

Fighting the Dragon and Riding the Wave of Love and Peace

How Environmentalist Groups in Hong Kong Utilized the Context of a Social Movement

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Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies



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Abstract

This thesis examines the potential of society, and social movement in particular, as an agent of change for sustainability.

In August 2014 student activists initiated a sit-in strike outside of the Hong Kong government headquarters, as a protest against the non-democratic electoral system forced upon the city by China. The attempt by the police to disperse the crowd by using teargas had a reversed effect and produced multiple waves of mass support all over Hong Kong. The movement grew beyond a centralized control of any person or organization. The Umbrella Revolution, as the movement came to be known as, was more profound than merely a protest for universal suffrage. It was a dynamic and creative platform with several groups involved, each with their own agenda.

The Umbrella Revolution provides a critical case study for sustainability science, as it comprises an opportunity to investigate the strategic benefits that social movements pose to environmentalist groups. The thesis takes on the Marxist ideas of interlinked oppression and cross-movement coalitions, to explore the synergies that occurred during the Umbrella Revolution between the majority of political groups and the minority of environmental activists. Using data from qualitative interviews with environmental activist groups, this thesis seeks to determine the effect of voicing environmental concerns during the time of the revolution.

The findings demonstrate that the environmentalist groups have benefitted from engaging with the Umbrella Revolution, as people have become more prone to take action and care for the environment, compared to prior the movement. However, the findings also demonstrate that the new support is not likely to originate from an increased environmental consciousness per se, but from a newly awakened overarching concern for the society. The findings indicate that the Umbrella Revolution was a major political awakening for the people of Hong Kong, as it fostered strong commitment and a shared sense of responsibility. The political awakening has facilitated the work of the environmentalist groups who now enjoy the benefits of a stronger support for their causes.

This thesis considers social movement coalitions to be an agent of change for sustainability. The study proves that it is beneficial for the work of an environmental movement to form an alliance with a social movement, as it provides strategic advantages. However, the study also proves that positive cross-movement coalition outcomes are not dependent on a successful reframing of the cause to align the participating groups. It may thus be generalized that a social movement constitutes a useful tool for environmental movement.

Keywords: Umbrella Revolution, social movements, cross-movement coalition, politicization, social movement abeyance, sustainability science

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Abbreviations

CWB – Causeway Bay

DIY – do-it-yourself

FfD – Farms for Democracy

FG – Food Grace

FH – Farm Hands

HK – Hong Kong

HK DCS – Hong Kong Dolphin Conservation Society

LJL – Land Justice League

MCF – Mapopo Community Farm

MK – Mong Kok

NENT – North East New Territories

NPC – National People’s Congress (the government of China)

OCLP – Occupy Central with Love and Peace

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Social Movement Coalition as an agent of change for sustainability	1
1.2. Problem statement	3
1.3. Report structure.....	4
2. Methodology and Methods	5
2.1 Methodological considerations	5
2.2. Research design	6
2.2.1. <i>Sample and Qualitative interviews</i>	7
2.2.2. <i>Thematization and Analysis</i>	8
2.3. Limitation and constraints.....	8
3. Theoretical background	10
3.1. The Theory of Communicative Action	10
3.2. Social movements	11
3.2.1. <i>Constituents of social movements</i>	11
3.2.2. <i>Political opportunity structures</i>	12
3.2.3. <i>Nature of the state</i>	12
3.2.4. <i>Continuous contention</i>	13
3.3. Marxist social movement theory	13
3.3.1. <i>Cross-movement coalitions</i>	13

3.3.2. <i>Framing</i>	14
3.3.3. <i>Coalition building</i>	15
3.4. Social movement abeyance	16
3.4.1. <i>Internal and external activities</i>	16
3.4.2. <i>Politicization</i>	16
4. Case study analysis part I: Political opportunity structures	18
4.1. Hong Kong's political autonomy and electoral system	18
4.2. Occupy Central with Love and Peace	19
4.3. The Umbrella Movement	20
4.4. Discontent in Hong Kong	21
4.5. Political context analysis	22
4.5.1. <i>The Umbrella Revolution as a social movement</i>	22
4.5.2. <i>The political opportunity structures of Hong Kong</i>	23
4.5.3. <i>The nature of the Hong Kong state</i>	23
4.5.4. <i>Continuous contention in Hong Kong</i>	23
5. Case study analysis part II: The Umbrella Movement	25
5.1. External activities	25
5.1.1. <i>Cross-movement coalition building</i>	25
5.1.2. <i>(Re)Framing</i>	27
5.2. Internal activities	28
5.2.1. <i>Farming</i>	28

5.2.2. <i>Recycling</i>	29
5.2.3. <i>Recruitment</i>	30
5.2.4. <i>Observations</i>	30
5.3. Implications of cross-movement coalition building.....	30
5.3.1. <i>Supporting the movement or remaining neutral</i>	30
5.4. Analysis of the movement activities	31
6. Case study analysis part III: The Post-Occupy developments.....	33
6.1. The Umbrella Movement in abeyance	33
6.2. Politicization	34
6.3. Internal activity ramifications.....	36
6.4. Explaining the politicization	37
7. Conclusion.....	38
7.1. Final remarks	38
7.2. Future research	40
Bibliography	41
Appendices	46
Appendix I. Conduct of Interviews	46
Appendix I: Continued	47
Appendix II. Table of environmentalist groups in Hong Kong.....	48

Chapter One

1. Introduction

Chapter One introduces the thesis, its scope of research (*par 1.1.*), its problem statement (*par 1.2.*), and the report structure (*par 1.3.*). The chapter explains why studying the coalition building of social movements is of significance for sustainability science, and how a strong cross-movement coalition might constitute an agent of change for sustainability, capable of pushing development into a positive trajectory.

1.1 Social Movement Coalition as an agent of change for sustainability

The world is currently facing several urgent environmental threats, such as ocean acidification, global warming and biodiversity loss, identified by Rockström (2009) as the planetary boundaries. Although humanity has been aware of the environmental problems for more than five decades, human actions still exceed the limits of the planet. Moreover, the modern lifestyle is so contentious that addressing its complications is too menacing for politicians, because of the economic implications such action would entail. But ultimately a confrontation is what the contemporary situation requires, and thus the obstacles for any transition into any alternative are solely political (Greider, 2006). Scientifically, sustainability science has yet to reconcile the development goals of society and the planetary environmental limits (Clark & Dickson, 2003), and the failure of both political (Greider, 2006) and market based solutions (Fullerton & Stavins, 1998) pose the question whether a more radical force is needed to push development into a sustainable trajectory.

This thesis will examine the potential of society, and social movement in particular, as an agent of change for sustainability. Studying social movements carries weight because of the significant role they have played in dramatically changing the societies in which they occurred in (Christiansen, 2009; Tilly, 2004). As opposed to the conservative view of social movements as riots raised by troublemakers, Tarrow (2011) proposes that social movements should be considered a natural part of the political landscape. Protests should be regarded as a democratic tool and a mean for people to magnify their voice (*ibid*). Similarly, Habermas considers that a true democracy requires social movements to be fully functional, as party politics and voting systems are inadequate in limiting the influences of personal and economic interests (Trocchia, 2009; Agusti-Panareda, 2005).

However, although social movements are a force potentially powerful enough to oppose the influences of capitalist interests over society (Reisner, 2001), the ferocity of capitalism renders resistance alone insufficient. Social movements worldwide must thus coalesce (Chase-Dunn, 2002), towards a “revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things” (Marx, Engels & Hobsbawm, 1998). Marx considered social movements to be different entities of one large social movement opposing oppression, which led him to the conclusion that every social movement should unite to leverage their influence (Marx, Engels & Hobsbawm, 1998; Fréchet & Wörndl, 1993). In other words, assuming social movements are agents of change for sustainability, the prospects of prosperity are dependent on their ability to coalesce.

Studying social movement alliances matters to sustainability science because realizing a sustainable state is a matter of understanding cultural, social and political change (Miller, 2012). In its quest to reconcile the challenges of sustainability, sustainability science must comprehend the linkages between knowledge and social actions by studying the complexity of social systems (Kates et al., 2001; Clark & Dickson, 2003). This thesis starts with the preliminary assumption that the answer to the core question of sustainability science of what shapes the long-term trends that most effectively will guide society towards a sustainability transition (Kates, 2011), lies in studying social movements and how they unite.

In August 2014 student activists initiated a sit-in strike outside of the Hong Kong government headquarters, as a protest against the non-democratic electoral system forced upon the city by China. The attempt by the police to disperse the crowd by using teargas had a reversed effect and produced multiple waves of mass support all over Hong Kong. The movement grew beyond a centralized control of any person or organization. The Umbrella Revolution, as the movement came to be known as, was more profound than merely a protest. It was a dynamic and creative platform with several groups involved, each with their own agenda. Among these groups were environmental activists which attempted to form a coalition by reframing the cause as a structural problem rather than a matter of universal suffrage, by widening the scope and introducing other issues related to the environment.

The Umbrella Revolution provides a critical case study for sustainability science for three reasons: first, it constitutes a possibility to study politicizing social mechanisms, as the movement united previously apolitical citizens to oppose a non-democratic election system. Second, what began as a claim for universal suffrage developed into an opposition against the political system, by the introduction of corresponding issues, such as the right to the land, local food production, and waste management. Third, it is an ongoing movement which has had a considerable impact on the emergence of environmentalist groups. By studying the Umbrella Revolution this thesis seeks to understand the

synergies within the movement, and scrutinize the potential benefits for an environmental movement to form an alliance with a social movement.

1.2. Problem statement

Drawing on both Marxist and Habermasian theory, this thesis starts with the preliminary assumption of social movements as an agent of change for sustainability. Furthermore, it also assumes that social movements and environmental movements are related, as they are both interlinked through capitalism and thus facing a common oppression. The conclusion that follows implies that regardless of their cause, social movements of all characters would benefit from forming an alliance as it would comprise a strategic advantage of shared resources and constituencies.

This thesis contributes to sustainability science by recognizing the potential benefits that social movements pose to environmentalist groups. It observes and documents the social processes that occurred during the Umbrella Revolution, aimed at understanding the fundamental drivers behind the formation of cross-movement alliances. By defining the underlying mechanisms this thesis seeks to generalize whether it carries weight for the global environmental movement to coalesce with social movements as a possible trajectory towards sustainability. In other words, by studying and analyzing how social movements coalesce, this thesis attempts to explore the synergies that occurred during the Umbrella Revolution between the majority of political groups and the minority of environmental activists, to generalize whether a social movement constitutes a fertile ground for deploying environmental consciousness.

Based on a case study on the Umbrella Movement this thesis poses the following research questions:

- I. was the Umbrella Revolution as a social movement a useful ally for environmentalist groups?
- II. how did the coalition manifest itself?
- III. what were the outcomes from the cross-movement coalition building in the wake of the Umbrella Revolution?
- IV. which were the preconditions enabling the cross-movement alliance?

1.3. Report structure

Chapter Three describes the frameworks and theories that constitute the theoretical understanding of this thesis, drawing on Habermas, Marx and Kolb to explain how social movements are related and how social movements and environmental movements benefit from coalitions. Furthermore, Chapter Three also describes the concept of continuous contention to explain the politicizing outcomes of the Umbrella revolution. The data has been divided into three chapters; Chapter Four, predominantly based on desk studies, provides a political opportunity structure analysis to give the reader an understanding of the social, political and economic context in which the Umbrella Revolution emerged in, and Chapter Five and Chapter Six, mainly derived from qualitative interviews, depicts how different environmentalist groups coalesced with the Umbrella Movement and the effects the coalition had on their work. Theories and frameworks are applied to Chapter Four, Five and Six to explain the observed findings. Chapter Seven draws an overall conclusion and suggests the scope for future research.

Chapter Two

2. Methodology and Methods

Chapter Two presents the methodology applied and the methods used for this thesis. The thesis takes the standpoint of critical realism and follows the ontology of strong sustainability, and the epistemology of transdisciplinarity (*par 2.1.*). By conducting an exploratory case study analysis of the Umbrella Revolution, predominantly based on qualitative interviews with additional data from secondary sources, the thesis seeks the answer to research question I-IV. The interviews were designed as oral history interviews, to understand the movement through the experience of the participants (*par 2.2.*). The sample was elected through snowball sampling because of an initial lack of access to the activist networks and a hard-to-reach population (*par 2.2.1.*). Lastly, Chapter Two will elaborate on the limitation and constraints that occurred during the research process (*par 2.3.*).

2.1 Methodological considerations

This thesis takes the standpoint of critical realism. The author believes that there is a Real World, but that it requires interpretation to be fully comprehended (Easton, 2010). Furthermore, the author believes that meaning and knowledge is produced through understanding by experience (*ibid.*). This stance is to a certain extent grounded in the understanding of what Habermas described as the ontological illusion. The interests of humans always influence the production of knowledge (Habermas, 1978). Critical realism corresponds to the philosophical approach of the author. However, although this worldview should prove to be false, the author has yet acted as if critical realism is in accordance with reality, throughout the research process.

This thesis follows the ontology of strong sustainability, as market based solutions has not yet proven fruitful for sustainable development (Fullerton & Stavins, 1998). The author believes that “capital cannot replace (the) multitude of processes vital to human existence” (Hopwood, Mellor & O'Brien, 2005), and thus sustainable development must be derived through a transformation of society. In other words, the author believes that the imminent environmental problems are rooted in the political and economic system that constitute the fundamental features of society, and that the solution to these problems lies in disrupting the centers of power.

Sustainability science seeks to democratize and green the academic and political discourse (Jerneck et al., 2011). Being a sustainability scientist, the author has adopted the standpoint that the required knowledge for sustainable development is acquired through coproduction between scholars and practitioners. In other words, this thesis has followed the epistemology of transdisciplinarity. By applying the social change approach, it aims at pursuing sustainability by observing social processes with a focus on the fundamental drivers (Miller, 2012). The author's role as a researcher for this thesis has thus been to observe the actions of practitioners, and to report the observations with the hope of improving theory and understanding.

2.2. Research design

This thesis constitutes an exploratory case study analysis, predominantly based on qualitative interviews, with additional data from secondary sources to explain the historical context. Case studies are explanatory in nature and thus suitable for research posing the questions of how and why (Easton, 2010; Yin, 2003), and seeking to explain the behavior of the observed subject (Bhattacharjee, 2012). In the attempt to make sense of the phenomenon of social movements and to clarify the occurrence of cross-movement alliances and their effects, the research was designed as a case study, as the design frame may provide a high level of in-depth understanding (Thomas, 2011). The subject of study was the Umbrella Revolution along with the environmentalist groups active during this period, while the object of the study was to what extent the synergy between them produced politicization and environmental consciousness. In other words, the focus of this thesis is the trajectories of contention, that is, the focus on the interlinkages of the underlying mechanism and processes during the cycle of protests (Klandermans, Staggenborg & Tarrow, 2002). The reason for electing the Umbrella Revolution was, as mentioned in Chapter One, because it poses a critical case for sustainability science "in the sense of constituting an ideal assessment of" the formation of cross-movement coalitions (Snow & Trom, 2002, p. 158).

Case studies are adequate for acquiring an understanding of the actions and experiences of the participants (Bhattacharjee, 2012). This thesis began with the preliminary assumption that the sole feasible mean to understand the outcomes of the Umbrella Revolution, was by analyzing the event as a result of actions (Easton, 2010). The complex nature of the case was understood by alternating between stages during the process (*ibid*), that is, going back and forth between data collection and analysis (Blee & Taylor, 2002) to produce a holistic description. Furthermore, the dual method of triangulation was implemented by comparing the conducted material from the interviews with

complementary data from newspapers and journals. Because of the complexity of reality, triangulation is fundamental for a holistic understanding (Snow & Trom, 2002).

2.2.1. Sample and Qualitative interviews

The thesis applied subjective theory, i.e. the presumption that the respondents hold a complex quantity of knowledge about the subject of study (Flick, 2009). The method of data collection was thus designed as qualitative interviews, as this method grants the researcher access to the world of the subject (Kvale, 2007). Exploratory interviews are seldom structured (ibid), and the questions were consequently openly formulated. Semi-structured interviews have proved particularly fruitful for social movement research for a number of reasons. Firstly, semi-structured interviews are a tool for exploring the perception of reality, ideas, thoughts and memories of the respondents, in their own wording (Blee & Taylor, 2002). Secondly, semi-structured interviews allow scrutiny of meaning, as respondents are encouraged to explain how they regard participation. Thirdly, the method provides a more nuanced understanding of the outcomes of social movement. Lastly, posing semi-structured questions brings the focus of the analysis to human actions (ibid).

As the aim of the author was to comprehend certain aspects of a movement, such as allies, political opportunities, and internal dynamics, the interviews were designed as oral history interviews to understand the Umbrella Revolution through the experiences of individuals (Blee & Taylor, 2002). The interviews were structured around a set of themes, which allowed for a certain degree of flexibility and interactivity (ibid). However, certain themes were initially unknown to the author, which required follow-up questions and probing during the preliminary interviews to search for further themes. During the interviews the author was also faced with the “problematic balance” of either taking the role of an insider or an outsider. Being an insider not only grants access, but also builds affinity, empathy and trust (ibid). Consequently, the author attempted to build rapport through volunteering or through other gestures of gratitude.

The population for the study was comprised of environmental groups in Hong Kong. However, the sampling was executed in stages, as the author progressively gained access to the activist networks. This method is called snowball sampling, and was elected because of the initial lack of access to the activist networks and a hard-to-reach population (Bhattacharjee, 2012). By networking with the initial respondents that were aligned with the criteria for inclusion, the sample was progressively expanded. The snowball sampling proved to be vital for the thesis, and the author is convinced that it is very unlikely that he would have gained access to the respondents had it not been for the face-to-face networking and trust building.

A total number of 17 activists from different environmentalist groups were interviewed for this study, with an additional ten networking interviews to create a snowball sample. Each interview lasted approximately for one-two hours, and were conducted at a location chosen by each respondent. (See Appendix I for a full list of respondents).

2.2.2. *Thematization and Analysis*

The interviews were recorded and later transcribed and coded in preparation for the analysis. However, analysis and interpretation was also an ongoing process throughout the study (Blee & Taylor, 2002) by alternating between and comparing the theory and the empirical evidence. Furthermore, the transcribing was an analysis in itself (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), as the spoken language was converted into a more formal written language to accommodate the reading (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) deem this method acceptable depending on the purpose of the study. If the findings are to be used for reporting a public story the allowance for transforming the statements is higher (ibid).

The themes in the data were derived from analyzing both the theory and from the data itself, and categorized around reoccurring topics, similarities and differences, and theory-related material (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). In other words, the thematization and the analysis were guided by the theoretical orientation (Yin, 2003). The themes that emerged were: backgrounds of the environmentalist groups, current line of work, activities during the Umbrella Revolution, responses from fellow participants, and outcomes from the activities. The themes were later divided into subcategories correspondingly to the theoretical background.

2.3. Limitation and constraints

The decision to limit the scope and define environmental groups as green living and critical development was based on an initial interview with the representative from the 350.org's South East Asia office. Environmental initiatives in Hong Kong revolve to a large extent around green living and critical development. Present, but also much less emphasized, are climate change, anti-nuclear, and green energy. Most examples found and used for this study may be classified as the two prior categories.

A number of constraints occurred during the research process which requires addressing and reflection. The field research was conducted in Hong Kong from January 2016 until early April the same

year. This period coincides with the Chinese Lunar New Year, a holiday when the city falls dormant which puts work on hold for up to two weeks. The author was also faced with cultural and language barriers. During one of the initial interviews the respondent explained that having interviews with complete strangers is considered odd and abnormal in Hong Kong, a cultural trait that likely caused a certain degree of hesitancy and decline. Furthermore, though most Hong Kong people understand English, not everyone speaks the language well enough to participate in an interview. In addition, the Umbrella Revolution is yet a contentious topic and dissidents are occasionally prosecuted by the government, which likely frightened some people into silence.

A theoretical constraint for this thesis is posed by its format. The lack of experimental control questions the causality in case studies, and findings from case studies are occasionally criticized for being subjective and not generalizable (Bhattacharjee, 2012). However, this thesis does not aim for statistical generalizability. Instead it seeks to expand and generalize theories (Yin, 2003; Snow & Trom, 2002; Bent, 2004).

Chapter Three

3. Theoretical background

Chapter Three provides the frameworks and theories that constitutes the theoretical understanding of this thesis. The chapter is divided into four sections, each describing a different aspect of social movements. Section one explains Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action, which is the underlying theoretical framework for understanding social movements' role in society (*par. 3.1.*). The theory describes social movements as a vital organ of the societal body, and how they operate to democratize society. Section two is more concrete and defines what constitutes a social movement, the societal context in which it emerges in, and the continuous process of contention (*par. 3.2.*). Together sections 3.1. and 3.2. present a theoretical background that will help to explain both the emergence of and the preconditions for the Umbrella Revolution. Section three adds to the previous frameworks by portraying the Marxist theory of social movements and how cross-movement coalitions embodies it, to complement the lack of political aspects in the Theory of Communicative Action (*par. 3.3.*). Having a Marxist understanding of how all social movements are related is important for comprehending how social movements and environmental movements benefit from coalitions. Furthermore, it is also important for understanding the dynamics of the Umbrella Revolution. Section four elaborates on continuous contention by explaining the concept of social movement abeyance and politicization (*par. 3.4.*). Integrating these concepts into the theoretical framework will facilitate the understanding of how communicative actions are operationalized. Having a theoretical understanding of these processes is vital for recognizing the outcomes of the Umbrella Revolution, and how the movement evolved after the occupation ended.

3.1. The Theory of Communicative Action

Social change is according to Habermas centered around what he conceptualized as the Theory of Communicative Action (Edwards, 2008). The theory depicts the society consisting of two spheres: lifeworld and system. The lifeworld represents the private sphere of family and the public sphere of civil society. Out of the lifeworld political and economic institutions grow forming the State and the market economy, collectively called the system (Agusti-Panareda, 2005). In an "exchange between the private and the public spheres and between the economic and the state spheres through the media of money and power" (Humburg, 2011), the system attempts to dominate and "colonize" the lifeworld

(Agusti-Panareda, 2005). The lifeworld, on the other hand, wants to gain legitimation and free itself from the system. This conflict between the system and the lifeworld results in a dominance of personal interests over common concerns and democratic values. Party politics and voting are regarded insufficient measures to resist the attempts of dominance. As a result of the conflict, social movements emerge as agents of change, fostering the opinion formation in the civil society (Trocchia, 2009; Agusti-Panareda, 2005).

According to Habermas all social actions are tied to rationality (Tucker, Jr., 1989). He distinguishes between instrumental, strategic, and communicative actions. The first and the second category of actions work in favor of the system and aim to dominate the lifeworld, whereas the third category is part of the lifeworld's struggle for freedom. Communicative actions are those actions based on rational arguments, which has been derived from a discourse aimed at achieving consciousness and consensus (Tucker, Jr., 1989; Agusti-Panareda, 2005). However, reaching a truly rational consensus is dependent on the context of an ideal speech situation. This requires a precondition where all participants have equal access to the dialog (Tucker, Jr., 1989; Agusti-Panareda, 2005). In other words, Habermas deems social movements to be an agent of change as they provide the ideal speech situation in the form of a democratic platform.

3.2. Social movements

3.2.1. Constituents of social movements

Most social movement scholars agree on the idea of social movements as an agent of change (Tarrow 2011; Tilly 2004; Kolb 2007; Della Porta & Diani, 2006), but each scholar also provides their individual definition of what constitutes a social movement. Goodwin and Jasper (2009) defined social movement as a “collective, organized, sustained, and non-institutional challenge to authorities, power-holders, or cultural beliefs and practices”. In addition, Barker (2013) described social movements as reticulate; a characteristic that allows a range of people with different backgrounds, interests, and associations to organize themselves around a cause. Della Porta and Diani, (2006) on the other hand defined social movements as a social process that has a collective identity, linked through informal networks, and is in conflict with a clearly identified opponent.

Nilsen and Cox (2013) took a Habermasian view and ground their concept of social movements on communicative actions, where social groups and struggles are formed around collective projects based on rationality, projects that either oppose or maintain a societal structure. Social movements emerge

from collective grievances based on material needs, problems or places. However, these projects become movements only after forming a “local rationality” that appeals to potential allies. This process becomes both “the subject and the object of social movements”, as it will stand against the “collective projects of other social groups” resulting in conflicts (Nilsen & Cox, 2013, p. 66).

Similar to previous definitions, Dryzek, Downes, Hunold, Schlosberg and Hernes (2003) regarded environmental movements as “an association or a set of associations organized around a common interest that seeks to influence collective outcomes without obtaining authoritative offices of government”, but they also add four complementary features which separate environmental movements from classical social movements (p. 2). Environmental movements: 1) do not wish to overthrow the state; 2) constitute a horizontal structure rather than a vertical one; 3) have a broader repertoire of tactics, both conventional and unconventional; and 4) are not explicitly class-based.

3.2.2. Political opportunity structures

Several scholars have stressed the significance of context for social movements (Della Porta & Diani, 2006; Kolb, 2007; Tarrow 2011; Tilly; 2004; Dryzek et al., 2003). For example, Della Porta and Diani (2006) asserted that societal structures determine the emergence of social movements, as they provide a context for potential conflicts of interests between groups, as well as creating internal solidarity within groups. Social movements arise when civil society reacts to structural changes in culture or values (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). In addition, Kolb (2007) contended that societal structures also are of significance for the outcome of social movements. Whether or not a social movement will succeed in achieving its goals is determined by the cultural, economic, and political context (Kolb, 2007). This implies that the effectiveness of social movement strategies will be different for different societal circumstances. Social movements must thus implement strategies that fit the individual contexts in which they operate in. The configuration of the strategies and tactics is thereby constrained by the current cultural, economic, and political contexts (Kolb, 2007). Often referred to as “political opportunity structures”, these contexts constitute political institutional structures; elite conflicts (disagreement within the ruling class); partisanship of government (partisans within the ruling class); instability of political alignment; public opinion; mass media; strength of counter-movement mobilization; and windows for reform (Kolb (2007).

3.2.3. Nature of the state

To complement the static view of the political opportunity structures, Dryzek et al. (2003) elaborated a framework for categorizing the nature of a state, to better analyze the changes in political contexts.

The two dimensional map classifies states according to their level of inclusiveness/exclusiveness and to what extent they are active or passive. An exclusive state acts restrictively and only grants influence to a limited number of political actors. Inclusive states, on the other hand, act more openly towards different interests, although an inclusive state does not necessarily entail equal access and power, and influence of state decisions. The second dimension represents to what extent the state allows or seeks a universal representation of interests. An active state engages in the different interests existing within civil society in an attempt to affect the content and control the level of influence of these interests. As opposed to the prior example, a passive state is indifferent to diverging interests, and exercises little or no influence over them. Dryzek et al. (2003) deemed that the nature of the state structure in which the social movement operates is crucial for the outcome of the movement, as it determines both the opportunities and the constraints for the movement. Both the political opportunity structures and the nature of the state in Hong Kong would prove to be decisive for the Umbrella Revolution's failure to attain universal suffrage.

3.2.4. Continuous contention

Kolb (2007) contended that “the main purpose of social movements is to achieve, prevent, or sustain cultural, economic, and political change”, with an emphasis on political change (p. 21). Social movements should not be reviewed in terms of success or failure, but rather in terms of outcomes, consequences and impact. Kolb (2007) stated two motives for this reasoning: firstly, a social movement faces a number of barriers, which it can be successful in transcending without achieving its goal. Secondly, due to the time-lag associated with political and societal change, social movement outcomes cannot be considered as static, but rather as a continuous and multidimensional process. In other words, though a movement may fail to achieve its goal it may still impact state action on other levels (Kolb, 2007).

3.3. Marxist social movement theory

3.3.1. Cross-movement coalitions

The Theory of Communicative Action has been criticized for being too utopian, and overemphasizing social unity and rationality whilst disregarding politics (Karppinen, Moe & Svensson, 2008). By introducing Marxist social movement theory, this thesis seeks to add a political aspect to Habermas' theory. Applying Marxist ideas to the Theory of Communicative Action translates the concept of system into capitalism. Marx deemed that all historical developments can be explained by class struggles and

the exploitation of labor. Furthermore, according to Marx every revolution can be linked to the contemporary means of production in a society. Revolution comes as a result when class relationships no longer are compatible with the means of production (Marx, Engels & Hobsbawm, 1998).

However, Barker (2013) among others, asserted that Marxist theory is more dynamic than class struggle versus capitalism. Marx meaning of class struggle, was not the one of “class against class”, but of a group resisting oppression from another group, such as resistance against imperialism, racism, sexism, discrimination, environmental degradation, etc. What Marx called “modes of production” was a paraphrase for means of domination, because the mode of production “determines the relationship of domination and servitude” (Barker, 2013, p. 44). Furthermore, capitalism should not only be regarded as an economic system producing commodities, but also as a societal system producing political states and a world order (Chase-Dunn, 2002).

Marx did not consider other struggles, such as those by ethnic, religious or sexual minorities as distinct from class struggle, but as different entities of one large social movement with the ultimate goal of overthrowing capitalism (Barker, 2013). Every entity of the social movement is shaped by the dynamics of capitalism and political-economic factors and are thus interlinked (Hetland and Goodwin, 2013). This idea led Marx to the conclusion that every social movement should unite (Barker, 2013), since they all face a common enemy in capitalism and would also benefit from forming a coalition (Marx, Engels & Hobsbawm, 1998). During recent decades there have been several examples of diverse groups joining forces against large constructions, the clearance of land, and nuclear power (Chaffin, 1982), a framework referred to as cross-movement coalitions (Roberts and Jesudason, 2013; Enriquez, 2014).

There are two important aspects in the use of this framework for the thesis: framing (i.e. how reframing social problems enables the formation of an alliance) and benefits and risks of coalition building.

3.3.2. Framing

Kojola (2013) studied how the common interest in food issues at American University of Washington accommodated worker unions, student groups, food activists, health advocates, and local farmers to form an alliance. This was achieved by framing the issue as a matter of good jobs, healthy food and sustainability (ibid). The process of framing implies defining the problem, the underlying causes, and the remedy, around which the movement participants can form a shared ideology. Framing not only

helped the participants in understanding that they shared a common interest, but it was also significant for overcoming potential disagreements and sustaining the coalition (ibid).

Reframing an issue also requires a shared ideology. Enriquez (2014) found that a social justice-oriented student organization successfully formed coalitions when they approached other organizations with ideologies similar to theirs. By using ideology, the student organization not only successfully recruited other groups, but also aligned and reframed the shared ideology to create a unity and a common goal (ibid).

3.3.3. Coalition building

No one can single-handedly escape being devoured by the capitalist Leviathan. The chances of local movements successfully standing up to transnational capitalism, is just as small as for third world nations independently opposing imperialist regimes (Patterson, 2010). Occasionally described as “crucial for (...) survival” (Gordon, 1999), numerous studies suggest that a successful alliance will provide a range of benefits for the individual member groups (Beamish & Luebbbers, 2009; Enriquez, 2014; Kojola, 2013; Gordon, 1999; Reisner, 2001). The forming of a coalition provides an opportunity for social movements to leverage their resources and powers (Kojola, 2013). By sharing knowledge and resources the coalition gains an enhanced constituency and a stronger voice to challenge economic and political power (Mix, 2011).

Coalitions are also likely to have a range of positive internal effects. For example, in the study of Beamish and Luebbbers (2009) alliance members began to experience a co-commitment. The co-commitment was a result from a growing understanding of the conflict, and from embracing the co-party’s cause. Furthermore, Mix (2011) found that coalition building also enhances community social capital.

However, a cross-movement coalition may not come without conflicts, when inner as well as outer disagreements about causes and remedies for social problems must be reconciled (Beamish & Luebbbers, 2009). But regardless of any reconciliation of inner grievances the different coalition member groups still face the risk of negative association. For example, Gordon (1999) found that for different reasons the mainstream environmentalists did not want to form an alliance with worker unions. The risk of losing credibility and support from other political camps if they were to be associated with worker unions and left-wing groups was too great. An alliance would undermine claims of an apolitical stance, which might cause implications for organizations dependent on external funding (ibid).

3.4. Social movement abeyance

Social movement abeyance is the state where the conditions for resource mobilization are unfavorable to a social movement and keeping it at bay (Hollande & Cable, 2002). During times of abeyance a committed small group maintains the social movement at a basic level of activism, until the pendulum has swung back and conditions are yet again favorable for mass mobilization (ibid).

3.4.1. Internal and external activities

Melucci, paraphrased in Yates (2015), did not consider abeyance activity as merely keeping the movement afloat, but distinguished between latent movement activity (internal activity), and visible movement activity (external activity). Furthermore, the distinguished activities may occur simultaneously or individually in a pendular cycle (Yates, 2015). In other words, internal activities occur independently from social movement abeyance. Internal activity and external activity should thus be considered as complementary in social movement actions, although being two separate components (Staggenborg, 1998).

Several scholars have argued that internal activity, such as the everyday practices and routines, of social movement supporters are vital for the continuance and the sustenance of a movement (Glass 2010; Yates 2015; Staggenborg, 1998). The daily routines and practices have proven to be equally important as contentious political actions (Glass, 2010; Yates 2015). Referred to as either “social movement community” (Staggenborg, 1998), “lifestyle movement” (Haenfler, Johnson & Jones, 2012), or “social center” (Yates, 2015; Mudu, 2004), this internal activity component of a social movement maintains the network of people, their commitment, and their oppositional identities (Yates, 2015). Social centers constitute of three main elements: “they act as a base and resource for social protest; they host a set of ‘alternative’ cultural and educational practices; and they engage with localities and local communities via the organization of political, educational and leisure activities” (ibid). Similarly, lifestyle movements challenge the dominant cultural hegemony through realizing their visions by creating and living in a miniature society of a world they hold as ideal (Haenfler, Johnson & Jones, 2012).

3.4.2. Politicization

Political ideologies underpin internal activities and transform daily life to a form of protest. Simple tasks such as shared cooking, space and labor, can also become political statements. Small scale

achievements as they may be, they are also bits of the overarching goal. Moreover, internal activities are also politicizing in themselves (Wahlen & Laamanen, 2015; Yates, 2105). Politicization, as in the meaning of sustained political engagement, encompasses both thought and behavior, e.g. becoming a member of a political organization, attending protest and rallies, having a profound political orientation, affecting the political choice of others, etc. (Halper & Hartwig, 1975). In other words, internal activities fosters politicization of both mind and behavior of the practitioners (Yates, 2015).

Besides politicization, internal activities have a number of additional short-term and long-term effects. For example, the communal living and sharing of space, resources and practices create a sense of communality among the supporters and have a coalition building effect on the different groups involved. In effect, the sense of communality not only connects participants, but also fosters equality and egalitarianism within the community (Yates, 2015). Furthermore, the interaction between groups and individuals cultivates solidarity and collective action (Staggenborg, 1998).

The long-term effects reverberate with Kolb's (2007) theory of social movements as a continuous process. Staggenborg (1998) contends that the internal activities for enabling new movements to emerge are more important than the political opportunity structures. This implies that new movements emerge in response to ongoing or previous social movement, i.e. the "spin-off" movements are fostered by the movement culture that internal activities constitute (Staggenborg, 1998).

Chapter Four

4. Case study analysis part I: Political opportunity structures

Chapter Four provides a historical background of the Umbrella Revolution and equips the reader with a basic understanding of the movement and the underlying discontent in Hong Kong. It attempts to depict the political opportunity structures leading to the eruption of the movement (par. 4.1. and 4.2.), as well as communicating the dynamics within the movement (par. 4.3.). It is utterly important to comprehend that the Umbrella Revolution was more than a political demonstration – it was also a shared economy in practice. Furthermore, the movement did not occur in a vacuum. Hong Kong faces an increasing number of social problems which all have exerted influence over the movement (par 4.4.). Chapter Four also provides a theoretical analysis of the political context according to the definitions of social movements, the nature of the state, and the continuous contention presented in Chapter Three (par. 4.5.). Having this basic understanding of the political opportunity structures, as well as the dynamics within the Umbrella Movement, is crucial for recognizing the impacts of the movement, and how the environmental groups are related to the political cause, which will be elaborated on in Chapter Five.

Separating the Umbrella Revolution from the Umbrella Movement is also significant for reading this thesis. Reverberating to Kolb's (2007) theory of social movement as a continuum, this thesis will not be using the Umbrella Movement and the Umbrella Revolution interchangeably, but to distinguish between the events in 2014 and the continuous fight for universal suffrage. In other words, the Umbrella Revolution refers to the occupation of Hong Kong in 2014, whereas the Umbrella Movement pertains to the continuous rebellion in Hong Kong against the system.

4.1. Hong Kong's political autonomy and electoral system

Under the principal of "one country, two systems" Hong Kong became the first Special Administrative Region of People's Republic of China, when the city was returned by Great Britain in 1997. The principal entails a high degree of autonomy from mainland China allowing Hong Kong to have its own political, legal and economic system. The Hong Kong basic law, which China had to accept in conjunction with the return, governs and maintains Hong Kong's political system and ensures the rights and freedoms of its people for the coming 50 years succeeding the 1997 handover. The law has hitherto enabled

Hong Kong to function as country of its own in all matters except foreign relations and military defense. However, the Hong Kong basic law is also subject to the interpretation of the Standing Committee, a committee consisting of 150 members of the National People's Congress (NPC) of the People's Republic of China (Ng, 2016).

Under the current system the Chief Executive, the highest ranking office and head of the Hong Kong government, is elected by a 1200-member committee. Article 45 of the Hong Kong basic law states that "the ultimate aim is the selection of the Chief Executive by universal suffrage upon nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures" (Lam, 2015). However, this requirement is preceded by "the method for selecting the Chief Executive shall be specified in the light of the actual situation in Hong Kong" (Ng, 2016, p. 56). For the 2017 Chief Executive Election the Chinese government promised direct elections of the Chief Executive, but that all candidates must be pre-approved (Chan, 2014). This decision also stipulated that "the Chief Executive shall be a person who loves the country and loves Hong Kong" (Lam, 2015).

4.2. Occupy Central with Love and Peace

In early February 2013 Benny Tai, an Associate Professor at the University of Hong Kong, published an article in which he encouraged the people of Hong Kong to express their discontent over a non-democratic electoral system through an act of civil disobedience. In March the same year Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP) was formed and announced that they would start promoting protests in 2014 as a call for universal suffrage by 2017 (Lam, 2015). NPC responded by saying that this was a "confused and lopsided" understanding of the "one country, two systems"-model. It proclaimed that Hong Kong only has a high degree of autonomy, not full autonomy (BBC, 2015/06/18).

In August of 2014 NPC upheld that starting from 2017 Hong Kong voters will only have a choice from two to three pre-approved candidates selected by a nominating committee (HONG KONG, 2014). As a response the secondary school activist group Scholarism initiated a protest outside of the government headquarters in Admiralty (ibid), demanding the withdrawal of the Beijing government decision and the resignation of the Chief Executive (Chan, 2014). Scholarism was joined a few days later by Hong Kong Federation of Students, a university student union, which announced a citywide class boycott. Students from secondary schools, colleges and universities from all over Hong Kong boycotted classes and joined the demonstrations (HONG KONG, 2014). The OCLP had originally planned to launch its act

of civil disobedience on the 1st of October, but in the midst of the ongoing protest, on the 28th of September 2014, the OCLP declared the start of Occupy Central (Chan, 2014).

4.3. The Umbrella Movement

On the night of September 28th the police attempted to constrain the protest by firing 87 teargas canisters into the demonstration. Similar to throwing gasoline onto an open fire, this act produced multiple waves of support all over Hong Kong. The protest grew beyond a centralized control of any person or organization, as the sit-in demonstration spread from Admiralty to the shopping districts of Causeway Bay (CWB) and Mong Kok (MK) (Chan, 2014), turning the protest into an occupy movement of unprecedented scale (Lam, 2015). To shield themselves from the teargas the protestors used umbrellas, which inspired TIME magazine to name the protest the Umbrella Revolution (Lim, 2015).

The teargas crackdown transformed OCLP into something more profound than the sum of its parts. Though the infrastructure provided by OCLP was of value for the sustenance of the movement, the Umbrella Revolution was more than merely a demonstration. It was a dynamic platform with several groups involved, each with their own agenda (Interview 14, 8 March 2016). Over the course of the 75 days that the Umbrella Revolution lasted, it gradually transformed the occupied areas into “a thriving community, and the campground(s) gradually evolved into a self-sufficient town. There was a study room, a library, several public bathrooms, makeshift shower facilities, a barbershop, outdoor galleries of umbrella-inspired art, phone-charging service centers, first-aid triages, and numerous supply stations that rationed food, drinks and other daily necessities free of charge. (...) (Protestors) could spend weeks there without ever setting foot beyond its borders” (Ng, 2016, p. 161).

The Umbrella Revolution was a de-centralized self-governing organism. Furthermore, it was a shared economy in practice (Ng, 2016). “Overnight, the most expensive, private, inaccessible parts of Hong Kong were made public spaces” (Lee, 2015). The demonstrations opened up the financial district to the public, and enabled people to interact with the environment in an entirely new manner. Protestors, locals and tourists walked alongside on the streets, utilizing their new access to the immense spaces (ibid). Participants shared culture and art at the campgrounds. Spaces of dialogs were created as the classrooms moved onto the streets, and lectures were given by scholars and public intellectuals. Other spaces were converted into other purposes, for example “bullshitting areas”, where whomever could give a speech about whatever they fancied (ibid). The people of Hong Kong, previously known to be selfish, displayed entirely different personality traits. The camp life fostered volunteerism,

inclusiveness, anti-materialism, inventiveness, political engagement and a sense of community (Ng, 2016).

However, the diversity came with the cost of polarization. Each occupied area developed its own character, and even within the areas, Admiralty in particular, there were differences and clusters of different groups. Over time Admiralty evolved into a haven for people who believed in peaceful protests, while MK attracted more radical and violent prone nonconformists (Ng, 2016). At Admiralty protestors emphasized civil disobedience and pictures of crucified students were displayed to depict the participants as martyrs dying for a better cause. In MK war-like propaganda pictures were on display to exhort political disobedience (Interview 14, 8 March 2016).

The Umbrella Revolution lasted until December of 2014, and was on its seventy-fifth day dismantled by the police. The decline began on December 3rd when leaders of the OCLP, among them Benny Tai, turned themselves in to the police and urged the occupiers to leave the demonstrations for their own safety. The last occupied zone was cleared on December 15th (Chang, 2015).

4.4. Discontent in Hong Kong

The Umbrella Movement did not occur in a vacuum. The Hong Kong government has a long history of being indifferent (HONG KONG, 2014), and the city has for decades been facing an increasing number of social problems (Ng, 2016). Property prices are among the highest in the world, leaving the youth and university graduates with a sense of hopelessness about ever owning a home (Chan, 2014). Hong Kong also positions itself as one of the cities with the highest income inequalities among the world's wealthiest nations (Chan, 2014). The tradition of the wealthy elite as the ruling class has fostered a government-business collusion, where the government passes development plans and urban renewal projects benefitting rich landowners and wealthy businessmen, not uncommonly the very same people with positions in the government itself (Interview 15, 29 February 2016).

Development is solely considered in economic terms, not in social or environmental (Interview 13, 17 February 2016). Among the most contentious development projects are the High-speed Rail-link to Shenzhen, the Hong Kong-Macau bridge, and Third airport runway, costing Hong Kong tax payers an equivalent of over US\$20 billion (Ng, 2016). Not only will these projects impact Hong Kong's pristine nature, but the construction of the High-speed Rail-link has also displaced the rural village Choi Yuen Tsuen in the North East New Territories (NENT). Much of the contemporary discontent in Hong Kong is regarded to be originating from this controversy (Interview 1, 2 March 2016), and from the increasing

interference by Mainland China, which threatens Hong Kong's core values of The Rule of Law (HONG KONG, 2014), Freedom of Speech, and Press Freedom (Ng, 2016).

In addition, Hong Kong also faces a number of environmental issues such as pollution, food sovereignty and food safety (Ng, 2016), and poor waste management with landfills nearing maximum capacity (Interview 7, 26 February 2016). It is estimated that of all food consumed in Hong Kong only between 1-2% is locally produced. In other words, Hong Kong is to 98% dependent of food imports, which not only has implications for the city's self-sufficiency, but also for food safety as the imports occasionally are of unknown origin or unknown content (ibid).

A majority of the people of Hong Kong have over the past few decades had a tradition of not engaging in political controversies. Yet, the citizens are not apolitical, which is proved every year by the annual 1st of July march that attracts hundreds of thousands of participants. However, topics such as unemployment, housing and welfare have previously been perceived as social issues rather than political issues. Furthermore, politics has historically been deemed exclusive to the wealthy elite, and not for common people (Ng, 2016).

4.5. Political context analysis

4.5.1. The Umbrella Revolution as a social movement

The collective grievance for a non-democratic electoral system, the different interest groups organizing around a common goal of challenging the authorities' ruling, and the rationality behind openly showing discontent for the government's use of teargas against students by the majority, classifies the Umbrella Revolution as a social movement correspondingly to the definitions of Kolb (2007), Goodwin and Jasper (2009), Barker (2013), and Nilsen and Cox (2013). Compatible with the theory of Della Porta and Diani (2006), the Umbrella Revolution arose in response to structural changes. Furthermore, the democratization of the most expensive and inaccessible neighborhoods of Hong Kong, and the spaces of dialogs and debates that the Umbrella Revolution provided, transformed the movement into if not an ideal speech situation, then at least into a democratic platform, which reverberates with Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action. Similarly, the environmental groups (Appendix II) used for this case study corresponds with the definition of Dryzek et al. (2003) of environmental movements. The struggle of environmentalist groups, as well as the struggle of the Umbrella Revolution, against the autocratic ruling of the government-business collusion in Hong Kong, may be regarded as the

lifeworld's resistance against the colonization by the system, correspondingly to Habermas' social movement theory.

4.5.2. The political opportunity structures of Hong Kong

The political and social context was unfavorable to the Umbrella Revolution, and after the 75 days of occupation the government's unwillingness to even meet with the student unions eventually forced the movement to withdraw. The eight variables of political opportunity structures defined by Kolb (2007) are: political institutional structures; elite conflicts; partisanship of government; instability of political alignment; public opinion; mass media; strength of counter movement mobilization; and windows for reform. None of them were to the advantage to the Umbrella Revolution. Throughout the movement the Hong Kong government stood united without any traces of openings for partisanship or windows for reform. Furthermore, the Umbrella Revolution had a counter-movement mobilizing against them. People supportive of the NPC, the Hong Kong government, and the police force united against the Umbrella Revolution under the name of the Blue ribbons (Lim, 2015). At numerous occasions they staged both counter-manifestations and raids against the pro-democracy protestors, attacking them both verbally and physically (ibid). Though it may be argued that public opinion and mass media were advantageous for the Umbrella Revolution, the reality was rather different, as the movement had an equal number of proponents and opponents. For every person, article and news feed supporting the movement there were pro-NPC people, articles and news feeds opposing it.

4.5.3. The nature of the Hong Kong state

Since the return of the city the Hong Kong government has become an extension of NPC, that is, an oppressive autocracy (Lam, 2015). Based on the framework of Dryzek et al. (2003) the nature of the state in Hong Kong may be characterized as an actively exclusive state. A subversion of every attempt of forming an interest group or movement is characteristic for actively exclusive states (Dryzek et al., 2003), which was showcased by the government's indifference towards the protestors demands and its propensity and readiness to use teargas against them.

4.5.4. Continuous contention in Hong Kong

As previously mentioned, the Umbrella Movement did not begin with the Umbrella Revolution, and neither did it end with the eviction. The grievance in Hong Kong has been smoldering beneath the surface for several years, and the prequel to the Umbrella Movement is considered to be related to the contested NENT development plans and the increasing influence of Mainland China. This continuum reverberates with Kolb's (2007) idea of social movements as a continuous multidimensional

process. Due to the time-lag associated with political and societal change, social movement outcomes cannot be considered as static (Kolb, 2007). Correspondingly, the Umbrella Revolution did not achieve its objective of universal suffrage, yet it had an impact on the society of Hong Kong.

Chapter Five

5. Case study analysis part II: The Umbrella Movement

Chapter Five presents and analyses the internal and external activities of different environmentalist groups during the time of the Umbrella Revolution. It depicts how the movement became a democratic platform, comparable to Habermas' idea of the ideal speech situation.

Chapter Five recognizes three main findings. First, several environmentalist groups attempted to form a coalition with the Umbrella Revolution by reframing the cause to also include environmental and social concerns. Second, both external and internal activities were performed simultaneously, which implies that the Umbrella Revolution can be defined as both a social movement and a social center. Defining the movement as a social center will facilitate the explanation of the post-Occupy developments. Third, the Umbrella Revolution gave the environmentalist groups a boost by leveraging their resources and magnifying their voices. The thesis thus concludes that the Umbrella Revolution as a social movement was a useful tool for the environmentalist groups. However, it is unlikely that the major driver behind the strengthened support would be a result from successfully reframing the cause of universal suffrage to also include other issues.

The chapter is divided into four sections: section one and two depicts the external and internal activities performed during the Umbrella Revolution (*par 5.1.* and *par 5.2.*); section three describe how several environmentalist groups remained neutral due to the implications of cross-movement coalition building (*par. 5.3.*); section four analyzes the data by applying the theories of communicative actions (Habermas), cross-movement coalition building (Beamish & Luebbers, 2009; Enriquez, 2014), internal and external activities (Nilsen & Cox, 2013), social centers (Yates, 2015), and lifestyle movements (Haenfler, Johnson & Jones, 2012) to determine the significance of building an alliance with a social movement (*par 5.4.*).

5.1. External activities

5.1.1. Cross-movement coalition building

The most prominent example during the Umbrella Revolution of an organization realizing the interlinkages between an undemocratic election system, the government, and other social issues in

Hong Kong, was Land Justice League (LJL). During the occupation they collaborated with the pan-democrats and the student unions, and became the unofficial managers of the occupied area in CWB, where they maintained the order. Throughout the movement they brought in a number of elements to raise the awareness among the occupants, and to expand their understanding of social issues. As one of the LJL leaders expressed it: "It is rare to see such a large group of open-minded HK people, willing to discuss these issues. (...) Not using that opportunity to bring in ideas would have been a waste" (Interview 1, 2 March 2016).

The community building included several speeches pertaining to the connection between universal suffrage, functional constituency and agriculture in Hong Kong. In addition, they organized several lectures and group discussions at the Mobile Democracy Classroom where they discussed the future of NENT from a citizen's perspective, and what sustainable development in Hong Kong should imply. There were also attempts of involving different groups from the NENT in the movement.

Eventually LJL realized that they had emptied out the topics of the right to the land, politics and universal suffrage. To maintain the interest, they introduced other topics concerning democracy, such as gender issues, housing issues, district councilors, ethnic minorities, and the meaning of community. LJL realized that the people of CWB were very urbanized and that the topics of the NENT development plans and local farming did not concern them. The focus was therefore shifted to housing policies, and home visits were organized in the CWB area to highlight the issues of limited living spaces.

Inspired by the farm in Admiralty, LJL set up small farm in CWB, but options were limited due to the lack of green spaces. Initially the farm consisted of a collection of pots, but grew over time as a group of people organized themselves around the urban farm, and eventually became an extension of LJL named Farm Hands (FH). FH not only took care of the crops but were also conducting educational work about farming. They encourage other people to help out at the farm, and to share their previous experiences of farming. FH invited guest speakers from local farms around Hong Kong to share their experiences, to accentuate how universal suffrage is related to full control over domestic food production. Additional workshops were held where the participants could learn do-it-yourself (DIY) farming in an urban environment.

Both the LJL activist and the FH activist deemed that the overall response to their deeds was good. However, the FH activist stated further that though most people listened their work only attracted those who already had an interest in agriculture.

5.1.2. (Re)Framing

“You cannot have your own autonomy if you do not control your own food supply” (Interview 3, 19 February 2016). The significance of self-sufficiency was the proclamation of HK Potato during the Umbrella Revolution. Through the simple act of placing bags with planted potatoes along Nathan Road in MK, HK Potato demonstrated that growing potatoes is possible anywhere in the city. They challenged traditional views of public parks as solely existing for recreation, with the idea of reframing them into public community farms. “There is a lot of plants in the public spaces of Hong Kong, so why not grow edible things there instead?” (Interview 4, 12 March 2016). HK Potato promoted food sovereignty, local food production, and DIY farming, through a set of different speeches and workshops held at each occupied area.

Promoting local food production by aligning the issue of the land development plans in NENT, politics, and the vanishing of Hong Kong culture was also performed by the Mapopo Community Farm (MCF). A peasant representative held several speeches at Admiralty and CWB where he addressed the condition of the Mapopo village and the governmental development plans for that area, and how these events relate to a bio-diverse and cultural loss.

Yet another group involving their cause in the Umbrella Revolution was the Lantau Buffalo Association (LBA). “The people who went to Occupy normally don’t have the channels for receiving information about what our community does. We can only rely on our website to share the information. Hong Kong people are so used to being spoon fed information, so I was very grateful for such an opportunity to share my knowledge with the public. (...) We were using the opportunity of the Occupy to project our critique of the government” (Interview 5, 17 March 2016). Besides giving speeches about the buffalo conservation project, LBA also installed a display concerning the incinerator project on Lantau Island and why it should be opposed.

All four activists deemed that their attempts of reframing received positive responses. Yet, the participants were very polarized regarding the issues of local food production and the conservation of the Lantau Island. The four activists considered that the radical minded people dismissed the ideas as environmentalist propaganda and different from the political cause, whilst the more open-minded participants were willing to listen. There were examples of people donating money, and the MCF peasant representative explained how a few participants sought out the MCF once the Umbrella Revolution was over.

5.2. Internal activities

5.2.1. Farming

Several initiatives of farming occurred during the Umbrella Revolution, but the most prominent farm was Farms for Democracy (FfD), which grew kale, bak choy, choy sum, potatoes, maize and tomatoes outside of the government building. The farm came into being after the teargas crackdown incident had left a green plot trampled down between the road and the pavement. A post agriculture student realized the potential in revitalizing the plot and showcasing a message pertaining food, agriculture and environment, and started farming the land. Over time the farm grew in size and numbers as volunteers joined.

The farm generated a big discussion and became a hot news topic. By combining art and agriculture the farm became a prototype, proving the feasibility of growing edibles in an urban environment. “It was unusual, it was news, it was wow. So people took an interest in us” (Interview 7, 26 February 2016). People were contributing, some with their time, others with tools and resources.

The farm also addressed Hong Kong’s failing waste management system by providing organic waste collection. Instead of being sent to the landfills in Hong Kong the kitchen waste was used to fertilize the soil.

Another farm was set up in MK by the activist group Very MK. What started as an initiative to water the already growing shrubs and trees in the center of the road soon developed into a farm growing crops. Yet it was very different from the farm in Admiralty. While FfD had a proper plot the farm in MK was set up as a row along the road. “We did it because we wanted to consider other forms of oppression to be topics on the agenda during Occupy, as well as universal suffrage. (...) We felt that farming, or the lack of farming policies, is just as important as the other agendas, so we decided to communicate that” (Interview 8, 22 March 2016). Along with public talks at the stages Very MK also distributed essays regarding the issue.

Whether fellow protestors understood how farming was related to the main claim of universal suffrage remains unclear. A woman farming at Admiralty deemed that while people were supportive in general they did not necessarily comprehend the underlying reason. Similarly, a Very MK activist said: “Every night there were strangers helping. I don’t know if they got it or knew what we were doing, (...) but they definitely supported” (Interview 8, 22 March 2016).

5.2.2. Recycling

The Umbrella Revolution became renowned for its cleanliness and high rate of recycling (Lim, 2015). For years the group EcoWitch had been promoting recycling and encouraging social activists to be more mindful regarding the amount of waste their campaigns produce. After a conspicuous news coverage on the amount of rubbish the annual 1st of July march produced, the group succeeded in making activist leaders promising to consider this issue for future actions. Though often ascribed the recycling initiative, EcoWitch did not want to accept full credit for it:

The reason why I say we weren't responsible for the recycling initiative is because when we came there the students had already set up bags for separation. And they put up a sign, similar to our "To end one bin autocracy"-sign. We don't want one bin to process all our garbage, we want multi-bins for separation. The young students modified our slogan and wrote "To end one policy autocracy". So they copied our method and modified our slogan. That's why I won't take credit for the initiative. But I was still happy because I realized that finally people are listening, and they probably wouldn't have done it if it weren't for our actions earlier that year (Interview 9, 23 February 2016).

But the majority considered the initiative to be separate from the movement's political cause, and regarded waste as an environmental issue rather than a political, initiator behind EcoWitch deemed. Yet she was pleased because of the platform the Umbrella Revolution provided. Every participant became a potential audience for their message.

By supervising the recycling process with slogans such as "Is this your mess? Then please sort it for the good of Hong Kong.", EcoWitch made an effort to raise waste separation as a political issue. Their claim was that a neglect to separate waste was equal to supporting the government, as the companies who operate the landfills are owned by the legislative councilors.

We really did put this issue (of waste) on the table. The general audience of public issues agrees with what we have done. But the key point is that the traditional political movement groups have realized that this is an issue that attracts an audience. It might be that they do not agree, but they understand that environmental issues attract an audience. I do not expect them to have as deep understanding as I have, but it's good that they are starting to look at the issues. No matter if it's true-hearted or if it's because of the attention. Because if they start to talk about this, the audience will push for further actions (Interview 9, 23 February 2016).

5.2.3. Recruitment

Ecobus used the forum that constituted the Umbrella Revolution to draw public attention to littering in nature. During the time of the demonstration, Ecobus was carrying out research on the composition and the amount of rubbish found in the country park, work that required extensive human resources. Posting calls for actions on Facebook at that time would generate volunteers, because of people's newly awakened willingness to engage in social matters. "I think the social involvement has become stronger because of the Occupy Central. This is my impression" (Interview 10, 22 February 2016).

5.2.4. Observations

During the demonstrations Clean Air Network (CAN) conducted a social experiment where they measured the air quality in Admiralty, and compared the data with readings preceding the demonstrations. The findings indicated that the absence of cars drastically improved the air quality during the event. The experiment later reached a large audience when it was published in the local newspapers Apple Daily, Oriental Daily, and South China Morning Post. CAN also published the findings on the two local websites InMedia and VJ Media, both considered credible and similar to the Huffington Post.

5.3. Implications of cross-movement coalition building

5.3.1. Supporting the movement or remaining neutral

Several organizations either supported the movement indirectly, or claimed political neutrality and supported it on a personal level. The official stance from Food Grace (FG) was neutral but most of its employees supported the protestors. A FG employee explained the neutrality as a matter of credibility and image. He deemed that involvement in political issues entails implications for an organization dependent on public and governmental funding. Furthermore, political neutrality was necessary, not only for practical reasons but also for principal reasons, as FG does not have the mandate from its funders to take political actions. Similarly, 350HK remained neutral but its employees supported the protestors by supplying them with resources.

Several other organizations (Greenpeace, WWF, Civic Exchange, Green Monday, Greeners Action, Designing Hong Kong, Hong Kong Dolphinwatch Ltd.) contacted for this thesis all gave similar answers, while others (The Conservancy Association, Earth Care, Green Council, Ocean Park Conservation Fund, Green Peng Chau Association among others) did not reply at all.

Yet another organization claiming political neutrality was Hong Kong Dolphin Conservation Society (HK DCS), a stance based on two concerns: 1) the risk of creating bad publicity for the organization, and 2) the risk of offending the protestors by disrupting the focus of the demonstration with another cause. However, during Umbrella Revolution the organization experienced a dramatic increase in public interest, in the form of Facebook followers. This continued even after the occupation ended and has been ongoing since. “People are still interested in updates about the third runway and our projects. (...) An increasing number of people seem willing to take action” (Interview 11, 10 March 2016).

The Soil farm decided to dissociate their cause from the agenda of the Umbrella Revolution, but chose to support the protestors for another reason:

We are trying to promote a self-sustained living, but not in a political way. More in a materialistic way; food and water. (...) We did not really care about the cause behind the Umbrella Movement but we thought it was a good time, because you experienced improved air quality; everyone built up their own community with their own hands and skills. (...) We thought this was more important than the political claims. We supported this and tried to contribute with our ideas during that time, both on internet and directly at the sites (Interview 3, 19 February 2016).

5.4. Analysis of the movement activities

The findings indicate that the cross-movement coalition building with the Umbrella Revolution proved to be useful for the environmentalist groups. Though the alliances were rather informal, the environmentalist groups did experience a boost from the movement. Similar to the findings of Mix (2011) and Kojola (2013) which demonstrated that coalition building leverage resources, magnify the claims, and enhance the constituency, LJJ, LBA and EcoWitch experienced how the movement enabled them to reach a larger audience. Furthermore, FfD, Ecobus and HK DCS experienced a co-commitment as people were prone to contribute with time and resources, whilst CAN were able to leverage their resources as they utilized the car free zones for their research. In addition, all groups officially involved experienced a positive effect from the democratic platform that the Umbrella Revolution constituted. The stages and the spaces of discussion provided a room for open discussions. Habermas theory of the ideal speech situation is often criticized for being utopian and unattainable (Karppinen, Moe & Svensson, 2008). However, even if the Umbrella Revolution was not an ideal speech situation, the holistic structure of the movement at least facilitated an improved dialog through the spaces of discussion.

The findings show how LJL, FH, HK Potato, MCF, FfD, Very MK and EcoWitch attempted to reframe the struggle for universal suffrage to also include their cause, which proves that the environmentalist groups to some extent had a Marxist understanding of how every movement is interlinked by a common oppression. However, the findings also suggest that they were not fully successful, as a majority considered their cause to be different or non-political. Enriquez (2014) and Kojola (2013) demonstrated that the process of framing requires a commonly agreed upon definition of the underlying causes to the problem and its remedies, around which the movement participants can form a shared ideology. Correspondingly, the observations of this thesis suggest that the failure of the environmentalist groups attempts to fully reframe the cause happened due to distinctly diverging ideologies. A possible explanation for the failure is that political freedom is rated higher than environmental concerns, which was also pointed out by a respondent.

Several environmentalist groups decided to remain neutral, based on decisions that resonates with the findings of Gordon (1999). Movements forming coalitions must consider the spill-over effects of being associated with a group that has a distinctly different image (ibid). Whereas some environmentalist groups admitted that they did not wish to risk their credibility, other groups only implied it. Another plausible explanation is the actively exclusive nature of the state in Hong Kong, which suppresses the free speech environment in the city (Dryzek et al., 2003).

The findings also depict how several of the environmentalist groups lived the revolution by incorporating everyday activities, such as farming and maintaining the areas. Similar to social centers LJL, FH and HK Potato organized educational activities. However, performing everyday activities was not a unique trait for these groups. The previous findings in Chapter Four demonstrated how the entire Umbrella Revolution was a living community. This implies that correspondingly to the theories of Yates (2015) and Nilsen and Cox (2013), both internal and external activities were performed simultaneously. This in turn entails that the effects of internal actions, such as politicization and the cultivation of community, solidarity and equality, should be applicable to the Umbrella Revolution. These effects will be elaborated on in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six

6. Case study analysis part III: The Post-Occupy developments

Chapter Six exhibits how the Umbrella Revolution transformed after the eviction. The actively exclusive nature of the Hong Kong government, coupled with unfavorable political opportunity structures, forced the Umbrella Revolution into abeyance (*par 6.1.*). Yet, the findings show that the city is experiencing an unprecedented political engagement (*par 6.2.*).

Chapter Six recognizes two main findings. First, the environmentalist groups experienced a perpetuated support in the wake of the Umbrella Revolution. However, the prolonged support is not likely to originate from an increased environmental consciousness per say, but from a newly awakened overarching concern for the society. The findings indicate that the Umbrella Revolution was a major political awakening for the people of Hong Kong. This thesis contends that the politicization happened as a consequence from living as a community and a social center. The performance of internal activities fostered politicization of both the mind and the behavior of the protestors. The thesis thus concludes that not only was the Umbrella Revolution useful to the environmentalist groups, but also the Umbrella Movement (*par 6.3.*). Second, the thesis suggests that the oppressive nature of the state of Hong Kong and the political opportunity structures extorted the protestors to emphasize internal activities to maintain the struggle for universal suffrage, the network of people, and their commitment. Thus, the thesis argues that the nature of the state of Hong Kong and the political opportunity structures were the main drivers of the political awakening (*par 6.4.*).

The chapter analyses the data by using the theories of communicative actions (Habermas), cross-movement coalition building (Beamish & Luebbers, 2009; Enriquez, 2014), internal and external activities (Nilsen & Cox, 2013), social centers (Yates, 2015), lifestyle movements (Haenfler, Johnson & Jones, 2012), social movement abeyance (Hollande & Cable, 2002), and politicization (Wahlen & Laamanen, 2015).

6.1. The Umbrella Movement in abeyance

In accordance with the theory of Hollande and Cable (2002), and Yates (2015), the Umbrella Movement may be regarded as currently being in the state of abeyance, where a committed core group maintains the activism at a basic level. Once the occupation ended each group went back to their respective

projects with new perspective and ideas. “There was an emphasis during that time after the eviction, to bring what you had learned, and also what values you had developed during Occupy, back to our own local neighborhoods.” (Interview 8, 22 March 2016). A Very MK activist explained how the group became more active and organized, and shifted focus towards the community of MK rather than Hong Kong as a whole.

The experiences from the Umbrella Revolution resulted in an almanac – a box containing several contributions related to urban farming in Hong Kong. Part art project, part political statement, 100 copies of the box are being distributed to schools and communities to raise awareness regarding the issue of local food production and the vanishing farmland in Hong Kong.

After the eviction FfD returned to Admiralty and continued farming outside of the government building for another six months. Their actions showcased the feasibility of small scale farming anywhere in Hong Kong, which previously was considered impossible by the public majority. In the wake of the Umbrella Revolution FfD filed a proposal to the government suggesting that parts of Tamer Park should be converted into a community garden. The proposal stated the significance of community farming, emphasized the growing demand for local and healthy food, and highlighted the increasing interest of having access to farming. Being kept in the process by the government, FfD’s next move is to involve the public to draw attention to, not only the issues related to local food production, but also to the failing government.

Similar to the definitions by Staggenborg (1998), Haenfler, Johnson and Jones (2012), and Mudu (2004), the different environmentalist groups currently resemble more of social centers and lifestyle movements than a social movement, as they continue to oppose the government. Habermas would argue that nothing has changed as the groups still constitute the resistance against the colonization of the lifeworld by the system, albeit by means other than claims of universal suffrage.

6.2. Politicization

The Umbrella Revolution did not achieve its goal of universal suffrage. Yet the protest was not without outcomes. Every respondent stressed how the Umbrella Revolution politicized people, predominantly the young generation. “Young people are more engaged. They are asking themselves what they wish the future of Hong Kong to look like, and if the current path of development can realize this vision” (Interview 12, 6 February 2016). Conversely, a FH activist expressed her surprise over the lack of previous political involvement, even among the protestors, before the Umbrella Revolution.

“Even the topic of housing policies was new to them. (...) They had never analyzed these issues before” (Interview 2, 16 March 2016).

The Umbrella Revolution was a political awakening, and the people of Hong Kong have become more prone to take action and willing to express their concerns publicly. The general public has become accustomed to the idea of expressing discontent, and political acts such as public demonstrations, civil disobedience and direct action have gained acceptance. Furthermore, the events created a sense of community as the protesters experienced a shared responsibility, something that the never-before-seen rate of recycling embodied.

The Umbrella Revolution created a confidence and an awareness among the young that change is possible through collective action. However, unlikely to change the system in the near future, the movement has inspired people to initiate other projects and communities. People are attempting to change what they can within the constraints of the system, and numerous initiatives have emerged as a result.

LJL, LBA, Ecobus, and FH mentioned how participation has increased. For example, Ecobus explained how the new mindset has benefitted their capacity to mobilize volunteers:

Nowadays people do not even register, they just show up on the day. It is very different from before the Umbrella Revolution. Organizing such event before the Occupy Central required a lot of administration, insurance, transportation etc. After the Umbrella Revolution people are willing to take responsibility for their own safety and pay the transportation costs out of their own pockets, so they join without registration. This is a mindset that originates from the Umbrella Revolution. During that time there was no leader who did the organizing. The different areas just developed naturally, and everyone felt a shared responsibility to take care of them (Interview 10, 22 February 2016).

FH also mentioned how the politicization has had an additional effect on farming. Since the Umbrella Revolution farming has become a public interest, and the agriculture movement has become more widespread. A peasant from the Soil farm opined that the increased interest in farming is related to the general wish for an alternative society. According to him the movement has inspired people to pursue alternative ways of living. In that sense, politicization is understood as an activity and an involvement in the political community.

The understanding that an alternative society is possible came when the “ordinary citizens realized the enormous power they have if they act together” (Ng, 2016, p. 274), and with the reframing of the public spaces. During the occupation the concept of what public spaces are and can be changed, not only in the minds of the protestors, but for the general public. People experienced an awakening when they realized that public spaces can be used for other purposes than car driving, and consequently utilized the car absent streets for leisure activities, walking their dogs, cycling and lunching outside.

6.3. Internal activity ramifications

The environmentalist groups’ attempts of reframing only succeeded partially, as not everyone recognized the linkages between politics in Hong Kong and environmental concerns. Yet several groups are currently experiencing a revival similar to the effects of a successful cross-movement coalition. For example, LJL, LBA, Ecobus, and FH all expressed how participation has increased.

The Umbrella Revolution was more profound than a protest for universal suffrage. Both external and internal activities were performed, which implies that the Umbrella Revolution can be defined as both a social movement and a social center. The living community it constituted provided a sanctuary from the dominating regime, and became a mean to regain control over common spaces and everyday life. Corresponding to the definition of lifestyle movements by Haenfler, Johnson and Jones (2012), the creation of a miniature democratic society within a non-democratic society transformed daily life into a protest. As Yates (2015) noted, the focus on internal activities and performing the simple tasks of everyday life such as shared cooking, space and labor, fosters politicization of both the mind and the behavior of the practitioners. Furthermore, living in a community cultivates equality, egalitarianism (Yates, 2015), and solidarity, while inspiring to collective action (Staggenborg, 1998). In addition, Staggenborg (1998) discerned how internal activities pave the way for spin-off movements. It appears that living a community life in Admiralty, CWB and MK created a successor to the Umbrella Revolution. The previous cause of universal suffrage has developed into an overarching concern for the entire society. Previously apolitical citizens have realized the connections between social issues and politics, which has forged them into politically active citizens. The findings indicate that people have become engaged in society because of the shared sense of solidarity and responsibility created by the community life. The Umbrella Revolution was transformed into the Umbrella Movement.

Not only did the Umbrella Revolution prove to be a useful tool for the environmentalist groups, but also the Umbrella Movement, as the groups currently are reaping the prolonged benefits of coalition

building. However, unlikely to be a result from the attempts to reframe the cause and create an environmental consciousness, the more probable explanation to the recent increase in interest in the environment is the newly awakened concern for Hong Kong as a whole. In other words, people engage in environmental concerns, not because of an awakened environmental consciousness per say, but because of the politicizing effects the Umbrella Revolution entailed.

6.4. Explaining the politicization

It remains to be answered why the Umbrella Revolution had a politicizing effect. Why did the movement develop into a community, which fostered solidarity and the sense of shared responsibility? Answering such a complex question fully would undoubtedly require more extensive field research, but this thesis will yet seek to present a plausible explanation. As mentioned in section 6.3. the Umbrella Revolution should be regarded equal to social centers, and the main driver behind the politicization was the emphasize on internal activities. This thesis argues that the forces ushering the movement's transformation were the nature of the state and the political opportunity structures.

The Umbrella Revolution was heavily constrained by the Hong Kong government, which was acting on behalf of the NPC. Because of its highly oppressive nature, it sought to undermine and quell all forms of opposition with every possible mean. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter Four, the political opportunity structures were unfavorable to the movement. Several scholars have stated that the continuance of the movement rely on internal activities (Yates, 2015; Glass, 2010; Staggenborg, 1998). It is the internal activities that maintain the network of people, their commitment, and their oppositional identities (Yates, 2015). Staggenborg (1998) went even further and deemed the internal activities more relevant than political opportunity structures for the longevity of the movement. Every movement needs to adapt to the context in which it operates in (Kolb, 2007; Della Porta & Diani, 2006). This thesis proposes that in response to the oppressive nature of the state and the lack of political opportunity structures, the Umbrella Revolution was forced to create a strong community for its own survival. The preconditions sculptured the Umbrella Revolution to emphasize internal activities during the occupation. To maintain the struggle for universal suffrage, the network of people and the commitment, the protestors were extorted to not only show their discontent, but also to enact their discontent by creating an alternative community. In other words, the nature of the state and the political opportunity structures politicized the people.

Chapter Seven

7. Conclusion

Chapter Seven concludes the thesis by answering research question I-IV and proposing future research. The thesis concludes that cross-movement coalitions provide strategic advantages for environmentalist groups, given that the conditions of the political environment are similar to those prevailing in Hong Kong. The study has also proved that positive cross-movement coalition outcomes are not dependent on a successful reframing of the cause to align the participating groups (*par 7.1.*). However, it remains to be answered whether a coalition building between environmental movements and social movements has similar positive effects under different conditions (*par 7.2.*).

7.1. Final remarks

This thesis adopted a social change approach in its quest to understand the fundamental drivers of cross-movement alliance formation. It set out to define the underlying mechanisms to generalize the significance for the global environmental movement to coalesce with social movement as a plausible trajectory towards sustainability. By studying the Umbrella Revolution this thesis aimed at understanding the synergies within the movement, to scrutinize the potential benefits for an environmental movement to form a coalition with a social movement, and to conclude whether social movement constitutes a fertile ground for deploying an environmental consciousness.

This thesis has displayed that both the Umbrella Revolution and the Umbrella Movement proved to be useful both for the environmentalist groups that actively engaged with the movement, and for the groups that remained neutral. This leads to the approval of research question I. The Umbrella Revolution gave the active environmentalist groups a boost by leveraging their resources and magnifying their voices. The groups gained a larger audience and experienced a co-commitment as people were prone to contribute with time and resources. Even the environmentalist groups that remained neutral were able to utilize the social movement as they experienced a dramatic increase in public interest in their causes.

The coalition manifested itself by the environmentalist groups' attempts to reframe the struggle for universal suffrage to be a structural problem with several systematic flaws. Previous research has demonstrated that a successful coalition requires a commonly agreed upon definition of the

underlying causes to the problem and its remedies, around which the movement participants can form a shared ideology. The findings of this study suggest that the attempts of reframing partially failed due to diverging ideologies, as not everyone recognized the interlinkages between a democratic political system and environmental concerns. This answers research question II, and partially question III.

However, despite the failure of reframing, the environmentalist groups are yet riding the wave of democracy sweeping over Hong Kong in the wake of the Umbrella Revolution. Several groups are currently experiencing an increase of interest in their work, and a willingness from the public to volunteer and to participate. But the findings also indicate that this care for the environment did not originate from an environmental concern evoked by the environmentalist groups. Instead the findings suggest that the politicizing effects of the Umbrella Revolution caused the preceding struggle of universal suffrage to develop into an overarching concern for the entire society. The findings indicate that people have become engaged in society because of a shared sense of solidarity and responsibility. To answer question III fully: the environmentalist groups are experiencing the effects of a successful cross-movement coalition, such as co-commitment and an enhanced constituency. But more likely than to be an effect from a successful cross-movement coalition building, it is a result of the politicizing ramifications of the Umbrella Revolution which are being perpetuated by the Umbrella Movement. This implies that positive cross-movement coalition outcomes are not dependent on a successful reframing.

Question IV is highly complex and the answer which the thesis provides will only be speculative. This thesis has argued that the preconditions fostering politicization was the actively exclusive nature of the state of Hong Kong, and the political opportunity structures in the city. Although a highly theoretical assumption, it may thus be argued that the very same preconditions sculptured the cross-movement alliance as well. The occurrence of the cross-movement coalition may have been uncertain, had it not been for the ramifications of politicization.

This thesis considers social movement coalitions to be an agent of change for sustainability. The study has proved that it is beneficial for the work of an environmental movement to form an alliance with a social movement, as it provides strategic advantages. However, the study has also proved that positive cross-movement coalition outcomes are not dependent on a successful reframing of the cause to align the participating groups. It may thus be generalized that a social movement constitutes a useful tool for environmental movement, under similar conditions to the political environment prevailing in Hong Kong. However, it remains to be investigated whether a coalition building between environmental movements and social movements has similar positive effects under different conditions.

7.2. Future research

Findings from case studies are occasionally criticized for being subjective and not generalizable (Bhattacharjee, 2012). However, generalizability can be improved by replicating and comparing the analysis in other case sites in a multiple case design (ibid). This thesis proposes that the evidence presented should be strengthened through future research by conducting an additional case study set in a similar context. For example, Taiwan provides such as context, as a similar uprising happened there only a few months prior to the Umbrella Revolution. This thesis proposes further that additional case studies set in different context should be conducted, to investigate the significance of the nature of the state and the political opportunity structures for positive cross-movement coalition outcomes.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Conduct of Interviews

List of respondents.

Interview no.	Age	Gender	Organization/group Initiative	Role/occupation
1	28	Male	Land Justice League	Research assistant
2	25	Female	Farm Hands	Peasant
3	32	Male	Soil Farm	Peasant
4	38	Female	HK Potato	Urban farmer/artist
5	51	Female	Lantau Buffalo Association	LBA chairperson
6	35	Male	Mapopo Community Farm	Peasant
7	33	Male	Farms for Democracy	Post agriculture student
8	31	Male	Very MK	Artist
9	29	Female	EcoWitch	Activist
10	27	Male	Ecobus	Chairman of Ecobus
11	23	Female	Hong Kong Dolphin Conservation Society	Employee
12	33	Male	Observer	Teacher
13	28	Female	Clean Air Network	Chief executive officer
14	48	Male	Observer	PhD Student
15	42	Female	Farms for Democracy	Artist
16	27	Male	350.org	East Asia Campaign Coordinator
17	59	Male	CSR consulting	Self-employed

Appendix I: Continued

Interview no.	Age	Gender	Organization/group Initiative	Role/occupation
18	25	Female	Publics group/TEDxKowloon	Employee
19	42	Male	350HK	Co-founder
20	51	Male	Hong Kong Cycling Alliance	Journalist
21	36	Male	Umbrella Revolution supporter	Author
22	41	Female	Asian Human Rights Commission	Employee
23	31	Male	Youth Arch Foundation	Program Director
24	39	Male	Flow Films	Film producer
25	24	Female	Good Lab	Strategy development associate
26	33	Female	Coconuts Hong Kong	Managing editor

Appendix II. Table of environmentalist groups in Hong Kong

Organization/group	Cause	Actions
Clean Air Network (CAN)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> decreasing pollution and improving the air quality of Hong Kong. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> advocating car free zones through educational work and enlightening the public. pressuring the government to implement environmental policies.
Ecobus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> non-profit organization aiming to curb the technological and social development which is alienating humans from nature. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> promoting environmental care through educational work.
EcoWitch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> lobbying for improved recycling management in Hong Kong. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> shared resource recycling station. public clean-ups.
Farm Hands (FH)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the right to land in relation to farming. highlight the issue of Hong Kong's high dependency on China for imported food, and the city's non-existing food production. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> helping the vanishing number of local farmers to farm their land and sell their crops to a reasonable price
Farms for Democracy (FfD)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> showcasing that small scale urban farming is possible in Hong Kong, the farm advocated diversity in politics as well as nature. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the farm had the elements of guerrilla because it was illegal; organic because of the organic space it constituted; and garden of plurality was a reference to the

		Umbrella Movement fighting for universal suffrage and political diversity.
Food Grace (FG)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> doing social work while tackling the issue of food waste. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> collects “wet food” (fruits and vegetables), bread, and packaged food about to expire from wet markets and supermarkets, and distributes it to underprivileged and poor people
HK Potato	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> calling for an action to plant potatoes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> social actions, educational work in schools and communities, workshops and guided tours, HK Potato advocates self-grown food.
Hong Kong Dolphin Conservation Society (HK DCS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> raise awareness regarding the situation of the dolphins and porpoise residing in Hong Kong waters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> research, observation, education, campaigning, public seminars, and eco-tours.
Land Justice League (LJL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> land conservation and rethinking land development. preserving nature, active farmland and communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> engaged in the NENT development plans protest
Lantau Buffalo Association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> seeks to preserve and manage the wild cattle living on Lantau Island, as well as preserving the island’s ecosystems and wetlands that 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> research, education, governmental work and eco-tourism.

	constitute the habitat for the animals.	
Mapopo Community Farm (MCF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> protecting and preserving the 60 year old farming village and its active farm land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> showcases an alternative to current ideas and ways of life, as it rethinks urban planning. connecting local farmers with the residents of Hong Kong
Soil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> calling attention to the questionable development plans of the NENT. highlight the vanishing of a cultural and historical heritage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the preservation work constitutes of two components: conducting an organic farm in a traditional manner, and historical education.
Very MK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> consists of a network of artists, social workers, teachers and students forming a community-based rooftop farm in Mong Kok, which challenges the contemporary urban redevelopment taking place in Hong Kong. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> by combining the social issues of local farming, urban planning and eco-development, Very MK seeks to communicate what an alternative development could look like through urban farming.