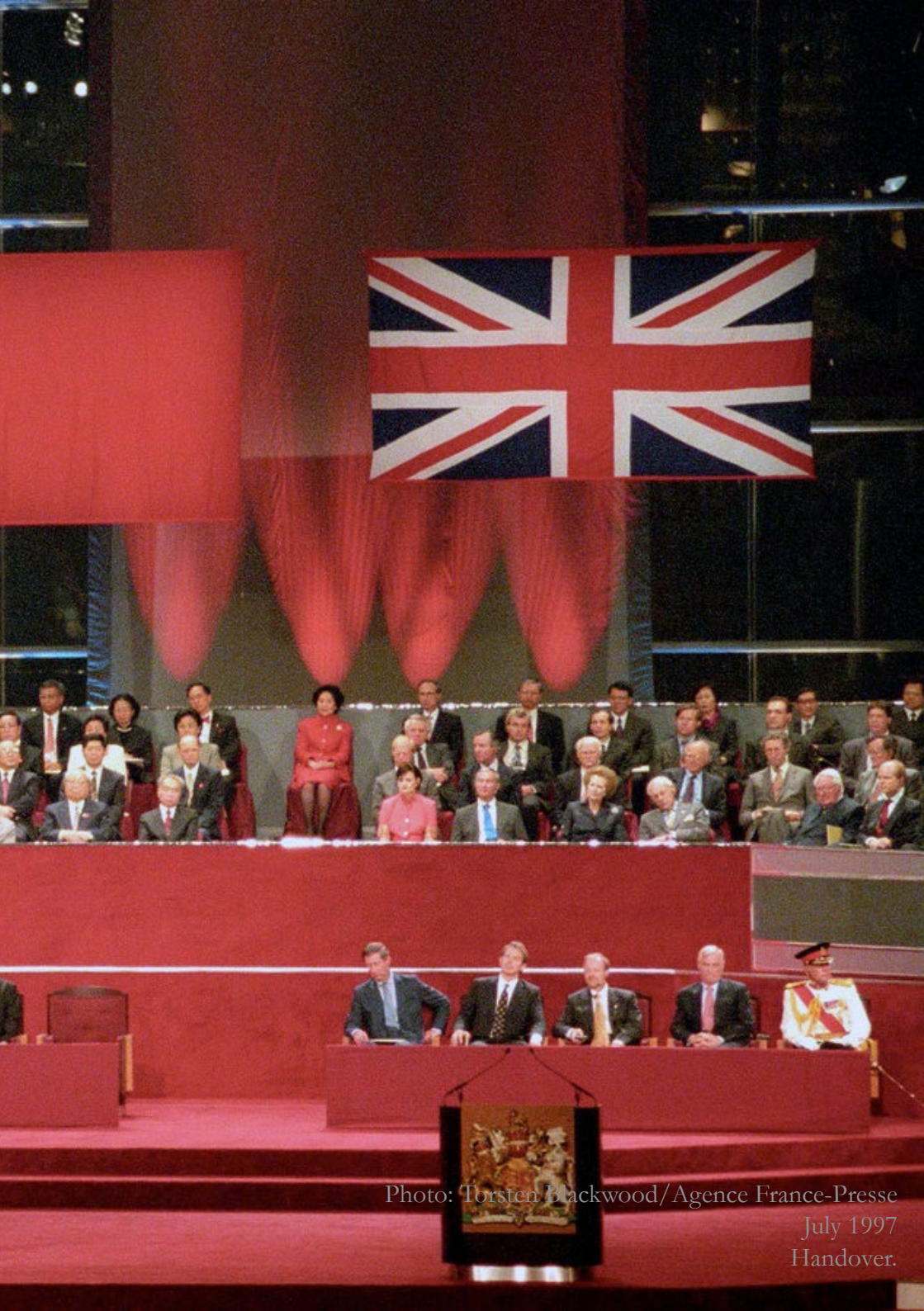# Hong Kong & Its Political Context

premise

A Neoliberal State

In 1842, Hong Kong became a British colony. The colony of Hong Kong was established to cater to British commercial activities in the Far East, and thus the British Hong Kong government mainly served the interests of British merchants in China. The colonial background of Hong Kong set the tone, and nearly became the legacy, of the social form of Hong Kong and the its governance for the next two centuries. It is fair to say that the collusion between business and politics is deeply rooted in Hong Kong. As Leo Francis Goodstadt wrote: "Until the end of the colonial era, the foundation of British governance was firmly and shamelessly built on the alliance of colonialism and capitalism."

Influx of Chinese refugees, 1950s

After 1949, because of the establishment of the Communist regime in mainland China, the border between the China and Hong Kong became solidified. Hong Kong became an 'isolated island'. This isolation from mainland China effectively contributed to the formation of an Hong Konger-Chinese identity, whereupon the conflict between the colonial government and the population was intensified. In order to maintain the legitimacy of the colonial government in power, the British Hong Kong government began to gradually incorporate Chinese into the governmental decision-making mechanism, targeting businessmen who were the opinion leaders of the Chinese society.

This alliance became stronger as the British Hong Kong government adopted *laissez-faire* economic policy and gradually established a set of administrative system, legislative system and judicial system for the sake of market ecconomy. After Hong Kong's sovereignty being handed back to China in 1997, the new HKSAR(Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) government was established on the basis of the British Hong Kong government. The new political body basically followed the original "tripartite" political system. Therefore, the administrative system and legislative system did not fully comply with the pricinple of representative democracy. Take the Legislative Council of Hong Kong in 2016 as an example, of the total 70 legislators, 35 are elected by the public and the remaining 35 are elected by functional constituencies.

Even though the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China is described in the mainstream narrative as a "reunification," what cannot be changed is that a larger colonial power, disconnected from the popular base of Hong Kong, remains suspended above Hong Kong, and thus Hong Kong has still not Hong Kong has still not been emancipated from Colonialism. **This metaphor of being out of colonialism but still being colonized in essence has been the greatest driving force behind the growing social movements in Hong Kong over the past thirty years.**

Social movements in HK

Before the 1980s, there were several social movements against the British colonial government in Hong Kong, but Hong Kong society by and large showed a tendency of political apathy.

In the 1980s, as the negotiations of the sovereignty of Hong Kong between Britain and China began, "re-unification" gradually became the focus of all sectors of Hong Kong society. 1989 saw the outbreak of the June 4th Incident in Beijing, with Hong Kong people watching the students in Tiananmen Square and witnessing the bloody repression. In the early 1980s, Hong Kong people's vision of democracy in Hong Kong turned into fear and panic. As a result, political organizations were formed in Hong Kong that were no longer just about submitting ideas, and political parties emerged that were interested in participating in elections and working to improve the system.

June 4th Incident, 1989

June 4 Incident in 1989 was the first class for many Hong Kong pro-democracy activists and citizens, and it also aroused the general public's fear of a trend of institutional convergence between Hong Kong and China, and brought unprecedented support to Pan-Democratic parties.

Szeto Wah, Chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China (HKASPDMC), said in an interview.

"There is a slogan in the march that best reflects the mentality of Hong Kong people: "Today's Beijing is tomorrow's Hong Kong". Hong Kong is about to return to China. If China does not democratize itself, what will happen to Hong Kong? Can human rights and freedom exist in Hong Kong?"

July 1st protests, 2003

From 1989 to the early 21st century, the Pan-Democrats were the backbone of social movementS, focusing on traditional democratic agenda and mobilizing their supporters in a centralized manner to generate more social influence to help their intramural politics. Young people who grew up in the social movement era began to participate in the social movement in the 2000s. The inefficiency of institutional politics and the lack of a well-established representative democracy made them more enthusiastic about diverse forms of social movements. They focused on more localized and detailed issues, which symbolized the awakening of local identity. More young people began to participate in social movements in the 2010s and the forms of social movements and political advocacy became more diversified, from the streets to the Internet, from the left to the right. The political ecology of Hong Kong has entered an era of pluralism and decentralization.

Fig. The timeline of social movements and changing indentity as well as narratives

Major Demonstrations

(max: 1.5 million)

1989 Support June 4th Movement

Civil political agenda

Showing support for the protesters and to condemnation to the atrocities of Chinese government in Tiananmen incident.

(max: 0.5 million)

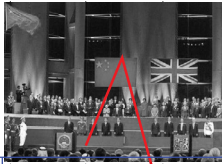2003 Protest against National Security Bill

Opposing the anti-subversion Hong Kong Basic Law Article 23 and defending freedom of speech along with other freedoms.

1997 The Handover

Official narrative

"One country, two systems"
The previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are not incompatible with this law

Important official document

1984
Sino-British Joint Declaration

1997
Basic Law

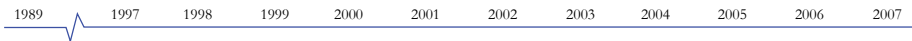2003
National Security Bill(canceled)

Chief executive

Tung Chee-hwa

Donald Tsang

Major events in China

1989
Tiananmen Massacre

2001
China joins WTO

| 1989 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 |

(max: 90,000)

2012 Anti-National Education protest
Opposing the inclusion of patriotic education in school textbooks

(max: 1.2 million)

2014 Umbrella Movement
In response to the decision regarding proposed reforms to the Hong Kong electoral system from Chinese government, demanding universal suffrage.

(max: 2 million)

2019 Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement
In response to the controversial Fugitive Offenders amendment bill on extradition, demanding its withdrawal and universal suffrage as a total outbreak of all the historic political conflicts.

Recognizing themselves as Hong Konger

Recognizing themselves as Chinese

2014
31 August Decision
(stipulating that the Chief Executive of Hong Kong will be elected as usual by a committee appointed mostly by Chinese government)

2019
Extradition Law Bill

2020 National Security Law

Leung Chun-ying

Carrie Lam

2008
Beijing Olympic

2018
Xi Jinping's presidency

2019
China's Greater Bay Area Plan

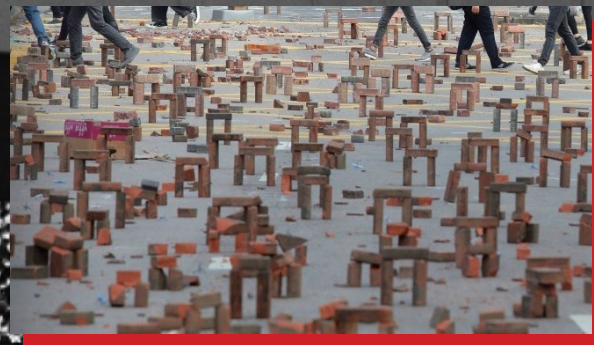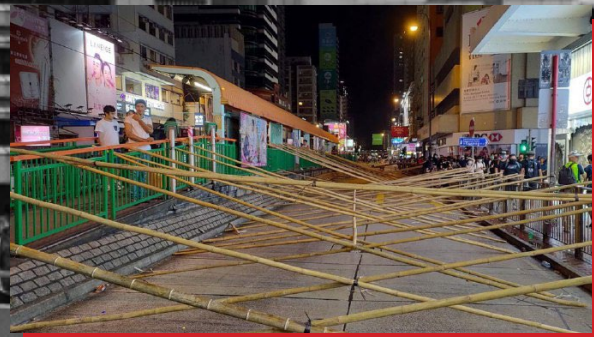2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021

2019, the Anti-ELAB movement

The Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement, also known as the 2019 Hong Kong protests, or the 2019–2020 Hong Kong protests, are a series of demonstrations since 15 March 2019 in response to the introduction by the Hong Kong government of the Fugitive Offenders amendment bill on extradition. Yet this extradition law was just a spark which ignite the tension between Hong Kong government, as the representative of Chinese government, and pro-democracy Hong Kong citizens.

Just as BBC reported:
"Critics feared this could undermine judicial independence and endanger dissidents. Until 1997, Hong Kong was ruled by Britain as a colony but then returned to China. Under the "one country, two systems" arrangement, it has some autonomy, and its people more rights. The bill was withdrawn in September but demonstrations continue and now demand full democracy and an inquiry into police actions."

(BBC, 2019,11,28)

The Being Dismembered Civic Society

Hong Kong was always meant to have a security law, but could never pass one because it was so unpopular. So this is about China stepping in to ensure the city has a legal framework to deal with what it sees as serious challenges to its authority. After the Anti-ELAB movement got halted by Covid-19, the Chinese government imposed the National Security Law(NSL) regardless of all the legislative procedures of the legal institution of Hong Kong. It gives Beijing the power to shape life in Hong Kong it has never had before. Critics say it effectively curtails protest and freedom of speech - China has said it will return stability.

The security law has helped curb protests in Hong Kong and has silenced much of the outspoken dissent that was once commonplace here. Most leading activists are either in custody or in exile. Others have censored what they say publicly. Dozens of civil society groups, including protest organizers and pro-democracy unions, have shut down because they have become the subjects of national security investigations or fear their work would make them a target.

From January to Spetember of 2021, at least 49 civil groups have announced their dissolution

Problem Statement

The social aspect is an extremely important aspect of architecture. In the present Hong Kong, where citizenship is deprived from political expression, the connection between citizens and these political spaces is severed. This problem can obviously be solved by carefully designing the corresponding architectural spaces, but more questions arise. How should these spaces be designed? On what criteria should they be designed? Who will initiate these projects? Who will invest in these projects? Can the legitimacy of the architectural function be recognized by the regime in Hong Kong at the present time?

Mobilization of Social Movements

Theoritical method

Theory: Space Production & Spatialities

Hong Kong is a city designed purely for efficiency and capital than most Western cities. Translated into the architectural realm, its urban fabric has never reserved enough space for political activity because the awakening of civil society, which are willing to participate in politics through social movements, thrived quite late. All the political parties and social organizations were often faced with the same question,

"Where do I go for a public gathering?"

The Spatial Form of Hong Kong

In 1956, The British Hong Kong government started to restrict less about individual building construction as they were applying *laissez-faire* economic policy. This has led to a marked increase in the density and height of buildings in urban areas. Soaring housing prices and land prices have further contributed to overdevelopment. Driven by personal gain, private property developers try to exploit every inch of land. Since there are no building setback restrictions in Hong Kong, many buildings are built as close to the boundary as possible, which leaves no room for sidewalks. The British Hong Kong government later introduced a policy of rewarding property owners who contributed ground space to sidewalks with additional floors beyond the limit. But this only ensured basic traffic needs and came at the cost of more depressing street space because buildings were allowed to be built higher.

Thus some disadvantageous factors to social movements can be pointed out here. First is its extreme crampedness, which limits paticipation. Second as mentioned

earlier, given Hong Kong's colonial history, the decision-making mechanism has never been monopolized by selected elites, its urban fabric has never reserved enough space for political activity. As a consequence, the third factor is the lack of meaningful space.

A suitable space is often crucial to a social movement, by which is meant not only that certain spaces may have more positive meaning to certain social movements in physical terms than others, but also the meaning ascribed to that space by those who act in it. The meaning of a space is not merely monumental, it is like a right of claim that transcends legal ownership of a certain space. In the contect of Hong Kong, this can only be achieved by practice spatially as a battle with the already established spatial order and meaning dictated by the regime.

> As a response, activists and citizens in Hong Kong developed a strategy of "appropriating" existing space for political expression in a city where public space is cramped and resources are monopolized by a coalition of business and politics. After 1989, "The nascent civic society needed to carve out its own political space in the cramped city to serve as a carrier of its own political agenda which was achieved throuh relentless spatial practices(eg. protest)."

Apparently here we should ask what did they do and how did it work? To answer these two questions I will introduce the *Space Triad* theory from Henri Lefebvre in his book, *The Production of Space* and the later development of this theory from Byron Miller in *Conclusion spatialities of mobilization: Building and breaking relationships* which incorporate the notion of *Spatiality* to have a peak of the dialetic relation between spatial practices and the mobilization of social movements.

Theory
Space Production

Material space
(material resources)

Distribution of rescourse
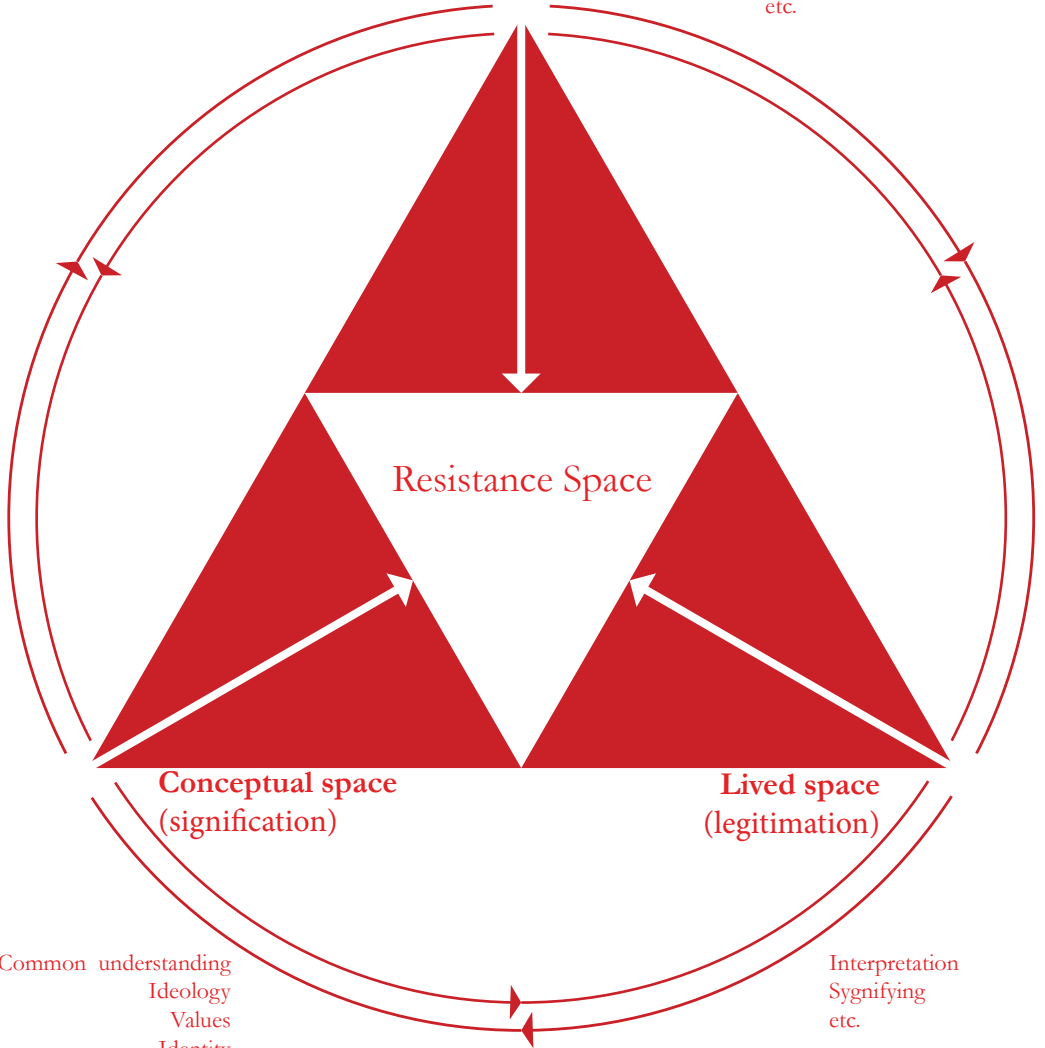Occupation of space
Mobilization
etc.

Resistance Space

Conceptual space
(signification)

Lived space
(legitimation)

Common understanding
Ideology
Values
Identity
etc.

Interpretation
Sygnifying
etc.

In Henri Lefebvre's book, *The production of Space* , he argued "every mode of production with its subvariants, i.e. all those societies which exemplify the general concept - produces a space, its own space." For Lefebvre, it's very clear social practice is important for the production of space. Later he also mentioned that, "Space has become the most important political tool of the state. The state uses space to ensure local control, strict hierarchy, general coherence, and segregation. He also pointed out the necessity of producing a proper space of changing lifestyles and society."[7] Here is 陳澤宗 and You-Ren Yang's comment on Lefebvre's opinion, "So the state exercises social control through space, social movements can also produce resistance space to challenge the established spatial order and power relations, thus space is the venue and product of class and social conflicts."[8]

As I quoted from *The production of Space* in my essay *Becoming through politicization: A study of social movement in Hong Kong Shopping Mall:* "From a epistemological perspective, a space triad is inherently whithin space, which consists of material space, conceptual space and lived space which in the production of space correspond to spatial practice, representations of space and representational space."[9] Here Henri Lefebvre points out a triad in the production of a certain space. Then he explains their characters in the production of space: "Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation."[10] "Representations of space are the more dominant one which are abstract and tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations, i.e. idealogy."[11] "Representational space is the dominated - and hence passively experienced space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects."[12]

It's important to point out the dialetical relation within the traid and there is a connection of logic between them but not neccesarily be coherent.[14] "So a mode of production of space is never a finished whole or closed system, which implies instability".[15] So the instability of the the mode of production of space and its internal dialectic relationships imply, The produced space is always determined by the mode of the production of space, which is determined by the mode of production of society.
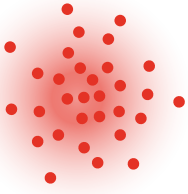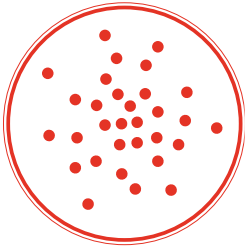
Theory

Spatialities of social movements

| Spatial technologies of power	Material space (material resources)	Conceptual Space (signification)	Lived Space (legitimation)
Social condensation and amalgamation through relations of co-presence; areal differentiation and segregation	Social condensation and amalgamation through relations of co-presence; areal differentiation and segregation	Create conditions conducive to the construction of strong ties, common understandings, shared values, shared identities	Define grievances, diagnoses, legitimate motivations for mobilization based on perceived shared place-based values and interests
Bordering, enclosure, claiming on an areal basis	Lay claim to and/or controlling people, wealth, income, etc.	Create shared flows of information, common understandings, shared identities; Imagined communities	Define grievances, diagnoses, legitimate motivations for mobilization based on perceived shared territorial/regional values and interests; Determine which political actors have standing in political contests
Hierarchical ordering of territorial institutions; Horizontal nesting of territory and regionalized processes	Hierarchical ordering of territorial institutions; Horizontal nesting of territory and regionalized processes	Construct hierarchical territorial identities and imagined communities; Prioritize particular hierarchical identities, e.g., national vs. regional	Define appropriate institutional/state arena for political contention—scale jumping
Connectivity among individual actors, institutional actors, and nonhuman actants	Generate topological connections and associations to mobilize people, wealth, income, skills, etc.	Create conditions conducive to construction of mostly weak ties, information sharing, common understandings, common associational identities	Define who may join the network; Determine who has power and influence within the network; Conform to or challenge dominant network discourses

Spatiality

Place and Space

Territory and Region
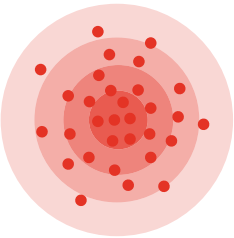
Scale
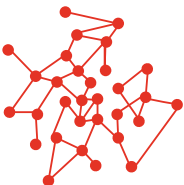
Networks

But how to change the production of existing space or to produce a new space based on existing space? Byron Miller developed the space triad theory further though incoporating with the notions of "Spatiality" as spatial technologies of power in a Foucauldian sense. "This tripartite schema, which should be regarded as a heuristic guide through simultaneously overlapping spatialities, can be adapted to address the core concerns of social movement and contentious politics theory. Each of the specific spatialities we have considered can be viewed as a spatial technology of power, with associated material and representational practices that shape socio-spatial power relations."

Although material space is more often dominated by conceptual space. But according to Byron Miller's opinion, spatial practices in material space can influence conceptual space in reverse. Thus in social movements, the spatiality of the forms of its spatial pratice within material space or the form of the material space itself that hosts social movements can influences the power relations within g conceptual space through the dialectical interconnectedness within the space triad.

Here we will look into several cases of Resistance Spaces in Hong Kong to see how protestors in Hong Kong produced these Resistance Spaces in a cramped city.

Resistance Space for Social Movements
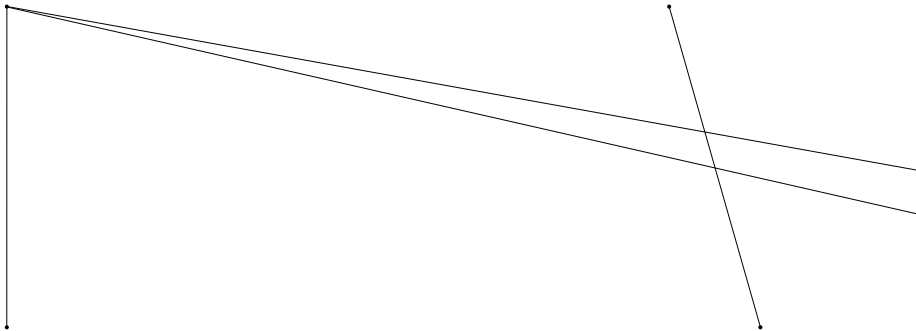## The production of Resistance Space

Victoria Park

Famous park for public discussion and gathering but was a symbol for Colonialism

Old Supreme Court Building

As a symbol of colonial power and its judicial system

1989

Support June 4th Movement

Showing support for the protesters and to condemnation to the atrocities of Chinese government in Tiananmen incident.
(Max: 1.5 million)

2008

Anti High Speed Rail protest

Opposing the anti-subversion Hong Kong Basic Law Article 23 and defending freedom of speech along with other freedoms.
(Max: 0.5 million)

| 1989 | | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 |

Street space

An appropriation of street space for protest

"Civic Square"

An open space in front of the East Wing of the Central Government Complex
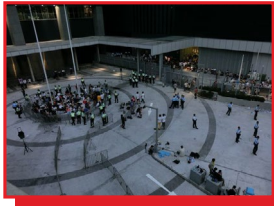
"Harcourt village"

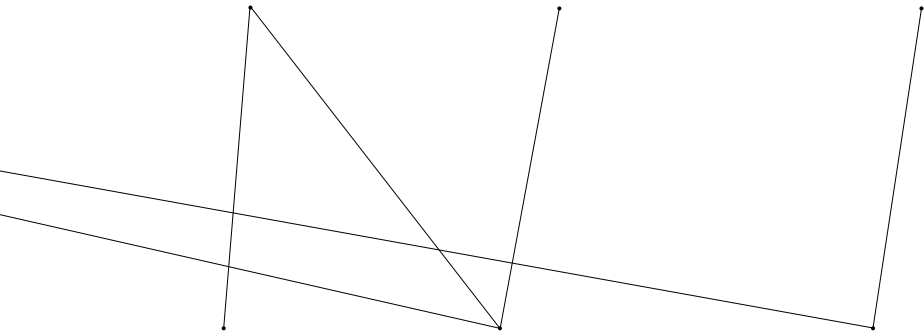Part of 2014 Hong Kong Umbrella Movement occupied area

Sha Tin New Town Plaza

Famous shopping mall in Hong Kong

2012

Anti-National Education protest

Opposing the inclusion of patriotic education in school textbooks.
(Max: 90,000)

2014

Umbrella Movement

In response to the decision regarding proposed reforms to the Hong Kong electoral system from Chinese government, demanding unversal suffrage.
(Max: 1.2 million)

2019

Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill

In response to the controversial Fugitive Offenders amendment bill on extradition, demanding its withdrawal and universal suffrage as a total outbreak of all the historic political conflicts.
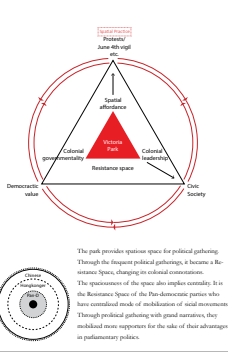(Max: 2 millions)

| 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 |

Victoria Park

Victoria Park is a public park covering 190,000 square metres. Victoria Park is the most important Resistance space in Hong Kong. It's the "greatest convention" for nearly all activists in Hong Kong. Public gathering that take place here are mostly peaceful and about issues that most Hong Kong people agree on.

As Chu Kiu LI pointed out in his article, the historic Victoria Park in Hong Kong is a "monumental space" for asserting authority, originally intended by the colonizers to improve the public environment in the crowded post-war urban environment in order to consolidate the colonial leadership.

Since 1989, it has been the venue for many large-scale rallies and has been the starting point for most of the major marches. Later, every week, Civic Forum is held here for political debates and the image of Victoria Park as a Resistance Space was slowly established.

The park provides spacious space for political gathering. Through the frequent political gatherings, it became a Resistance Space, changing its colonial connotations. The spaciousness of the space also implies continuity in its colonial intentions. It is the Resistance Space of the Pan-democratic parties who have concentrated on mobilization of social movements. Through political gathering with grand narratives, they mobilised more supporters for the sake of their advantage in parliamentary politics.

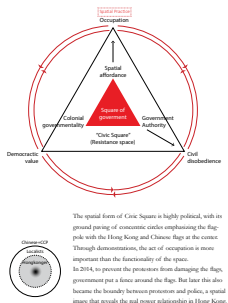Statue of British queen in Victoria Park being damaged by artist, 1996


Statue of Democratic Goddess in Victoria Park, 2010

Civic Square

The East Wing Forecourt of the Central Government Office is an open space in front of the East Wing of the Central Government Complex. It was once an area when protesters took part in protests and demonstrations. For many, it represents democracy and freedom, and a place to express their discontent. It was campaigned for a rally opposing the moral and national education school curriculum proposal in August 2012, and during the 2014 Hong Kong protests (Umbrella Movement) on September 2014. Since then, the square is closed by the government in order to prevent protests.

The name "Civic Square" came from the countless protests that have taken place there, which is so deeply rooted that totally overshadows its official name "East Wing Forecourt of the Central Government Office." When the government put it on lockdown in September 2014, the Umbrella Movement probably would't have happened without the significance of the resistance demonstrated by the act of protesters forcing their way through the lockdown to reoccupy the square. Without this sense of events and the perceived meaning, the "East Wing of the CGC" would have been just a lifeless space.

The spatial form of Civic Square is highly political, with its ground giving of concentric circles emphasising the flagpole with the Hong Kong and Chinese flags at the centre. Through demonstrations, the act of occupation is more important than the functionality of the space. In 2014, to prevent the protesters from damaging the flags, government put a fence around the flags. But later this also became the boundary between protestors and police, a spatial image that reveals the real power relationship in Hong Kong.

What happened from the evening of the 26th to the afternoon of the 27th had strong political theatricality. The protestors made good use of the spatial form of the square to create a dramatic visual impact. The square itself as a stage laid the foundation for the protestors' appropriation. In spatial form, decorative details and political meaning were indispensable.
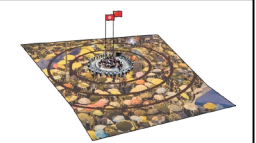
At 10:15 p.m. on September 26, the movement's convener, Wong Chi-fung, took the stage and at 10:24 p.m. 30 students from universities and colleges tried to rush into the Civic Square as planned. Wong Chi-fung, who was on the podium, then called on the rally to follow the vanguard and announced, "I am now calling for everyone to enter the 'Civic Square' with us now"; Wong Chi-fung then immediately rushed off the podium and joined the vanguard to run towards the square. The police were caught off guard and more than 100 demonstrators entered the flagpole area, but more police officers backed them up and re-blocked the entrance of the square. The protestors in the square engaged in a stand-off with the police for about 15 hours, and at around 14:00 on the 27th the police began to carry the protestors away one by one in a four-man carry.
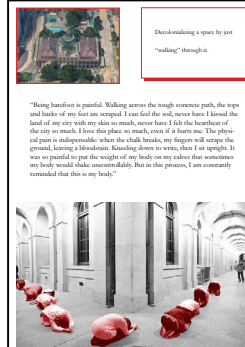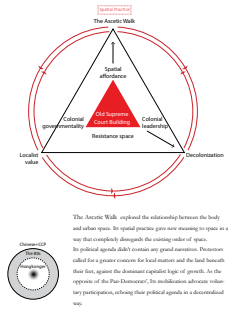
The event was broadcasted live through the media. Beside the demonstrators who had stayed on the road in front of the government headquarters, a large number of citizens arrived at the rally site afterwards. The disparity in numbers led to a counter-encirclement of the police. At 1:40 am on the 28th, in order to continue the movement, other activists announced that they would launch Occupy Central, later called Umbrella Movement, from the area near Civic Square, making it the largest civil disobedience movement in the history of Hong Kong until 2019.

Old Supreme Court Building

The Old Supreme Court Building, housed the former Supreme Court from 1912 to 1983 and the Legislative Council from 1985 to 2011. It symbolises the authority of the once British colonial government and the current HKSAR government as a continuation of the colonial power, which was transformed into a Resistance Space by protesters in the Anti High Speed Rail movement took place in 2009.

The Ascetic Walk was a march by 20 members of the opposition camp against the Hong Kong section of the Guangzhou-Shenzhen-Hong Kong Express Rail Link (XRL) to promote their opposition to the XRL proposal to the Hong Kong public. They believe in "respect for the land, community network and life" and hoped to make other citizens understand their reasons for opposing the XRL through an austerity walk. The march started from different locations and ended at the Legislative Council Building.

But the real intention is to oppose the mainstream narrative of growth. On their palm you can find coral. They are protesting in the heart of HK but they were not there mentally. They were wanderers. I called the ascetic walk a ideological cleaning because in order to get rid of the mainstream ideology you need to punch yourself first. They were walking in the city all the way to the Old Supreme Court Building but in their own way. They were giving new meaning to the land and architecture they walked through.
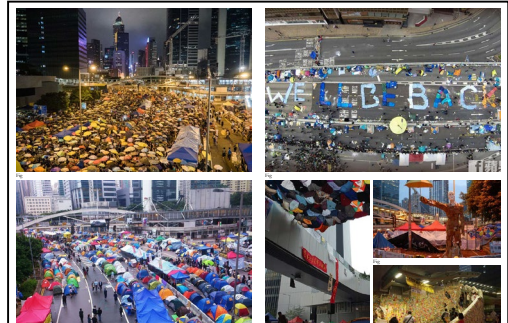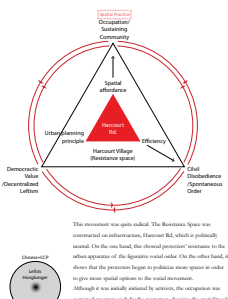
The Ascetic Walk explored the relationship between the body and urban space. Its spatial practice gave new meaning to space in a way that completely disregards the existing order of space. Its political agenda didn't contain any grand narrative. Protesters called for a greater concern for local matters and the land beneath their feet, against the dominant capitalist logic of growth. As the opposite of the Pan-Democrats', its mobilisation advocates voluntary participation, echoing their political agenda in a decentralised way.

Decolonializing a space by just "walking" through it.

"Being barefoot is painful. Walking across the rough concrete path, the tops and backs of my feet are scraped. I can feel the soil, never have I kissed the land of my city with my skin so much, have I felt the heartbeat of the city so much. I love this place so much, even if it hurts me. The physical pain is indispensable: when the chalk breaks, my fingers will scrape the ground, leaving a bloodstain. Kneeling down to write, then I sit upright. It was so painful to put the weight of my body on my calves that sometimes my body would shake uncontrollably. But in this process, I am constantly reminded that this is my body."

Harcourt Village

Harcourt Village is a community formed on Harcourt Road in the Umbrella Movement in 2014, as part of the Umbrella Movement Occupation Zone. It lasted from September 26th to December 11th. The Umbrella Movement was a series of civil disobedience movements that took place in Hong Kong in 2014 to fight for universal suffrage. Demonstrators spontaneously occupied several major roads for sit-ins and marches, with their main demands being for the right to nominate citizens for the Chief Executive election and the abolition of the Legislative Council functional constituency.

In the occupation area, some demonstrators set up self-study rooms in the center of the road for students to study, while others developed wind power generation. At the beginning of the occupation there were already people sorting and recycling garbage. The occupation was praised as a utopia, with strangers bringing food supply and Basic necessities of life every day.

In the Umbrella Movement, protesters of different political agendas had their own occupation zones. The main constituent protesters of Harcourt Village were university students and highly educated people, thus Harcoury Village had a strong left-wing character.

This movement was quite radical. The Resistance Space was constructed on infrastructure, Harcourt Rd, which is politically neutral. On the one hand, the chosen protesters' resistance to the urban apparatus of the figurative social order. On the other hand, it shows that the protesters began to politicise more spaces in order to give more spatial opinion to the social movement. Although it was totally initiated by activists, the occupation was sustained spontaneously by the protestors, showing the spatiality of de-hierarchization and decentralization, echoing the open space of Harcourt road.

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Summarization

In short, in these Resistance spaces, protest could apear in a lot of ways with different performance. They contributed to mobilize the larger scale protests while they are also the result of the mobilization of social movements. Following the two theoretical frameworks of space triad and spatiality, I have come to two conclusions.

The meaning of space is not necessarily empty and ideologized. A symbolic or ideological space requires one or more powerful spatial practices, often dramatic, and the practitioners are usually under great political pressure or are themselves somehow unshakable political authorities. A more penetrative approach is to gradually practice spatially in a low-key way through a more everyday and collective approach, which establishes a meaning that exists in the abstract space without the grand narrative and being more invited to the citizens.

Spatial practices, through different spatialities as methodologies, become a medium between spatial practices and abstract imaginations of politics. Civil society mobilizes citizens through spatial practices, and participants can move through spatial practices to shape different imagined communities. Co-presence confirms the existence of community(Place and Space). the difference between "them" and "us" is identified through the confirmation of similarities or differences(Rigion and Territory). the re-distribution of power or resources possessed by participants ensures the decision-making and the legitimacy of decision makers(Scale). The democratization and decentralization of decision making is ensured through individual communication between participants(Networks). These spatialities become the bridge of the bodily experience in resistance space and the mobilization of social movements.

Communal Space for Community

Place and Space
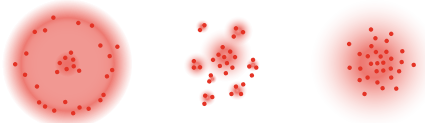
— GATHERING
CO-PRESENCE

Territory and Region
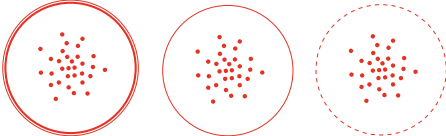
— FUNCTIONALITY
THEME

Scale

— SCALE
HEIRARCHIZATION

Networks
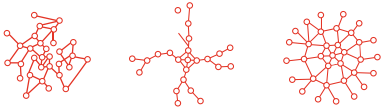
— PRIVATE COMMUNICATION
CONNECTION
ACCESSIBLITY

Conclusion

In the current Hong Kong society with the National Security Law, all civil society organizations with a clear non-mainstream ideology are in danger. The dissolution of these civil society organizations, which have been the core driving force of the social movement in Hong Kong, means that the social movement will not be able to continue, and the connections to those Resistance Space that have been established through years of protests will be lost. In a city like Hong Kong, where the urban fabric lacks public spaces with social and political significance, this loss means the absence of a bodily experience of political participation through civil society organizations.

However, social movements are by definition a form of civil society organization, so the above research on *spatiality* in the mobilization of social movements can be applied to other forms of mobilization of civil society organizations, such as communities.

As an architect, the mobilization of communities can be intervened through community architecture, applied with the *spatiality* throry of social mobilization as a design methodology to build connections between participants, community architecture (material), and community building (abstract).

This project will be an attempt to restore civil society through community architecture, as a response to the absence of a bodily experience of the engagement of political participation. As Hong Kong gradually turning into a police state, strengthening social connection can be a compensation of the lost of political engagement.

Mobili-zation of Community

Proposal

Photo: Fan Ho
1960s
開門七件事 Market Promenade

New Legetimacy for HKSAR Government

Before the enactment of the National Security Law, Hong Kong's political system could be called a Half-representative democracy, in which citizens could participate in elections to provide legitimacy for the government's administration. When the National Security Law was enacted and all politicians with different political agendas were disqualified from participation in politics, how could the government establish a new legitimacy?

Apparently, the relation between Hong Kong and Beijing transformed from "China-Hong Kong" with Colonial governmentality to "Center-Periphery" with Authoritarian governmentality. So the HKSAR government's solution is the same as that of the Chinese government, which has begun to emphasize the importance of the "right to development" in lieu of rights defined by universal values such as freedom of speech. According to the report of South China Morning Post, "When Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor announced in her policy speech on Wednesday that enough land had been found to tackle the public housing shortage for the next decade, she lauded it as an achievement, saying the government's efforts had started to pay off." Solving housing problem along with other infrastructure project started to become one of the important instrument to fix legitimacy.

Before 2021
China

HK

China-HK
Colonialism

↓

After 2021
China

HK

Center-Periphery
authoritarianism

Carrie Lam policy address: massive housing plan near Hong Kong's border to play starring role in speech, but vision has its critics

- Blueprint calls for expanding on existing plan for New Territories North and will be comparable in scale with Lantau Tomorrow Vision, sources say
- Proposal could make it easier for villagers to sell ancestral land, releasing abandoned farmland and earmarking funds to buy private holdings
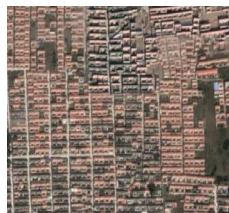

Urban fabric in Hong Kong
Private Led
Urban Renewal

Urban fabric in China
Large-scale
Re-development

Non-discursive Political Participation

The 18 District Concils

District Councils are local councils and district organizations at the district level in Hong Kong that advise the government. They are important institutions for the public to exercise democratic supervision of the government and express their views on community affairs. District Councils are the bridge between the government and the public. The advice they provide to the government can largely influence the direction of government funds.

Unlike the Legislative Council in Hong Kong, the election and operation of DCs can be non-ideological. DCs have very close ties with local communities, which creates conditions for some DC members who are keen on community building. In 2021, a large number of DC members from oppositional parties were forced to resign due to the introduction of the National Security Law, and some of them were more enthusiastic about community building, creating connections among community members and vitalizing community life.

In this post-Anti-ELAB era, there may be a new way of political participation that, unlike the traditional ideological electoral politics of the past, is rooted in the District Councils and focuses solely on community building. The result of this political practice will be strengthened communities with citizens who are actively involved in public affairs. These will be the ground for future political change in Hong Kong.

Hongkong depth

Collapsed District Council: We may have missed out, waiting for the golden age of more than 30 years

wave of wind blows down not only the decades-old district council system, but also Hong Kong's of regaining community autonomy.

Departing District Council members who are committed to community building

Public Offices (Candidacy and Taking Up Offices)
(Miscellaneous Amendments) Ordinance 2021:

"**The Ordinance clearly explains the meaning of a reference to "upholding Basic Law and bearing allegiance to HKSAR"; introduces the oath-taking requirement for members of the District Councils (DC); specifies oath-taking requirements; standardises the arrangement of oath administrators; enhances the mechanism to deal with breaching of oaths; and introduces restrictions on participation in public elections for related situations.**"

"Upholding Basic Law and bearing allegiance to HKSAR" is a fundamental obligation and responsibility of public officers. The Ordinance further ensures that the public officers understand their constitutional responsibility, and safeguards that only a person who meets the fundamental requirement of "upholding Basic Law and bearing allegiance to HKSAR" could hold the relevant public office."

Repoduction of Commu- nal Space

NATIONAL SECURITY LAW

DE-DEMOCRATIZATION

NEW LEGITIMACY

RESTORING CIVIL SOCIETY

NON-DISCURSIVE POLITI- CAL PARTICIPATION
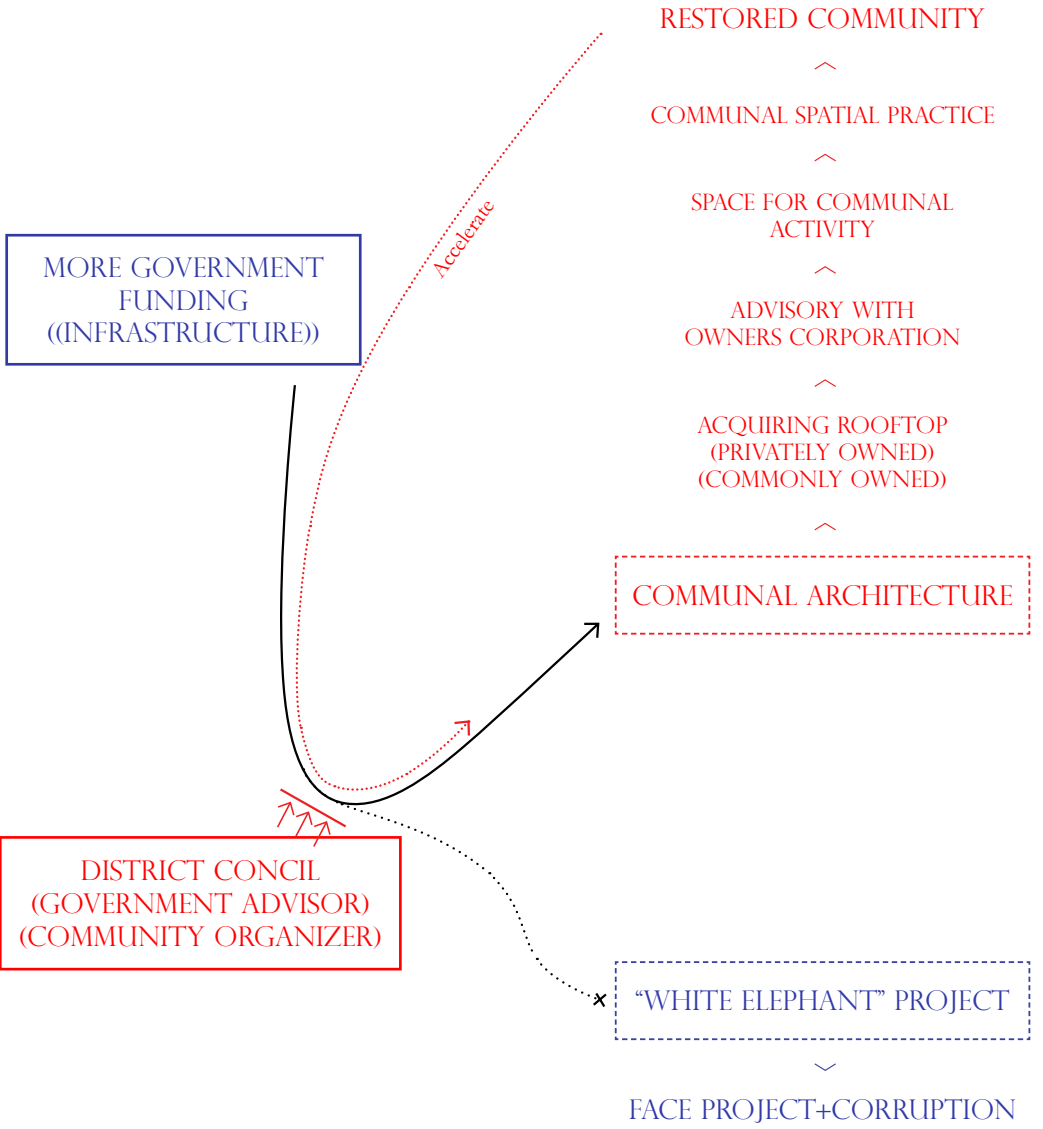
RESTORED COMMUNITY

⌒

COMMUNAL SPATIAL PRACTICE

⌒

SPACE FOR COMMUNAL
ACTIVITY

⌒

ADVISORY WITH
OWNERS CORPORATION

⌒

ACQUIRING ROOFTOP
(PRIVATELY OWNED)
(COMMONLY OWNED)

⌒

MORE GOVERNMENT
FUNDING
((INFRASTRUCTURE))

Accelerate

COMMUNAL ARCHITECTURE

DISTRICT CONCIL
(GOVERNMENT ADVISOR)
(COMMUNITY ORGANIZER)

"WHITE ELEPHANT" PROJECT

⌄

FACE PROJECT+CORRUPTION

Socialization in the Grey Zone

Proposal
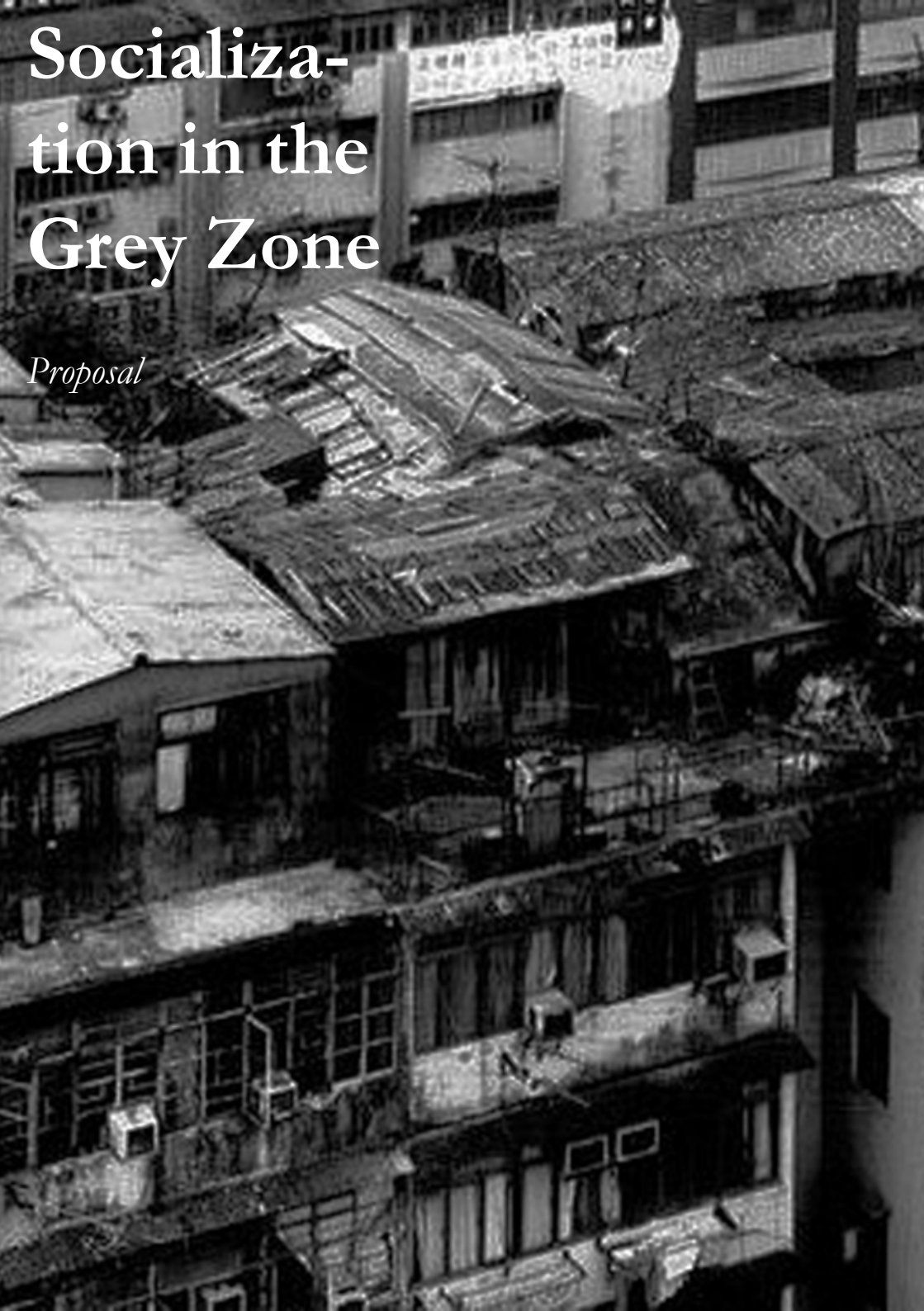
Rooftop, the Grey Zone in Hong Kong

A housing crisis developed in the 1950s and 1960s when a large number of
unmet demand for affordable housing options and squatting in rooftop slu
Hong Kong is now one of the most densely populated places in the world.
top dwellers in 2011, 48,570 in 2006 and 77,930 in 2001.

refugees left mainland China and moved to Hong Kong, creating a large,
ms.The census of 1971 reported 27,000 people living in rooftop dwellings.
According to the Hong Kong population census, there were 47,091 roof-

Balcony 1 / Enfield Terrace　今津・大阪市街

1969
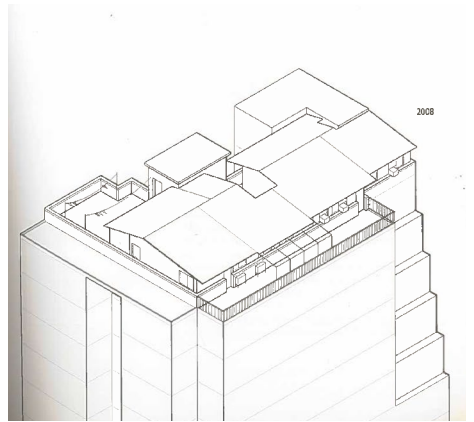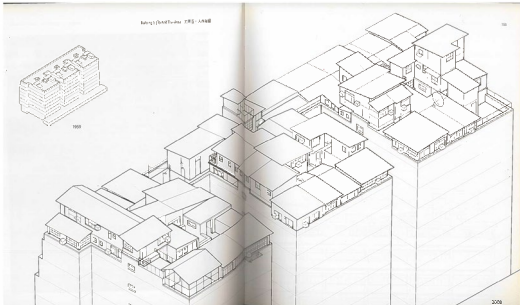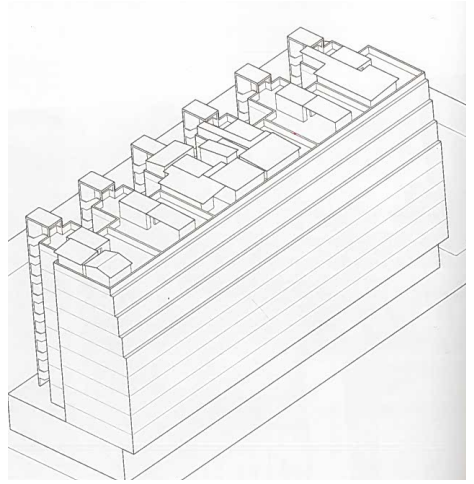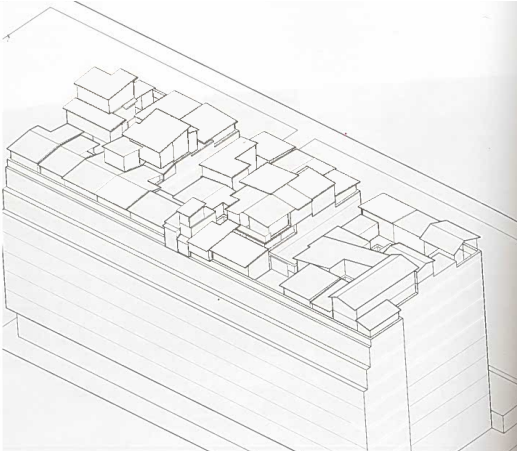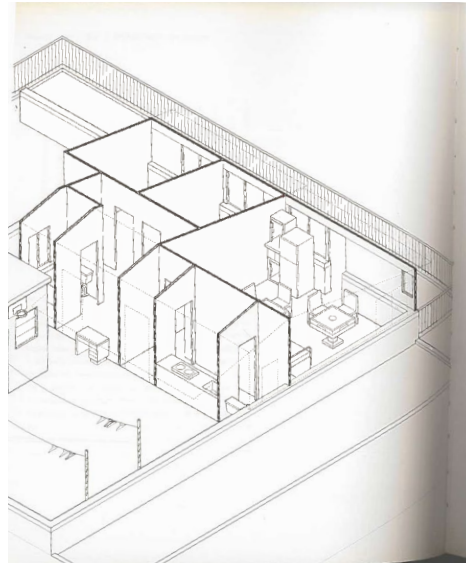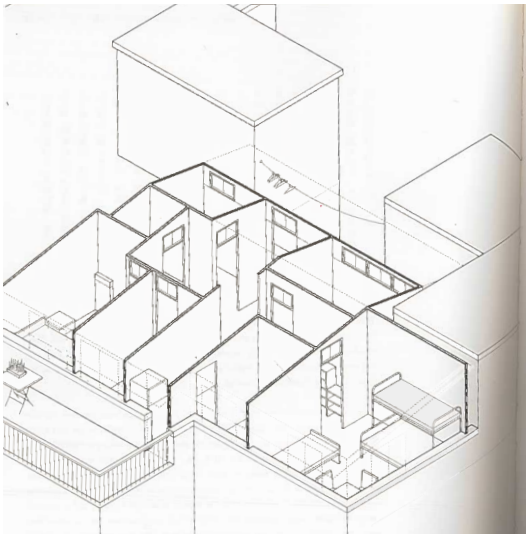
The appropriation of rooftop space reflects the fact that rooftop is the grey zone in Hong Kong. Unlike urban space on the ground, rooftop space is semi-invisible in urban life. physically it is open space but in the context of Hong Kong it becomes a corner of urban space. This invisibility allows it to be appropriated more out of public control.

The number of rooftop slum dwellers has been decreasing year by year, and in the context of NSL, the future influx of public housing will cause more demolition of rooftop slum, and the vacated rooftop space will become the site of this project

Site:
Sham Shui
Po
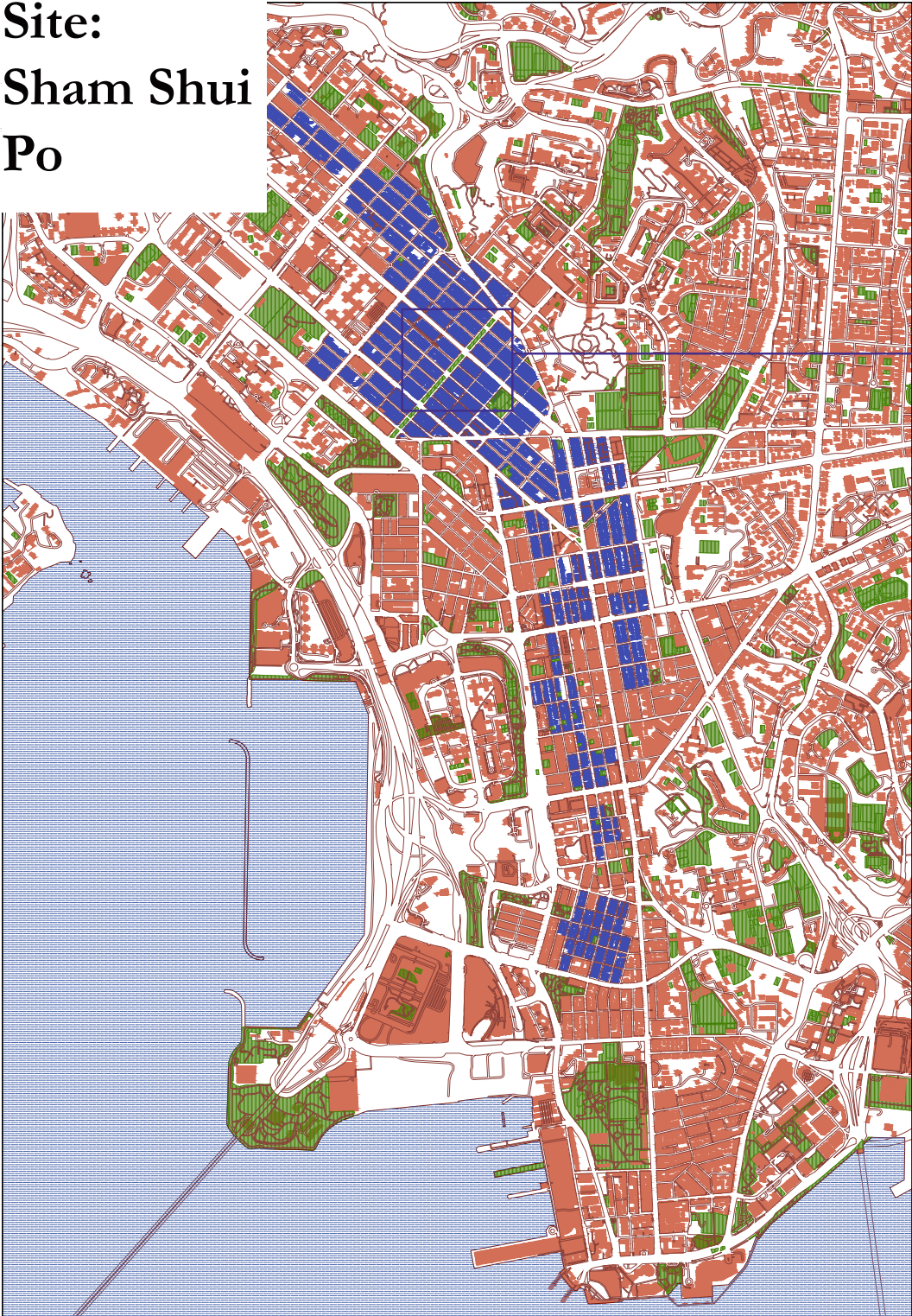
Sham shui po, one of the most crowed area in Hongkong. Most of the buildings here were built between 1950 and 1970, which corresponds to the time of the influx of refugees from mainland China. Each street block today has between 1,000-2,000 residents, or 400-800 dwelling units.

In pursuit of efficiency, buildings are placed close to each other. So the proposed communal architecture can also be one that connects the roofs. By creating a place to connect and gather, communities based on street blocks will be formed.
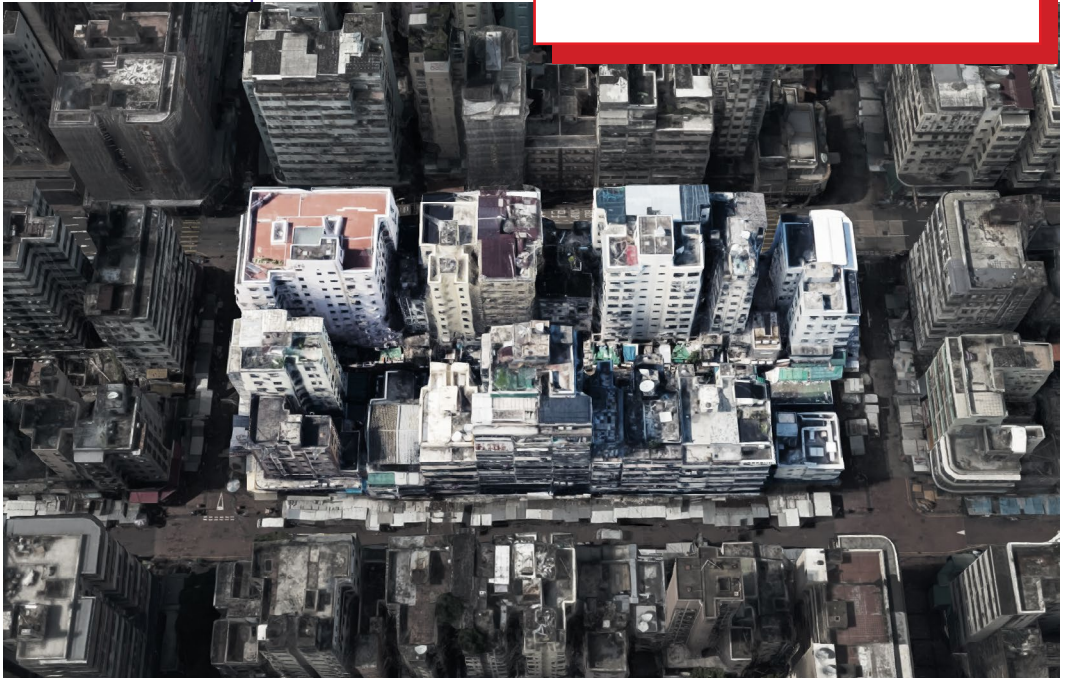
Material &References
Metal scaffold-ing
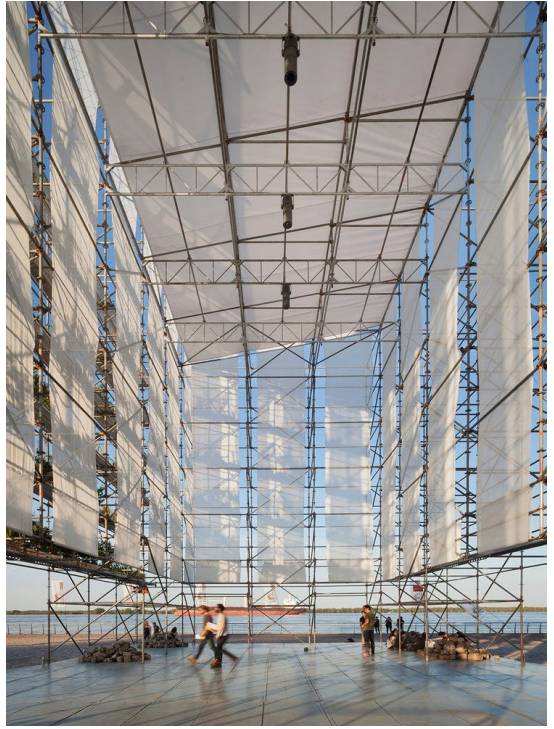
Modularity
-Demountability
-Assembling speed

Stability
-High load bearing capacity

Endurability

Recyclability
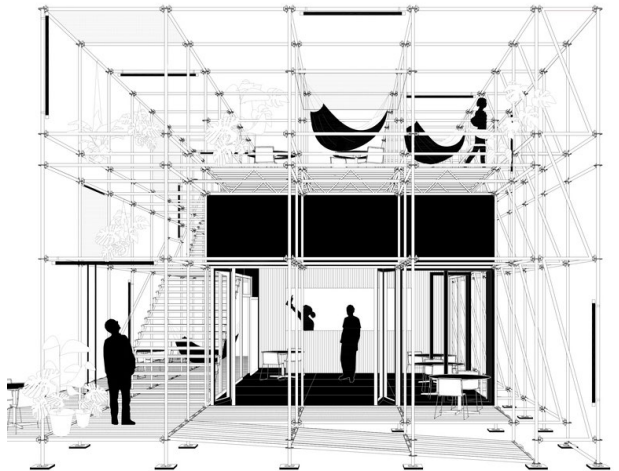
Material &References
Bamboo scaffolding

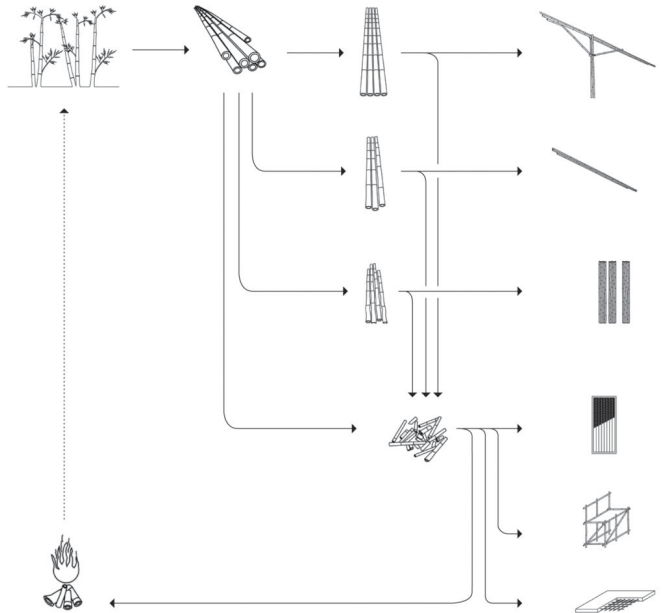*Flexibility*
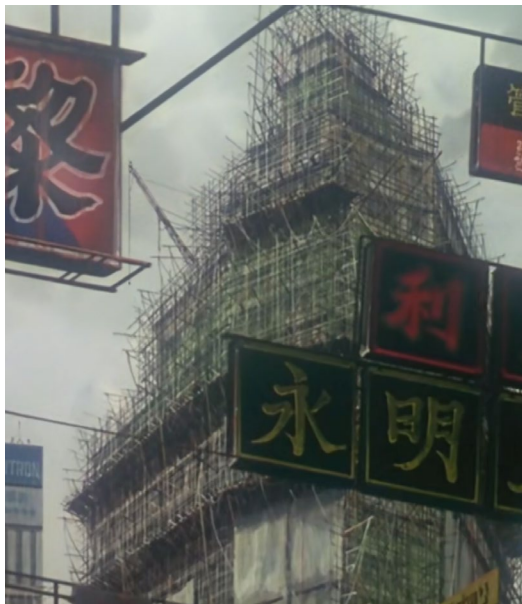-Site adaptation
-Approachability

Affordability

Recyclability

Desposability

Local material
-Accessibility