

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**Social Movements in Hong Kong
Standing up to a Giant: will Hong Kong Democracy succeed?
Bachelor Thesis**

Bratislava, 2015

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this bachelor thesis is my own work and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used literature and other sources are attributed and cited in references.

Bratislava, April 30, 2015

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Abstract:

This bachelor thesis deals with an analysis of texts focusing on the theory of social movements against the backdrop of the recent events in Hong Kong. The thesis consists of two main chapters, a direct application on Occupy Central movement and a conclusion.

The first chapter is theoretical based, in which all information are the framework of the whole work which are further processed. The second chapter discusses the short history of Hong Kong society since 1970s up to the change of sovereignty in 1997 and the evolution of social movements during this period and also afterwards. The third chapter is a direct application of the theoretical part of the thesis into to the recent events in Hong Kong by analyzing the motivation, political opportunities, and leadership of the Occupy Central movement. The fourth chapter is conclusion.

The main goal of the thesis is to find out whether we can anticipate currents protests having impact on Hong Kong's future democracy and whether Hong Kong can achieve democracy in near future.

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Abstrakt:

Táto bakalárska práca sa zaoberá analýzou textov zameraných na teóriu sociálnych hnutí na podnet nedávnych protestov v Hong Kongu. Práca pozostáva z dvoch hlavných častí, priamej aplikácie na sociálne hnutie Occupy Central a záveru.

Prvá kapitola pozostáva z teoretického základu, ktorý slúži ako nosník všetkých následne spracovaných informácií. Druhá kapitola sa zaoberá krátkou históriou Hong Kong-skej spoločnosti v období sedemdesiatych rokov po zmenu suverenity v roku 1997 a tiež vývojom spoločenských hnutí v spomínanom období a následne po ňom. Tretia kapitola je venovaná priamej analýze motivácií, politických možností a vedenia sociálneho hnutia Occupy Central. V štvrtej kapitole sa nachádza záver ako zosumarizovanie predchádzajúcich záverov práce a skonštatovanie, či bola stanovená hypotéza potvrdená alebo vyvrátená.

Hlavným cieľom tejto práce je zistiť či súčasné protesty majú vplyv na vývoj demokracie v Hong Kongu a či je tu vôbec možnosť v blízkej budúcnosti demokraciu dosiahnuť.

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Introduction

This thesis deals with the topic of social movements in Hong Kong, with the special attention to the recent protests in Hong Kong – Occupy Central Civil Disobedience Movement. The author of this thesis argues that Hong Kong will not achieved democracy in near future. The thesis statement is: Even though the recent Hong Kong movement appears to have all the signs of a social movement, these protests will not be successful in the given geopolitical context of Hong Kong – under the rule of China for the fifty years since the change of sovereignty in 1977.

The object of this thesis is to properly define social movement theory, it's essential elements and civil society; that all together create social movement life cycle. This will serve as a background for closer analysis of the social movements in Hong Kong with a special attention to the Occupy central Movement.

A social movement is a phenomenon that commonly emerges when society becomes frustrated and dissatisfied with the social, political and economic situation in its country. If the people feel that they deserve to have rights, to have a chance for a better living standard, or to have a higher social status than they have, it is the time when part of the society will organize into a social movement and express its interests through collective actions. To have the same opportunities in social and political life, to feel free, and most importantly to feel safe in the country we live in is what make satisfied society.

In the first part of the thesis, the author will uncover the theoretical background of the social movement and its essential elements: political opportunities, motivation, and leadership, which together create the concept of social movement life cycle. Also, the author will define civil society and the relationship between the civil society and the democratic development. Strong social movement and the strong civil society are the key for the democracy development. To properly define these terms is important for the analysis and application in the second and the third chapter.

The second part of the thesis will analyze the development of Hong Kong society and social movements since the 1970s era up to the change of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, through the application of the social movement life cycle. This author will analyze possible causes standing behind the failures of pro-democracy movements' efforts to achieve democracy. It will provide life and political struggles of the Hong Kong society, the lack of participation in political sphere in the 1970s era, and the rise of new social movements which brought a new light and beliefs that democracy will be achieved one day. This thesis will also analyze Hong Kong civil society after the crucial moment of changing the sovereignty in 1997 and the excessive increase of the emergence of social protests.

The last chapter will analyze the most recent protest in Hong Kong. The author will discuss the reasons for the emergence of the Occupy Central movement, the leadership, and the motivation to participate in the movement, the goals it wants to achieve, and possibilities for the movement to succeed in near future.

Mašlonková, Social Movements in Hong Kong. Standing up to a Giant: will Hong Kong Democracy succeed?

Chapter 1:

Evolution of Social Movements and Civil Society

A social movement is a phenomenon that commonly emerges when society becomes frustrated and dissatisfied with the social, political and economic situation in its country. If the people feel that they deserve to have rights, to have a chance for a better living standard, or to have a higher social status than they have, it is the time when part of the society will organize into a social movement and express its interests through collective actions. To have the same opportunities in social and political life, to feel free, and most importantly to feel safe in the country we live in is what make satisfied society.

To understand the recent events in Hong Kong, it is necessary to define properly social movements and its crucial elements. Therefore, this introductory chapter will be based on the defining social movement and its essential elements such as motivations for engagement in social movements, political opportunities, and the importance of the leadership. Also, the chapter will deal with the social movement life cycle and in the connection, it will characterize the civil society and its relationship towards democratization. The goal of this chapter is to properly characterize the evolution of social movements and civil society in connection to democratization for easier analysis of Hong Kong protests to achieve democracy.

1.1. Defining Social Movement

There are many definitions of social movements analyzed by several sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, or others. To properly define social movements is the

main interest of this chapter, since it serves as a base for the following parts and for the next chapters, where the notion of social movement will be further processed.

Social movements can be seen as important agents or instruments in the processes that can change the path of the society. They always have been to some extent inherently part of basic values, orientations, and structures of societies around the globe (Stammers, 1999, p. 985).

The term “social movement” characterizes the effort of the participants to act in the way to get enough group influence to make any kind of change the movement desires. Because of their effort to serve the groups larger goals and interests they are defined to be power-oriented groups. They present radical claims and are based on grassroots organizational forms (Flynn, 2009, p.111; Beichelt & collective, 2014, p.139).

Sidney Tarrow in his work *Power in Movement* defined social movements as “collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities” (Tarrow, 1994, p.4). Participants of any social movement share common interests, common views, or goals and their political and social behavior is being solidier to each other. But the sense to continue to protest in order to achieve their goals needs something more. “They must believe, that their efforts are necessary and, at least, potentially successful” (Meyer, Kretschmer, 2007, p.542). Howsoever dissatisfied people are, with the lack of belief of necessity; they will not risk their lives, their work, their money to involve in any political action. Social movements are rather not spontaneous actions, and they don’t contain any elements of spontaneity. And if they do, then they situate around the structures that are provided by established groups (Meyer, Kretschmer, 2007, p.542).

The greatest chance for the social movement to be successful is if they emerge in the society with a democratic regime where social mobility and social change are common and accepted concepts (Flynn, 2009, p.111). When they emerge, there is only a limited time for them to be active because the collective interests change with the mobilization of groups and individuals through the influence of challengers with the

world they challenge. “State and societies manage social movement challenges to minimize disruption and uncertainty” (Meyer, Kretschmer, 2007, p.543).

Social movement arise only upon the special constellation of social and political factors and decline when participants no longer believe that their goals will be achieved, that the collective action is necessary or effective (Meyer, Kretschmer, 2007, p.543).

1.2. Political opportunities

After defining what the social movement is, it is necessary to analyze its main elements. The political opportunity structure is highly connected to social movement success. Without defining it, every analysis of social movements would be incomplete.

To define the term itself, the etymology of it has to be considered as well. Even, some theorists say that it is external political factor, Suh believes in the interconnectedness when the outcomes of a social movements, to some extent, depend on the political situation and the political oppression, which both, from the point of view of the movement members, are external (Suh, 2001, p. 438). We may say that the result of social movement can be, at least, connected with the opportunity that was created by the state.

The opportunity is something that arises from other circumstances. So what is the ideal circumstance for political opportunity? Social movements have the ability to create political opportunities. Political opportunities have the ability to open ways for political action and also can shape or limit social movements (Gamson, Meyer, 1996 p. 276). So it is the social movement that, in fact, creates the opportunity. There exists a cycle, where movement benefits from the success of the previous opportunities created by movement (Gamson, Meyer, 1996 p. 276).

When the political opportunity occurs, the public can stand up and use this space to promote new policies, which are sometimes accepted by the government (Meyer, Minkoff, 2004 p. 1458). Suh argues that political opportunities need “weaker” government. Otherwise, the movement becomes oppressed. The political opportunities influence the emergence of a social movement (Suh, 2001, p. 438). So we may say that

political opportunity is indeed a situation of loosening up the state's control over its subjects.

According to Meyer, there are two dimensions of political opportunities: cultural and institutional (Gamson, Meyer, 1996, p. 281). For the social movement, both of them need to be present to some extent. Institutional dimension has to arise. One of the important aspects for the political opportunities are the leaders of social movements. Even, the leadership will be characterized in another subchapter, here it has to be said, that role of the leader is to over-emphasize the uniqueness of the political opportunity (Meyer, Gamson, 1996, p. 286).

Political opportunities are an important concept, which in the context of the social movements has to be defined. They are created by the state of social movements, and the success or failure of the social movement is affected by them.

1.3. Motivation to participate in Social Movements

Political protests are present in many countries all over the world. The never-ending story of signing petitions, boycotting products, or participating in protests has risen almost in every country. This part of the chapter will analyze the basic motivations why some people engage in social movements while others don't which will help us to understand better the reasons that the activists of the Occupy Central have to continue protesting.

The motivation to be a part of the protests is one of the main topics in the literature on social movements. Members of dissatisfied or disadvantaged groups who do not want to just passively watch and accept their lot have to find ways to improve the situation they live in (Walgrave, 2010, p. 2).

We can find many ways to characterize motivations for engagement in political collective actions. This thesis uses theory of social psychology of protests that gives us three basic types of motivation in which participants may either want to change their circumstances, act as members of the group with common interests or show their views and feelings to the world. In other words, the first fundamental motive refers to

instrumentality where the main goal is to influence social and political environment. The second motive refers to identity in which protesters are identified with their group, and the last motive refers to the ideology to search for meaning and an expression of participants views (Spielberger, 2004, p. 404).

The motives referring to instrumentality sees participation in social movement as a conscious action that can be considered as the positive ration of costs of benefits, leading to specific action preparedness. Because people weight benefits from the participation against the costs of action then to some extent are all motivations based on a rational calculus. However, consider the fact that these benefits can be almost anything there will always be a place for at first sight 'irrational' or emotional motives to participate (Walgrave,2010, p.4). Such costs and benefits also draw the line between participants and nonparticipants. "People are spending time and/or money only if they participate, people run the risk of the being beaten up by the police only if they participate, people's friends will blame them for not participating only if they stay home, and so on" (Spielberger, 2004, p.405).

Participants identified with the instrumental motives do not care about the act itself, but they focus on the latter effects of the protest. They are motivated by what the act can bring about so the rewards are postponed, and returns of the investments are delayed (Walgrave, 2010, p. 4-5).

Since many external goals can be achieved only, in the long run, it became clear that instrumental motives cannot be the only reason to participate. We are all part of society. But people occupy different places within the society. We are identified upon our hobbies, fields of work, different opinions, gender, and ethnicity, some of us are housewives, football players, philosophers, politicians, students, or teachers, etc. The motivation to belong to a certain group is what many of us desire.

Therefore, "all of these different roles and positions that a person occupies form his or her personal identity" (Spielberger, 2004, p.406) People share their personal identities with other people which turns them into collective identities. That means that personal identity always has to be a collective identity at the same moment (Spielberger, 2004, p.406). However, actors don't have to agree necessarily on the same ideologies, interests or even goals to generate collective action. It can also refer to an

active relationship that has the emotional base. Collective identity can differentiate the self from the 'other' and to be recognized by those 'others' (Melucci, 1995, p. 47).

On the other hand, participants can express their emotions, or ideology in their personal name or the name of the group. "Some people take to the streets to improve their life, they want a job, better social security, a future for their kids. Other people take up arms for a group of people to whom they belong; they are motivated by a kind of 'we'-feeling and act on behalf of a group, they want a job for their colleagues, for people like them, and they want a better future for the kids of people in the same situation"(Walgrave,2010, pg. 6-7). This shows that the line between individual and collective motives is not absolute. Most participants want to change the world in the name of group of people, but there are also protesters who do not want to change things, they do not refer to change when someone ask them about the reasons for their participation. Some of them only refer to their grievances, interests or values which mean that they do not see or define themselves as presenting a group of people. (Walgrave,2010, p. 26-27).

The last type of motivation, important to analyze in this chapter, refers to the ideology. Ideology motives search for meaning and expression of participant 's view (Spielberger, 2004, p.404). The expressive kind of motives are rational and goal-oriented as well as their opposite the instrumental motives. But when it comes to characterizing this ideology based motivation to participate in protest it doesn't want to change the world. This action is gratifying on its own. "Participating may cause a thrill, people may have the opportunity to express their opinion, their anger or dissatisfaction, or they feel the duty participate. People protesting against war, for example, may want to show that they are angry, that they do not agree with the war even if they are aware of the fact that their protest will not stop the war"(Walgrave, 2010, p. 5).

"Intensely motivated people participate in protest with people whom they share interests (instrumental) as well as feelings and values (expressive)"(Walgrave,2010 p. 5). Walgrave in his work argues that there are not a lot of actions that are only instrumental or only expressive. Thus, most people's motivation is a mix of these two motives because they reinforce each other (Walgrave,2010, p. 5).

Motivation to participate in social movements is one of the major elements of the social movement theory. The feeling to participate, to be a member of a political life, to make a change by standing up for the common interests and hopefully for the right cause is one of the steps in the path towards democracy.

1.4. Leadership in Social Movements

To effectively motivate people, to persuade them that it is a necessity to be involved in the collective action, is one of the biggest challenges that leaders have to face, because an effective leader have the ability to influence motivation.

This section will deal with the notion of the leadership, as another essential element of the social movement theory. Leadership is characterized by Morris and Staggenborg as one of the key issues that can help to explain what the social movement theory is. Authors in their work define leaders as “strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements” (Morris, Staggenborg, 2002, p. 1).

When it comes to any activity, mostly, the leaders are the ones that hold the power. In the social movement context, they have the ability to shape the movements in several ways. They are the ones who define goals and future strategies. They are the ones who can mobilize followers, encourage organizations, or create coalitions, and so merits higher attention. Consequently, if they are in charge to perform crucial tasks, it can be considered that movements create leaders as much as the leaders create movements (Nepstad, Bob, 2006, pg.1-2).

But how can a leader gain legitimate authority? Weber’s theory of legitimacy elaborates three types of authority. Firstly, traditional authority, where authority rests on “an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial tradition” is characteristic for patriarchy (Weber, 1971, p. 12). It is the type that passes from generation to generation. Secondly, the legal-rational and utilitarian authority that refers to a “believe in the legality of rules and in the right of those who occupy positions by virtue of those rules to issue commands” (Weber, 1990, p. 11). This type of authority is based on the

elections. Lastly, Weber introduced the authority that is characteristic for the modern “servant of the state” (Weber, 1990, p.11). The kind of a charismatic leader that rests on “the supernatural gift of charm, a complete personal commitment and inner confidence in revelation, heroism or other leadership qualities, which are characteristic for prophets or in the sphere of politics – chosen leader or plebiscite” (Weber, 1990, p. 12) This type of authority is characteristic for leaders of social movements, where emotional character is the key instrument to influence the community.

Because even the leader is only a human, he is not perfect and can easily transform his interests away from the interests of his followers. People have to realize that when they willingly give their leaders “free hand” to represent them, it can also have unpleasant consequences. Followers let their leaders speak and act on their behalf, even though leaders become political elites whose interests are not the same as interests of their followers. Consequently, leaders become part of the elites who don’t desire to stand for the original goals of the movement anymore. “The masses are far more subject to their leaders than to their governments and they bear from the former abuses of power which they would never tolerate from the latter” (Michel, 2001, p.97). Such transformation of organizations into oligarchy is often present because of the apathy and lack of competence of the followers in comparison to their leaders (Morris, Staggenborg, 2002, p. 3). “The representative, proud of his indispensability, readily becomes transformed from a servitor of the people into their master” (Michel, 2001, p. 97)

To become a leader means responsibility. Leaders hold the power, make essential decisions, and speak for the masses by claiming their common goals, interests, and beliefs. They have the ability to shape social movements, and that is the reason to choose the leaders properly.

1.5. Social Movement Life Cycle

The emergence of the social movement, its development through the several stages, people engagement or disengagement, or even the transformation of the charming leader to a cruel master. Every characteristic of previous fragments is a part of social movement life cycle. This subchapter will talk about the social movement

existence that will help to analyze the Hong Kong social movements in the second chapter.

The social movement phenomenon didn't simply appear from one day to another. It has to be created by someone, it grows, it can achieve success, and it can fail or be dissolved. Simply, it exists.

Social movements didn't emerge only from people's dissatisfaction with a policy or a ruling system. On one side, we cannot say that they are stable political entities with access to political power or political elites such as political parties or groups. But also we cannot claim that they are such a chaotic mass without any basis and organization. The best way would be to place them somewhere in between. Social movements led to many dramatic changes in societies all over the world. It's important to understand where are their origins, why and who participates in them, and how they succeed or fail (Christiansen, 2009, p. 1-2).

There are many ways how to explain the existence of social movements. The one used in this chapter divides the development of social movement life cycle into four basic stages: emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline. These four core stages will work as the base for the second chapter in which they will be used to analyze the development of the Hong Kong social movements. The first stage, Emergence, is only preliminary with almost no organization. "Potential movement participants may be unhappy with some policy or some social condition, but they have not taken any action in order to redress their grievances, or if they have it is most likely individual action rather than collective action"(Christiansen, 2009, p. 2). It can be explained as a relationship between structural change and transformations in patterns of social conflict. The main question of this stage to ask is whether we can see social movements as expression of conflicts, and if, what kind of conflicts (Porta & Diani, 2006, p.5). People don't use strategy to deal with the problem, mostly only comment their dissatisfaction about the current situation with friends and family, or contact local newspapers (Christiansen, 2009, p. 2).

The next stage, coalescence or "popular stage", is a stage where these dissatisfied individuals become more organized, collective with focusing on the main

problems and searching for who or what is responsible. In other words, it is a stage “when individuals participating in the mass behavior of the preceding stage become aware of each other” (Christiansen, 2009, p.3). The stage refers to the role of representations in social conflict and asks how social problems are recognized as possible objects of collective action. Also, asks how actors of social conflicts develop a sense of commonality and also where do social movements cultures and values originate from (Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 5).

In the stage of bureaucratization have finally social movements greater political power than in the previous stages. Thus, it is required for them to work with higher level of organization and coalition-based strategies and so they cannot rely anymore only on their inspirational leaders but also on specialized staff persons who are educated and trained to run and carry out movement goals (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3). This third stage of social movement life cycle addresses to a process of transformation of values, interests, and ideas into collective action which mobilizes social actors aware of risks and costs of protest activity (Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 5-6).

The final stage of the social movement existence arises questions that address how a certain social, political, and cultural context affects the possible chances of social movements to succeed and also how protest tactics and strategies change over time, and why (Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 6). This final phase, decline or “Institutionalization”, may sound like a failure, but it doesn’t always have to mean a failure. Instead, social movements of this stage can decline in four ways: Repression, Co-optation, Success, and Failure. When social movement declines through repression, authorities use measures which can be defined legitimate by the state, sometimes also violence, to control or destroy social movements. This way governments “will often pass outlawing specific movement activities or organizations, or justify attacks on them by declaring them somehow dangerous to public order” which make it difficult for social movements to carry out their activities or bring new members (Christiansen, 2009, p.4). The decline of the social movement, in which leaders of the social movement cooperate rather with movement targets or authorities than social movement constituents, is called co-optation. However, not every social movement has to end through repression or cooptation. Another way of decline is through the most desirable - success. Smaller, localized movements with specific goals have a greater chance to reach their goals and

be successful than bigger movements. Failure, as the last decline, takes a role when social movements are not able to handle the rapid expansion caused by their success, which lead to the destruction due to organizational or strategic failings (Christiansen, 2009, p. 4).

Social movements were and are a major force in the world. They are the phenomenon that arise and end under the certain circumstances and create its own life cycle. Their analysis helps us to understand better past and present societies. New developed movements can learn from the investigations of the previous movements and so better prepare for their future steps (Christiansen, 2009, p. 5).

1.6. Defining civil society

Social movements are the phenomenon that can emerge only from certain kind of society and in this case it would be civil society. To define civil society is not an easy task since it doesn't have any obvious meaning. The notion of "civil society" has gone through significant changes over time, in different national contexts, and means different things to different people (Bunbongkarn, 2004) but not a one of definitions is completely different from the others. All definitions are very similar to each other, only a little transformed for the concept they are represented in. But basically all characterize civil society as a balance between the private and political sphere of the society.

The cooperation between one and another is one of the most important behavior skills to survive for every human being. Professor Helmut Anheier defined society as "an arena outside family, government, and market where people voluntarily associate to advance common interests based on civility" (Bernholz, 2014, p. 6) So it is a sphere of organized activity that is not carried out by the government or any business. The actors can be voluntary organizations or community organizations, philanthropic organizations, associations, charities, or social movements, and many others that share common interests. The membership in these organizations is voluntary, and the rule is to behave polite and tolerant to each other by caring for one's identity and respect his/her beliefs without degrading. "Actors rely primarily on social modes of mediation among people (organizing collective action) through language, norms, shared purposes,

and agreements “(Heller, 2013, p.). Hence, the medium of the civil society is not money, law, or force, but it is communication.

Even the civil society is distinct from the state and market; it is closely connected to how the state power is authorized. Civil society provides “the normative basis for legitimating democratic rule” (Heller, 2013, p.2). Therefore, we can say that civil society is characterized as the balance between the private and political sphere and it is very important to maintain this balance. The need to maintain it is significant to finding solutions of challenges such as an environmental degradation, fundamental educational needs, ethnics or religious conflicts, and many others that are the problems of the commons. The resolution of such problems will determine our future (Sievers, 2009; Heller, 2013, p.2).

All civil organizations need resources to existing, to operate. Resources mean money. But their legitimacy cannot be driven by the pursuit of any economic returns. If any civil society organizer fails in working for the cause or the community he claims to speak for because of the vision of the profit or power, immediately lose much or all the credibility. Actors seeking the influence “can only do so in the public sphere and their standing there depends on the recognition that they are motivated by a concern for the public interest” (Heller, 2013, p.5).

Civil society organizations are often used as synonymous to the social movement organizations. But, there are quite big differences that matters. Social movements organized protests and present radical claims while civil society don't use this kind of disturbing forms and rather is presented as moderate and reasonable. Another difference to mention is”social movements are based on grassroots organizational forms, civil society organizations are often well organized and quite rich in resources” (Beichelt & collective, 2014, p. 139)

The term civil society is usually used as the notion of society where we would like to live in. It is a place for free public discussion, where people are tolerant to each other, respectful. It is a place to exercise an active citizenship and achieve common goals. NGOs (non-governmental organizations) can highly strength democracy and improve the life quality in disadvantaged communities. Civil society seems to be something good but what if any other associations than NGOs will call for the human

rights violations, intolerance, or violence? The role of NGOs that act as mediators of values as non-violence, non-discrimination, democracy, and cooperation or social justice is significantly important. Civil society organizations also work as the supporter and the controller of how are problems of public policy handled, whether they work justly, effectively, and democratically.

1.7. Relationship between civil society and democratic development

Civil society organizations, such as interest groups, associations, or union organizations, are essential in developing democracy. Because civil society together with the social movements plays an essential role in promoting democracy, it is important for this thesis to elaborate on their connection. To characterize the link between them will help us understand the democratic development in the Hong Kong region.

To achieve democracy has been the main goal of many countries all over the world. The democratic development largely depends on the fragile balance between the market, the state, and also the civil society (Heller, 2013, p.1). But how can civil society contribute to the democratic consolidation? By democratic consolidation, it's meant when there is no possibility for the country to go back to the authoritarian regime. In this case, achieved democracy has to be stable, efficient and liable. When the country is ruled by elites, such as leaders or opinion shapers, there is not a big chance for democracy to behold. According to this, the elite' commitment to democracy in order prevent a reversal to authoritarian is one of the keys of consolidation. Another key is the belief of the majority that democracy is at the moment the best form of government to have. The last key for consolidating democracy is the commitment by organizations and groups such as political parties, social movements, interest groups, or civil society organizations (Sato, 2004, p. 140-141).

The civil society is one of the essential elements in the democratic development because "it provides the normative basis for legitimating democratic rule" (Heller, 2013, p.1-2). Eric Bjornlund, co-founder of Washington-based Democracy International, said: "Civil society must be involved when countries transition from autocratic regimes to democracy" (McConnell, 2011). If the civil society is well organized and capable of

autonomous action, it is considered to be strong enough to have an effect on the democratic development through providing constructive channels for participation. Also, it has the potential to help rebuild peoples' trust in the government as well as promote their rights and interests (McConnell, 2011; Heller, 2013, p.4). Civil society organizations can help to make elites and majority more committed to democracy since apathy, and political indifference can play a big role and so can slow down the consolidation process. They can encourage people to get more involved in political life, to encourage them to involve in elections (Sato, 2004,p. 141).

It is known, that stronger the civil society is, a bigger potential to achieved democracy country has. One of the crucial actions that make civil society organizations stronger is to make them become more effective than they are. It means that civil society has to have a coherent purpose, structure, and also organizational identity shared among the members (Diamond, 1997, p.19). The main purpose of the civil society organizations, not only during the democratization, is "representing the interests and asserting the rights and power of the people" (Sato, 2004, p.141).

The relationship between civil society and the democratic development is very tight. Because the development highly depend on the balance between the elements, where one of them is civil society, it is clear that without it, the democratic regime would not be able to maintain, and the authoritarian regime would reverse. Civil society voluntarily represents the rights and interests of the majority, and in need is able to influence people to involve more in political life, mainly through voting in elections, which is essential for the development of democracy.

Chapter 2:

Hong Kong – The City of Protests

Even the fact that since the past, Hong Kong has been seen as one of the countries with the world freest market economies, with civil liberties competing countries in the west, and even today is Hong Kong the freest Chinese region, still has not been able to achieve full democracy. Many cultural theorists studied Hong Kong's society to understand the reasons why it remains to be a non-democratic region.

This chapter will provide life and political struggles of the Hong Kong society, the lack of participation in political sphere in the 1970s era, and the rise of new social movements which brought a new light and beliefs that democracy will be achieved one day. This thesis will also analyze Hong Kong civil society after the crucial moment of changing the sovereignty in 1997 and the excessive increase of the emergence of social protests.

The analysis of the Hong Kong society and the development of the social movements will provide a background for the next chapter, where the thesis will make a closer look to the recent protests in Hong Kong.

2.1. Hong Kong Society since 1970s up to the Handover in 1997

The main topic in Hong Kong since the transfer of sovereignty to China in 1997 has been the democratic development. To achieve democracy has been in this region the biggest struggle for decades. Before this thesis will analyze changes in Hong Kong society after the handover in 1997, it is necessary to mention a little background of the society before it, and in connection, this thesis will discuss the society and the development of social movements since the 1970. The concept of the social movement life cycle from the previous chapter will help us to analyze the stages of the social movement development in Hong Kong in this period.

To analyze Hong Kong society since the 1970s it is also necessary to provide a short background about the colonial era. Hong Kong, in 19th century, known as the heaven for pirates and thieves, was after the defeat of its First Opium War with Great Britain forced to sign the Treaty of Nanjing, and so it became to be, since the 1842 till the 1941 one of the British colonies. Since the 1941 until the 1945 had been Hong Kong occupied by the Empire of Japan. After that until the handover in 1997 had been Hong Kong again under the rule of Great Britain (Lee, 2009, p. 2). During the colonial era Hong Kong society didn't participate in political affairs as much as it does today.

Kong Before the 1970s, during the development of the economic and social area, the modern social- welfare system was built mainly by non-governmental, western-style, social-service agencies, and with religious background (Lee, 2009,p.ii). Citizens in that time didn't quite understand the concept of democracy, and since they did not see a democratic participation as one of the rights, they did not involve in politics very often. Another problem was, "political culture of Hong Kong Chinese was marked by utilitarian familism" (Ma, 2005, p.3). It means that family values were for the Hong Kong people more important than societal values, and so they relied on kinship networks to solve their struggles with living. The problem because of the weak connection between the civil society organizations and the government was crucial in failing for full democracy (Ma, 2005, p.3-4).

As it is written in the first chapter when the country is ruled by elites, it is only a matter of time when the society will become tired of not having any impact on managing their life. When people feel that they have no rights, they will soon or later, call for them. Social movements emerge to represent their rights, interests, and beliefs. Since the 1970s era, The Hong Kong society becomes to be more aware of the notion of democracy and becomes to be more involved in politics.

This era is known for the rise of social movements due to several factors. The emphasis on consultative democracy brought a tolerance of social protests and petitions and creating political opportunity structure encouraged political participation. People began to have higher demands and expectations for social improvements. Another factor that encouraged the emergence of social movements is the fact that Hong Kong had been

seen before the 1970s as a refugee society, but with the new class of educated youth in the 1970s, the world's picture of Hong Kong started to change (Ma, 2005, p.6).

People of Hong Kong started to realize the disadvantages of the conditions of their social life. Because the youth that was born or brought up into Hong Kong “showed better sense of belonging to Hong Kong, and were more eager to correct the ills of the colonial regime” (Ma, 2005, p.6) we can consider it as the first stage of social life cycle – emergence. Emergence was defined as “potential movement participants may be unhappy with some policy or some social condition, but they have not taken any action in order to redress their grievances, or if they have it is most likely individual action rather than collective action” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 2).

The 1970s' movements were crossroads of several views, struggles, and concerns, fermented within the Hong Kong civil society. The period started in the early 1970s with the movements with nationalist goals such as to establish Chinese as the official language or those against the colonial injustices. Probably the most representative one was the anti-corruption/anti-Godber movement in 1973-1974. People became more organized and collective and started to recognize the main problems. At this point, we can say that this is the second stage of the social movement life cycle – coalescence (Ma, 2005, p. 7; Christiansen, 2009, p.3).

The critical issue of that time was housing. Hong Kong was already highly populated, which caused many struggles among society. The major role in the urban social movements played the resident movements in 1970s-1980s. “The residents' movement of this stage used professional community organizers to train and organize residents' leaders, and mobilized residents by community issues and used social protest actions to force government into negotiations” (Ma, 2005, pg. 7). When social movements have greater political power, they have to work with the higher level of organization. It means they need a help of professionals, who are educated and trained to carry out movement interests. As we can see, this is the definition of the third stage of social movement life cycle – bureaucratization (Christiansen, 2009, p.3) Even that the housing was a huge and never ending problem in 1975 till 1986, it wasn't the biggest problem. The extreme ones were the labor conflict, where had been workers, unionists, residents, and community activist often involved in social conflicts (Ma, 2009, p. 8).

1990s are known for gradually separating political society from the civil society. It is due to the development of the social movement industry, the rise of “new social movements” among CSOs (civil society organizations). The new social movements paid more attention and importance into discussions among the participating masses about their goals and also on collective decisions, without prevailing role the professional organizers. This step brought higher equality between the organizers and the masses, where masses were the important and true subjects of movements. Furthermore, it also invoked direct dialogs between them, usually with more confrontational actions, without the intervention of politicians or mass media.

The important period of the signing the Sino-British Joint Declaration made Hong Kong society think more about the political future of their country and so turned the attention from the livelihood issues towards the constitutional issues. “Average social movements found it more and more difficult to attract public and media attention and to arouse public sympathy” (Ma, 2005, pg. 11).

People started to rely more on “professional” politicians to represent their interests that caused the decline in political participation. But social activists saw that the elected representatives didn’t effectively advocate peoples’ interests. The lack of the attention to it can led to the concept of the leadership that Michel mentions in his theory of Iron Law of Oligarchy. People let their representative speak and act on their behalf, and he/she loses the interest for their interests. Therefore, “the new social movement activists stressed the initiatives and participation of the masses to empower them, and believed that direct action confronting the authorities could transcend the limitations of the media and elected politicians” (Ma, 2005, pg. 11; Michel, 2001, p. 97).

The Beijing Democracy movement, the student movement after 1989, was a new generation of activists, characterized by more anti-established views, more spontaneous in action, and with the aversion to work and discuss with the electoral politicians. They “preferred to have more pluralistic movement, confronting the establishment on various fronts based on equal participation. They more or less refused to accept the leadership of the older generation of mainstream Democrats, and preferred more diversified movement form“ (Ma, 2005, pg. 12).

The development of the social movements and civil society went since the 1970s through several changes. At the beginning of this period, the lack of the political participation played a crucial role in the Hong Kong development towards democracy. With the rise of new social movements, that were more organized, focused, and more eager to represent people's interests, citizens became to be aware of the notion of the democracy and of the real social and political problems, the participation in political actions highly increased. New movements brought new concepts of thinking with the anti-established and more liberal views.

2.2. One country – Two systems

Hong Kong, “the pearl - of Orient”, was since the 19th century one of the British colonies. The negotiations over the fate of Hong Kong started in 1982. Already from the beginning of negotiations the Chinese leaders promised that “the existing political and economic institutions, and even the most of the laws, can be remained after the return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty” (Wu, 2003, pg. 4). This part of the second chapter will provide short information about the change of the sovereignty in 1997 and the civil society after this important date, to create a base for the next chapter.

Britain through the years developed from the port a wealth industrial city for the businessmen, banks, agents. But since the handover in 1997 Hong Kong is back under the wings of the motherland – China (Chorvatovič, 2004).

The return of Hong Kong from the British rule to the hands of the People's Republic of China caught the attention of the whole world. The new government, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), operates now under the Chinese sovereignty and the new constitution - the Basic Law. While many people thought that the change of the sovereignty was the best option for the Hong Kong society, there were many doubts and worries about if the policy would work (Wong, 2015).

“The year 1997 not only marks the change of sovereignty for Hong Kong, but also signifies the rise of a new political order” (Wong, 2015). Even the fact that Hong Kong is since 1997 under the rule of China, the Basic Law guarantees that economic and political system will remain the same as it was under the British rule.

After the handover China respected Hong Kong as a free port and growing international business center. But when it came to remain democratic principles it wasn't as easy and full of respect. Right after the handover, China canceled all elected local authorities and also 25 laws and regulations of civil rights and liberties (Chorvatovič, 2004).

Since this date Hong Kong, already known for its protesting soul, became to have more than 2,000 public meetings per year, mostly protests against the government policies. Protest became to be so frequent that the worldwide media, such as Washington Post, nicknamed Hong Kong "the city of protests". Next years showed that civil and political society have become stronger and stronger, and not scared to voice their opposition whenever they felt that the autonomy of civil society was going to be violate. (Ma, 2005, p. 13-14)

"The one country, two systems principle is the basic national policy proposed by the Chinese Government in order to achieve national unity" (Leung, 2004, p. 2). This principle stands that Hong Kong, as a Special Administrative Region, has besides the matters relating to national defense and foreign affairs the high degree of autonomy, which can be exercised under the Basic Law with executive, legislative and independent judicial power, including also final adjudication. According to Leung, besides these rules, since capitalist and economic system hasn't been changed, the life in Hong Kong remains mostly unchanged as well. In 1984 was by the Chinese Government and British government signed the Joint Declaration, which guaranteed that these policies would remain unchanged for another 50 years. (Leung, 2004, pg. 2)

2.3. Basic Law

This short subchapter will provide general definitions of the Hong Kong's constitution that presents the reason of the struggles among the society and so the reason of the recent protests.

Since the 1997 Hong Kong operates under the status of a Special Administrative Region of China with certain political and economic freedoms based on the *one country-two systems* concept. The Hong Kong Basic Law is the Hong Kong's constitution, over which have been held several discussions considering democracy and its space. "It is generally understood that greater democratization will mean greater autonomy and vice versa, less democracy means more control by Beijing" (Davis, 2006).

Basic Law grants "a high degree of autonomy, including executive, legislative, and independent judicial powers for fifty years (until 2047)" (Albert, 2014)

Hong Kong enjoys the freedom of press, expression, assembly, and religion as protected rights. Hong Kong can forge external relations in specific area, while sectors such as diplomacy or defense are under the Beijing control (Albert, 2014).

Hong Kong is a non-democratic Special Administrative Region of China. According to the constitution it will remain this way for the fifty years since the Handover.

Chapter 3:

Occupy Central Civil Disobedience Movement

The Occupy Central Civil Disobedience Movement also called Occupy Central with Love and Peace, or Umbrella Revolution is a recent peaceful direct action movement driven by socio-political change. The movement had been openly planned for more than a year by the Hong Kong activists, demanding genuine universal suffrage in compliance with international law. Pro – democracy activists tried to paralyze the most important financial district of Hong Kong through sit-ins and civil disobedience in the aim to pressure China into giving them the former British colony full universal suffrage.

This last chapter will analyze the most recent protest in Hong Kong. It will discuss the reasons for the emergence of the Occupy Central movement, the leadership, and the motivation to participate in the movement, goals it wants to achieve, and possibilities for the movement to succeed in near future.

3.1. Occupy Central: A Peaceful Movement

The Occupy Central Movement or The Umbrella Revolution, seen as “one of the largest peaceful protest movements in recent world history” (Yang, Liu, 2015), emerged in the end of the September 2014 and started a new wave of protests in Hong Kong. This part of the last chapter will discuss the origin of the Occupy Central movement. It will identify the reasons of the emergence and also the reasons why the leaders think it’s necessary to continue to protest.

1st of July, 1997, the important day in the history of Hong Kong, when after 150 years of British rule is Hong Kong region back in the hands of the China. The transfer of sovereignty, based on the agreement between the Great Britain and China, has come to known as “one country-two systems” with respect to the constitutional interpretation on the Hong Kong Basic Law. As part of the change of sovereignty, China promised free elections for Hong Kong’s chief executive in the next run in 2017. (Woerkom,2014). . But in August 2014, Chinas legislature announced that “candidates

for Hong Kong's top leadership post must be approved by a committee heavily loyal to Beijing, providing a clear demarcation of how far it will allow democracy to proceed in the territory" (Brian Spegele, 2014) In response to this, thousands of people mainly the students and some of them even under the age of eighteen, have occupied streets of the major districts to demand the universal suffrage, which represent one-person-one-vote, in electing next Chief Executive in 2017, to stop Beijing's plan to choose candidates for this post and finally have democratic elections (Woerkom, 2014).

Thus, the Occupy Central Movement or The Umbrella have emerged at the end of the September 2014. Thousands of active participants have peacefully protested through the civil disobedience, sitting and talking at the most important business parts of Hong Kong – Admiralty, Mong Kok, Causeway Bay and Wan Chai.

Even after wave off several clashes with Hong Kong police and Pro-Beijing activists, many of the members of Umbrella Movement have continued to protest and have not left occupied districts even after three months since boycotts. And the reason they want to continue protest? What we can see is that people of Hong Kong have not lost their hope and desire for a change that can mean a better tomorrow.

Possible and maybe naïve chance to change their policy emerged with the information of the non-democratic elections. Protesters grasped this political opportunity and were not willing to completely let it down any soon. This is the power of social movements.

3.2. Leadership in Occupy Central

The Occupy Central with Love and Peace movement has been present for so long not only because the hope, but because of the effective leaders as well. The movement has been from the beginning guided by two law professors and a Baptist minister. Later, pro-democracy protesters also welcomed to join the Hong Kong Federation of students and Scholarism (Johnes, 2014). It is the necessity for the strong social movement to be led by a strong, responsible, and effective leader. This subchapter will identify the leaders of the Occupy Central movement and will discuss the reasons for participants to follow them.

As it is mentioned in the previous part of this chapter, thousands of protesters gathered in the central district to promote their dissatisfaction with the ruling policy. Not even police who dispersed the crowd with the gas and pepper spray, protesters couldn't stop them. The umbrellas that were used by participants to shield off tear gas, became the icon of the protest – Umbrella Revolution- symbolism, as opposed to violence that has proven to be an effective strategy in gaining sympathy and creating a broader support base for the Occupy Central movement such as later “flowers presented to riot police and attached to police cars, yellow ribbons were knotted to fences and uploaded as profile photos on social media, and protesters held hands and waved their mobile phones to light up the night in a demonstration of peaceful unity” (Ho, 2014)

The Hong Kong Occupy Central movement doesn't have one specific leader. The movement emerged from a dissatisfied society desiring concrete demands. Participants are led by, rather say, a few spiritual guides that can be divided into two groups. In the first group are “middle –aged, politically experienced, and self-restrained “Benny Tai, Chan Kin- Man and Chu Yiu-Ming (Kaiman, 2014). The other group is occupied by young, idealistic, headstrong, and open-minded student leaders Joshua Wong and Alex Chao (Kaiman, 2014). These leaders represent interests and beliefs of the people of Hong Kong who desires to leave in a democratic society without any intervention of the motherland China. These leaders are according to the Weber's theory of the legitimacy of power, legitimate authorities characteristic for the modern “servant of the state” (Weber, 1990, p.11). They are the kind of a charismatic leader that rests on “the supernatural gift of charm, a complete personal commitment and inner confidence in revelation, heroism or other leadership qualities, which are characteristic for prophets or in the sphere of politics – chosen leader or plebiscite” (Weber, 1990, p. 12)

They have the power to influence people by their charm and resolution to fight for the right cause, for the better future in Hong Kong, where individuals' vote matters and can make a change. Hopefully, they will not use their “superpower” over the followers in the way described by Michel in his theory of Iron Law of Oligarchy, in which representatives changed into masters, not caring about common interests anymore.

3.2. Motivation to participate in Occupy Central

The twenty-first century brought many changes in every spectrum of social, economical, and political life all over the world. The phenomenon of globalization gave the dominant power into the hands of several global key players and created the biggest global brands. The instant economic and political development of Hong Kong resulted in a great income inequality between the rural and urban sectors and also highly affected peoples political views. People of Hong Kong were more interested in political participation than ever before (Kuah-Pearce, Guiheux, 2009,p 95-97).

Hong Kong society, marked by a type of democracy – pan-democracy craves for the full democracy already for decades. The country has been governed under the system of “one country, two systems” since it was handed back to Beijing, which let Hong Kong enjoy limited self-governance and civil liberties. But when China regained its control over Hong Kong, it promised that the region will be able to elect its top political post, post of the head of the government – the post of the chief executive –by universal suffrage by 2017. But the problem is that the election remains to be held by the old way, and so that the chief executive will be chosen by a “nominating committee” of 1,200 people, most of them from pro –Beijing elites. In August of 2014 “Beijing passed a reform framework to specify universal suffrage on its term in that only two or three committee vetted candidate would be allowed to run. This was considered as the last move by the activists as the students begun a class boycott, later being joined by a bigger group under the banner Occupy Central under the leadership of two law professors”(Lubega, 2014).

Participants organized together to use their collective strength, aware of what it will cost and what they will have to sacrifice to fight for the right to choose freely their own leader without any restrictions (Johnes, 2014). Therefore, the main motivation of participants is to live in a democratic region with the right to nominate and directly elect the head of Hong Kong Government. Activists, dissatisfied with the ruling system situation in Hong Kong, also demand the resignation of the current chief executive - Leung Chun-Ying, who openly refused whereas “the main interest of the Hong Kong government is to screen who can stand for office of the top post through the vetting of

the candidates by an electoral committee of tycoons, oligarchs, and pro-Beijing figures” (Lubega, 2014).

According to Waldgrave's theory of motivation, the motivation of Hong Kong pro-democracy activists applied to the first dimension of motivation is both instrumental, since motives are not based on the act itself but on the later effect that is wished to reach and expressive because protesters main goal is not to change the outside world. They seek a change in their region and participate to claim their views and interests against the current situation, to highlight the problems in their society even the fact that it might not be solved right now. However, the protesters motivation to participate in the Occupy Central movement better fits in the second dimension of Walgraves' theory, where the motivation is led by the individual or collective motives. People protest to improve their social and political life and desire of better, equal and free future for them, their children, and others in their society. They are highly motivated by the “we-feeling” and peacefully act on behalf of a group of people with the common interests and claim to remain protests until they will at least see a chance for a change.

3.3. Is this the end?

It has been over two months since the occupy Central began to occupy business districts of Hong Kong. Not one of the main goals has been achieved and the student exams are coming up, which mean that many of them will have to leave the streets and take care of their studies. Just a few days ago were streets full of the chairs, sofas, tents, and shelves with books. The most importantly, the streets had been still full of sitting in protesters.

Because the traffic and business in the most important parts of Hong Kong were paralyzed, the public support for their goals began to decline. Police after 79 days of active protests began to cleaning the streets and tearing down the last camps of one of the biggest protests of the Hong Kong history. Beijing has rejected their wish to have democratic elections and to freely choose their future chief executive. (Barber, 2014)

A lot of the students left the streets and police thought that the problem is over. But some of the adult demonstrators, mainly in the part of Mong Kok, have continued to protest. Another clashes with the police emerged caused by higher aggressiveness of the adults. Such difficult situation had been present for a few next days until the rest of the protesters have decided to leave and not to occupy anymore for this moment. The most of the demonstrators left the streets but promised to be back. They claim that this is not over, "This is the beginning of the end of the occupation, but I don't think it's the end of the movement," said David Zweig, director of the Center on China's Transnational relations for the CNBC (Harjani, 2014).

Only around a hundred of protesters remained to occupy "the city of protests". But it needs to stay in everyone mind, that Hong Kong has so much economical, political and social problems, that it is only a matter of time when from a hundred of people will again become thousands of dissatisfied protesters fighting for the solutions and equal measures (Harjani, 2014). Current protests maybe have not achieved their goal to get rid of the China's influence over Hong Kong in the next election but they reminded the world the importance of the democracy. These brave peaceful protesters showed the whole world that it is important to fight for their common goals, to express their will, it is important to have equal rights, to have a vote that actually matters. It is important to stand up when feeling dissatisfied with the political, social, or economical situation, no matter if you are 15 years old or 40 years old child, man or woman.

The Occupy Central Civil Dissobedience Movement have calmed down for now. It is not the end; some of the protesters, even in a small amount, remain to occupy the main districts in the name of democracy. As Eliza Lee, head of the department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Hong Kong said "I think there are a lot of incidents that can potentially trigger public dissatisfaction, and that will become an opportunity for the public to regalanize. The sentiments (of the Occupy protesters) were very strong, and I can't imagine that kind of strong sentiment has extinguished altogether" (Iyengar, 2015).

The belief to succeed is strong enough to motivate people to come to the streets and protest again all over even they know the fact, that according to the Basic Law it is

not possible to achieve democracy in the next few years. The motivation of people to fight for the better future leads them even through the impossible.

Conclusion

The hypothesis of this paper is proven. After analyzing Hong Kong society and the development of social movements in Hong Kong, we can consider that even the current protests appeared to have all the signs of the social movements important for the democratic development, according to the given geopolitical context of Hong Kong, the protests will not be able to reach their goal in near future.

To analyze current protests in Hong Kong it is necessary to firstly discuss the theoretical background that will serve as a base for the further research. By defining basic concepts of the social movement such as motivation to participate, political opportunities and leadership create together with the definition of civil society concept of the social movement life cycle. As we have seen, social movement is a phenomenon that emerges only upon the special constellation of social and political factors and decline when protesters no longer believe that the goals will be achieved. The feeling of necessity to participate in accordance to make a change is what run the social movements and make a strong society.

Transformation of Hong Kong social movements and civil society through the colonial era until the Handover in 1997 uncovered, that Hong Kong has been already in those times highly active in organizing demonstrations. Major problems with housing and a labor have taken the attention away from the notion of full-democracy. People didn't have a proper knowledge about the democracy and democratic elections and so didn't see it as a right.

The change of sovereignty in 1997, when the Great Britain gave after 150 years of their rule Hong Kong back to the China, showed, that people of Hong Kong have started to pay more attention to the politics and also have been even more active in organizing collective actions than before. Because people were dissatisfied with the political, economical and social situation in Hong Kong, protests were almost on daily base. Hong Kong started to be known as "the city of protests".

Majority of the Hong Kong society have been trying to achieve democracy for decades. But readers could see that to have a strong civil society and well developed social movements, important for democratic development, do not guarantee that protests will achieve their goals.

To have a better look to the failures of the previous Hong Kong social movements to create some kind of a structure of possibilities to fail in order for future social movements to prevent them, could mean to have a higher chance to succeed. The possible way of another research of this kind should be then through the comparative method of the previous social movements, their steps, tactics, and goals.

To conclude, the struggle to achieve democracy in Hong Kong is the constitution that states, that Hong Kong will be under the rule of China for the fifty years since the Handover. This given geopolitical context of Hong Kong is the answer to the question why will Occupy Central Civil Disobedience Movement not be able to succeed and achieve democracy in the near future.

Resumé

Táto bakalárska práca sa zaoberá témou sociálnych hnutí v Hongkongu, s osobitným dôrazom na nedávne protesty, organizované sociálnym hnutím Okupácia Centra Občianskou Neposlušnosťou (Occupy Central Civil Disobedience Movement). Autorka v práci argumentuje, že aj napriek tomu, že nedávne protesty v Hongkongu vykazujú všetky znaky prináležiacie definícii sociálneho hnutia, nie je možné, na základe daných geopolitických podmienok, v ktorých sa Hongkong nachádza, aby mohla byť v tomto mesto v blízkej budúcnosti dosiahnutá demokracia.

Dôvodom, prečo si autorka túto tému vybrala, je jej nedávne štúdium v tejto úžasnej a kultúrne bohatej krajine, pričom sa spomínaných protestov aj osobne zúčastnila. Hongkonská spoločnosť je frustrovaná a nespokojná so súčasnými sociálnymi, ekonomickými a politickými podmienkami, v ktorých žije. O možnosť zmeny dosiahnutím demokracie sa snaží už desaťročia, no bohužiaľ, doposiaľ sa jej to nepodarilo. Autorka sa domnieva, že analýzou vývoja sociálnych hnutí a občianskej spoločnosti v Hongkongu, v období koloniálnej éry, cez zmenu suverenity v roku 1997 až po súčasnosť, bude možné prísť aspoň na niektoré príčiny nedosiahnutia demokracie a či je vôbec možné demokraciu v blízkej dobe dosiahnuť.

Cieľom tejto práce je správne definovať teóriu sociálneho hnutia, jej kľúčové časti a občiansku spoločnosť, ktoré dohromady vytvárajú životný cyklus každého sociálneho hnutia. Správne zadefinované hlavné koncepty budú autorke slúžiť ako podklad pre bližšiu analýzu sociálnych hnutí v Hongkongu so zameraním na hnutie Okupácia Centra.

Prvá kapitola poskytuje čitateľovi odhalenie teoretických východísk sociálneho hnutia a jeho základných prvkov, ako sú politické príležitosti, motivácia a vedenie, ktoré spoločne vytvárajú koncepciu životného cyklu sociálneho hnutia. Autorka sa ďalej venuje definícii občianskej spoločnosti a jej vzťahu s demokratickým vývojom. Silné, organizované sociálne hnutia spolu v kombinácii so silnou občianskou spoločnosťou sú kľúčom k demokratickému vývoju. Sociálnym hnutím nazývame fenomén, ktorý sa bežne objavuje v čase, keď sa spoločnosť stáva frustrovanou a nespokojnou so sociálnymi, politickými alebo ekonomickými podmienkami, v ktorých žije. Sociálne

hnutie môže byť taktiež vnímané ako agent alebo nástroj v procesoch, ktoré majú moc zmeniť spoločnosť. Sociálne hnutia boli vždy do istej miery vnímané ako neodmysliteľná súčasť základných hodnôt, smerov a štruktúr spoločností po celom svete (Stammers, 1999, str.985). Autorka ďalej uvádza, že sociálne hnutia môžu teda vzniknúť len za predpokladu spojenia určitých sociálnych a politických faktorov a zanikajú v prípade, ak protestanti prestanú veriť, že cieľ, ktorý si zaumienili je možné aj dosiahnuť (Meyer, Kretschmer, 2007, str. 543).

V druhej časti prvej kapitoly sa autorka podrobnejšie venuje občianskej spoločnosti, kde tento termín používa ako označenie spoločnosti, v ktorej by sme chceli žiť. Občianska spoločnosť by mala označovať priestor pre slobodné verejné diskusie, kde sú ľudia k sebe tolerantní a úctiví. Je to priestor na vykonávanie aktívneho občianstva a dosahovania spoločných cieľov (Beichelt a kolektív, 2014, str.139). Autorka tejto práce je názoru, že správne zadefinovanie teoretickej časti bakalárskej práce bude slúžiť ako nosník pre analýzu Hongkongskej spoločnosti.

V druhej kapitole bakalárskej práce autorka vysvetľuje vývoj občianskej spoločnosti a sociálnych hnutí v Hongkongu v období oboch vlád a teda tak ako aj v období britskej vlády, tak aj čínskej. Keďže počas kolonializmu, obyvatelia Hongkongu mali len minimálne vedomosti o pojme demokracia, či demokratické voľby, nepokladali to teda ani za jedno z práv. Účasť na politickom živote bola v tomto období zo začiatku veľmi nízka. Následne však s nárastom nových sociálnych hnutí, ktoré boli viac organizované a zamerané na okruhy záujmov, rástlo aj demokratické povedomie. Nové hnutia vniesli do spoločnosti nové koncepty myslenia s liberálnymi názormi.

1 Júl 1997 je pre Hongkong veľmi dôležitý, pretože označuje deň, kedy Čínska Ľudová republika prevzala znova po 150-tich rokoch nadvládu nad Hongkongom. Hongkong, ako Osobitná Administratívna Oblasť od tohto dňa patrí pod čínsku zvrchovanosť a musí sa riadiť novou ústavou – Základný zákon (Basic Law) (Wong, 2015). Avšak majoritná časť so zmenou suverenity spokojná nebola. Za svoj výkon, okolo 2000 verejných protestov ročne, si Hongkong od zahraničných médií právom zaslúžil prezývku „mesto protestov“. Autorka konštatuje, že v tomto období už občianska spoločnosť s nevedomosťou pojmu demokracia problém nemá. Naopak,

nasledujúce roky ukázali, že Hongkongská občianska spoločnosť sa nebojí vyjadriť svoj nesúhlas vždy, keď je čo i len náznakom porušovaná jej autonómia.

V poslednej kapitole sa autorka venuje priamej analýze nedávneho sociálneho hnutia Okupácia Centra alebo inak nazvaného Dáždniková revolúcia (Umbrella Revolution), či Sociálne Hnutie Okupácia Centra s Láskou a Mierom (Occupy Central with Love and Peace). Hnutie Okupácia Centra bolo otvorene plánované viac ako jeden rok. Hlavnou požiadavkou demonštrantov je všeobecné volebné právo, resp. demokratické voľby, v ktorých hlas obyčajného Hongkongského ľudu môže niečo zmeniť.

V závere poslednej kapitoly sa autorka venuje aplikácii prvej kapitoly na nedávne protesty. Hongkong sa o dosiahnutie demokracie snaží celé desaťročia. Doteraz sa však sny mnohých obyvateľov tohto krásneho mesta nedokázali premeniť na skutočnosť. Autorka poukazuje na fakt, že aj keď nedávne protesty preukázali všetky dôležité vlastnosti sociálnych hnutí dôležité v demokratickom vývoji, Hongkong v blízkej budúcnosti vytúženú demokraciu nedosiahne.

Autorka dochádza k záveru, v ktorom ako hlavnú príčinu ďalšieho zlyhania dosiahnutia demokracie označuje ústavu, na základe ktorej ostane Hongkong pod nadvládou čínskych zákonov na päťdesiat rokov po zmene suverenity, čím autorka potvrdzuje svoju hypotézu

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