Cross-movement Coalition Maintenance:
Resource and Legitimacy Management --- the Case
of Civil Human Rights Front

YU Lanlan
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of
Master of Philosophy

Principal Supervisor: Prof. Michael E. DEGOLYER

Hong Kong Baptist University

November 2012
ABSTRACT

In a protest era like nowadays, research into social movements deserves special attention. As one of the most crucial strategies for movement success, social movement coalition needs more scrutiny. Cross-movement coalition lacks close examination compared to within-movement coalition, so does coalition maintenance in contrast with coalition formation. To fill the research gap of cross-movement coalition maintenance, this study conducted a single in-depth case study by employing a mixed-method research strategy. The case chosen in this study, the Civil Human Right Front (CHRF) consisting of 50 various member organizations, is a typical cross-movement coalition in the context of Hong Kong social movements. Besides, as the hosting organization of the annual large-scale event July 1 Rally since 2003, the CHRF has a big impact on Hong Kong politics. Data were collected through observation, questionnaire survey, interview and news reading in the past one year. This study aimed to examine the dynamic mechanism that contributes to the CHRF’s maintenance. The CHRF’s maintenance performance was evaluated on three levels, 1) Existence, 2) Support of member organizations and 3) Attendance of social movement events and achievement of goals. The CHRF enjoys different achievements in each maintenance level. To explain both the successful and unsuccessful part of the CHRF’s maintenance, this study resorted to two kinds of management of great importance towards broader organizational maintenance, namely, resource management and legitimacy management. This is also an attempt to bridge environmental and organizational factors and to put the maintenance process into a more dynamic mechanism. This study finds out that the relatively successful maintenance of the CHRF is the result of the ongoing resource and legitimacy management varying with the changing environmental and organizational dynamics.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION .......................................................................................................................................... i

ABSTRACT ................................................................................................................................................ ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ............................................................................................................................ iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS ............................................................................................................................... iv

LIST OF TABLES ......................................................................................................................................... vii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ........................................................................................................................... ix

**Chapter 1**  
*Introduction: Social Movement Coalitions a Protest Era* ............ 1

1.1 Social Movements and Coalition Work in Hong Kong Context ............ 5

1.1.1 Political Context of Hong Kong ................................................................. 6

1.1.2 History of Social Activism ........................................................................ 9

1.1.3 History of Coalition Work ........................................................................ 10

1.2 Research Question ............................................................................................... 12

1.3 An overview of the dissertation structure ......................................................... 14

**Chapter 2**  
*Literature Review* ............................................................................................................................... 16

2.1 Definitions of Key Concepts ............................................................................. 16

2.1.1 Social Movement and Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) ............... 16

2.1.2 Coalition and Cross-movement Coalition .................................................. 18

2.1.3 Coalition Maintenance ............................................................................. 20

2.2 Factors Contributory to Coalition Work .......................................................... 23

2.2.1 Environmental Factors: Political Opportunities and Threats .................... 24

2.2.2 Organizational Factors: Strategy, Culture, and Structure .......................... 27

2.3 Analytical Framework: Maintenance Levels and Resource and Legitimacy Management .......................................................................................................................... 31
2.3.1 Resource Management
2.3.2 Legitimacy Management
2.3.3 Analytical Framework

Chapter 3  Methodology

3.1 Research Strategy: A Mixed Methods Approach
3.2 Case Selection and Justification
3.2.1 Basic Case Information
3.2.2 Justification
3.3 Data Collection
3.3.1 Questionnaire
3.3.2 Interview
3.3.3 Observation
3.4 Data Analysis

Chapter 4  Evaluation of Maintenance Performance

4.1 Level 1: Existence
4.2 Level 2: Support of the Member organizations
4.3 Level 3: Attendance of Social Movement Events and Achievement of Goals

Chapter 5  Resource Management

5.1 Money
5.1.1 The Resource Management Reform
5.1.2 The Aftermath of the Reform
5.2 Labor
5.2.1 The Leadership Reform
5.2.2 The Aftermath of the Reform
5.3 Core member SMOs in resource management
Chapter 6  Legitimacy Management ................................................................. 118

6.1 Image: Civil Society Platform ................................................................. 120

6.1.1 Registration Dispute ........................................................................... 121

6.1.2 Relationship with the Political Parties .............................................. 126

6.1.3 Membership Management ................................................................. 134

6.2 Function: Hosting Organization of the July 1 Rally .............................. 146

6.3 Goal: Democratization and Improvement of Human Rights ............. 154

Chapter 7  Conclusion .................................................................................. 163

APPENDICES .................................................................................................. 171

Appendix 1: Questionnaire (English and Chinese Versions) ................... 171

Appendix 2: The Name List of Public Figures Mentioned in the Thesis ...... 181

Appendix 3: Detailed Information of the 50 member SMOs of the CHRF .. 182

Appendix 4: Signed Informed Consent (English and Chinese Versions) ..... 189

Appendix 5: Field Note Samples (In Chinese) ............................................. 191

Appendix 6: Sample of Joint News Release ................................................. 207

REFERENCE .................................................................................................. 208

CURRICULUM VITAE .................................................................................. 220