Mobilizing resources in networked social movements: cases in Hong Kong and Taiwan

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Mobilizing Resources in Networked Social Movements
- Cases in Hong Kong and Taiwan

WANG Jieying

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Principal Supervisor: Dr. LEE Alice Y.L.

Hong Kong Baptist University

August 2015
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work which has been done after registration for the degree of PhD at Hong Kong Baptist University, and has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation submitted to this or other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

Signature:

Date: August, 2015
ABSTRACT

The study examines social movement resource mobilization in the age of the network society. In the traditional model of Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT), material and human resources, as well as the legitimacy gained for a movement from the mass media, play crucial roles in mobilization. In the contemporary epoch of informationalism and network society, a large variety of instant communication technologies penetrate everyday life, bringing a lifestyle characterized by the intensive integration between technologies and social life. By studying the cases of two recent social movements, which witnessed the networking of different organizations/individuals and their wide use of new technologies, this research tries to identify what sorts of movement resources are employed in the mobilization process, and what the resource mobilization process is like in the paradigm of informationalism and network society.

Regarding the traditional RMT, scholars identified the missing link between the movement side and the general public in terms of empathy arousal. Despite that political opportunity process theorists largely added contextual elements, they concentrated on mainstream political institutional change, but still neglecting the role of historical and social culture, and people’s role as active agency. In this study, the author also integrates the cultural aspects as a type of immaterial resource to produce a broader look into movement resources.

The two cases investigated are: the anti-moral-and-national-education movement (anti-M&N) in Hong Kong and the anti-media-monopoly movement (anti-monopoly) in Taiwan. This research was conducted using a qualitative approach, employing in-depth interviews and archive study as the major methods.

Results show that the traditional resources, such as resource-rich movement organizations, professionals and those possessing fruitful movement experiences are still indispensable. However, it is noteworthy that technologically adept activists have gained an increasingly important position. Their tech-savvy capabilities make them at once information archivist, movement message translator and disseminator. In addition, their heavy use of online platforms has facilitated groups which lack resources to “out-source” the provision of resources to a rhizomatic movement network. In this sense, with networking taking place between those who possess resources and the tech-savvy activists, between the core and the rhizomatic participants, a networked alliance has been formed as an important resource to today’s social movements. In traditional resource mobilization theory, the mass media was regarded as an important source to legitimize the movement. In these cases, besides the legitimacy gained from certain types of mass media, the activists also presented the movement’s messages strategically, by bridging the movements with social expectation and embedding in the historical context. By this means, the activists drew wider attention to anxieties about identity. In the light of the fact that Hong Kong and Taiwan are in the eye of the storm against the backdrop of China’s rising power, the issue of identity anxiety in these two societies may provide a direction for further research.

**Keywords:** resource mobilization, network society, Hong Kong, Taiwan
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I started writing this thesis, the Sunflower Movement broke out in Taiwan. The brave actions and the slogans that were chanted around the whole occupation site greatly touched my heart. My memory was drawn back to quite a few years ago when I attended a camp in National Chengchi University. During my two-week stay in Taiwan, I had several chances to visit NGOs. It was the first time I received a vivid picture of Taiwan’s civil society, which is more colorful than the tourist sights. Thanks to those NGO friends, I was able to get in touch with those involved in the anti-media-monopoly movement. My gratitude is owing to those who shared with me their precious movement experiences during the interviews. Their words not only provided me with the inspiration to keep improving my research, but also encouraged me to fight for my goal.

In the course of writing this thesis, the Umbrella Movement brought a flame to the whole of Hong Kong society. Armed with tech-savvy capabilities, the knowledge acquired from various channels to tackle various political and social questions, as well as the paramount passion to fight for Hong Kong’s democratic future, numerous movement participants stood firm on the streets. What I had been contemplating in my research was suddenly vividly revealed in front of my eyes. Among the huge number of Umbrella movement participants, some of them were actually “enlightened” in the anti-M&N movement. When I was listening to and transcribing what they told me during the interviews, I got a strange feeling of “time travel”. It seems that what they perceived and learned from the anti-M&N movement continued to be actualized in the Umbrella Movement. Their interviews and the current movement scene vividly unfolded a new picture of social movements, which helped me to re-examine some of my understandings and clarify my thoughts.

In my six years’ studying in Hong Kong Baptist University, I owe my greatest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Alice LEE, who has offered me lots of caring and guidance. She has always reminded me to bear in mind “theoretically-driven thinking”, that is, to perceive the theoretical significance of a research project. Her bright ideas always gave me inspiration when I got stuck in the research, and good communication between us kept me away from any disorder or panic. My greatest thanks also go to Professor Colin Sparks, for his generous guidance whenever I encountered a bottleneck in my theoretical explorations. His insightful thoughts always give me illumination to drag me from wandering. His humble and humorous attitude has taught me to remember that I am standing on the shoulders of giants.

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suggestions, I can re-arrange my ideas into a better shape and enrich my theoretical argument, which leads to more profound academic contribution.

How can I leave out my dear friends? Crossing the Taiwan straits and meeting a group of noisy but smart friends from Taipei 9th floor and CEP has enormously colored my Ph.D. study life. Back in my home, I will always miss the fruitful days in Kowloon Tong CVA809, where I had excellent thoughtful communications with the lovely peers. Their endless encouragement and love have been one of the biggest forces in my endeavor. Special thank also goes to Ms. Eve Cheung who has helped me a great deal throughout the years I have been studying in the School of Communication.

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Finally, thanks are due to everyone who ever gave me help on my way to success.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Research Purpose</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Contribution of the Study</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Organization of the Thesis</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 Literature Review</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Informational Age and Informationalism</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Network Society Theory</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 New Forms of New Social Movement</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 New social movement theory</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 Emerging forms of movements</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3 Networked movement</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Agency in Social Movements in the Network Society</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1 Technological form of life</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2 Mass self-communication</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3 The counter network and the new citizens</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Resources</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 From SMO to SMC</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Theoretical Model</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1 Material resource</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2 Human resource</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3 Movement Legitimacy</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 The Research Field and Cases</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 The Research Field</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1 Economic and technological development</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2 A brief introduction of social-political status and social movement path</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3 Ambivalent relationship with People’s Republic of China (PRC)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 The Cases</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1 Hong Kong: Anti-Moral and National Education Movement (anti-M&amp;N)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2 Taiwan: Anti-Media Monopoly Movement</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 Methodology</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Rationale of Multiple-Case Study</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Semi-Structured Interview</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1 Interviewee sampling</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2 Interview process</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Archive Study</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1 Facebook archive</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2 Analysis process of movement organization data</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 Networked Form of Movement Material Resources</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Monetary Resource</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Space and Protest Facilities</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Publicity and Internal Communication Devices</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 7 Networking of Human Resource</th>
<th>126</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Networking of People in Multiple Areas</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.1 Alliance as social movement community</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.2 Networking of academic scholars</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.3 Networking of organizations and activists</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Political Party Involvement</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 8 Networking of Knowledgeable Actors from Various Areas</th>
<th>141</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Professional Knowledge</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Professional Knowledge in Other Areas</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3 Media and Public Relations Professionals</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4 Special Experience in Different Areas</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 9 Movement Active Agency</th>
<th>156</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.1 Access and Comprehend New Information</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2 Knowing and Learning by Doing</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3 Mass Self-Communication</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.1 Integrated methods to promote movement messages</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.2. Be quick, and be interesting</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.3 Switch on the activists’ programming of counter-network</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 10 Building Movement Legitimacy</th>
<th>190</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1 External Factors and Legitimacy from Mass Media</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2 Presenting Movement Icons</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2.1 The innocent image of students</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2.2 A group of protestors we had never seen on the street</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2.3 Endorsement from celebrities</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3 Packaging Movement Scenes</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4 Bridging-Amplifying the Movements Thematic Frame</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5 Framing the Movement Appeals</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.1 Diagnostic frame</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.2 Motivational frame</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.3 Prognostic frame</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6 Framing Movement Identity Fields</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.1 The antagonist frame field and the protagonist frame field</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.2 Audience frame</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 11 Multi-dimensional Resource Mobilization in Network Society</th>
<th>274</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.1 The Movement Cases as Networked Form of Movements</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2 What are the Movement Resources?</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.1 Indispensable material resources</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.2 Networking of knowledgeable actors</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2.3 Various strategies to build the movement legitimacy</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3 A Multi-dimensional Resource Mobilization in the Network Society</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3.1 Resources transfer from traditional human resource bloc to new-comer’s bloc</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.3.2 Out-source the material, communication and action cost......................... 288
11.3.3 Enlarge and enrich the SMC................................................................. 290

Chapter 12 Conclusion......................................................................................... 295
12.1 Summary of the Study.................................................................................... 295
12.2 Limitation of the Study.................................................................................. 297
12.3 A Study in the Eye of Storm......................................................................... 299

References ............................................................................................................ 302
Appendix (Table 1-9)........................................................................................... 324
CURRICULUM VITAE............................................................................................ 333
List of Figures

Figure 5.1 Nodes coded in Nvivo 10 (with the number of sources coded and the units coded) ................................................. 99
Figure 5.2 (continued of 5.1) Nodes coded in Nvivo 10 (with the number of sources coded and the units coded) ................................................. 100
Figure 6.1. Fund raising in Tao Yuan, one station of Youth Alliance’s “Soup Box Talk Tour” .......................................................... 113
Figure 6.2. Youth Alliance showed that they got public donation with an amount of NT$9,442 during the protest at the Fair Trade Commission .......................................................... 113
Figure 6.3. Scholarism street booth at Tai Po district on June 29, 2011 .......................................................... 118
Figure 6.4. Scholarism members were making props for the upcoming 513 anti-M&N rally .......................................................... 119
Figure 6.5. The props and banners made by the anti-media monopoly participants .... 119
Figure 6.6. The sticker for the action “July say No to Want Want” ................................. 120
Figure 6.7. The anti-media monopoly photo containing three hundred and sixty-four frames, which was uploaded by Yuan Ze University ......................................................... 122
Figure 6.8. Categories of “networked-sourcing material resource” ........................................... 125
Figure 7.1. NGOs formed an anti-media monopoly alliance and protested at NCC .... 130
Figure 7.2. Joshua Wong from Scholarism delivered his opinion in the Legislative Council meeting .......................................................... 137
Figure 8.1. Categories of the “human resource- specialities and movement networking” ... 155
Figure 9.1. The anti-Want Want TwiDaily made by Youth Alliance ................................. 161
Figure 9.2. The layman-package explaining the process of making news ......................... 161
Figure 9.3. Workshop of “Understanding Next Media” organized by the Society of Communication Students ......................................................... 165
Figure 9.4. Youth Alliance holding “Soap Box Talk” .......................................................... 169
Figure 9.5. Youth Alliance declared “walk together in storms and rains” ........................... 171
Figure 9.6. Count-down eleven days to the 901 grand rally ......................................................... 174
Figure 9.7. Poster made by Youth Alliance  ........................................................................ 181
Figure 9.8. Poster made by Youth Alliance ........................................................................ 182
Figure 9.9. Poster made by Scholarism, “chasing Ng Hak-Kim” ................................. 182
Figure 9.10. Categories of “human resource – mass self-communication and active agency” .......................................................... 189
Figure 10.1. “I am a student. I am anti-Want Want” ......................................................... 202
Figure 10.2. Group photo after a press conference held by Parents Concern Group .... 205
Figure 10.3. At the starting point of the 729 anti-M&N rally ................................................. 206
Figure 10.8. An anti-M&N banner, saying “do not touch my son” ........................................... 207
Figure 10.4. A press conference held by Parents Concern Group ................................................. 213
Figure 10.5. A flash mob action taken by Scholarism .......................................................... 215
Figure 10.6. The action of “chasing Ng Hak-Kim” taken by Scholarism ......................... 216
Figure 10.7. Youth Alliance organized the New Year sit-in protest ......................................... 218
Figure 10.9. Youth Alliance declared “confront China factor, safeguard freedom of press” 224
Figure 10.10. A netizen posted “anti-media monopoly, say No to China’s black-hand, safeguard freedom of speech: I protect Taiwan in Australia” .............................................. 225
Figure 10.11. Throwing the book cover of “China Model” at the Civic Square .................... 229
Figure 10.12. Poster made by Scholarism, parody of Cultural Revolution CCP art ........ 229
Figure 10.13. Diagram of the diagnostic frame ................................................................. 231
Figure 10.14. Poster by Scholarism, “what makes an education bureau official?” .................. 233
Figure 10.15. Poster made by Youth Alliance, “Yan-Ming Tsai is watching you” ............. 237
Figure 10.16. Diagram of the motivational frame ................................................................. 238
Figure 10.17. Diagram of the prognostic frame ................................................................. 243
Figure 10.18. Youth Alliance released their opinion on how to measure media monopoly .. 248
Figure 10.19. Diagrams of the antagonist frame field and the protagonist frame field in the
Hong Kong anti-M&N movement ................................................................. 252
Figure 10.20. Anti-M&N movement prop – eggs against the high wall ......................... 254
Figure 10.21. Poster made by Scholarism, the red-tainted Hong Kong officials ............. 256
Figure 10.22. Diagrams of the antagonist frame field and the protagonist frame field in
Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement ................................................... 258
Figure 10.23. Poster made by 901 Alliance, “You are big, but I am not afraid” ............. 260
Figure 10.24. Poster made by anti-media monster alliance, “You are big, and I am afraid –
from powerless people” .............................................................................. 260
Figure 10.25. Occupy Executive Yuan in heavy rain ............................................. 263
Figure 10.26. 731 protest, “I am not paid to protest.” ........................................... 264
Figure 10.27. Diagram of the audience frame field .............................................. 264
Figure 10.28. Over one hundred and twelve thousand people gather at the government
headquarters to say No to the M&N education ............................................. 266
Figure 10.30. The Civic Square is by your side @ RTHK ....................................... 269
Figure 10.31. Anti-M&N from Hong Kong overseas students .................................. 269
Figure 10.32. “Anti-media monopoly. I protect Taiwan in Berlin” .......................... 270
Figure 10.33. “We protect Taiwan in National Taiwan University” .......................... 270
Figure 10.34. People quickly gave way to an ambulance during the anti-M&N large-scale
assembly on September 8, 2012 ................................................................. 271
Figure 10.35. Categories of “building and packaging movement legitimacy” ............... 273
Figure 11.1. A developed RMT ................................................................. 294
Chapter 1 Introduction

The current study seeks to examine the mobilization of resources by social movement activists in two major Chinese societies – Hong Kong and Taiwan. The classic approach in social movement studies – resource mobilization theory (RMT) - will be employed as the basic framework. The traditional RMT model provides basic analytical frames to probe into the collection and utilization of movement resources, which is applicable to the current research. But since RMT originated from traditional social movement studies, in the contemporary age of informationalism and the network society, the theory requires rejuvenation and transformation and this will be attempted, in order to study new forms of social movements constituted by new citizens.

In the epoch which Castells (2000a) has called informationalism, a large variety of internet-based instant communication technologies penetrate people's everyday lives, and, especially in the developed regions, many aspects of society have been transformed by a new type of information processing circuit. The pervasiveness of ICTs (information communication technologies) facilitates a faster process of learning by doing, knowledge gaining, and mass self-communication (this will be further discussed in the following chapter). These together have to a large extent made human society into a network society, which can be widely seen in the global economy, trading, politics and tourism. Among the social transformations, the arena of social movements is no exception, at least in terms of the movements’ communication methods and forms of organization. In this sense, it is important to study how movement activists mobilize resources using the paradigm of informationalism and network society.
Two cases will be selected for study in Hong Kong and Taiwan. The two cases are: in Hong Kong, the anti-national & moral education movement (anti-M&N) which began in 2011 and reached its peak from June to October 2012; in Taiwan, the anti-media monopoly movement, which took place from July 2012 until mid-2013. Although the movements had different goals and scales of mobilization, they embraced a number of commonalities, such as their value-oriented goals, involvement of different groups/individuals, a large variety of ICTs which were employed to aid communication and mobilization, and the networked forms of mobilization process.

Hong Kong and Taiwan are two major regions in the pan-Chinese community. Although having experienced different paths of political development, both embrace economic prosperity, highly developed technological environments, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, relatively mature civil societies, and a vibrant arena of social movements. Hong Kong and Taiwan are the only two Chinese societies in the world which enjoy the above characteristics.

Moreover, alongside investigating how the activists have utilized material and human resources in the process of mobilization, the author also probes into immaterial aspects of movement resources, namely, how the activists deliberate about and frame the movement, based on their cultural soil and technological life. In the following study, the author tries to argue that both the tangible resources (material resources and human resource) and the immaterial resources play significant roles in making a movement. This attempt tries to bring forth a theoretical contribution to the longstanding cultural hole (Garner & Zald, 2012) and to compensate the negligence of movement actors the ring forth (Meyer, 2004).

The author will categorize material resources and the human resource (including the networking of people) as the tangible aspect. While the legitimacy of the
movement, which refers to how the mass media report the movements and how activists deliberate about the movement's meaning, is termed as the cultural aspect of movement resources. Along with commonly-used movement tactics, such as glorifying the activists’ bravery and demarcating the good from the evil, linking the movement’s messages with social contextual factors is also the paramount resource used to arouse people’s empathy within the resource mobilization. Specifically in Hong Kong and Taiwan, the author will offer an insight into movements characterized by the “China factor” (Wu, 2012), which makes this the inevitable social context in these two societies in terms of people’s past and current social experience. Therefore, studying social movements in these two places provides an opportunity to investigate new forms of movement resource mobilization within the informationalism paradigm, as well as to take into consideration the cultural lens through which to study social movements.

1.1 Research Purpose

This study principally addresses three levels of research question:

*RQ1: What forms of movement resources are employed in the mobilization process?*

*RQ2: How does informationalism bring changes to the resource mobilization process and give it a new face?*

*RQ3: In the paradigm of informationalism and network society, what makes the resource mobilization process from both the tangible and cultural aspects?*

First, in the light of the advent of a variety of instant communication technologies and the huge information resources available online, people nowadays
are more equipped with both the capability to access information and to process it. These changes may enhance a social movement with more strength to against the authorities, such as the ability to create alternative media to counter the mainstream discourse. Alongside the conspicuously novel characteristics brought about by new information processing technologies, some traditional forms of information gathering and material-based resources still exist, such as interpersonal communication networks and monetary support. In this sense, the intention in this study is not to isolate the traditional forms of information. Rather, the activists' competences in collecting, managing and integrating different sorts of resources and information are the central concern. In addition, with the high penetration of ICTs in people’s everyday life and the introduction of the technological form of life (Lash, 2001), the networked flow of information and manpower constitute the new form of social morphology. In this sense, one of the research aims is to investigate what sorts of resources are employed in movement mobilization, focusing on both the traditional and ICT-facilitated forms, and the structural and cultural aspects.

Second, this research examines the dynamic process of movement mobilization that is under the influence of informationalism. In the traditional RMT model, the major movement resources refer to money and space as the tangible types, and the organization's members and professionals as the vital human resource. But, if and how has this situation changed in a network society? Following the first research question, the second research question focuses on how the activists manage the different sorts of resources available to them, in both traditional and new forms, by employing different strategies in order to draw larger support from the public. Despite that resources have always played a crucial role in social movements, in what forms they are organized in the current age is still noteworthy. In the network society,
information can spread beyond borders in a very short time, calling people to take to the street. With the outbreak of large-scale mass movements in different countries, on the one hand, people from different directions bring forth huge pool of human power to movements. On the other hand, based on the assumption that movement goers are rational actors, it is seldom a possibility that any movement organizer can totally control the crowds and the material resources brought by them. When people chanting the "people's power" and the "leader-less" organizing forms, actually it is still hard to deny that certain forms of systematic organizing of resources have always played a crucial role in social movements. Thus in what forms the resources are organized in the current age is still noteworthy. Several cases show that, certain forms of organization are still significant to mobilize movements, such as the movement structure in the 2014 Sunflower Movement in Taiwan and Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement. In this sense, by comprehensively studying the resource mobilization process embedded in the network society, this study can provide a more profound knowledge in understanding the organizational dynamics from the empirical cases, and become a premise for further movement planning.

Last but not least, the third research question concerns a comprehensive and multi-dimensional resource mobilization process model drawn from the current empirical research. The traditional approach of RMT, using a rational lens, viewed social movements as an industry composed of different social movement organizations which organized movements similar to the logic of running business. This industrial-age based approach assumes a clear division of labor and the importance of material resources and of some particular types of professional human resources. Therefore, material resources and professionals played significant roles in the social movement arena. However, as people have witnessed the rise of new forms
of social movement which are pursuing a horizontal form of organization and
sometimes seeking immaterial or even intangible goals (e.g. the slogan of “we are the
99%” in the Occupy Wall Street movement), and at the same time, the larger society
has entered an age of informationalism and networked morphology, so the process of
movement resource mobilization also faces transformation. In addition, the cultural
perspective, which has long been emphasized due to the rising trend of new social
movement studies, as well as emotion-oriented social movement research, now takes
an inevitably important position in social movements (e.g. Goodwin et al., 2000;
Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Jasper, 2011). Following the previous two research questions,
here the last research question focuses on contributing a more comprehensive and up-
to-date resource mobilization model by incorporating both the tangible and
immaterial aspects.

As stated by Buelcher (1993), a movement’s organizational form is a reflection
of the culture of that age. In this sense, studying the movements’ mobilization and
organization processes through the two recent cases provides a glimpse into how
current social movements, especially those organized and mobilized by the new
generation, respond to the ethos of the time.

In this study, as “information” is one of the keywords throughout the theoretical
framework, the author defines “information” in three ways. First, “information” refers
to the information and knowledge prevalent and being processed in internet-based
platforms, such as websites, social networking sites and online interpersonal
communication tools. Second, information also refers to what is originated and
transmitted from the traditional mass media. Third, information may be generated
from traditional forms of interpersonal face-to-face communication.
1.2 Contribution of the Study

This study adopts traditional RMT as the foundation but this will be rejuvenated and developed in order to examine the contemporary social movement arena, which is embedded in a new social morphology. The traditional RMT is derived from the 1970s when an industrial social logic predominated. In the age of informationalism and network society, many aspects of society are being transformed. And at the same time new forms of movement are in full blossom around the world. In such a historical trajectory, this research attempts to transform the traditional RMT in order to reflect this epochal change. In considering movement resource mobilization, researchers often pay attention either to the traditional forms of resources and movement networks (e.g. financial support, membership fees, and external professional consultation) or the important role of new media nowadays in terms of recruiting supporters and consolidating movement communities. Admittedly, the intervention of new forms of communication tools and information processing circuits in the social movement arena brings a new facet to human life, which with no doubt must include the process of how activists organize and manage the movement information and resources. However, in reality, it is hard to deny that events proceed in a dynamic way, in that both the traditional and innovative forms of mobilization integrate to propel the movement development. These dynamic relationships intertwine, — the activists, the traditional forms of mobilization and the role of the new technologies h in different aspects of the movement. Although some scholars have tried to capture a holistic picture by studying both sides (e.g. Campbell & Kwak, 2011; Mercea, 2012), they tend to focus on the effects rather than the dynamic processes. Although, for example, Padovani (2010) investigated how Italian citizens utilized new media to mobilized different social resources to engage in protests at the
G8 Summit, there a leading framework to capture the movement’ leading framework to. In this sense, this study hopes to build an up-to-date model for movement resource mobilization analysis, especially in the context of network society, in order to grasp the vivid relationship between the traditional forms of resources and the new facets brought by the new technologies. Moreover, through probing into these intertwining dynamics, the author tries not only to revisit the traditional forms of movement resources, but also to explore other possible new aspects in order to refurbish and embellish the existing resource mobilization theory. By doing so, the updated RMT could be applied to other social movements and societies under the similar paradigm.

Bennett & Segerberg (2013) looked into a group of social movement cases around the globe and conceptualized a paradigm shift from collective action to connective action in the contemporary world. However, what they emphasized lies in the protest action itself or centered on new media, but neglects the movement texture, such as in what context (the cultural lens), and through what kind of channel/organizations/individuals (the face of the actors) the movement is carried. Even though the political opportunity process model put heavy weight on mainstream political institutional factors as the contextual background, which largely leads to people’s choice of tactics, it still lacks detail discussion on the role of activists themselves. Besides the larger political environment, there remain some important elements, such as individual activists’ emotional attachment and life experience affecting their choice of action. In this sense, this present study tries to introduce a multi-dimensional framework which may lead to further research analyzing social movements within the network society paradigm.

By employing a multiple-case study, the author hopes to come up with a holistic picture of the movement cases and their relationship with the larger context. It would
be further discussed in methodology that, a multiple-case study could provide more robust and compelling results compared to single case design. Based on the assumption that the cases chosen are expected to generate literal or theoretical replication, the results generated from the cases could fruitfully enrich the theoretical claim by somewhat diminishing the weakness of conducting single case study (e.g. some vulnerable and special conditions only occur to the particular case). Through comprehensively investigating into two typical movement cases in Hong Kong and Taiwan, the author expects this study can contribute into two aspects. First of all, the networked pattern of these two movements could provide a vivid comprehension into nowadays movement scenes, which are embedded in the societies with high ICT penetration, tech-savvy citizens and freedom of speech. The second aspect is that, Hong Kong and Taiwan provide the soil to take a look into the controversial relationship between a single movement with specific issue claim and a social context filled with some historical problems. This cultural aspect of how the activists link a single movement to the contextual factors is crucial and valuable, not only to social movement studies which increasingly put “culture” more weight, but also to the social reality and epochal concern that, Hong Kong and Taiwan activists are paving a path to handle the Sino-HK/Taiwan historical/geo-political controversies and to negotiate the national identity anxiety. Therefore, this research to certain extent could provide to Hong Kong and Taiwan activists and scholars a glimpse into how the activists in these two places tackled these issues in the social movement arena.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

Chapter two contains a literature review covering theoretical discussion of the informationalism paradigm, different aspects of the network society and new forms of
social movements. Chapter three looks at the theoretical framework of resource mobilization. In Chapter four, the author will address the rationale of the research field and the selection of the cases. In Chapter five, the methodology and the process of data collection will be presented. This research examines social movement studies using a qualitative approach with two-case study. Therefore the methodological discussion will focus on how the cases were selected, how the materials were collected and how to analyze them according to the theoretical framework. Based on the analytical blocs derived from the traditional RMT model and the new aspects driven by the network society paradigm and the specific content of the movement cases, the main body of this thesis will discuss in depth how the activists in these particular movements accumulated and integrated their resources in various forms. From Chapters six to ten, therefore, the two movement cases will be delineated into various categories to facilitate the discussion of these different aspects of resource mobilization and integration. In Chapter eleven, the author will integrate what has been discussed in the previous chapters regarding the different analytical blocs embedded in the movement cases. In this chapter, the research questions raised at the beginning of the thesis will be answered. As stated in the title and in the research questions, the biggest challenge of this research is to explore an up-to-date process of resource mobilization in the new context of network society and networked social movements. Chapter twelve will contain concluding remarks and will also raise some concerns regarding the limitations of the current study and some possible directions for further research.
Chapter 2 Literature Review

In Castells’ study of the relationship between new technologies and contemporary society, he advanced the hypothesis that the epoch we are experiencing today faces an innovative paradigm – the information age (Castells, 2000b). Under this paradigm, aspects of social life operate in a mode that is different from the previous industrial age.

This study will be carried out under the paradigm of the information age and network society. First of all, the author will review Castells’ network society theory, in which he illustrated the social changes and the emerging social morphology facilitated by the innovative forms of technologies. Second, the changing nature of the organizational and operational forms of social movements will be discussed, situated in the network society environment - the new “new social movement”. A series of new types of social movements have occurred around the world since the 1990s. These movements are somewhat differentiated from the sociological theory of new social movements dating back to the 1970s. Third, based on what has been discussed in the previous parts, we can see the pervasiveness of the new technologies and the information/knowledge generated from networks in today’s social life, and the social movement arena is no exception.

The aim of this research is to examine comprehensively the nature of the social movement mobilization process under the paradigm of the information and networked society, especially the role played by the new technologies and of the technologically-savvy new generation of activists. The author will adopt resource mobilization theory (RMT), which has gained prominent weight in social movement studies since the 1970s, for its comprehensiveness in terms of examining both the material and
immaterial sides of social movements. Admittedly, some have criticized the traditional RMT for placing too much attention on the static role of movement professionals who largely manage the mobilization process, and for ignoring cultural factors. However, the analytical comprehensiveness of RMT is still powerful, as no one can deny the importance of resources when an actual protest/campaign/movement is initiated. In this sense, the traditional approach of RMT will be revisited and reviewed.

2.1 Informational Age and Informationalism

The network society is formed in the information age. The information age refers to “a historical period in which human societies perform their activities in a technological paradigm constituted around microelectronics-based information/communication technologies, and engineering. It replaces/subsumes the technological paradigm of the industrial age, organized primarily around the production and distribution of energy.” (Castells, 2000a, pp.5-6).

Castells (2000) clarified that this does not mean that information or knowledge occupies an especially central position in today’s society, because information and knowledge have played an important role in every society. What characterizes the new face of our society is the information/knowledge flow and the mode of societal operation brought forth by the new forms of technologies, which is significantly differentiated from the industrial revolution. Castells would rather call it an “informational age” (p.10) than an information age. In the industrial revolution, it was the pervasiveness of the steam engine, electricity and fossil fuel-based inventions which drove productivity. These series of energy inventions were based on humanity’s science information/knowledge, which in turn propelled material productivity. In that
age, it was the information/knowledge which acted on the technologies. While in the post-industrial and informational age, it is information and knowledge which acts on information, generating new information and knowledge – a self-expanding process and virtuous circle of knowledge generation. The mode of production (e.g. capitalism, statism) and mode of development (e.g. industrialism, informationalism) are the two important social facets. Today, we face the mode of development of informationalism – “the source of productivity lies in the technology of knowledge generation, information processing, and symbol communication” (Castells, 2000b, p.17). If we regard industrialism as mainly for economic growth, then informationalism is focusing on the technological developments which aim at knowledge accumulation and a higher level of information-processing complexity. With this higher level of information processing complexity, the rate of knowledge generation is becoming faster. According to Leadbeater (2000), the knowledge created in the contemporary age is significantly greater and growing faster than at any time in human history. Knowledge becomes the significant resource, not only to create and accumulate capital, but also to engage in warfare. In addition, Leadbeater pointed out that war in the knowledge world is an invisible war – the information system of the airport, power station et cetera becomes the target. There is no frontline. Instead, the information processing network constitutes the whole battlefield.

Today, the application of new technologies is a process of learning by doing, leading to reconfiguration of networks and new applications. The feedback loop, from information/knowledge, information processing, to new knowledge and new applications, becomes a fast process in the informational age (Castells, 2000b). The users are the doers at the same time, who are competent in controlling the technology, creating, distributing and manipulating symbols in the new technology environment.
It implies “for the first time in history, the human mind is a direct productive force, not just a decisive element for the production system” (p. 31).

Generally speaking, the essence of the informational age includes: the human mind as the central force, utilizing information/knowledge work on higher level of knowledge; and the new technologies, which facilitate the information-knowledge generation virtuous loop.

2.2 Network Society Theory

A large number of societies around the world, mostly in the developed regions, have been experiencing a revolutionary social transformation which Castells (2000a) called the network society, deeply embedded in the paradigm of the informationalism mode of development. As described in the previous section, the mode of development of informationalism refers to the social system permeated with microelectronics-based communication technologies. Informationalism leads numerous social aspects to be reflected in a networked form. A network is composed of different nodes and hubs. A node means a point at the crossing point of more than one line. A hub refers to a point that makes the resources from various paths converge. In addition, a hub integrates, manages and coordinates the resources. With numerous nodes and hubs, the network functions with flows running in different directions.

We witness a new economy, which is informational, global and networked. Facilitated by new technologies, the economy is globally connected, with conspicuous examples such as the international financial markets in New York, London and Hong Kong. These are the centers with global capital converging and processing. Then it is not difficult to imagine that the new economy is networked. With global capital flows, tycoons run their businesses with branches scattered in different locations around the
world. A whole production chain, for instance, to make an automobile, links up various manufacturing facilities in different countries.

In the cultural realm, networked culture is characterized as flexible and with ephemeral symbolic communication. People’s everyday life is permeated with multiple forms of media messages, originated from different sectors and locales in the globe. In addition, the interactivity of the new communication technologies brings a networked life to the human world. Audiences can interact with someone living in another country and with media content through the online editing system or a feedback loop – the symbolic exchange with new technologies.

The media world is closely connected with politics and politics are mainly media politics. There is abundant evidence showing the media’s influence on people’s political opinions and behavior. In an era full of symbolic exchange, both new and traditional media become the battlefields of politicians and political parties. “Media politics needs to convey very simple messages. The simplest message is an image. The simplest, individualized image is a person” (Castells, 2000a, p.13). Fragmented, ephemeral and signal-based messages comprise the media’s messages – the information flows in the media sphere (Lash, 2001). In Altheide & Snow (1991)’s study of media logic in the post-journalism era, they clearly stated that, the forms of message dissemination matter most - “form constitutes, guides, and essentially becomes the most significant content” (p. 245). In an age filled with all-day news broadcasts, citizen journalism and internet-based social networking instant communication, immediacy and simplicity become the significant characteristics of today’s mass communication. Moreover, political scandals and rumors are easily spread via the media network, as are sensational “hidden” stories which undermine political procedural justice – leading to the crisis of legitimacy in the political arena.
(Castells, 2007). Compared with the media sphere which used to be composed of the traditional media, the prevalence of the new media also opens a new space to be utilized by different social actors. The low-cost and user-friendly tools provide great opportunities for learning by doing to those with strong social concerns. Therefore, the multiple media sphere which has developed also provides a huge space for the counterparts of the establishment – grass-roots politics as oppositional actors (Castells, 2007).

The network society is characterized by the compression of time and space – “timeless time and the space of flows” (Castells, 2000a, p. 13). With the new technologies, in a networked economic realm, businesspeople are able to simultaneously invigilate the stock market in Tokyo and Hong Kong. Messages transmitted from the east coast of the US can immediately arrive in Europe on the other side of the Atlantic. A digital archive stores the past, present, which can be retrieved at the same time. Although business branches are located in different continents, information transmission takes place without hindrance over the internet-based network. With international airports as hubs connecting flights to and from numerous locations, the passengers – the global citizens, are in a spaceless space – context free space. Even though different cities have their distinguishing local cultures, the airport floor-plan and functions are quite similar to each other.

In terms of the state and government, the network society transforms the power map as well. If we regard the Ottoman Empire and the Mongolian Empire centuries ago as embodying the centralization of power, today’s network society leads to a map of networked power centers, comprised of all sorts of regional transnational institutions (e.g. the United Nations) and international non-governmental organizations (e.g. Greenpeace). Though the sovereign power of the state government
remains, it is beyond doubt that the state’s governance legitimacy and sovereignty are decreasing in the networked world (Hardt & Negri, 2000). In research by Hardt & Negri (2000), they refer to the networked world as an empire, which is not an analogy but a real concept, signifying territorial and temporal borderlessness. There are numerous cases requiring transnational power-sharing and decision-making processes, with obvious examples including the global climate crisis.

The form of network society has deeply affected the social movement arena. This will be discussed in detail in later parts. In general, cases illustrated above, the pervasiveness of the effects brought forth by the new technologies and the networked form of life has had extraordinary influence on the human world. Although here Castells did not take the new information technologies as the determining factor, they are the necessary medium. And the information/knowledge intensively exchanged in the global network connects people/business/power in different locations around the world. Moreover, the nature of internet communication - boundless and free communication in daily life, may already “translate the culture of freedom into the practice of autonomy” (Castells, 2012, p. 231). This strongly implies the cultural facet of the internet as a technology.

2.3 New Forms of New Social Movement

2.3.1 New social movement theory

Before discussing the emerging forms of social movements, a brief review of what some European sociologists have called the “new social movements” is necessary. Since 1960s, new forms and new subjects of social movements started to emerge around Europe and North America, whose themes ranged from homosexual rights, environmental issues and students’ movements. Viewing these new types of
movements from the angle of societal totality, these movements are rooted in the era of post-industrialization and post-capitalism. If we regard the traditional social movements as material interest-based (e.g., the labor movement led by trade unions), and class-based, organized in a hierarchical form, the new social movements are mostly cultural value-oriented, identity-based, and take a decentralized form of organization. Wealth accumulation has shifted from straightforward exploitation of the labor force to manipulation and control over the information domain (Melucci, 1980). Melucci stated that “production no longer consists solely in the transformation of the natural environment into a technical environment… becoming the production of social relations and social systems…to be controlled by a dominant class, changes the form of the expropriation of social resource” (p. 218).

There are a number of characteristics of the new social movements.

First, the transcending of a class-base for the movement actors during new social movements is noteworthy. The participants convene together based on various axioms of identity, such as their sexual orientation, gender and professions. The grievances among the movement participants are socially constructed rather than structurally preconditioned. Second, these movements are characterized by the exhibition of more cultural/immaterial-oriented ideations and values (e.g., the homosexual identity recognition) compared with traditional movements, such as the demand for a minimum wage. Third, the boundary between individual and collective life is blurred. It is also a characteristic echoed in the non-class structured feature of these new social movements. For example, in the movements on gay/lesbian rights, it is an issue closely related to each of the individual participants, pertaining to their everyday lives. Fourth, during the new social movements new mobilization patterns emerge, such as nonviolence and civil disobedience. Additionally, Melucci (1980, p. 220)
postulated that “direct participation and the rejection of representation” characterize new social movements. Fifth, in new social movements, organizations are usually in a segmented, diffused and decentralized form, seldom led by a leader or “star”.

According to Buechler (1995, p. 442), organizational patterns here are “latent, submerged, temporary networks”.

In the realm of new social movement study, identity is regarded as the hidden motive guiding the collective action. New social movement theorists have argued that collective action could not be explained simply by studying the existing structural conditions, but rather, it is the individuals, as active social agents, who “collectively ‘construct’ their action by means of ‘organized’ investments” (Melucci, 1995, p. 43). As stated above, the production process is not only about material production and consumption, but also in the informational domain. It includes the production/manipulation/consumption of organizational systems and social relationships. In such a societal situation, people tend to have a stronger sense that they have “the right to realize their own identity: the possibility of disposing of their personal creativity, their affective life, and their biological and interpersonal existence” (Melucci, 1980, p. 218). Therefore, in the following discussion, the author will follow this new social movement stream by emphasizing the human’s active role – movement agency – in movement resource mobilization process.

2.3.2 Emerging forms of movements

Alain Touraine (2007), in his analysis on the new paradigm in current society, stated that we have witnessed the transition from a craft society to a production society, which is dominated by the manufacture of mass materials by workers subject to a strict division of labor. Then later the society became interested in communication
integrated into networks and transmitting real-time information. Globalization has revealed an extreme form of capitalism that has little counterweight. The class struggle, being camouflaged by various public relations tactics such as team building activities, has ceased to a pacific employer-employee relation. And some labor conflicts have been displaced from internal problems of production to global level.

For instance, a large group of dismissed South Korean workers had to cross the borders to come to Taiwan, presenting to the Taiwan government the unsolved labor disputes and protesting against the closure of a Taiwan-owned electronics factory given the severe financial crisis in Korea” (Li & Hsiao, 2015, February 13). While with the new communication networks and the technological-savvy activists, the local voice is able to be heard globally. Alain Touriane (2007, pp.94-95) argued that, “when globalization on the one hand, and neo-communitarianism on the other, seek to seize hold of our attitudes and our roles that we are impelled to search within ourselves for our unity as subjects… … The subject is stronger and more conscious of itself when it defends itself against attacks that threaten its autonomy and capacity to grasp itself as an integrated subject, or at least struggling to be one, to recognize itself, and be recognized as such”.

Nowadays, there are new forms of social movements, which are in the same vein as the European tradition of the ‘new social movement’ while revealing some new facets. For example, the values advocated by activists in the new forms of movements concentrate on the expression of identity against the universal dominance of neo-liberalism, globalization and cosmopolitanism. As noticed by Touraine (2007, p.21), there is “the formation of an important movement of opposition to globalization… that its aim was to construct a different kind of global organization”, the so-called “alter-globalization”. In another respect, with the activists embracing a new mind-set
and the utilization of the digitalized new technologies, the movements now organize and communicate in a way different from their predecessors - through networked alliances of movement values, movement groups and activists from different countries. Here the author will illustrate this with some remarkable cases which reflect the novel characteristics of the new form of movement. The expression of an identity which resists the networked controlling power, and the activists’ movement network formation, characterize the innovative forms of new social movements.

**Zapatista**

The Mexican Zapatista movement is an exemplar among them and has already been recognized as a milestone in this new type of movement. In the mid-1990s, the Indian people living in the rural areas of in Mexico, organized in the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, rose up to resist the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), by transmitting a message to the whole nation then to the whole world – “with no regard to color, race or borders, make of hope a weapon and a shield” to come to join the Zapatista to start a global dialogue about equality, dignity and social transformation (Wolfson, 2012, p. 150). The Zapatista movement put forward a vision that directly linked the creation of an alternative communications system to the formation of a global social movement against the neoliberalism. Among this there are two distinguishing elements: the new world order and the new communication.

Since the end of the cold war, a redistribution of power has been ongoing in the world. The free flow of information, capital and power directed by the developed countries is attempting to unify global resources but neglecting the underprivileged people’s own interests: they are excluded from capital’s new program by inclusion in the system of flows. The other trend is the new internet-based communication system.
This provides a large space for an alternative communication network which criticizes the corporate interest-oriented media while exploring ways to strengthen progressive communication, especially among marginal groups. Although the original site of the movement was in the Indian villages, the movement’s message was spread more widely via the new communication technologies by the assistance of the urban elites, who utilized various media strategies such as well-constructed writing, the mise-en-scene presentation of the incidents and the symbol of the masked activists (Castells, 1997).

What began from the Zapatista movement, came to be called the “fourth world war” – the creation of an independent and alternative new media network not only for the social movements but for the everyday lives of people, for a humanity that has a right to critical and truthful information (Wolfson, 2012). In the following years, a series of anti-globalization movements blossomed, such as the anti-WTO and anti-G8 movements. There was an increasing trend towards protests being directed against global-scale large entities such as those listed above and towards a wide range of movement participants. In a single movement, there are usually voices from different groups covering a wide political spectrum: anarchists, humanists, liberals, environmentalists, etc. This is combined with the utilization of internet-based communication devices to set up alternative media in order to fight the mainstream mass media, to spread information to the whole world and to call for international alliances, all of which has been the very common practice (Atton, 2002).

**Occupy Wall Street**

Under the umbrella of the anti-globalization and anti-new world order movement, the occupy movement has been a significant one. In September 2011, a
group of Americans took to Wall Street, accusing the Wall Street financial tycoons of
greed and, corruption, and criticizing the collusion between politicians and
businessmen.

The movement had a number of features. First, the movement actors were
educated and tech savvy, mostly university students or graduates. They had tried to
follow a mainstream path of getting into colleges and hoped to start a successful
career life. However, this typical dream disappeared in the face of social reality.
Second, in the movement, a horizontal, consensus-based participatory democracy was
fully experienced and actualized (Milkman, 2012). This process is low efficient, but
intended to tell the public that, they, the ordinary citizens, could practice real
democracy – little person politics (Barber, 2012). They created a General Assembly
whose members met regularly every day to facilitate the consensus-based discussion
and decision-making processes. This showed the movement actors’ loss of faith in the
government and in representative democracy. Third, the occupy movement addressed
the whole population – we are the 99%. This is a very vague statement but was
tolerated by the movement actors (Bamyeh, 2012). It served the purpose of expressing
indignation at the system as a whole. And the vagueness provided their movement
with a sense of experimental youthfulness and conversational conviviality. It is also
because of this vagueness that the mainstream media and the politicians had no idea
how to comprehend and interpret this innovative type of movement. Last but not least,
the occupy movement tried to make itself less a movement but a way of life – they
arranged their space, organized free meals, libraries… this was a site not only to
actualize participatory democracy, but to make a place of collective world-making, in
which the interaction among participants produced their new modes of life being. The
occupy movement is an ongoing experiment (even after a particular location has been
eradicated by the authorities), but it really provides a very innovative form of movement for the future – a movement which is more than a movement, a movement becoming a way of life and a movement transcending borders (Williams, 2012; Gould, 2012).

After the eruption of Occupy Wall Street, series of occupy actions were taken in various states in the US and even around the world, linked together by the issue of opposing neo-liberalism. The action of occupying a public space, the movement’s democratic operationalization and the practice of a life experiment, were all carried out over time by activists on different continents.

**In the Asian world**

In the Asian context, with the rapid process of democratization from authoritarian military regimes which countries such as South Korea and Taiwan have experienced, there has been a blossoming of civil organizations and popular social participation as part of the whole nation’s democratic transition. Social movements in these two countries have also witnessed the transition from violent confrontation to non-violent protest. After a decade of economic upsurge, technological development and freedom of speech led to people adopting new information and communication technologies on a large scale in South Korea and Taiwan. The social movement arena was no exception. In 2002, two Korean girls were crushed to death by a U.S. military vehicle. This incident triggered anti-US sentiments and a massive sit-in protest was called. Though the mass media did not report this protest, an online news site called *OhmyNews* became an important news source and even acted as a central platform to call for protests. Eventually, over four hundred candlelight demonstrations were held around the nation over a period of months. It is regarded as the ever first movement
initiated online which gradually turned to actual action on a major scale in South Korea (Lee, 2010). The anti-US beef protest which happened in South Korea in 2008 demonstrated how the ICTs facilitated organizational communication and citizen empowerment. The ICTs play a role as a “middle media”, allowing people to select mainstream news and exchange new perspectives, and to spread protest information (Kwon & Nam, 2009). Differing from some previous political movements, which were mainly constituted by opposition parties and social movement organizations, the candlelight demonstrations and the anti-US beef movement successfully called on thousands of ordinary people to take to the streets. The Strawberry Student Movement in Taiwan in 2008 also brought forth a new epoch in student movements. Though it was not the first time that Taiwan’s college students occupied a symbolic space, it marked the age of an alliance formed by online and offline rally protests. College students in different cities started up online communication channels to call for a sit-in protest against the government’s repression of a number of college students who expressed their opposition during the visit of a mainland Chinese official, (e.g. Hsieh, 2009; Tsai, 2009). In Taipei, the capital city, an open space in front of the Chiang Kai-Shek memorial hall was occupied for a long-term protest. Deliberative democracy was attempted among the protestors, with free-flow of debate, consensus-based decision-making and inter-city discussion (for example, a discussion of the theme of the movement via live-stream, linking protestors in Taipei and Tainan).

2.3.3 Networked movement

From the cases illustrated above, we can see that the emerging forms of these movements reflect several characteristics commonly ascribed to new social movements, especially in terms of the transcending of the structural social class of the
participants, culturally-oriented movement goals, and decentralized organizational forms. However, what the new social movement theory is unable to capture are the features of what Castells (2012) called the networked social movement.

These features are “anti-networked power”, “experimenting with some new and alternative forms” and the “trans-territorial or trans-organizational linking up as counter-authoritarian network” in the emerging forms of movements. These features are responding to those which Castells (1997, 2000a, 2011) addressed, namely, the increasing networked authoritarian power around the globe, ranging from economic to political realms, facilitated by the development of new forms of communication technologies in the network society. To fight against this authoritarian network, activists nowadays form their own power as a counter network, both local and global, adopting the same logic as the authoritarian blocs, such as capabilities to program a new network or switch off the authoritarian network. The networking dynamics revealed in these new types of movements rejuvenate “the old anarchist ideal of autonomous communes and free individuals… using the net as their global agora of deliberation without submission to any form of bureaucracy emerging from the mechanism of power delegation” (Castells, 2009, p. 345).

Usually, these movements are spontaneous and viral. Facing a spark of indignation, the technologically-savvy activists are able to call for mass action aided by timeless and space-of-flow internet platforms. Instant community can be formed and multiple-direction communication channels can be implemented immediately simply by setting up Facebook pages. Images and motion pictures provide vivid and compelling messages to worldwide recipients via different channels, generating viral mobilization in a short time. Sometimes the viral effect of a movement can have global reach. . Protest in one place inspires activists in another country whose people
suffer from similar hardships. From his participant observation, Castells investigated the viral effect in 2010-2012, which originated from the Arab Spring (started in December 2010), moving to the Indignados in Spain (started in February 2011), to Occupy Wall Street (which also started in February 2011).

In terms of how the activists comprehend the society, the forms of their communicating online and occupying actual urban space reveal that they are wishing for a third space of autonomy. This seldom refers to territorial autonomy in international politics. Here the autonomy suggests the management of a space through people’s mutual aid, the free flow of deliberation and collective decision making. This type of autonomy, which is far from representational democracy in the established political realm, is insured by “the capacity to organize in the free space of communication networks, but at the same time can only be exercised as a transformative force by challenging the disciplinary institutional order by reclaiming the space of the city” (Castells, 2012, p.222). This type of organizational style corresponds to the contemporary form of online communication shared by millions of netizens, who actively share movement messages on their own social networking sites and collectively contribute online content. This correspondence of offline-online culture echoes the cultural approach to studying movement organization. For example, Breines (1989) studied the new left movement which opted for an expressive form of politics to avoid oligarchy. Buelcher (1990)’s study on the women’s movement focused on the social movement community - the informal networks of activists and the fluid boundaries among the networks. This particular pattern of network echoes the larger vision of the movement, which strives for equality in the human world. It served as more a symbolic statement than an instrument. Though the use of internet-based communication tools is seldom a
sufficient condition of the formation of an autonomous culture, it is a necessary condition. As stated by Castells, “the internet goes beyond instrumentality” (2012, p. 229), but expands to movement culture. Furthermore, the culture of autonomy echoes the matrix of contemporary society. Many examples of movements nowadays, including the cases studied in this research, are new social movements oriented on cultural values - affirming human autonomy against the societal institutional control of human life. In Beck (1992)’s groundbreaking work, the ideation of individuation marks today’s human history - individuals as social actors are reflexive of their position in society. Autonomy echoes individuation but also opens a broader networked form of individuation.

2.4 Agency in Social Movements in the Network Society

2.4.1 Technological form of life

Alain Touraine has argued that the transition from craft society to mass society to the neo-communitarian society is accompanied by human beings’ increasing search for integrated subjects, guided by awareness of the environment and identity. As illustrated in the previous paragraphs, two distinguishing features of the informational society are: the human mind as productive force acting on information/knowledge, and the prevalence of the new technologies. From a sociological perspective, in the epoch of informationalism as various aspects of everyday life is integrated with different sorts of microelectronic-based technologies, human life is reflected in the technological form of life (Lash, 2001). Some may suggest that the invention and widespread use of new technologies is merely an extension of the traditional forms of communication. Shirky (2008) argued that a difference in degree can bring about a difference in kind, by introducing a new face of the whole picture. Nowadays, one of
the most conspicuous features of social life is the rapid process of knowledge acquisition. The human-machine relationship is the interface between the organic system (mental and social) and the cybernetic system (control and command) - “cybernetic, self-regulating, systems work through functions of intelligence, command, control and communication” (Shirky, 2008, p. 107). Since the internet-based new technological world is partly an open system with data information storage, people act on it freely and search for useful information by implementing different controls and commands. It is a process of gaining knowledge from practicing – “knowing no longer reflects doing; instead, doing is, at the same time, knowing” (p.109). This process of knowing exists in the trivia of everyday life. Knowledge is less confined in laboratories or only controlled by the small group of elites. The mass population is able to gather information from the open system and bring forth a collective knowledge production – the freedom of knowledge (Han, 2010).

In terms of the communication process, facilitated by the new communication tools, there is a dramatic increase in loosely-organized groups spreading information at a rapid velocity. In a similar manner, the invention of the printing press facilitated people’s sharing of knowledge and ideas through reading, for example, the Bible. Today the new technologies, but to dilute or remove obstacles which used to prevent people from gathering and transmitting information quickly and on a large scale. This aspect echoes to Castells’ conception of media politics in the network society, where is filled with battle of images and simple messages. Borrowing the notion from health communication, the spread of disease requires three conditions: the likelihood of infection, the likelihood of contact among more than two people, and the overall size of the population, Shirky (2008) illustrated that the online world creates a breeding ground for “disease” spreading, with the gathering of a large group of technological-
savvy users, the increasing ease of interpersonal contact, and the huge population online. All these are essential to mobilizing collective action, with the rapid spread of movement values and action messages among the large pool of potential participants.

2.4.2 Mass self-communication

Equipped with the competency in knowledge acquisition and generation, and the prevalence of new media technologies, people are able to be the media themselves – mass self-communication (Castells, 2007). This refers to a process which is “self-generated in content, self-directed in emission, and self-selected in reception by many that communicate with many” (p. 248). In today’s situation, saturated with the mass-user-friendly communication and recording technologies, the authority of the journalistic profession seems in decline. The previous boundary between professional journalists and laymen rested on the journalists’ professional judgment of newsworthiness and on professional publishing equipment. Nowadays this boundary has been broken by the growth of mass amateurization among the young population, who are armed with inexpensive portable equipment and capabilities in editing and publicizing words. The increasing number of news outlets, from traditional news media to the very personalized tweeting tools, amplifies the communication effect (Shirky, 2008). The traditional mass media exists in parallel with the self-media.

There have been abundant studies focusing on the political empowerment effects of the new technologies on the general public (e.g. Kavada, 2010; Porta, 2011; Harlow, 2012). Among the arguments about whether the increasing use of the internet has dampened young people's civic engagement, scholars have pointed out that, in some western countries, while youths showed a lower interest in traditional forms of
civic engagement (e.g. voting, joining a political party), they were more likely to have
what could be characterized as social movement citizenship (Bennett, 2008). Lacking
well-executed governmental/political online platforms, the tech-savvy young tended
to rely on alternative channels and make their own gadgets to engage in social affairs,
although they may not possess the most efficient communication tools, such as those
employed by government departments with plenty of resources (e.g. Rheingold,
2008, Raynes-Goldie & Walker, 2008). For social movement activists, by utilizing the
huge information stored online and running different sorts of control-command
programming, they are able create an alternative communication network and
information sharing platform but avoid being detected (e.g. the anonymous remailers)
(Hintz & Milan, 2010). In a less radical way, for most social activists, the internet-
based network is a site to gather various information resources in order to get more
knowledge about the movement and the external environment. For example, the
“listservs” and email lists line up like-minded people and facilitate the movement’s
information sharing, while the open system of information provides the necessary
knowledge for the activists to know more about the “enemy” (Elin, 2003). Bennett &
Segerberg (2013) have conceptualized today’s crowd-facilitated movement culture as
“personalization of politics” (p. 5), during which the netizens (who are also the
movement actors) create a large variety of movement content – peer production – and
via which they generate their movement’s collective identity.

In some extreme cases, the technologically-savvy activists and the new
communication tools bring a breakthrough in the movement and help to transform
society. In 2011, a number of instances of social turmoil erupted in the Arab Middle
East region. These sequential revolutionary movements changed the political world –
people call this cluster of movements the Arab Spring. In Egypt, the successful
unblocking of the internet boosted the revolution’s information transmission, helping
to mobilize the mass occupation of the urban Tahrir Square in Cairo. Although
scholars have pointed out the unresolved issues from the revolution (authoritarian
politics have been re-established), the empowering and transforming nature of the
“new citizens” and new technologies is not in question. “The confident, wired youth
of Tahrir Square embody this vision of new competencies aggregating into political
change” (Lynch, 2011, p. 307). Wheeler (2006) argued that, the young generation’s
innovative communication and technologically-savvy subculture have planted the
seeds for future change. This echoes what Lynch predicted as, even though social
media and the activists themselves were not able to bring immediate change to the
Arab world, the long-term gradual change of the citizens’ consciousness,
competencies and public sphere matters more.

2.4.3 The counter network and the new citizens

In Castell’s illustration of the network society theory, the global economy and
politics intertwine in a network – the reinforcement of the global capitalistic system
(Castells, 2000b). The network takes effect by the logic of inclusion and exclusion.
The means to build up a power network involves two mechanisms: the ability to
construct a network and to program the network; the ability to connect and facilitate
the cooperation of different networks by sharing common goals and resourcing, while
avoiding competition from other networks (Castells, 2011, p. 776).

Examples of the first mechanism are those transnational organizations such as
the G8 which group together a number of developed countries and implement a set of
policies influencing world trade. The second mechanism includes examples such as
the expanding of the G8 to the G20, encompassing more rising developing countries
in the interest group, while further excluding the underprivileged countries. However, taking into consideration that the network is an open system, with the two network-making mechanisms, the activists can also form a counter-power network. The power network can “enforce existing domination… on the other hand there also exist countervailing processes that resist established domination” (Castells, 2011, p. 778).

In Castells’ terms, there are programmers (those set the rules of the game) and switchers (those who keep the gate of exclusion/inclusion) who manage a network. Movement activists, armed with the technological competencies, have three ways to form a counter-power network.

First, activists counter the dominant network by bringing forth a new set of programming codes. In the Zapatista movement in the 1990s, the activists advocated the formation of the *Indymedia*, which was intended to form a counter force against the commercially-dominated and ideologically biased mainstream media (Garrido & Halavais, 2003; Wolfson, 2012). Second, in a proactive way, the activists could switch on their new network. This is well demonstrated in the case of the Egypt revolution. With the long-term suppression of freedom of expression and the cutting off of internet services by the authorities, the suddenly appearance of the ‘revolution’ page on a social networking site on January 25, 2011 and the later mobile phone voice-based service was salient in the movement’s mobilization (Hauser, 2011; Kirkpatrick & Preston, 2011). Third, activists blocking dominant network may also plays a role, for example hackers damaging the authorities’ websites, or an online rally petition causing internet traffic jam and service suspension (Vegh, 2003). In the anti-neoliberalism movements, such as the anti-G8 and anti-WTO, activists used their bodies to block the way leading to the conference venue (Elin, 2003), which was also a means to inhibit the operation of the dominant power network.
In the same way, Castells, Hardt & Negri (2000) have used the term “empire” to define today’s networked world, ranging across economic, political and social life. This is the empire signifying the dominant system, while there is always the counter power trying to shake the empire – the multitudes. By stressing the people’s autonomy and subjectivity, Negri (2008) described the multitudes as: creative and productive individuals; different from the mass, the people, the class – intelligent, mobile multitudes around the world against the structures of exploitation; a “swarm” of self-organizing, self-regulating self-governing individuals; disobedience as the tactic against the establishment. Echoing what has been illustrated in detail in the previous paragraphs, Negri’s “multitudes” and “swarms” correspond to the activists in the new types of social movements within the network society.

From the foregoing review of the literature, we could summarize that, in the age of informationalism, what characterizes the epoch are the human mind as the main productive force and new forms of communication – the instantaneity and the large scale of information transmission. As a new social morphology, the network society brings transformation into a varied array of aspects of human society, including the social movement arena. To a certain extent, the major characteristics of the movements which have been identified are in line with the cultural-oriented types advocated in the European school of new social movement theory; the emerging forms of social movements reveal: an oppositional network against the monopoly/hegemonic network, such as the global trend of neo-liberalism; technologically-savvy people armed with the capabilities to form the counter network; participants, in both virtual and actual worlds, based on existing friendship-based networks or netizen-based instant community, act as nodes and hubs doing the mass self-communication; internet facilitated viral mobilization; and the actualization of
autonomy culture. In this sense, to study social movements under the umbrella of network society, the human aspect (the new citizens) and the prevalence of new communication forms are the highlights.

However, it is not the intention here to present social movements in the network society as technologically determined. The mobilization, organization and communication of movements are transformed by the utilization of new technologies, but this is not to say that the new technologies determine the success of movements. Various traditional forms of communication still play an essential role. For example, Ribeiro (1998) argued that several essential elements of interpersonal linkage, such as trust and friendship, are rarely established or sustained only through technological communication. Pickerill (2003) further pointed out that organizing solely through computer-mediated communication fails to recruit a significantly large number of new comers to strengthen the movement core circle. What is noteworthy is that the new communication technologies bring a series of new features to the mobilization and organization of movements, together with the traditional forms of movement communication, leading to the emerging new face of the social movement arena, especially in terms of the scale and speed of information transmission as illustrated in the concrete movement cases above. There will be a discussion of the ways in which traditional and new forms of communication work together in the later theoretical framework section.

2.5 Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)

In the current study, the primary research goal concerns how activists organize the movement networks and mobilize the movement resources. In this sense, it will be a meso-level study. In the realm of research about social movements, resource
mobilization theory, which is predominantly used for studying movement organization, is an appropriate approach.

Resource mobilization theory emerged in the 1970s in the social movement research field. This theory was advocated by a number of sociologists from the United States (Zald & Ash, 1966; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Zald & Berger, 1978; Tilly, 1978). This approach differs from their European counterparts, who studied social movements from a macro and structural angle, focusing on why movements occur, while the US RMT adherents tended to pay extra attention to the issue of “how” – how movements are carried out (Chesters & Welsh, 2011). To certain extent, the RMT approach sheds light on the active role played by the activists, especially the organizers, by emphasizing how they recruit and manage the movement resources under the systematically operation of SMOs.

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the collective action approach opened up a new era for social movement research, diverging from the collective behavior approach which had viewed social movements as irrational and unorganized mob actions. This new approach positively assumes social movements as structured and patterned institutionalized action, taken by a group of rational actors. The guru of rational choice theory, Olson, argued that, based on the rational cost-reward calculation, the movement actors expected certain kinds of rewards while taking risky collective actions (Olson, 1968).

There are three fundamental assumptions in the RMT. First, the RMT disregards grievances or social panic as the stimulation for, or as significant factors in movement mobilization (Buechler, 2000). Because grievances prevail in every society at any particular point in time, it is seldom sufficient as the only significant and determining explanatory factor. In this sense, the primary presumption of RMT refers to the
significant role of resources, including the sufficiency of financial support, movement facilities and the necessary manpower (McCarthy & Zald, 1987). In addition, a series of structural constraints such as the structure of the social movement organization (SMO), the age of the group, and the nature of the issues will affect the movement process (e.g. Freeman, 1979; Schwartz & Paul, 1992; McCarthy & Wolfon, 1996).

Second, it is assumed that, the aggregation of movement resources requires systematic forms of organization. Therefore, social movement organizations play an essential role in the RMT, in terms of recruiting and organizing movement resources. The definition and function of the SMO in the RMT needs special attention. Zald & Ash (1966) state that, “a social movement is a purposive and collective attempt by a number of people to change individuals or societal institutions and structures” (p. 329). Therefore, the goal of an SMO is not to provide regular services (e.g. religious groups, political organizations/parties), but to restructure the existing social norms through contentious actions. An SMO is similar to a commercial unit, led by entrepreneurs who can access the necessary resources and have the ability to manage those resources. In the social movement context, the equivalent of the entrepreneur is the movement leaders/professionals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). In addition, resource competition occurs among SMOs (Saunders, 2013).

Third, deriving from Olson (1968)’s rational choice theory, which is largely from an economic perspective, the RMT assumes social movement participants calculate their cost-reward before joining a movement. Movement activists are regarded as active actors rather than irrational mobs (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996). When the potential rewards are perceived to be higher than the costs, people tend to be willing to participate in social movements. Olson also addressed the issue of the free-rider. People may assume the activists are fighting for the public good. In such a case,
people could enjoy the positive results without taking the risk of joining contentious actions. To solve this problem, offering selective incentives is one way to mobilize participants. Zald & Ash (1966) argued that some short-term material incentives are the dominant means to maintain manpower, while solidarity incentives play a secondary role. Some scholars have later widened the concept of incentives to argue that, it is not necessarily individual material incentives which serve as the primary driving force for participation. Collective incentives, such as loyalty to an organization, expectations of movement success, social obligation and self-respect seeking, become the movement’s driving forces (e.g. Carden, 1978; Oberschall, 1980; Klandermans, 1984).

However, the entrepreneurial and organizational based RMT has been challenged in several aspects. It has been criticized for not paying attention to the ideology which is ubiquitously embedded in every movement. The underestimation of grievances and the way the theory ignores the role of identity attract criticism too, especially by the European camp of new social movement theorists. The ideology and identity aspects may be regarded as the cultural category which is neglected by those RMT theorists who focused on structural factors (e.g. who leads the movement) and rational calculation.

As a theoretical advancement, political opportunity process theory was advocated to compensate RMT’s lack of contextual consideration. “The key recognition… is that activists’ prospects for advancing particular claims, mobilizing supporters, and affecting influence are context-dependent” (Meyer, 2004). It emphasizes the interaction between activists’ efforts and the mainstream institutional politics and social structure, which includes local government’s openness to citizen’s political participation (Eisinger, 1973), policy change (McAdam, 1982), congressional
attention (Costain, 1992), economic condition and demographical change (Van Dyke & Soule, 2002). Most of the studies employed this theoretical approach are in a macro perspective. Through analyzing the correlation between the changes in political/social structure and the numbers of protests and new SMOs, scholars identified that those structural changes have influence on the social movement arena (e.g. McAdam, 1996; Cress & Snow, 2000; Van Dyke, 2003). Tarrow (1989) proposed a process approach by tracing “cycle of protest”, examining the longitudinal influence of political opportunities on movements. Some scholars stressed on activists’ action choice. Kitschelt (1986) studied anti-nuclear movements in different countries, stating that people’s choice of action strategies were response to the distinctive political characters. In order to capture a concrete picture of political opportunity’s role in determining the success of social movement, Meyer & Minkoff (2004) tested issue-specific and general political process by looking at two dimensions. One is to look at the actual policy change (movement effects), and another is to examine how the movement leaders perceive possible political opportunities and call on protest. Although Kitschelt and Meyer & Minkoff’s studies paid heavy attention on the role of activists, they still put them as a dependent variable in the process of movement mobilization and operation. As Meyer (2004) pointed out that, one of the major drawbacks of political opportunity process is negligence on the active agency. Besides the actual political environment and their perceived opportunities, there remain a lot other elements embedded in people’s life experience and state of mind, including their learning experience and their emotion. What’s more, the overemphasis on political and social environment has overlooked the meso-level of organization, such as individuals’ emotional attachment to an organization and inter-organizational dynamics. Therefore, in this study the author still chooses the RMT as the guiding
framework to gauge into the dynamics of activists’ collecting and managing of resources.

Regarding the weaknesses of RMT, the RMT gurus, Garner & Zald (2012) have admitted that, nowadays, new communication technologies and the cultural perspective cannot be excluded in social movement studies. For one thing, the advent of new communication technologies has certainly brought changes to human life, especially in the realm of social movements, in which information exchange between different groups plays an important role. As discussed at length in the previous paragraphs, one of central aims of the current research will tackle this issue. Employing the RMT stream of thoughts, Huang (2009) studied how Falun Gong practitioners outside of China utilize internet-based tools to communicate to form their community. In this process, the internet has played an important role not only in terms of instrumentally facilitating message transmission, but also became a platform for Falun Gong practitioners consolidating the emotion bondage. Internet has been regarded as a resource channel. Hara & Estrada (2005) focused on two online activities, finding that some important movement resources such as knowledge, interpersonal relationship and mutual trust could be established via the use of internet. Moreover, Papacharissi (2015), based on a series of pro-democracy mass protests around the world, suggested that the affective discourses (people's feelings towards some events) embedded in the networked communication channels and people's networked form of actions have had tremendous momentum propelling the movement development.

In the similar vein concerning the emotion and affective forces in social movements, Garner & Zald (2012) have also discussed “soft rationality” (p. 6) – the ideological goals and emotions embraced by the movement participants, a concept
shared by both the American and European camps. Going beyond what Olson stated in the rational choice theory, which focuses on material costs and gains, soft rationality refers to an emotional calculation, in a similar vein to the emphasis in new social movement studies as the grievances and emotional investment of activists, which play an important role in movement mobilization and organization. Goodwin et al. (2000) also argued that theories of the social movement arena have for a long time ignored the emotional factor. Jasper (2011) stated that emotion plays an essential role at all stages of a social movement, from recruitment to engaging the public. In this sense, Cress & Snow (1996) stretched the selective incentives to include not only material rewards, but also symbolic and normative forms. It means that a feeling of collective solidarity enhancement or trauma healing also plays a role as a reward and incentive - “a collective characterized by feelings of group belongingness, solidarity, common purpose, and shared memory” (Eyerman, 2006, p. 195). Also affirmed by scholars in the social movement research arena is the notion that “the organization of how social movement adherents think about themselves is structured in important ways by how shared wrongs are experienced, interpreted, and reworked in the context of group interaction” (Johnston et al., 1994, p. 22).

Therefore, in this current study, a soft-rationality approach will be adopted and a cultural lens will be incorporated into the traditional RMT. Additionally, in this research, the author argues that, the SMOs, which exist in both traditional and new forms, are not as rigid as enterprises. And the movement organizers/participants are not taking the role of managers/employers. It is also noteworthy that, most of today’s movements no longer employ hierarchical structures but organize in a decentralized networked form - organizing the movement without a formal organization. Though the rigid form of a SMO may not exist during social movements, fulfilling the tasks of
resource mobilization and organization is still in greatly needed in order to coordinate different movement parties and operate different forms of protests. Therefore, this current study tries to integrate the traditional RMT with theories of the novel form of communication and social movements, within in the network society paradigm. The research framework, discussed in a later section, is a rejuvenated RMT which highlights the networked form of movement organization, the tech-savvy new citizens and the active role of the activists in the process of movement meaning making.
Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

In general, RMT theorists have considered monetary and facility support, manpower, and recruitment networks to be the major movement resources, at the disposal of well-organized SMOs and capable leaders. In the age of informationalism and the network society, as mentioned in the previous part, humanity’s capabilities of information searching, knowledge generation and management have become easier and faster. The widespread use of ICTs also enhances the power of networking. All these have marked the cornerstone of the contemporary epoch but have not yet been taken into account in resource mobilization analysis in social movement studies. Plus, the cultural aspect also needs more attention. In this sense, the traditional RMT analytical model will be modified by adding the new elements in order to investigate up-to-date cases as well as to take a broader overview of social movement studies.

3.1 Resources

McCarthy & Zald (1977, p. 1213) suggested the RMT “examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements”. Movement resources are generally conceptualized as anything that SMOs need to mobilize and deploy in pursuit of their goals (Tilly, 1978). Originally, McCarthy & Zald (1977) have illustrated the necessary material resources as well as the movement cadres and sufficient manpower for street demonstration. Further developing from this origin, Cress & Snow (1996, 2000) included more features which are mainly in terms of organizers’ knowledge fields, organizational coalition and the recognition of
movements’ moral ground gained from other organizations’ and public’s endorsement. Thus, various categories of resources which need to be mobilized (see Fuchs, 2006): materials (the availability of money and facilities), human resources (those have relatively more time to devote to the movement, people possessed of professional knowledge regarding the movement issues, those armed with capabilities to promote the movement’s messages to the public, and those who have access to power centers), linkages (the networks who can assist recruitment and provide support), and public support (the legitimacy of the movement gained from media coverage, solidarity with other alliances, sympathy from the society) (Cress & Snow, 1996). In the following discussion, the author will integrate some overlapping elements in order to present a clear map. For example, the aspect of organizational coalition and networking will be grouped in the bloc of human resource, because organizations are constituted by human resource and they are the active actors bringing forth those inter-organization connections.

McCarthy & Zald (1977) called resourceful actors “constituents”, those who are able to provide tangible material support and intangible knowledge support (e.g. professional expertise). In addition, the participation of the beneficiaries (those who will directly benefit from the movement) increases the legitimacy of the movement, making them a type of indirect human resource.

Taking into consideration the cultural hole in the study of movement resources, in this study the author includes “legitimacy” as part of movement resources. Represented in an intangible form, legitimacy refers to the movement message itself as an important resource. The nature of the movement issue (e.g. to what scale the issue will affect the public) was regarded as one of the influencing factors. But here the examination of the movement message includes not only the nature of the issue,
but also the ways of packaging different movement elements in order to draw public empathy – the active role of movement participants. The analysis on movement legitimacy will be discussed in detail in the following section. Through probing into this aspect of movement legitimacy, the author intends to address the criticism of RMT for neglecting emotion and the contextual concern.

3.2 From SMO to SMC

According to McCarthy & Zald (1977), an SMO is a “complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals” (p.1218). Buechler (1993) pointed out that the RMT theorists favored the centralized formal type of SMOs, which have specific goals and identifiable organizational boundaries, but neglected the emerging type of unpredictable loosely-formed groups engaging in different movements. In response scholars advocated the concept of social movement community (SMC) (e.g. Lo, 1992; Buechler, 1993). This is also in the same vein as the new social movement theoretical tradition, in which equality-pursuing value-oriented activists advocate the abandoning of organizational hierarchy. Rather, the new social movement sheds light on the power of human agency – individual participation and an autonomous cooperative relationship among the activists.

A SMC informally organizes networks of movement activists. The use of SMC may be in response to a number of factors. First, sometimes an issue appears on the agenda before there are organizations to catch up with it. Instead, seeing a potentially significant agenda, informal social networks with similar natures start up to capture the issue. Second, a movement seldom includes only one organization. A multiplication of issues draws numerous organizations, which nurture a whole set of
movements. These organizations may come and go as the movement progresses through different phases. But all these organizations, no matter whether formal or informal, make up the movement community. Third, Lo (1992) emphasized that a large number of movements in history were cultural-identity based, such as the black church and the residential neighborhood. The constituents do not join the movement at a certain point, but they are already in the movement when the issue arises in community life.

In addition, the movement composition is unstable. In McCarthy & Zald (1977)’s classic work, there are some general types of people who make up a social movement: Constituents – those who provide resources; Potential beneficiaries – those who may directly benefit from the movement; Adherents – individuals or organizations who believe in the movement’s goals. This categorization actually assumed a hierarchical structure, in which the beneficiaries and adherents were led by the constituents. But sometimes these categories overlap to a considerable extent. For example, while the constituents possess professional knowledge, the beneficiaries may contribute their local knowledge.

In this sense, the notion of the SMC is more appropriate to analyze social movements in the umbrella of network society than the traditional SMO. As mentioned, the features of network society have largely transformed various social aspects in the age of informationalism. The networked form of life does not only appear in the economic arena, but also in the political realm, affecting both authoritarian power and counter power.

3.3 Theoretical Model

Based on the traditional analytical blocs suggested by McCarthy & Zald (1977)
and Freeman (1979), incorporating different categories of resources, the cultural lens of movement legitimacy, the introduction of SMC and the new elements under the paradigm of informationalism and network society, the author here proposed a modified and RMT approach to guide the following cases analysis.

Figure 3.1. Conceptual model
3.3.1 Material resource

Material resources refer to the material support provided by movement constituents, including the resourceful individuals and SMOs. These include money, facilities (e.g. street action and protest facilities), space (e.g. for holding meetings), and publicity materials (the way to publicize the movement in the form of documents and pamphlets).

In the age of informationalism and network society, the means of publicity undergoes major changes, in terms of the costs of generating publicity products and the means of distribution. Previously, getting access to printing facilities was so crucial as different sorts of printed leaflets were one of the necessary ways to disseminate the movement’s messages, alongside speeches and mass media coverage. In the late 1980s, the student movements in Taiwan relied heavily on paper-based publicity (e.g. underground magazines, pamphlets) and communication among different colleges was geographically constrained (Wright, 1999). This was due to both the authoritarian political environment and the limitation of available communication media. Recording hardware was a significant but scarce resource in the age before informationalism. For example, during Taiwan’s huge wave of anti-authoritarian movements in the 1980s, a few people (former media employees) voluntarily formed a video team called the “Green Team”. Using their limited number of recording devices, they told hidden stories of the grass roots and recorded movement scenes, and later distributed their video tapes via different interpersonal underground channels (Wang, 2012). The example of the “Green Team” vividly exhibited the traditional way of communicating movement messages, in which media professionals, the availability of recording devices and the interpersonal network played an indispensable role. Nowadays, the significance of paper-based or tape-
based publicity has reduced and a large variety of virtual publicity products has been introduced with the widespread availability of ICTs among ordinary citizens. Besides the SMOs, different individual movement actors can disseminate movement messages on their own or produce their own publicity through what Bennett & Segerberg (2013) have called “peer production”.

In the network society as described by Castells (2012), nowadays people live in a space of flows, in which information flows transcend borders and have influence on human activities. There are three levels in these space flows: infrastructure, nodes and hubs. With the infrastructure, the nodes (e.g. individuals) and hubs (e.g. organization or information portal) manage to let information flow. Here we can see that the technological infrastructure has become an important facility in today’s movement communication. And the nodes and hubs are constituted by a huge number of actors who are capable users of ICTs. Some scholars have adopted RMT approach to study the resources derived from the internet which plays an increasingly important role in social movement. Huang (2009) studied how Falun Gong practitioners outside of China utilize internet-based tools to communicate and even to counter the anti-Falun forces. Internet has been regarded as a resource channel that could provide resources such as education, information and materials. Hara & Estrada (2005) focused on two online activities, finding that knowledge, interpersonal relationship and mutual trust could be established via the use of internet. Moreover, Huang and Hara & Estrada all suggested that, only active use of the technologies could bring forth the positive effect. Considering that the internet and all sorts of internet-based communication tools are never a panacea for mobilization. Slacktivism is one of the noticeable phenomenon that pinpointing those active online but inactive when it comes to taking physical protest. But, in a similar way, Choi & Park (2014)
suggested that with active online group coordinators and a strong bondage among the group members, internet-based mobilization could generate positive effect.

In this sense, alongside with the traditional form of material-based resources, the prevalence of ICTs has been inevitable in social movement scenes because these technologies have become part of people’s everyday life. These technologies reveal potentials to be a movement resource as well as be a channel to facilitate resource flow. But as pointed out by scholars, how do people utilize and manage them is the central point.

3.3.2 Human resource

RMT scholars have emphasized the crucial role of human agency in the process of movement mobilization (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Klandermans, 1984; McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996). Human – constituents, potential beneficiaries and adherents – are the resources’ providers and managers. Humans are regarded as the invaluable resource — the resourceful actors. Freeman (1979) categorized these humans into different types: people with specialized expertise; people who have access to important networks; and those who contribute their time and commitment. However, as illustrated in the literature review and in the foregoing section, the ICTs have become indispensable movement elements and ordinary people’s capabilities in managing ICTs have transformed the ecology of social movements. It is hard to deny that, not only in the aspect of material resources, but also in terms of movement human resources, tech-savvy new citizens (rather than the faceless actors who contributed their time and commitment) have brought a new face to RMT.
**Human resource specialized in various ways**

In terms of specialized expertise resources, in the traditional RMT, this refers to the cadres and staff who are employee of the SMO (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). In research on the founding and the sequential campaigns of the National Organization for Women in the U.S. in the 1960s, scholars found that the important figures among them were writers and those with public relations expertise who had already gained certain social-economic status (e.g. Tuchman, 1978; Barker-Plummer, 2002). Freeman (1979) also indicated the importance of specialized expertise such as in the fields of law and public relations. As a movement comes to involve an increasing number of issues, the complexity of the movement’s nature is strengthened. In this case, people armed with expertise are crucial to the movement’s strategic planning. Admittedly, the special knowledge acquired by a small group of elites in law, public relations, movement planning, and so forth provide assistance to build a counterweight against the authorities, who possess much richer funds of expertise.

However, as mentioned, in the age of informationalism and the network society, the knowledge generation process occurs at a much faster rate than before, with the permeation of a large variety of ICTs in people’s everyday life. What has been illustrated in length in the previous chapter is the various strategies applied by the tech-savvy new citizens in contentious protests or behind the scene (e.g. build up another network the Egyptian government circumvented most of the internet connection). The capability to acquire information from different sources and integrate different sorts of information to make it useful has become common practice among people, especially the young generation nowadays – the generation which has grown up digital (Tapscott, 2009). Collecting and processing information in an easier and faster way facilitates people’s ability to acquire knowledge which used to be only
accessible to a small privileged group of elites. In addition, the prevalence of new technologies, such as the handy camera, smart phones equipped with recording and internet-accessing functions, as well as user-friendly computer applications characterized by learning-by-doing, benefits ordinary people in terms of making their own publicity products and disseminating their opinions. It used to be only professional film makers, or professionals armed with recording skills who were able to produce image-based publicity. In this sense, unlike traditional RMT scholars, in this current study, the range of human resources with special expertise has been enlarged.

**Network resource**

Considering the second type of human resource – access to networks – it implies a notion that networks act as movement resources. Scholars postulated the importance of ‘cat-net’ in movement recruitment and mobilization, referring that a network constituted by people with the similar background and experience is more likely to be mobilized (Tilly, 1978; Freeman, 1983; Klandermans, 1992). For example, it might be easier to mobilize those used to join student unions, because they have had experience in taking anti-authority actions in college age. Such an existing network not only provides a pool of human force, but also trust established among people. Such trust is especially crucial to contentious collective actions. Even in today’s various new types of movements, which are composed of participants from different backgrounds, the network-based organization and participation is still of great importance (e.g. McAdam, 1988; Diani, 2000; Elin, 2003). Long-term network building and maintenance is especially necessary for movement groups which are inclined to take high-risk oppositional actions (Schwartz & Paul, 1992). Successful publicity is also
greatly enhanced by movement networks. For some newly formed movement groups, the group members’ networks become the primary channels to disseminate messages outside (Freeman, 1979). For some social groups, underground or non-mainstream movement networks become their major communication channels, as they seldom get access to the mainstream media (Schwartz & Paul, 1992). Although Diani (2000) argued that the computer-mediated networks prevailing at that time were only of instrumental rather than symbolical significance, in recent years scholars have postulated that the ICT-facilitated networking of social movement actors has brought forth cultural implications. Castells (2012) suggested a hybrid form of activist networking in networked movements, in which mutual trust and shared outrage are built through human linkages in actual space and messages exchange/disseminate via the online networks. The actual and virtual networks are seldom mutually exclusive. Bennett & Segerber (2013) suggested a paradigm shift from a collective action to a connective action logic in which the crowd-facilitated actions occur in parallel with the SMO-facilitated actions. The networking of actors, in actual and virtual worlds, is the cornerstone of the network society. The individual movement activists and movement groups are as the scattered nodes and hubs, providing tangible and intangible resource support in the broad SMC. As illustrated before, the new citizens’ technological capabilities lead to the formation of a movement network, such as the Indymedia alternative journalists’ network appearing in the Mexican Zapatista movement, and the global spread of occupy actions. Movement networks not only facilitate the transferring and sharing of the tangible and intangible movement resources, but also expand the existing SMC.
3.3.3 Movement Legitimacy

Movement legitimacy aims at turning adherents into constituents, by providing sufficient evidence to gain external support. The orthodox conception of legitimacy was raised by Max Weber (1962), who set out three ways to guarantee legitimacy: by merely affective and emotional surrender; by a rational belief in absolute validity; or by religious belief in an absolute salvation. Here, this non-religious social movement study focuses on the first two categories defined by Weber - how the movement actors (as the anti-establishment side) and the mass media (as a social institution representing the rational and objective social witness) contribute to a movement’s legitimacy.

External factors

In the traditional RMT, there are two major ways to build up legitimacy: wide media coverage, government endorsement (Schwartz & Paul, 1992), and the nature of the movement organization. The process of political lobbying is important to the SMOs especially when the goal is to change policies. Gaining assistance from those with bargaining power increases the possibility of achieving the goals of the movement. This aspect echoes what was illustrated above about the “network resource” – access to an important network constitutes a type of resource. The nature of the movement goals and the organization structure are significant factors in establishing a movement’s legitimacy (e.g. McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996), for example, a large-scale national organization is able to recruit more supporters and an issue which is consistent with the social consensus tends to gain more legitimacy. In addition, the composition of the movement actors affects legitimacy as well, for example, McCarthy & Zald (1977) mentioned that an increase in constituents and a
decrease in potential beneficiaries in a movement may reduce its legitimacy, since the public might presume the movement is manipulated by activists but not really benefiting the victims. Given that the factors mentioned above have been widely studied since the RMT gained its popularity since 1970s, what the author is focusing on in the current research is the process of movement meaning-making by the activists – the cultural aspect.

The dynamics between mass media and social movement

In the traditional RMT, one of the ways to build up the movement legitimacy is through media exposure. Media coverage on social movements is regarded as a type of important political resource. The mass media plays a role not only to inform and explain the occurrence of social movements but also to facilitate the achievement of the movement’s goals (Molotch, 1979). Gamson (1995) argued that movement actors rely on the mass media in terms of gaining public attention. Mass media is also used to serve the authorities and to undermine the legitimacy of social movements (Gitlin, 1980; Chan & Lee, 1984). But since the mass media industry has entered the age of the free market in many developed regions, the traditional media has been actively involved in reporting social movements (Leung, 2010). Mass media reports social movements based on their news worthiness and according to social expectations, such as victimizing some characters and legitimizing some established norms (Ku, 2007). Sometimes the mass media even take a position as a facilitator of the movement, when the movement’s appeals are in accordance with the media’s stance or wider social core values (Chan & Lee, 2007; Lee & Chan, 2008). In this sense, the way in which the mass media report social movements varies among media with different values and positions.
In order to get more exposure in the mass media, traditional SMO actors rely on several resources: prominent movement leaders or celebrities appearing in movements, movement actors who are public relations professionals capable of managing media relationships, and utilizing membership fees to sustain a strategic media team. In Tuchman (1978)’s investigation into the relationship between the mass media and the National Organization for Women (NOW), Tuchman revealed that, even though women’s issues were strategically designed by the NOW public relations executives to gain an eye-catching role in the news, this public consciousness awakening campaign without identifiable leaders was beyond the male-dominated journalists’ imagination. The news staff tried to interpret and compose the news stories following their normal journalistic routine, e.g. find someone to be representative/leader-like to give a feminist response; and that this favors reform rather than radical ideas. In this sense, in order to strategically get media exposure, the information about collective action and movement celebrities acts as the “currency” in the exchange between the SMO and mass media (Barker-Plummer, 2002). This echoes the stream of sociology of journalism research (e.g. Hall et al., 1981; Schudson, 1997; Zelizer, 1997; Reese, 1997; Lule, 2001), which suggests news-making as maintaining the dominant social norms to fulfill ordinary people’s expectations. It means that, whatever special characters or plots may appear in a news story, the journalists depict the story within a certain frame. Myth is one way to make news resonate with social beliefs, for example, the construction of “victim”, “hero”, and “good mother” roles in social news, because the news media is influenced by the social and cultural repertoire when reporting on political events (Tilly, 1978). Through these archetypal roles, the journalists tell stories which the public can easily comprehend (Lule, 2001).
Besides feeding the mass media with movement-related information, SMOs may also use other tactics. Leung (2009)’s study on the 2005 anti-WTO movement in Hong Kong revealed that the protestors “co-operated” with the media to stage a demonstration performance. When encountering a mass demonstration, the media usually tend to use victim-based or conflict-based framing strategies to help the public make sense of the incidents. However, in this case, Leung also found that the protestors, mostly farmers, manipulated the media repertoire by staging different styles of demonstration acts in order to take control of the public gaze from the media. In Wang (2011)’s study on the anti-express rail link movement in Hong Kong during 2009 and 2010, the youth activists strategically fed different types of information to different media. Considering the various ideological stances among the traditional media organizations, the activists understood that some movement stories had little chance of being covered by certain pro-government media. This led to an ambivalent relationship between the movement actors and mass media.

**Activists and self-media**

Legitimacy is a type of intangible resource, with movement actors utilizing the power of words and images to gain wider support. In the context of informationalism and network society, various free-of-charge online media channels as well as the traditional media are now available to activists to disseminate their beliefs. As Castells (2009) stated in his book called “communication power”, politics in the network society reveals itself as media politics: the battle of images. It leads to the possibility of more ordinary people taking part in the political arena, doing their news reports and grass-root political campaigns by means of capturing and sharing first-hand photo stories on their own media channels. This type of grass-root politics has
crossed the boundary between layman and professional media landscapes, as even mainstream media journalists regarded the contents on independent media as one of the importance new sources. Occupying part of the space of the new media world, tech-savvy ordinary citizens get an opportunity to make their voice heard (e.g. internet radio) through their own channels. For example, image also constitutes a powerful way to build up legitimacy. The prevalence of handy recording equipment benefits ordinary people, for example victims of a disaster or accident, in terms of making their case heard with images and sound. They utilize the instant transmission network to disseminate the images to the wider public. In this process, the eyewitness becomes a true story-teller (Braham, 1998). The first-person angle, the dynamics between the actors and the environment, and the sound on-the-site, makes for “authenticity”, which contributes to legitimacy. This type of first-hand information disclosure is widely used by citizen journalists and alternative media (e.g. Atton, 2002), who may be closely allied with the potential beneficiaries in the movement. Moreover, as Castells (2012) described, in contemporary networked movements, videos used for promoting an organization’s image and calling for people to assemble bring a viral effect to movement mobilization.

**Building legitimacy with media logic**

Scholars have pointed out that we are now living in a mediatized world filled with mediatized rituals, events and performances (e.g. Couldry, 2003; Cottle, 2006). Though some debates remained in terms of whether the various social events are “mediatized” or just represented by media (Couldry & Rothenbuhler, 2007), scholars are hard to deny that our contemporary world has been deeply influenced by mass media (Hepp & Couldry, 2010). Since the late 1970s when television, with image-
and-sound embedding messages, started to occupy people’s everyday life, Altheide & Snow (1979, 1991) postulated the concept of media logic, indicating the way that people receive, comprehend and project messages somewhat consisting with the mass media industry. “Media logic consists of a form of communication; the process through which media present and transmit information… how material is organized, the style in which it is presented, the focus or emphasis on particular characteristics of behavior… the logic of media formats has become so taken for granted by both communicator and receiver that it has been overlooked as an important factor in understanding media” (Altheide & Snow, 1979, p.10). Nowadays, various social sectors adhere to this media logic to make strategic decisions, for example, how someone giving a speech dresses and grooms him/herself, or how a political campaign should be run step by step.

Media logic and media politics also apply to the social movement sector. One of the key tasks for social movement activists is the “reprogramming of the communication networks in terms of their cultural codes and in terms of the implicit social and political values and interests that they convey” (Castells, 2009, p. 302). Media logic is seldom restricted to the methods of media reporting or the ways of getting media exposure. Instead, the essence of media logic refers to human activities in different areas taking into serious consideration how to present certain figures/actions/messages in order to catch public attention and to stimulate people’s imagination about the nature of a particular type of event. The style of presenting a particular figure/event is derived from the media’s long-term logic of image construction, such as finding a central figure as a spokesperson as illustrated in the previous section, capturing action scenes which are consistent with people’s perception of social order (e.g. movements contain violence) as well as the eye-
catching cultural repertoires seemingly fresh to the society.

In terms of how to disseminate the movement messages, including the movement goals and appeals, social movement scholars have postulated a framing approach (e.g. Snow & Benford, 1988; Cress & Snow, 2000). Snow & Benford (1988, p. 198) defined how the movement actors frame in the following way: “they frame, or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists”. Through framing, the movement’s activists make their claims in more straightforward and understandable ways to both internal and external social members - to provide an alternative angle to see different social issues.

According to Bondes & Heep (2013), framing makes an effective means of establishing legitimacy. Swidler (1995) pinpointed that movement actors usually borrow existing social frameworks, stories and legacies in the cultural “toolbox” to construct different movement events. A single occurrence can be linked to others in order to enrich the significance of a movement and to recruit a larger number of supporters. Scholars in the stream of movement framing have had the similar argument that, among series of framing strategies, frame bridging and amplification are among the most common strategies (Snow & Benford, 2000). Frame bridging refers to the linkage between ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected groups. Bridging them could link a movement with some potential but unmobilized population, such as connecting a movement’s appeal with the academic ideology in order to draw wider attention from the academic community (McCallion & Maines, 1999). Another strategy is frame amplification, which involves “the idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs… taps into existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom and the like” (Snow &
Benford, 2000, p. 624). Political opportunity process scholars also suggested that activists’ choice of action frame is derived from their perception towards the existing political system (Kitschelt, 1986). Since movement organizations are usually challenging established mainstream values, they need to build up their alternative frame of discourse in order to gain greater legitimacy (McLaughlin & Khawaja, 2000). It is with little doubt that, from these literatures, a movement never appears in a cultural vacuum. By strategically framing and packaging the movement, activists could make the movement rest in a more profound social ground that reaching beyond the specific movement topics to a wider temporal-spatial scope.

To operationalize movement frame analysis, generally there are three types of strategies to frame movement messages (Snow & Benford, 1988). A diagnostic framing means the identification of a problem and the attribution of blame. Prognostic framing refers to the solutions for identified problems as well as strategic aspects. Sometimes there is a direct correspondence between the diagnostic and prognostic framing. Regarding the motivational framing it focuses on the rationale for taking actions - why we take such action. It is also called action framing.

The framing perspective mainly views movements “not merely as carriers of existing ideas and meanings, but as signifying agents actively engaged in producing and maintaining meaning” (McAdam & Snow, 1997, p. 232). One important way to gain legitimacy is through identity building, to persuade the public that the movement is for justice - to distinguish the movement side from the counter side (usually the government) (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). In a youth movement that occurred in Nebraska to protest against an air force mission establishment, Hunt et al. (1994, p. 195) demonstrated the boundary framing strategy used by the young protestors --- the fearless “us” and the “them hooked into the system”.

61
This categorization brings about an identity field, which includes protagonists, antagonists, and audiences. The protagonist identity field brings together the social actors by means of their consensus on a problem/issue. Through the framing process, the members of a movement group distinguish themselves from outsiders. The protagonist identity field simply means “who we are”. Besides the protagonist identity field, in which the collective identity is substantially built, the antagonist identity field and the audience field serve as the counterpart and as the supplement to this collective identity. The antagonist field refers to how the movement actors attribute several particular characteristics to the individuals/organizations on the opposite side - “see what the enemy looks like”. These attributions are usually in conflict with the protagonist identity field. In terms of the audience field, it consists of attributions to the outsiders, who are assumed to be “neutral” in the movement actors’ minds and have the potential to respond to the movement - “how do the public respond”. Jasper (2014) called this work of making distinctions among people a part of an emotion project. Reinforcing the movement’s solidarity frame enhances reciprocal emotions such as group attachment. Portraying the oppositional side as evil can boost shared emotions such as indignation, anger and even hatred.

To sum up, this research tries to utilize the traditional RMT to engage in a comprehensive study of social movement resource mobilization dynamics. Although the traditional RMT analytical blocs are still utilized in the current framework, by integrating the traditional aspects with the new features of network society, the whole picture has been rejuvenated in order to adapt to the contemporary informationalism paradigm. In addition, the author also brings in heavy weight on human’s active role and the contextual concerns, hoping to embellish the RMT with more textures – the human face and cultural soil.
Chapter 4 The Research Field and Cases

4.1 The Research Field

For this qualitative social movement research, two major Chinese communities - Hong Kong and Taiwan – have been selected as the research field. Two typical social movement cases have been investigated to examine and attempt to answer the research questions.

The cases illustrated below reveal several commonalities: Hong Kong and Taiwan have both experienced a remarkable economic structural change, with an increasing share of service sector and a decreasing trend of manufacturing in the industrial structure. Having gone through the industrial age, Hong Kong now becomes an international financial center and Taiwan is famous for its high-technology micro-electronics development. They both have freedom of speech, and enjoy a high penetration rate of ICTs in people’s daily lives. Also, due to historical reasons, an ambiguous relationship between the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and these two regions has fermented for decades. Identity anxiety and mixed emotions towards the PRC are prevalent among both Hong Kong’s and Taiwan’s people. In such a historical and social context, Hong Kong and Taiwan can be viewed as a large Chinese community and research field.

4.1.1 Economic and technological development

Hong Kong and Taiwan are two among the Four Asian Tigers, due to their rapid economic growth during the 1970s and 1990s. They both have experienced significant structural transformation of industry through the recent decades. In Hong Kong, the manufacturing sector has undergone an important restructuring process in the 1980s
and early 1990s, with a trend of moving the factories to South China where enjoys cheaper land and labor wage. In 2012, manufacturing accounted for 1.5% of the GDP, while the services sector constituted a share of 93%. (Information Service Department, HKSAR, 2014). In Taiwan, though the situation turns different from Hong Kong, it also reveals an escalating share of the service sector but a dropping share of traditional industry (including mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction, and public utilities). According to Taiwan’s Industrial Development Bureau (2013), in 2012, the industrial sector’s contribution to GDP decreased to 29.8%, while that of the services sector increased to 68.2%. With the advent of a knowledge-based economy, the services sector’s contribution to GDP is expected to rise continuously. By contrast, the agricultural sector’s contribution to GDP has been falling for decades and plummeted to only 2.0% in 2012. According to GDP (Gross Domestic Production) per capita ranking, in 2013, Hong Kong ranks 25 and Taiwan ranks 39, while the PRC ranks 83 (The World Bank, 2014).

From the table below, data retrieved from International Monetary Fund (2014) shows that the economic status of Hong Kong and Taiwan has continued to improve in recent decades, with especially rapid rates during the 1980s and 1990s, though slightly slower after 2000.

[Table 1. Economic status of Hong Kong and Taiwan]

According to the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the average percentage of individual use of the internet in developed countries is 75.7% (2013) and 29.9% (2013) in developing countries (ITU, 2014). Hong Kong is regarded as a robust ICT hub with household broadband penetration rate of 82.8%, mobile penetration rate of 237.3%, and the number of mobile devices capable of internet
access has reached 12.7 million (with the population of 7 million). The average peak internet connection speed, at 73.9 Mbps, is the fastest in the world, and the average connection speed, at 15.7 Mbps, is ranked the second fastest in the world (Office of Government Chief Information Officer HK SAR, 2014). More than 31% of mobile device consumers own more than one mobile phone (Nielsen, 2014).

In Taiwan, according to the research data in 2013, the penetration of 3G internet access service subscriptions is 79.7% (Institute for Information Industry, 2014). The survey result released by the Digital Opportunity Survey for Individuals and Households shows that, Taiwan’s internet use rate has been in line with other developed countries around the world: “80.7% of people aged over 12 have used a PC at least once; 78% have used the internet, showing the mature and stable computer and Internet use situation, the figure equal to the 78% that is the average internet use rate in developed countries calculated by the ITU, and well over the global average of 40%” (National Development Council, 2015). This survey also indicates a big increase in wireless and mobile internet use, which has increased from 76.6% in 2013 to 91.5% in 2014. The percentage of internet users over 12 years who own a smartphone (84.9%) and tablet PC (47.2%) also increased by 15.4% and 11.5% respectively in 2013. Among internet users, 83.8% use instant messaging (software), and 81.4% use social networking websites.

4.1.2 A brief introduction of social-political status and social movement path

Hong Kong

Hong Kong was handed over to the PRC’s sovereignty on July 1, 1997 and became a special administrative region (HKSAR), after more than a hundred years of British colonial rule. The British government and the PRC government signed the
Sino-British joint-declaration in 1984, giving Hong Kong a “high degree of autonomy” under PRC sovereignty according to the “one country, two systems” formula. Hong Kong retains its capitalist system while PRC implemented “socialism with Chinese characteristics”. The press freedom ranking of Hong Kong was 18 in 2002 (the PRC was 138 among 139 countries) and 58 in 2013 (the PRC was 173 among 179 countries), according to “Reporters Without Borders” (original French name “Reporters sans frontières” (RSF, 2013). Though the ranking has degraded throughout the years and scholars have pointed out the increasing self-censorship among journalists and decline of Hong Kong’s press freedom (e.g. Lee & Chan, 2009), Hong Kong still enjoys relatively greater press freedom compared to its sovereign nation the PRC.

Despite the scarcity of society-wide turmoil after the massive riots in 1967, due to what King (1975) called “administrative absorption of politics”, Lam (2004) argued that Hong Kong people are far from politically apathetic. Instead, different types of movements have never ceased to occur. According to Chan & Lui’s study (2010), the period in the late 1960s and early 1970s signifies the watershed and witnessed the massive development of civil society. Led by an increasing number of pressure groups, people started to fight for various interests (e.g. labor rights, housing issues) and the recognition of identity (e.g. a movement striving for Chinese as an official language). Meanwhile, student movements started to thrive: besides a series of movements on campus issues, college students actively participated in nationalist-driven movements (e.g. defend Diao-yu Island) and anti-colonialism movements (e.g. chasing the corrupt colonial official Godber). After the 1967 anti-colonialist riots, the colonial government started to improve its image by opening spaces for “consultative democracy” to encourage a minimum level of grass roots’ political participation, and
by introducing public housing, fighting crime and corruption, and promoting activities such as the “Hong Kong Festival” to help establish people’s feeling of belonging (Lui & Chiu, 1999).

From the 1980s, several factors greatly influenced the development of civil society: the gradual promoting of democracy by the colonial government after it realized that Hong Kong was doomed to return to China’s sovereignty in 1997, and the rising number of political parties. This democratization led to the popular election of some legislator seats, which made civil society start to overlap with partisan politics in the battle for democracy. In such a context, in the 1980s, student movements focused on Hong Kong’s future and advocated a democratic hand-over. Though less driven by passionate nationalism compared to the “China week” activity and the “defend Diao-yu Island movement” dating back to the 1970s, the theme for the students’ actions remained connected to their Chinese identity – advocating a “democratic return to China” (Choy et al., 1998). In 1989, hoping for a better Hong Kong and a better China, Hong Kong’s college students passionately involved themselves in various campaigns supporting the student protestors in Beijing, until the bloodshed on June 4 smashed this spark of hope.

After the hand-over, Hong Kong passed through the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the governance crisis of Tung Chee-Hwa (the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong after the hand-over) and on July 1, 2003, five hundred thousand Hong Kong people took to the streets for a mass rally, expressing their discontent towards the government. The 2003 march against the proposed introduction of the national security law, marked a watershed in the development of Hong Kong’s civil society which gained an enlarged public base. In 2005, the WTO conference was held in Hong Kong and encountered protests from activists coming from around the world.
For the first time, Hong Kong activists from different areas followed other foreign protesters (among whom the Korean protesters played dominant role) to implement direct action, e.g. building blockades and occupying public space (Lam & Ip, 2011). In 2007, a movement to preserve the Star-Ferry Pier and the Queen’s Pier was organized by a group of activists who had been involved in the anti-WTO protests. According to Ma (2007), this wave of cultural preservation movements signified the rise in voices to protect and re-examine Hong Kong’s local history and local identity. In 2009-2010, a massive movement occurred protesting the construction of an express railway (XRL) connecting Hong Kong and mainland China. A group of non-partisan and non-college based youths took up the leading role, part of whom were experienced activists who had also participated in the anti-WTO and cultural preservation movements referred to above. The anti-XRL activists called various protests in which over ten thousand citizens participated (Wang, 2011). Ma (2011) has argued that as Hong Kong entered a post-industrial era, an increase in income inequality and reduction of upward mobility have led people to start to question the neoliberal myth and seek a greater degree of political participation. “Hong Kong people have begun to see democracy in terms of equal political rights, which makes them less content with the inequality and semi-democratic nature of the current regime” (p.683-684).

Taiwan

In 1945, the government of the Republic of China (ROC) was among the victorious countries at the end of World War II. Officials and armies arrived in Taiwan and reclaimed sovereignty from the Japanese colonial government. Meanwhile, the civil war between the CCP and Kuomintang (KMT) continued in mainland China. In
1945 having lost the civil war, Chiang Kai-Shek led his KMT armies in flight to Taiwan and established Taiwan as the base for the ROC in exile. Claiming that the ROC represented the legitimate Chinese government, Chiang put “retaking the mainland” as the priority of the nation. As a way to legitimize the ROC’s status quo as the true government of China, the congress members, who were elected as representatives of different Chinese provinces, were never re-elected again by the Taiwanese people. In the social cultural realm, the ROC government stressed Taiwan’s Chinese roots (Wang, 2005). Denouncing the legacy of Japanese colonial rule and suppressing Taiwanese local culture, Taiwan’s people were told that the mainland on the other side of the strait was the motherland and the real “home”.

Starting from late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the skyrocketing growth of the domestic economy and the change in Taiwan’s international status marked another phase of the country’s history. The ROC’s seat in the United Nations was replaced by the PRC government, triggering heated discussion in society regarding Taiwan’s identity. Taiwanese people, especially in the intellectual milieu, started to question the possibility of “retaking the mainland” and to contemplate a Taiwanese identity – the process of indigenization or bentuhua (Makeham, 2005). And at the same time, the government realized the great necessity to develop its economy. The founding of export-processing zones and ports, encouragement of foreign investment and support for privately-owned manufacturing companies brought historic prosperity to Taiwan.

Taiwan’s long-battle for democracy and the rise of civil society started from the 1970s. Facing Taiwan’s withering diplomatic status and the rise of the indigenization wave, the successor to Chiang Kai-Shek, Chiang Ching-Kuo, took several steps towards political transformation, such as increasing the number of local Taiwanese in
government posts and adding supplemental legislative seats which could be elected by the Taiwanese people. Lacking media attention as the mass media was controlled by the ruling party KMT, opposition campaigns made great use of large-scale assemblies and rallies in order to attract public attention, while physical confrontations between the police and the public occurred from time to time (Wang, 2005). Intensive discussion and campaigns also permeated the cultural and social realms, such as the blossoming of opposition magazines. Among this wave of opposition movements the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was founded in 1986. Holding to a belief in Taiwanese independence and aiming to overturn the KMT’s authoritarian rule, the DPP set up a special sector to enhance coordination with different SMOs to impose greater pressure on the KMT government (Wang, 2005, p. 69). Meanwhile people also witnessed the rise of SMOs and NGOs in different fields. The period between the 1980s and early 1990s was the golden age for social movements, with the thriving of ten social movement sectors in different social areas (Hsiao, 2010). In March 1990, hundreds of college students initiated a sit-in protest – the Wild Lily movement, in front of the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall, demanding the government to set up a national assembly and dismiss the never-elected permanent congress. Eventually, the president at the time, Lee Teng-Hui, a Taiwan local and a KMT reformist, agreed to the students’ demands. Following the re-electing of the congress, in 1996, the Taiwan people welcomed their historic first-time popular election of the president.

In 2000, Taiwan society witnessed another historic change as a DPP member, Chen Shui-Bian took the presidency and completed the transition of the ruling party for the first time. The DPP incorporated a large number of previous activists in various central executive posts. Though different SMOs and NGOs continued to
make achievements in the law-making arena, according to Ho (2005)’s analysis, these achievements were entirely due to the DPP’s benevolent character. Instead, it corresponded to the DPP’s redistribution of social resources and power. Hsiao (2010) further pointed out that, despite the fact that the DPP and social movement circles had established close relationships in the battle of anti-authoritarianism, the DPP’s eight-year rule disappointed the social movement sector in terms of social transformation.

In 2008, the KMT retook the ruling position when Ma Ying-Jeou was elected president. Claiming that under the DPP’s anti-China policy, Taiwan had gone through hardships due to the strains on the cross-strait relationship and declines in the economy, the KMT government resumed positive interaction with mainland China within the framework of the “92 consensus” (one China with respective interpretations). However, in 2008, the visit of a PRC Official, Chen Yunlin, triggered a large-scale student movement, which was called the Wild Strawberry movement. Police brutality in response led to thousands of students gathering not only in Taipei but also in various cities around Taiwan. One of the movement’s demands was the amendment of the Assembly and Parade Act. It also reflected the young generation’s discontent towards Ma Ying-Jeou government’s pro-China gestures.

Taiwan’s political arena is divided into two camps – the pro-China blue camp and the pro-Taiwan-independence green camp. To oppose Lee Teng-Hui’s intention to support Taiwan’s independence, the New Party was founded by a group of former-KMT members, branding themselves as strong guardians of Chinese identity. Another leading figure of the KMT, James Song, founded the People First Party. Therefore now the pan-blue camp is constituted by the KMT, the New Party and the People First Party. In the green camp, besides the DPP as a major constituent, the Taiwan
Solidarity Union, which was founded in the early 2000s, is another member. For a long time, members of the blue and green camps were engaged in serious conflict. For example, during the mayoral elections in 1994, when candidates from the New Party and DPP made public speeches, DPP supporters accused the New Party side of being “Chinese pigs”. In 1997, intense disputes over school textbook revision took place. The pro-independent green camp had heated quarrels with the pro-China blue camps over interpretations of Taiwan’s history. And the two sides undertook various protests (e.g. throwing eggs at official buildings). The deep cleavage between the two camps has marked out Taiwan’s political culture as a blue-green duel. This duel is not only being for or against Taiwan’s independence, but is also related to the long-lasting ethnic conflict between the mainlanders (and the mainlanders’ offspring) and the Taiwanese (Wang, 2005).

4.1.3 Ambivalent relationship with People’s Republic of China (PRC)

Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, due to the “one country two systems” settlement, people have a special identity, as they are under China’s sovereignty but they regard themselves as different from mainland China. Plus, as an international financial center, Hong Kong has been long treated as an independent region in the global arena. From this particular situation emerges the identity of two “nationalities” although there is only one country, as the PRC has sovereignty. Under colonial rule, the spread of western culture and the prosperous local economy made Hong Kong people perceive that they were richer, better educated and more civilized than the Chinese mainlanders (Ma, 2002a). In Hong Kong, as a land of political refugees for those who escape from the turmoil in the mainland, people have been suspicious of the Communist regime in
China, and the hostility peaked during the Tian’anmen protests (Ma, 2002a). However, in the first a few years after the hand-over in 1997, a longitudinal study conducted by the Public Opinion Program in The University of Hong Kong shows a remarkable increase in recognition of the “Chinese identity”. But after 2008, the year in which Beijing held the Olympic Games, the degree of recognition of being “Chinese” has kept decreasing while the identification as “Hong Kong-er” has increased (Public Opinion Programme, 2014).

In 2003, the Chinese government implemented the Individual Visit Scheme (IVS) policy, which aimed to attract more mainland tourists to Hong Kong to boost the economy after the SARS epidemic. With a dramatic increase in the number of tourists, mass media as well as online social media began to give wide coverage to certain improper behavior of mainland tourists and highlighted some controversial incidents between them and local people. In 2012, a scholar from Peking University condemned Hong Kong people as “dogs” in a television program (Oriental Daily, January 21, 2012) because Hong Kong people had widely discussed mainlanders’ “uncivilized” behaviors. To fight back, a group of netizens initiated a fund raising campaign and later successfully posted an advertisement in the newspaper, showing mainlanders as locusts invading Hong Kong (Apple Daily, February 2, 2012). Protests, such as those against milk powder smuggling and against mainland mothers giving birth in Hong Kong to gain rights of adobe for their children, have occurred from time to time. The anti-mainlander emotions have resurfaced at a high level among Hong Kong-ers. A recent poll conducted by a recognized local newspaper, the South China Morning Post, showed that nearly 80% of HK residents no longer welcome the “generous-but-impolite tourists” (2012).
Taiwan

“Our stance on developing cross-Straits relations is consistent, firm and clear… we will unswervingly adhere to the one-China principle, never give up efforts of peaceful reunification, nor change the principle of pinning hope on the Taiwan people and never compromise on opposition to secessionist activities.” (Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council PRC, 2006, February 8)

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, in 1945 the ROC took back Taiwan from Japanese colonial rule. During fifty years of colonization, the whole society had adapted to Japanese-style norms. But to the ROC government, which originated from mainland China, all these were deemed to be signs of being “enslaved by the Japanese” (Wang, 2005, p. 59). The cultural differences and the social status hierarchy between the local Taiwanese and the mainlanders eventually brought forth the bloodshed of the “228 incident” (on February 28, 1947). This China-centered paradigm was continued after the whole ROC government fled to Taiwan. Under such a Sinicizing paradigm, mainland China’s history, language and literature were given a higher status compared to Taiwan’s local ones. Beijing-origin Mandarin was regarded as the “national language”, which should be spoken in all official departments and education institutions. Those who used Japanese or their own dialects would be asked to pay fines (National Museum of Taiwan Literature, n.d.). On the one hand, the ROC government imposed the “re-Sinicization” movement on the Taiwanese people in order to make them recognize their “Chinese identity”. On the other hand, by claiming that the ROC represented the legitimate Chinese government, the KMT ruling party taught people to hate the CCP ruling on the other side of the Taiwan Strait. But for some Taiwan people, the ROC government became another colonial regime after the Japanese (Chang, 1991).
As mentioned before, the weakening international status of the ROC led Taiwan people to re-examine the future of the island and their identity. In the mid-1980s, statements referring to the “Taiwan nation”, “Taiwanese consciousness” and the “self-determination of Taiwan’s future” gradually appeared more boldly in magazines (Jacobs, 2005). Having been isolated from the mainland for decades under the emergency law until 1987, when Chiang Ching-Kuo allowed Taiwan people to visit China, people found that they had totally different lifestyles across the Strait. The 1989 Tiananmen massacre made Taiwan people feel more hatred against the CCP in the mainland. If Chiang Ching-Kuo’s decision to allow the foundation of the DPP was due to the democratizing wave which had occurred in Taiwan, Lee Teng-Hui’s failure to condemn the DPP’s strong pro-independence stance reflected the popular inclination for Taiwan to be independent from mainland China (Wang, 2005, p. 79). In such a historical context, after the dismissal of the “permanent congress”, the new generation of legislators who were elected by the Taiwanese people had less emotional baggage about the “homeland” mainland China and was more attached to Taiwan.

After Chiang Ching-Kuo discontinued the emergency law and aborted the status or war with the mainland, a series of constitutional amendments under Lee Teng-Hui’s rule re-defined the cross-Strait relationship. Among these were limiting the sovereignty of the ROC to Taiwan and the offshore islands, the founding of the Committee for National Unification and embarking on informal “bilateral talks”. However, democratization in Taiwan and the first popular election of the president in 1996 agitated mainland China, which remains a non-democratic country. Military exercises were undertaken by the PLA to threaten Taiwan. But in that election, the voting participation rate was over seventy percent. And Lee won the votes of over
fifty percent (Central Election Commission, n.d.). After Chen Shui-Bien from the DPP took the presidency in 2000, the PRC denounced Chen as a trouble-maker and saboteur of cross-strait unification (Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council PRC, 2006, February 8). According to Hsiao (2005), the historical trajectory of Taiwan’s “Taiwanization” which has also led to the dynamics in the cross-Strait relationship is driven by the forces of ethnic politics (mainlanders vs. locals), and the international and domestic political environment (Taiwan’s international status and the quest for democracy).

In spite of the fact that the PRC government has always claimed sovereignty over Taiwan, the Taiwanese people have embraced a stronger and stronger recognition of Taiwanese identity, while the inclination to Chinese identity keeps decreasing, according to a long-term survey conducted by National Cheng Chi University from 1992 to 2014 (Election Study Center, N.C.C.U., 2015a). In another set of data, in terms of the Taiwanese people’s attitude towards unification with mainland China and Taiwanese independence, results show that the dominant opinion remains “maintain the status quo, decide later”. However, the options to “maintain status quo indefinitely” and “maintain status quo, move towards independence” are continuing to increase in popularity, with the former stance remaining higher than the latter one. It is noteworthy that the stance of “unification as soon as possible” is always at the lowest point (Election Study Center, N.C.C.U., 2015b).

From the above description, we can see that for Hong Kong and Taiwan, their ruling power has gone through transition from a colonial government to a sovereign power originating from mainland China. This transition of ruling power not only has a political impact on the local societies, but also has a strong influence on people’s everyday lives. For the local people in Hong Kong and Taiwan, mainland China
represents an external force which has landed and permeated their original social life, especially after a long period of being colonized. Moreover, the currently non-democratic PRC government is regarded as a potential threat to Hong Kong’s rule of law and Taiwan’s long-fought for democracy.

In terms of social movements, though there are differing characteristics in Hong Kong and Taiwan due to their different historical contexts, some similarities do exist. For instance, the process of social movement institutionalization exists in both societies, in terms of the emergence of a large variety of SMOs/NGOs leading movements and the cooperation between political parties and social movement circles. In addition, both in Hong Kong and Taiwan, in around 2008 and 2009, a new type of movement organization appeared which is characterized by “organizing without organization” and the pursuit of non-material values. In Hong Kong, the anti-express rail link movement saw a large crowd of non-partisan young activists taking the leading role to protect Hong Kong’s local natural resources. This also marks a moment in which Hong Kong youth re-examined the Sino-Hong Kong relationship and their local identity. In Taiwan, the Wild Strawberry movement brought to the society a networking form of movement communication for the first time. College students from the north and south held sit-in protests but communicated simultaneously, facilitated by ICTs at that time. And this movement also marked a milestone in that Taiwan’s new generation expressed their indifference and even indignation towards the PRC and CCP power.

4.2 The Cases

The cases under investigation are indigenous incidents embedded in the two major Chinese regions – Hong Kong and Taiwan. In Hong Kong, the anti-national and
moral education movement has been selected. People felt that the national education curriculum was a way to control students’ minds and to instill PRC nationalism. The anti-media monopoly movement in Taiwan has also been examined. This movement was to express strong oppositional voice against the Want Want group’s continual expansion of its media business, which it was felt might lead to business monopoly and the concentration of opinion in Taiwan’s media environment. It is conspicuous that both movements revealed people’s strong quest for freedom in different areas, representing value-oriented movement goals.

The selection of the cases was made for several reasons.

First, the movement activists widely utilized new forms of communication media to facilitate their internal and external communication. During the movements, the traditional and new forms of communication forms co-existed to build up multiple communication channels, not only to facilitate daily communication, but also to accomplish cross-issue/organization/territory networking. In addition, in these two movements, both young and middle-aged protestors constituted the major movement organizers.

Second, the cases below were organized more like an SMC than a traditional SMO. Both of the movements had been gestating for quite a while before the peak of demonstrations and other actions. In the gestation period, a small group of scholars had already worked on the issues, using their professional skills. Both of the movements started to draw society-wide attention because of a triggering spark, which echoes what Castells (2012) argued was common in networked movements: “movements are largely spontaneous in their origin, usually triggered by a spark of indignation either related to a specific event or to a peak of disgust with the actions of the rulers” (p. 224). The two cases started with a small group of people who formed
concern groups or friendship-based small communities. During the peak of action, supporters from different social sectors joined the movements and formed a large movement network. In general, the organizational forms were loose and non-hierarchical.

Third, the cases studied here recruited and managed movement resources which were different from those of the traditional SMOs. For example, the women’s movements in the 1970s recruited monetary resources to build various institutions (e.g. women’s health centers) in different locations, which was also a means to facilitate communication and to maintain the membership. In today’s SMCs, although the movement activities are scattered in different locales in different formats, they are no longer restricted to a single material form or physical location. Resources to support the movement came from a large number of sources, especially crowdsourcing from ordinary people and technical support from other movement organizations. In this sense, the SMCs reveal a more fluid form than the traditional ones.

Last but not least, in terms of the relationship between the movements and the historical/social context, the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement reveal the commonality of the “China factor” as their common social context. It is noteworthy that, under what Wu Jieh-Min called in (2012) the “China factor” - the rising power of China in both economic and political terms - people in Hong Kong and Taiwan (which are regarded as geographically peripheral to mainland China) frame their movement issues on a broader scale of geo-politics and identity issues. That is to say, the education issue embedded in the anti-M&N movement and the media business issue originated from the anti-media monopoly movement were linked to the broader concerns of national politics. This phenomenon and movement
strategy is worthy of further analysis, in the sense of discovering in what way the activists designed and presented this “China factor” throughout the movement. On a conceptual level, the “China factor” implies a cultural aspect to movement resources, providing a glimpse into how the activists intertwined the movement’s messages with the broader social context, in order to draw wider attention and empathy.

4.2.1 Hong Kong: Anti-Moral and National Education Movement (anti-M&N)

In 2001, the Curriculum Development Council (a free-standing advisory body appointed by the chief executive to provide advice to the government on school curriculum development) suggested the importance of cultivating Hong Kong students’ moral character and national identity. Throughout the years, primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong promoted moral and national education through class teaching and extra-curricular activities. In 2010, the chief executive announced in the “Policy Address 2010-11” that the M&N should be taught as an independent subject in every school. In May 2011, the Hong Kong government released the first-draft M&N education curriculum guidelines and started the consultation period. Also in this month, a group of secondary-school students formed an anti-M&N organization called Scholarism. During the July 1 march which is a yearly demonstration in Hong Kong, Scholarism and a few education-related NGOs expressed strong opposition to introduction of the M&N subject. Later, on August 21, Scholarism initiated the very first anti-M&N demonstration, in which some political parties and NGOs also participated.

During the first few months of 2012, Scholarism erected street booths in different districts to promote the anti-M&N movement and collected ordinary citizens’ signatures on a petition. In May 2012, the government announced a revised
version of the M&N subject guidelines, indicating a three-year buffer before implementation, and announced that it would provide a subject subsidy of HKD 530,000 for each school. On May 13, 2012, Scholarism and a number of NGOs held an anti-M&N march again and suggested holding a large demonstration at the Liaison Office of the Central People’s Government in Hong Kong (Liaison Office) on July 1. In mid-July, a piece of teaching material called the “China Model”, designed by the Advanced Institute for Contemporary China Studies in Hong Kong Baptist University, was unveiled and triggered intensive social attention. People thought that this material showed only a one-dimensional view of China and that it uncritically praised the Chinese Communist Party. This reinforced the suspicion that whole M&N subject was designed to brain-wash Hong Kong’s next generation. Seeing the controversial “China Model”, a large number of anti-M&N organizations was founded, among which the Parents Concern Group and the Anti-M&N Alliance were the major movement organizers. The Anti-M&N Alliance was constituted by over twenty NGOs, with Scholarism, the Parents Concern Group, the Federation of Students and a few education-related organizations as the leading components. On July 29, a march with 90,000 participants was held, including a large number of parents and kids voicing their opposition to the government on the issue of the M&N subject. After the 729 demonstration, Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group held street booths in different areas to promote the movement’s message. Scholarism also conducted various direct actions, such as chasing the chief education bureau official Ng Hak-Kim and different political parties. On August 22, the government announced the setting up of the Committee on the Implementation of M&N to allay public concern. The government’s insistence on promoting this subject disappointed the anti-M&N organizations.
At the end of August, members from Scholarism initiated Occupy Civic Square (a space in front of the Government Headquarters) and started a hunger strike. On September 1, the Anti-M&N Alliance held a carnival-style demonstration near the Government Headquarters, with a huge number of participants joining the sit-in protest and even popular singers expressing their oppositions on stage. After the carnival, the protestors joined Occupy Civic Square and held a large variety of activities over the following days, such as public lectures. On September 8, the government announced a concession, by cancelling the three-year implementation period and allowing each school to decide on the implementation of the M&N subject. The day after, the Anti-M&N Alliance retreated from Civic Square. On September 11, the Federation of Students held a half-day class-boycott, demanding the government terminate the whole M&N curriculum. Following the class-boycott, the anti-M&N organizations suggested transferring the anti-brainwash focus from Civic Square to every school, marking the end of the movement.

4.2.2 Taiwan: Anti-Media Monopoly Movement

In September 2011, the National Communication Commission (NCC) held the first administrative hearing regarding Want Want’s intention to purchase a multiple system operator, CNS. Over the following months, a group of media and economic scholars from National Taiwan University, as well as a number of NGOs, held various press conferences and forums regarding this media purchase issue. Want Want is a food industrial group which originated in Taiwan and has built its major market in mainland China. In 2008, the Want Want group had purchased a leading media group in Taiwan, the China Times, turning it into Want Want China Times Group which includes the China Times newspaper, Cti satellite TV (CtiTV), and an analog
television channel called CTV. CNS is one of the few multiple system operators in Taiwan providing a platform for various media channels. According to research conducted by the media scholars and economists, the influence from the Want Want China Times Group has widely reached to every media area in Taiwan, including paid and free newspaper, analog and digital television. If Want Want continued to purchase CNS which decides channels to be aired, it will definitely become a media monopoly monster (Cheng & Lin, 2011, September 5).

In January 2012, the boss of Want Want, Tsai Yan-Ming told the Washington Post in an interview that, “(for the 1989 Tiananmen protest) I realized that not that many people could really have died” (Higgins, 2012, January 21). Tsai’s words triggered indignation among intellectual circles. Professor Huang Kuo-Chang, a law scholar in Academia Sinica, initiated a campaign called “say No to China Times”, advocating the view that columnists should stop writing for the China Times.

On July 25, 2012, Professor Huang Kuo-Chang organized a small-scale protest in front of the NCC. Following Huang’s protest, a group of students also had a protest at the same location. In the following days, the Want Wang media group repeatedly reported that Huang had paid and employed the group of student protestors. In the wake of Want Want media’s intensive criticism towards Professor Huang, a college student, Chen Wei-Ting, forwarded an image online, indicating that someone from Want Want media group had also appeared at the protest site and voicing the suspicion that the protest was manipulated by the media group itself. Seeing this, the Want Want media group claimed that they might sue Chen for having committed libel. To support Chen Wei-Ting, over seven hundred students gathered at the CtiTV building on July 31 and protested against Want Want media’s misconduct in relation to journalistic professionalism (known as the 731 protest besieging the CtiTV
building). After the protest, college students formed the “Anti-Media Monopoly Youth Alliance” (Youth Alliance). At the same time, a large group of scholars and NGOs formed a “901 Anti-Media Monopoly Alliance” (901 Alliance) and decided to hold a rally on September 1 (the 901 grand rally). The demands of this 901 grand rally included: the media to uphold journalistic professionalism, an apology from Want Want media group, more NCC oversight of the media conglomerate, and opposition to media monopoly. Meanwhile, scholars from the 901 Alliance urged the NCC to amend the existing broadcasting acts as a top priority, by adding a series of rules to curb possible media monopoly.

In November 2012, information came out that Jimmy Lai intended to sell Next Media’s Taiwan branch. , Tsai Yan-Ming was one of the few potential buyers. Next Media is a Hong Kong based media group, known for its pro-democracy and anti-CCP stance. Next Media’s Taiwan branch included Taiwan Apple Daily (the newspaper with the top readership in Taiwan) and Next TV. The potential buyers included: the chairman of Chinatrust Charity Foundation, the CEO of Formosa Plastics Corporation, as well as Tsai Yan-Ming, who would bring in private funds from Singapore. Scholars strongly criticized these potential buyers’ appropriateness for being a media owner, such as whether a financial industry tycoon could own a media company, and what a climate contaminating company would do to control media content if it owns a media company. And they demanded the relevant official departments, such as the Financial Supervisory Commission, Fair Trade Commission and NCC to scrutinize this crucial media deal. At the same time, various actions were taken by Next Media’s labor union and by the Youth Alliance. Hoping to elevate the movement’s scale, the Youth Alliance initiated Occupy Executive Yuan, several actions outside the Fair Trade Commission and a sit-in protest outside the Presidential
Office on New Year’s Eve. During this period of time, the Youth Alliance outlined their movement goals as: the government to take responsibility to carefully examine the media purchase deal, a demand for an anti-media monopoly law, say No to China factor, safeguard journalistic independence and support for Next Media’s labor union.

In January 2013, the NCC suggested passing an anti-media monopoly law. Considering it might take years for the NCC to draft an anti-media monopoly bill and seeing that the amendment to the existing broadcasting acts had been suspended by the ruling party after its second reading, in the following months, the DPP and scholars from the 901 Alliance drafted different versions of the anti-media monopoly bill. On May 30, the transportation committee of the Legislative Yuan passed the primary examination of the bill and sent it for further consideration. However, after the second reading, the bill has been suspended.
Chapter 5 Methodology

The current research is a qualitative study focusing on how activists mobilize different movement resources. A multiple-case design will be adopted to gauge the mobilization dynamics among different movement entities and to develop the traditional RMT model with a new face by integrating the traditional and new analytical blocs.

5.1 Rationale of Multiple-Case Study

To examine cases is to have an inquiry into a phenomenon embedded in real life (Yin, 2014). By studying a case or a few similar cases, researchers hope to present a highly focused, richly detailed and thick elaboration of a certain socially significant phenomenon. Snow & Trom (2002) argued that, to do a case study, the case may be representative of a large movement environment. The cases selected for this study, to certain extent, make the milestones for Hong Kong and Taiwan’s social movement path especially in the recent years. For one thing, both the anti-M&N movement and the anti-monopoly movement witness a networked power from the movement alliances, representing the world-widely popular form of movement. For another thing, both movements reveal discernible movement appeals which are beyond the movement issues and linked with the larger cultural ground. These two distinctive features make these two cases valuable and suitable to probe into the two main aspects of the research questions: the mobilization dynamics and cultural concern. This also corresponds to Yin (2014)’s one of the case study rationales that, cases need to be critical to the theory/theoretical propositions. Yin’s other rationales are extreme cases, everyday common cases and revelatory cases (difficult to access).
Multiple-case design is gaining popularity nowadays, as evidence derived from multiple cases is regarded as more compelling and robust. The logic of choosing multiple-case study rather than single case study relies on the logic of replication. The evidence from the result replication or theoretical replication could be more persuasive than from a single case. The replication could be literal replication (cases showing similar results) and theoretical replication (cases showing contrasted results but consistent with the theoretical prediction). In the current study, the author follows the literal replication, in which the selected cases are expected to exhibit similar results in order to enhance the persuasiveness of certain new elements to be added into the traditional RMT model. According to Yin (2014), all the selected cases must consist of the “whole” study, “in which convergent evidence is sought regarding the facts and conclusions for the case” (p.59).

Generally speaking, multiple-case study is better than single case study is because you are not “putting all the eggs in one basket” – so vulnerable that the uniqueness or artifactual conditions could affect the case study’s external validity. For example, if only Hong Kong’s case is chosen, people might criticize it is because the author’s special relationship with the movement organization that this case is under investigation. By incorporating two cases which are representative and under the similar context, the author could claim stronger persuasiveness of the research results. Therefore, aiming at updating the traditional RMT and enriching it with a cultural facet, the author chooses the two-case design.

In the following discussion, semi-structured in-depth interviews and archive study will be employed as the major research methods. Besides conducting an in-depth qualitative-oriented investigation into the movement-related publicity materials and newspaper texts for probing into the context-based dynamics, the author will also
look into a general picture in terms of how the activists utilized their Facebook as a mobilization platform by employing a quantitative-based tactic. Through the triangulation of research methods, the author expects to have a thorough picture of the cases, not only the context-based nuances which constitute the movement dynamics, but also the general pattern of Facebook usage as a supplementary facet to the mobilization process.

5.2 Semi-Structured Interview

The selection of the interviewees was based on the principle that “individuals are selected because they have particular experiences in social movements, such as different levels of activism or participation in different factions of a movement” (Blee & Taylor, 2002, p. 100) – theoretical sampling. According to Blee & Taylor (2002), a semi-structured interview is particularly suitable for studying loosely-organized, short-lived movements. To conduct a semi-structured interview the interviewer relied on a preset interview guide to have a conversation with the interviewee, during which flexibility to digress or probe is allowed based on how the interaction goes. Using this interview method is intended to gain knowledge of in-depth and implicit views from the movement’s actors, viewing the participants as having distinctive agency.

5.2.1 Interviewee sampling

In this study, the core activists in each movement were the target interviewees. The category “core activists” includes interviewees who were involved in the movement in different phases:

Scholars or professionals (who possess professional skills in the particular issues: education issues in the Hong Kong case and media issues in the Taiwan case)
who had paid attention to and started to work on the issues long before the mass demonstrations took to the street. Usually, this small group of people contributed to the issue by writing articles in academic journals and newspapers, or by forming research groups in academia. Interviewees in this category might not join the mass demonstrations during the movement’s peak period.

A number of activists, who fully participated in the movements from the gestation period to the peak, or from the peak period to the latter stage of negotiation of policy changes, were selected. Specifically, they were from Scholarism (a Hong Kong movement group mainly formed by high school students and high school students) and the Anti-Monopoly Youth Alliance in Taiwan (constituted by college students from different cities, but since it has gone through a number of name changes, the name given here is by the author, based on the group’s Chinese name). Scholarism was involved in the anti-M&N movement since the government announced the policy in 2011, while the movement’s peak came in mid-2012. Besides the mass sit-in protest, hunger strike and Occupy Civic Square during the movement’s peak, Scholarism members carried out various street actions from 2011, such as setting up street booths to collect citizens’ signatures and promoting the movement in schools. Regarding the Anti-Monopoly Youth Alliance ( “Youth Alliance” hereafter), it was formed simultaneously after the movement’s trigger point (a famous young activist, Chen Wei-Ting was sued by the China Times group). Soon after, the Youth Alliance and other concern groups organized the 901 march. In the following months the Youth Alliance continued to follow the media monopoly issue, by organizing protests in front of different governmental bureaus.

There were also movement groups which were heavily involved in organizing and operating protests but gained relatively less of the spotlight than Scholarism or
the Youth Alliance. For example, in the Hong Kong case, these included the Parents Concern Group, the Federation of Students, alumni-based concern groups and a large number of university department-based and professional-based groups. Some of them joined the anti-M&N alliance, discussed action strategies and even went on hunger strike. In terms of the Taiwan case, besides the Youth Alliance, another college student organization called the “society of communication students” also took part in organizing movement issue-based workshops, joining marches and promoting movement messages by making online leaflets. Various NGOs, among which some represented media professionals and some media scholars, formed a 901 alliance which was mainly for the 901 demonstration. But this alliance ceased to play the behind-the-scene role after the march, though several members continued to appear and show support in different protests after that time.

Generally speaking, the interviewees selected for this research were at least involved in some discussion about action strategies and decision-making phases. This means that they were familiar with the resources in-hand and in-need, as well as the mobilization process. The interviewee recruitment was based on the snowball principle. As a result of agreement between the author and the interviewees, the interviewees’ identity will not be disclosed, but the general description of his/her role in the movements will be described.

[Table 2 List of interviewees]

5.2.2 Interview process

The interviews were conducted in Cantonese in Hong Kong and in Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan. Each interview took two hours on average. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Before each interview, a list of guiding questions was sent
to the interviewees (in some cases this procedure was not followed due to a spontaneous appointment). During the interviews, some digressions from the discussion and personal stories which were not included in the question list were also recorded. Transcription and coding of these stories was subject to the interviewees’ agreement. The question list below was designed according to the theoretical framework and the specific movement context.

Questions included these aspects:

1. What were the material resources (money, space and facilities) and technological needs in the protest sites?

2. How do the activists coordinate in different parts of the movement; How do different groups of people join or get involved in the movement; How do the activists commit to the movement by playing certain roles; In different stages of the movement, how do the activists change the level of involvement and their roles; How do the activists relate the specific movement to a broader range of issues or reach a broader territorial context?

3. In order to get wider public support, what sort of text or image information is used; From whom and how is the relevant information resource obtained; How is the information integrated and framed to legitimize the movement; How do they respond to the authorities or mass media, if there is any.

5.3 Archive Study

The archive study was mainly for three purposes. First, to know more concrete details about the movement’s mobilization strategies, such as different types of online posts used to call for street protests. Secondly, so that the author could get a better sense of the linkages among different organizations, for instance, various cross-
organizational public forums or material support provided by political parties when the movement organizations had not gained enough public attention. Sometimes the interviewees felt reluctant to disclose too much detail about the relationship between movement activists and political parties, due to the political culture in Hong Kong and Taiwan - people regard party politics as notorious power games which should be avoided by ordinary citizens. In this sense, hints about how different political parties played certain roles during the movements could be discovered more readily in archive research rather than face-to-face interviews. Third, through examining the activists’ publicity materials and mass media coverage, the author is able to discover how the activists legitimized the movement through texts and images, and how the mass media’s coverage of the protests and the activists was a source of legitimation for the whole movement.

5.3.1 Facebook archive

Facebook, the world-wide popular social networking site, is regarded as the most significant communication tool for activists, both internally and externally. Individuals or organizations are able to set up fan pages and event pages for free. A fan page is mainly for posting updated information, calling for participation and sharing stories/photos. By clicking the “follow” button, any Facebook user can be a “fan” of a certain individual/group. Once you become a fan of a fan page, news from that page will from time to time pop up to you. Event pages are set up for promoting a certain event, on which the time, venue and event agenda will be clearly indicated. Similarly, once you click “join” or “maybe join” an event, any updated news from that page will be on your wall of newsfeed. Movement organizers mostly utilize event pages for announcing event information and to estimate the number of possible
participants, while the fan page is more multi-functional in terms of the types of posts placed by the activists. The fan page is like a major communication platform between the movement’s organizers and participants, while an event page acts more like a notice board. In this case, Facebook fan pages, rather than event pages, were investigated in this research.

The fan pages selected for this study were founded by movement groups who played a leading role or at least organized some mass protests/actions during the movements. In Hong Kong, they are Scholarism (https://www.facebook.com/Scholarism), the Parents Concern Group (https://www.facebook.com/parentsconcerngroup), the Federation of Students (https://www.facebook.com/hkfs1958) and the Alumni’s Concern Union (https://www.facebook.com/AlumniConcernUnion). In Taiwan, pages include those of the Youth Alliance (https://www.facebook.com/formoshock?ref=br_tf), the Society of Communication Students (https://www.facebook.com/scstw1994), the 901 Alliance (https://www.facebook.com/antimonopoly?fref=nf), and the anti-media monster group (https://www.facebook.com/nowawawa). Though a lot more Facebook pages were set up for the selected movements or shared movement-related information, this research focuses on the major organizers’ mobilization processes.

Facebook posts retrieved for analysis include every single post during the period of investigation; some posts included text only or mixed forms of text, image and hyperlink. The author copied each post (including the pictures embedded if applied) and pasted on a word file as a way of sorting the data. Other materials stored on Facebook fans pages, including leaflets/posts and photos, and public statements were also examined. The period of data retrieval varies for different groups.

In the Hong Kong case, because Scholarism, the Parents Concern Group and
Alumni Concern Union were founded specially for the anti-M&N issue, the data retrieval period was set from their founding date to the end of September 2012, as the college students’ class-boycott action ended. Regarding the Federation of Students, because this organization has existed for decades, the data retrieval period was from the date they posted the first post about the M&N issue to the end of September 2012. Among these four groups, posts irrelevant to the M&N issue were deleted. In the case of Scholarism, one set of leaflets was posted during the anti-M&N movement, which was for explaining the government’s final response and advocating continuous surveillance on the M&N issue. Sixty-nine posters were released by Scholarism, mainly advocating protest participation. During the anti-M&N movement, fifty-one public statements were released by Scholarism. The Parents Concern Group also designed five leaflets to explain the actions they were taking and a layman-package (using layman’s language, with the minimum number of words and several images to illustrate an issue) to ask and answer a series of central questions regarding the M&N issue. The Parents Concern Group also published thirteen news-letters during the movement. The Federation of Students and Alumni Concern Union organizers did not specifically design public statements or leaflets, but integrated all sorts of content into Facebook posts.

Turning to the Taiwan anti-media monopoly movement, aside from the Society of Communication Students which is an organization with over ten years’ history, the Facebook pages of the Youth Alliance, the 901 Alliance and the anti-media monster group were established after the incident in which Professor Huang Kuo-Chang was accused by the Want Want media group. For this reason, the data retrieved from the above groups starts from August 2012. As far as the Facebook data is concerned, the peak time of the anti-media monopoly movement was the 901 grand rally, as the
above four movement groups intensively posted related news. Another wave occurred during November when activists from the Youth Alliance undertook several protests at different official departments regarding the Next Media issue. However, after this wave, from December 2012, both the 901 Alliance and the anti-media monster group ceased activity in the movement, with few follow-up posts. Therefore, the data retrieved from these two groups stopped at the end of December 2012. The Youth Alliance and the Society of Communication Students were continuously devoted to the Next Media issue, and the Youth Alliance even got actively involved in the process of drafting the anti-media monopoly bill, though not in a leading role. For this reason, the data retrieved from the Society of Communication Students stopped at the end of April 2013, as Taiwan Next Media eventually sold its television department, Next TV. Regarding the Facebook data of the Youth Alliance, the data set ranges from the starting point (July 31, 2012) till July 30, 2013, when the anti-media monopoly bill was suspended in the legislative process after the second-reading. Differing from the movement groups in Hong Kong, the Youth Alliance and the 901 Alliance did not store their public statements on the Facebook platform. Instead, Google sites and Weblog space were utilized. In total, twenty-one statements were retrieved from the Google site of the 901 Alliance (https://sites.google.com/site/occupyncc/statement) and twenty-three statements were accessed from the blog of the Youth Alliance (http://idontwantwantleague.blogspot.hk).

Regarding the photo albums posted on Facebook fan pages by the above movement organizations from Hong Kong and Taiwan, only those related to “how the activists utilized the resource in hand”, “how an action is operated”, “special people showing up in the protest”, and “what the protest looked like” were selected for further analysis. For example, if there were over twenty images about how Scholarism
members distributed leaflets in the street, the author selected a photo as representative and capable of showing how the booth was set up and what facilities were used in this action and a photo that shows the type of people (e.g. a father holding a baby) who came and signed the petition. Photos of a similar nature were excluded as redundant data.

5.3.2 Analysis process of movement organization data

A computer-aided qualitative analytical tool, Nvivo 9 was used for sorting and categorizing the data. After retrieving all the necessary data, the author repeatedly read through it all in order to become familiar with it and get a rough picture. After importing the data into the software, including texts and images, the author coded each unit as a descriptive node - the strategy of open coding, e.g. a sentence showing “political party members provide space for a meeting”, a whole paragraph of “academic analysis”, a photo showing “simple facilities for street action”, and a photo showing "simple facilities for street actions" and so on. On the one hand, the author needs to code as comprehensively as possible, trying to discover any possible description/expression that has appeared in the data. On the other hand, bearing in mind the theoretical framework, the author is required to discover emerging patterns of movement resource mobilization from the scattered nodes. When finishing the open coding of descriptive nodes, a process called categorization was conducted. This leads to the integration of emerging patterns. It is based on the theoretical framework in order to organize the numerous nodes into a tree shape, which means each analytical bloc contains layers of nodes or even sub-nodes. As stated in the theoretical frame, the analytical blocs include: material resources (including monetary and technical resources); human resources (those with professional/special knowledge in
different areas, mass self-communication capabilities; and legitimacy building (legitimacy building via mass self-communication with framing strategies and legitimacy gained from mass media coverage) (see Figure 5.1 & 5.2 for the list of nodes coded).

For the interview transcripts, the coding unit is based on whether the interviewee had finished expressing one point, namely, a method of lexical coding. A single sentence, a few sentences or even a whole paragraph can make up a coding unit. In line with the main purpose of conducting interviews with core movement organizers, the interview contents were not coded in framing strategies, but focused on the mobilization of different resources (mostly material support and human resource linkage).

In terms of the Facebook archive, both the aspects of material and human resources as well as legitimacy building were taken into consideration in the coding process. The coding process of Facebook included every single post on fan pages (including the texts and images on the post), leaflets (also layman-packages), photos selected from photo albums, and public statements. The coding unit of textual content is similar to the process of coding interview transcripts by employing the lexical method. Therefore, a coding unit is flexible and can be adjusted if one sentence/paragraph does not finish one complete concept - the lexical method.

For the movement images, such as posters, photos posted on Facebook post and photos selected from photo albums, one image is regarded as one coding unit. Differing from coding the interview transcripts, the coding method for Facebook archival data covers two aspects: the material/human resource organization and the framing strategy. In terms of resource organization, this is similar to coding the interview transcripts, the author paid attention to resource allocation and human
linkage. For example, a post about a public forum co-organized by Scholarism, NGOs and pan-democratic politicians was coded as “networking of people”.

In terms of coding the movement frames, it corresponds to what has been discussed in the literature section. Based on Snow & Benford (1988)’s analytical aspects for movement framing, there are three frames which movement actors have utilized for legitimizing their actions: diagnostic frame – problem attribution; prognostic frame – possible solutions; motivational frame – justifying of collective action. And identity frames will also be considered: protagonist frame - who we are; antagonist frame - who is the enemy; audience frame - what is the public’s attitude. For instance, a paragraph in a Scholarism public statement “the evil Beijing government who killed hundreds of people in 1989 wants to promote M&N education in Hong Kong as a political task”. This paragraph will be coded as “diagnostic frame” and “antagonist frame”.

Facebook was employed as an important platform for movement organizers to disseminate movement aims, explain issues, announce movement agendas, build activists’ image, disclose hidden facts untold by the government, and display public support for the movement. Through these strategies, the activists establish their positive status to obtain movement legitimacy from the public. As stated in the literature review section, movement and identity framing leads to legitimacy building. In this sense, the analysis of Facebook archive is equal in importance to the interview data.
Figure 5.1 Nodes coded in Nvivo 10 (with the number of sources coded and the units coded)
5.3.3 Quantitative analysis of Facebook archive

On Facebook pages, any user is able to express their feelings towards and give a response to a post/image by clicking to express their feelings. Each number of sources codes are also regarded by the movement organizers as an important way to announce movement information, interact with other users and build up emotional bonding (Wang, 2011). Additionally, in Castells (2000a, 2007)’s analysis of network society, politics become what he called media politics, with the transmission and permeation of images/videos in people’s daily life. The social movement arena is no exception, in relation to the power of images/video in terms of spreading the movement’s messages. From time to time, first hand images and videos of direct action even play an indispensable role for movement actors to build legitimacy. While traditional media
have become used to reporting a protest by focusing on a few confrontational scenes, the movement organizers are able to tell the public how the protest really looked by posting first hand photos of peaceful sit-in demonstrations.

In order to grasp the whole picture of the Facebook pages set up by the main organizers of the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement, quantitative research was conducted regarding the Facebook fan page archive. By using triangulated research methods, the author tries to provide a fuller picture of the movement cases. Each Facebook post on the page during the period of study was collected. And several attributes were assigned to each post: type of post (organization statement, call for participation, information about instant action, showing public solidarity, personal stories, movement related artistic work, layman-packages, showing national/regional/international support, forwarded from other media, comprehensive policy analysis, and sharing of photo albums); the number of “like”, “comment”, and “share” gained by each post; whether the post contains images/videos/animations; whether the post contains quotes/face of a public figure or celebrity; whether the image (if it is) contains a kuso element (the mocking of a public or business figure).

5.4 Qualitative Analysis of Newspapers

Though this research sheds light on how the movement organizers mobilize a variety of movement resources, the role played by mass media in social movements is still noteworthy. According to the traditional RMT approach, legitimacy, as one of the major blocs constituting the movement’s resources, is partially contributed by the mass media’s coverage of the social movement and any change of attitude by the government on the movement issues. Moreover, as stated in the literature review
section, scholars in social movement studies and media studies have pinpointed the significant role of the mass media in social movements, such as Leung's (2009) study on how movement activists and journalists co-constructed the global news of the anti-WTO movement in Hong Kong, and Chan & Lee (2007)'s research on how Hong Kong's mass media has acted as a facilitator, if not a mobilizing agent, in the yearly July 1 pro-democracy parade.

Here, the analysis of newspaper articles related to the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement was conducted through a qualitative approach. On the one hand, the aim was to discover the patterns of meaning from the coverage of the movements. As stated by Frey et al. (2000, p.237), qualitative content analysis tends to pay more attention to "the meanings associated with messages than with the number of times message variables occur". On the other hand, since the focus of this research rests on the movement organizers, mass media coverage serves a supplemental role. In this sense, by using qualitative content analysis, the author has tried to reveal a rough picture of how the major newspapers in Hong Kong and Taiwan reported the two movement cases.

Four major Chinese newspapers will be selected for analysis respectively for the cases of the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement. The four newspapers from Hong Kong are Apple Daily (a mass-oriented newspaper which is regarded as pro-democracy and sensationalist), Ming Pao (an elite-oriented newspaper with the highest credibility of them all) (Centre for Chinese Media and Comparative Communication Research, 2013), Oriental Daily (a mass-oriented paper with the highest circulation in Hong Kong), and Wen Wei Po (a major pro-China newspaper). The major four dailies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan, 2012) selected for Taiwan are China Times (this used to be a liberal newspaper but was
purchased by a business tycoon in 2008, after which the newspaper was suspected of promoting the mainland Chinese government) (Chang, 2012), United News Daily (an elite-oriented newspaper with a “blue-camp” inclination), The Liberty Times (an anti-KMT newspaper with a “green-camp” inclination), and Taiwan Apple Daily (a Taiwanese version of Hong Kong’s pro-democracy newspaper, the Apple Daily).

The selection of the time frame for newspaper analysis was based on the rationale that, as traditional media, especially the major newspapers in a society, can be regarded as part of the immaterial resources to build movement legitimacy and to draw larger public support, the importance of this immaterial resource is worth more attention when collective actions (usually including a large number of public supporters) are approaching. Media coverage of movement issues and actions becomes one of the essential elements in bridging the movement issues and actions with ordinary citizens. In this sense, the selection of a newspaper time-frame for analysis focused on the occurrences of the major collective actions during the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement. One week before the collective action was selected in order to observe how the action fermentation/preparation was reported by different media. One day after the collective action was also selected, because the major coverage of the particular events usually appears on the next day.

The period of time under investigation for the Hong Kong case is divided into two parts.


August 25-September 12, 2012: the anti-M&N movement organizations held the 901 carnival protest, Occupy Civic Square, and the college students’ class boycott.
The time frame selected for studying the Taiwan case is divided into four phases.

July 25-August 1, 2012: the incidents involving Huang Kuo-Chang and Chen Wei-Ting and the 731 protest led by the Youth Alliance.

August 25-September 2, 2012: the Association of Taiwan Journalists held the 901 grand parade with a large number of organizational and individual participants.

November 20 – 30, 2012: to draw attention to the possible purchase of Next Media, the Youth Alliance initiated Occupy Executive Yuan and protested at the Fair Trade Commission, while a group of scholars held signature petitions and gave support to the students.

December 20, 2012 – January 3, 2013: the Youth Alliance organized the New Year sit-in protest and held their Youth Declaration in front of the Presidential Office.

The database used for retrieving full-version news for the Hong Kong case was WiseNews. By entering the keywords "anti-M&N movement" (in Chinese), selecting the time-span and the required papers, lists of articles were shown and available for download. News articles (mainly in prime news and local news sections) directly related to the issues or depicting the movement organizers were selected. Editorial or columns were excluded.

Regarding the Taiwan case, a full set of newspaper stories related to the Taiwan anti-media monopoly movement was generously provided by Professor Chang Chin-Hwa, who had conducted research on Taiwan’s media industry in the Center for Public Policy and Law (CPPL)\(^1\), National Taiwan University. From this full set of

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\(^1\) The author worked as a visiting scholar in Taiwan from September to December in 2013, during which the author got chances to get in touch with Professor Chang Chin-Hwa and had several conversations regarding the anti-media monopoly movement. Knowing that the author was doing research on that movement, Professor Chang agreed to share the full set of the movement related newspaper clips. The newspaper collection was part of the reference materials for their research project, “Cross-Media Law And The Establishment Of The
data, the author selected the news articles from the four major dailies within the
chosen time frames. Editorials, columnists’ commentaries and articles, which only
appeared on the online news portals, were excluded.

In terms of the qualitative content analysis, two questions were asked during the
coding process: "what is the topic frame of the news article when reporting the
movement issue", and "what is the image of the movement actors depicted in the
news article (if this exists)". A unit of analysis is a whole piece of news article. After
repeatedly reading all the articles, the author grasped the general picture of the
attitudes of the newspaper’s coverage. In general, regarding the first question, there
are news articles on the movement’s side, not on the movement’s side and without a
very explicit stance. In terms of the second question, positive, mixed and negative
images of movement actors were shown. The news title and the lead paragraph were
the major source for judging the stance of the article before looking into the whole
piece. According to the rules of writing news articles, the headline and the lead
paragraph are regarded as the most significant part of a news article because they
catch the readers’ attention at first sight (OWL, Purdue University, 2013). If the
leading paragraph is inconsistent with the news headline, then the author judged from
the content in the whole article. In addition, the author went through the whole article
to see whether the journalist attributed positive/neutral/mixed/negative descriptions to
the movement actors. In this case, a news article might be coded into two categories,
e.g. pro-movement and giving positive images of activists. Rather than coding the
news articles with a large number of themes and sub-categories, the author tried to
genralize the various topics into a few large themes, in order to depict the patterns of

Examination System> (CPPL101-9), which is available via
movement coverage.

“Not on the movement side” includes: positive descriptions of the government/official departments/bureaucrats/the movement targets (e.g. the M&N subject, the media business tycoons); different organizations express their support to the government/official departments/bureaucrats/the movement targets (e.g. the M&N subject, the media business tycoons); the news article includes attacks on the social groups which are standing on the movement side (e.g. criticizing the pro-movement media).

“On the movement side” focuses on: positive descriptions of the movement side (the movement organizations/actors, the aims they are fighting for); negatively describing the related government departments/officials/governmental actions; different organizations express their oppositional voice against the government/official departments/bureaucrats/the movement targets (e.g. the M&N subject, the media business tycoons).

The category of “not clear stance” mainly refers to those articles exhibiting different points of view or describing matters of fact without explicit description (e.g. the progress of the media business case).

Regarding the image of the movement actors, a positive image refers to describing the activists as holding strong beliefs and having determination, insisting on achieving the movement’s goals by taking different action, depicting them as a new generation and changers of society, and as caring and considerate persons. While a negative image of the activists includes sabotaging social stability, and being irrational (activists misunderstand the movement issues; activists are manipulated by politicians). If the journalist just reports the movement actors’ deeds from different viewpoints, a mixed image category was attributed.
Chapter 6 Networked Form of Movement Material Resources

It is widely acknowledged that, material resources are greatly needed in social movements. Though people around the world have witnessed the growth of the information age, masses of people taking to the street still constitutes a major counter-force against the government. Whether holding a street demonstration or even initiating a signature petition, different forms of material resources are needed. Even in a virtual war against the government, hardware devices (e.g. computer, network infrastructure) are indispensable. In this sense, studying the material resources required for a movement remains noteworthy. In the traditional approach of RMT, monetary resources collected from membership fees and from donations, a SMO’s own space to sustain daily routine work and to organize members, facilities for protest, and the materials for movement publicity play a crucial role in social movements. From the movement cases below, we can view a networked form of recruiting material resources.

6.1 Monetary Resource

“It is not about how capable you are, but how rich you are... buying balloons for a protest could cost sixty thousand Hong Kong dollars.” (H1, personal communication, 2014, March 13)

“We do not have a stable pool of funding ... after calculating the budget and dividing tasks into different parts, each NGO in the alliance contributes a proportion of money and effort.” (T8, personal communication, 2013, October 9).

Monetary resources came from various channels in both of the cases in Hong Kong and Taiwan. In the early stage of the anti-M&N movement, Scholarism was the
only organization taking street actions to disseminate the movement message to the public, though they were just a small friend-based group of high school students at that time. The plan for implementing M&N education was announced by Donald Tsang (the former chief executive of Hong Kong) in early 2011. Scholarism was founded a few months after the announcement. During that time, money to print banners came from an individual Scholarism member - Joshua Wong (he later became the convener of Scholarism), a fifteen-year old secondary student at that time. Interviewee H1 affirmed that, “at that very early stage of the movement, the Federation of Students provided substantial support to Scholarism’s high school kids in terms of the facilities they needed to take street actions, though usually small-scale” (H1, personal communication, 2014, March 13). As the only cross-college student organization with decades’ of history and prestige, in the eyes of the high school students, the Federation of Students became the place they went to for help on this education issue.

The situation in Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement also started from a small group of scholars, who for a long time kept their eyes on media-merging business activity. This group got notice of Want Want’s intention to purchase CNS, one among the few multiple system operators in Taiwan. Though some activists seldom regarded this’ research work as a movement-oriented deed, the scholars from National Taiwan University (NTU) did accomplish several preparatory works for the movement. By using research funding, the scholars started employing assistants to find relevant documents, wrote columns in newspapers and published leaflets to distribute on different occasions. It was due to their published works, that scholars from other fields and a number of media majors among the students started to pay attention to -media ownership and merger issues.
After the controversial M&N handbook “China Model” attracted society-wide attention, the escalation of the anti-M&N movement was triggered, with the formation of the Parents Concern Group and the Anti-M&N Alliance. At this stage, the need for monetary resources increased drastically, but this issue was solved via the power of the network. According to the interviewee H1, “the Anti-M&N Alliance was constituted by different movement organizations, who already had their own accumulated resources. We just asked each of them to handle the necessary resources in their own area” (personal communication, 2014, March 13). Although the Hong Kong Professional Teachers’ Union (HKPTU) noted the M&N issue as early as Scholarism, they were not involved in the various public events until the movement’s peak. As the largest union in Hong Kong and as an organization closely concerned with education issues, HKPTU provided substantial material support to the movement, especially after the “China Model” was publicized. “The PTU supplied different facilities, including full-time staff to help administrative work, and of course, money.” (H6, personal communication, 2014, June 6)

In a quite similar way to the situation in Hong Kong, the incident of CtiTV’s accusation that Professor Huang Kuo-Chang had paid money to student protestors brought the break out moment for the anti-media monopoly movement. After this incident, a large variety of NGOs and student organizations got involved. Scholars and NGOs formed the “901 Alliance” (the preparation group for the 901 grand rally) and a group of students formed the “Anti-media monopoly Youth Alliance” (the Youth Alliance). “As the 901 Alliance was constituted by a group of ‘adults’ who are not familiar with ICTs, it was a young staff member from Media Watch who helped establish and manage the alliance’s Facebook page and other sorts of administrative work” (T18, 2013, October 23). Media Watch is an established media-related NGO in
Taiwan who can afford full-time staff and eventually provided great help to the 901 grand rally in terms of documentation. As the 901 Alliance was formed by a number of scholars and NGOs, the alliance was able to collect enough money from them to cover the cost of holding protest activities. As disclosed by one of the core organizers, T8, “we hired two vehicles, lighting facilities and tents, and made a large amount of stickers, all this was covered by each NGO’s monetary contribution, around NTD1000 from each… the students did not cost the alliance money as they DIY their own props and mobilized via online platforms” (T8, 2013, October 9). It is noteworthy that not every protesting activity needs a large amount of money. For the Youth Alliance, lots of protests relied heavily on the participants’ own efforts in making props and banners. “Sometimes, the loud-speakers and tents were automatically sent from other friendly NGOs… it was routine that we invited different NGOs to support our protest but they would provide facilities without advance notice” (T20, personal communication, 2013, November 28).

Holding street actions or large-scale events makes an ideal channel to collect money and other material resources. For example, small-scale street actions provide an opportunity for the activists to have face-to-face interaction with the public, as a way to impress the public by offering them first-hand information through direct communication. In addition, with the activists’ online promotion, they tried to increase their exposure rate, as a way to show that they were keen to be seen and needed more support. As a Scholarism member recalled, “we posted on Facebook our schedule and venue of street actions, if anyone wanted to talk to us or donate something, they will know where to find us” (H10, personal communication, 2014, July 21). Similarly, the Youth Alliance made use of their “soap box talk” national tour to let more people know about their beliefs and actions. A core member from the
Youth Alliance suggested that their major “income” was from the “soap-box talk” campaign, because they travelled to different cities and made speeches in the city centers. Though very old-style, this sort of soap-box speech allowed the youngsters reach the public straightforwardly and deliver their ideas to a large pool of people. The Youth Alliance also announced their schedule “soap box talks” via their Facebook event page (https://www.facebook.com/events/471082479616943/) and through their self-designed “anti-Want Want Twidaily” (an online newspaper published every two days).

Large-scale events represent a public performance taken by the movement organizations, similar to various charity variety shows, in order to get recognition and support from the public. During anti-M&N movement in Hong Kong, the 729 parade, 901 carnival protest and Occupy Civic Square brought a large sum of money to Scholarism, the Parents Concern Group and Anti-M&N Alliance to sustain their continuous protests. Besides the large events, Scholarism conducted series of street booth actions to promote the movement and to raise movement funding. “We collected money during the 7.1 demonstration, from which we could buy our own facilities for the 729 parade… We held street booths, you can imagine, several days on the street and ten booths each day, how much money we could raise” (H11, personal communication, 2014, July 22). In a Scholarism Facebook post, they showed a memo written by an old lady who donated HKD600. “In a fund raising box, we found a touching letter and 600 dollars. The letter says ‘You the kids are impressive. Take care of your health and study. Don’t let your parents worry. Here I present my encouragement with my half-month government’s Old Age Allowance’” (Scholarism, 2012, July 29). In one of Scholarism’s public statements, they said, “Some people suspected that political parties provided financial support to Scholarism. Actually,
Scholarism for a long time depended on our own members’ monetary support and public donations to sustain our operation… Not a single buck is from political parties. And Scholarism would never ask political parties for financial support” (Scholarism, 2012, August 1).

Similar to Scholarism, the Youth Alliance in Taiwan was established by a friendship-based group of students because of the anti-media monopoly issue. The Youth Alliance relied on its own members’ resources (e.g. the car for the “soap box talk” tour was provided by a Youth Alliance member), public donations and other NGOs’ assistance to keep running different activities. Several sit-in protests and the campaign of “soap-box talks” were the major occasions for collecting public donations. It is noteworthy that, from the incident of Huang Kuo-Chang till the 901 grand rally, the actions taken by the Youth Alliance seldom cost large amounts of money. It was based on the network of student societies in different universities that the student protestors gathered in Taipei to join the “731 say No to CtiTV”, while for the 901 grand rally, the large variety of NGOs and SMOs had already contributed the money-consuming items. What the Youth Alliance mainly did was to intensively mobilize as many participants as possible via their school networks and the online platform. It was not until the Next Media incident that the Youth Alliance independently organized a series of protests, during which a large amount of money was collected from the public. Figure 6.2 shows the amount of public donations obtained by the Youth Alliance during their protest in front of the Fair Trade Commission on November 29, 2012. A Youth Alliance member told the author that throughout all the events organized by the Youth Alliance, over a million Taiwan dollars were collected, which provided significant help to their “soap box talk” tour after the New Year sit-in protest (T9, personal communication, 2013, October 30).
Figure 6.1. Fund raising in Tao Yuan, one station of Youth Alliance’s “Soup Box Talk Tour”
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/JI5tX0)

Figure 6.2. Youth Alliance showed that they got public donation with an amount of NT59,442 during the protest at the Fair Trade Commission
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/5ue2kd)

6.2 Space and Protest Facilities

The Anti-M&N Alliance represents a networked form of SMC in Hong Kong,
with Scholarism, the Parents Concern Group and HKPTU as the major players. And the 901 Alliance in Taiwan was made up of a number of NGOs/SMOs who have long established co-operative relationships among themselves, and a large number of students’ organizations which have their own cross-college connections.

As a newly formed organization constituted by a group of high school students, Scholarism did not have their own space to hold meetings or to prepare movement facilities. The Parents Concern Group was in the same situation. But the networked form of alliance provided cross-institutional assistance. HKPTU provided the venue for holding preparation meetings, especially when the 729 parade was being planned. During the Occupy Civic Square protests, legislative councilors’ offices in the Legislative Building became frequently used meeting spaces. Though the organizations involved in the anti-M&N movement clearly stated their rejection of the political parties’ involvement, the immaterial support provided by the pan-democratic party members was of great convenience to the organizers, as the Legislative Building is right next to the civic square.

Though the 901 Alliance and the Youth Alliance in Taiwan seldom made use of the political parties’ offices as meeting spaces, they did rely heavily on different organizations’ venues for meetings and campaign preparation. Some youth activists admitted that it was common for them to receive assistance from NGOs from the “green camp”, which were not necessarily derived from the DPP but still ideologically close to it. “Though we claim that we keep a distance from any political party, we still had some meetings at the offices of those DPP supporters” (T20, personal communication, 2013, November 28). As illustrated in the previous background information section, Taiwan’s political culture is composed of the blue and green parties. Ideologically and historically, the social movement circle is closest
to the green side as a joint force against the KMT and in support of Taiwan’s independence status quo. In addition, space in the university was essential. For one thing, some members in the 901 Alliance were university scholars and they could easily find large classrooms as meeting venues. For another thing, college students made up a large proportion of the protestors and they could easily get together around the campus. “During the preparation of the 731 protest and 901 grand rally, the sociology department in NTU was an extremely important place as all sorts of student helpers gathered here for meetings, props preparation and information exchange” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). As will be illustrated in more detail later, the major founding members of the Youth Alliance were students from NTU and they recruited student helpers among their campus networks, including those good at information searching, graphic design and campaign operation. This large pool of students that was mainly based in NTU, became the backbone of the anti-media monopoly movement.

In terms of the facilities for street actions, sit-in protests and the large-scale demonstrations such as the 901 carnival in Hong Kong and the 901 grand rally in Taiwan, facilities were provided by a largely interconnected network of organizations and individuals.

As mentioned above, at the early stage, when Scholarism was newly founded, hoping to build up an organization for secondary school and high school youngsters, Joshua Wong approached the Federation of Students and received the necessary facilities to hold street booths, such as desks and loudspeakers (as shown in figure 6.3). These simple facilities from the Federation of Students were also supplied to the Parents Concern Group to hold street booths after the “China Model” release triggered an upsurge in the movement. During the 729 parade, movement
organizations with years of street action experience provided different kinds of support, such as the Civil Human Rights Front, who lent tools to maintain order on the march, a group of staff from HKPTU fully participated in the preparation and operation of the demonstration, a member of Scholarism who worked in a video team borrowed filming facilities from that organization, etc. The 901 carnival was presented in the style of a grand commercial event. On the night of September 1, 2012, besides representatives from different movement groups who came to the stage to make speeches, well-known artists and singers also appeared and showed their support for the movement. In fact, the whole event was largely facilitated by a professional stage designer who was a friend of the Parents Concern Group. The stage, lighting and sound facilities were installed to a high standard.

Similarly, in Taiwan’s social movement circles, whenever movement organizations are in need of stage facilities, they usually go to an NTU graduate who now has an audio-sound business. “As different organizations know him very well and he also knows what kinds of facilities a protest site will need, we have established a long-term cooperative relationship… of course we will pay, but only a minimum cost” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). Additionally, some experienced SMOs helped out the 901 grand rally in terms of providing necessary facilities and contacting crucial resourceful individuals. For example, the Taiwan Rural Front, a long-established land-issue-related NGO with fruitful experience in handling large-scale demonstrations, not only provided facilities but also mobilized participants from all directions. This was an especially great help to the 901 grand rally as the parade host, the Association of Taiwan Journalists, seldom held large-scale activities. The Association of Taiwan Journalists stated publicly that it was eighteen years since Taiwanese journalists took to the streets in 1994 to strive for freedom of
speech in the “Independent Evening Post” incident (Association of Taiwan Journalists, 2012).

In fact, some facilities used for street action can take a very simple form, even made by DIY methods (as shown in figure 6.4). The capabilities to design and craft protest props are important resources for a movement, especially for the young activists who seldom possess sufficient financial resources. The student members in Scholarism applied their experience of holding events in campus to do street actions. “Please do not forget that, in this current age, students are required to be versatile. Some members in Scholarism possess experience in graphic design, photography, and writing official statements at their own schools” (Wong, 2012, August 20).

In Taiwan too, holding events and camps is one of the common experiences for college students. Several interviewees said that they had acquired experience of holding events since high school. “Especially for elite students, there were lots of opportunities to join students’ camps in high school, this seems like a Taiwan tradition. I can say, a large number of those currently involved in the social movement circles got to know each other in high school at camps… we learned how to run an event and how to make props” (T13, personal communication, 2013, November 7).

Before the 901 grand rally, the Youth Alliance and Society of Communication Students organized a camp to disseminate media related knowledge. One of the big tasks of this camp was making props and banners for the 901 grand rally (figure 6.5). In cultural studies, the DIY culture has been regarded as a subculture behavior in which a process of collective identity building is accomplished. DIY represents a survival tactic for under-privileged groups of people who usually lack resources. Moreover, the widespread use of printing facilities also facilitated the process of making protest props, even leading to a rhizomized form of collective action. For
example, during the campaign of “July say No to Want Want” held before the 901 grand rally, the Youth Alliance posted a number of well-designed templates on their Facebook page and suggested everyone should download and print these themselves (figure 6.6). There was no need to hold a collective assembly, anyone could take an action simply by holding the “July say No to Want Want” banner in front of the supermarket near home. Applying Castells’ conception of the rhizomatic movement, today we see roots spreading everywhere, without a central plan but moving, networking and flowing (2012).

![Scholarism street booth at Tai Po district on June 29, 2011](https://goo.gl/U5bOkv)

*Figure 6.3. Scholarism street booth at Tai Po district on June 29, 2011 (Retrieved from https://goo.gl/U5bOkv)*
Figure 6.4. Scholarism members were making props for the upcoming 513 anti-M&N rally
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/2hGyDU)

Figure 6.5. The props and banners made by the anti-media monopoly participants
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/fsDWXG)
6.3 Publicity and Internal Communication Devices

Admittedly, material forms of publicity still exist in current social movements. For example, the movement organizations in Hong Kong and Taiwan both printed leaflets to distribute in the streets. But it is hard to deny that ICTs have played an important role in people’s everyday lives and in social movement operations.

Various online platforms have made convenient channels for information exchange between the core organizers and other movement participants. As stated in a public statement by Scholarism, “we take Facebook as the primary external communication channel. Any newsletter and public statement should be referred to the Facebook version accordingly” (Scholarism, 2012 July 25). The Alumni Concern Union advocated netizens to take action and form their own alumni working groups via Facebook in order to monitor M&N education in their own alma-mater. A member of the Parent Concern Group mentioned that, through forwarding the signature petition advocacy Facebook page to a large amount of friends, they
collected enough money to buy an advertisement page (H7, personal communication, 2014, June 19). During the peak of the movement, the Parents Concern Group advocated that parents write letters to their children’s schools to question the schools’ attitude to the M&N program. This was an ICT facilitated action “one man one letter”. Parents would get a tailor-made letter template by entering the names of their children’s school in the Parent Concern Group’s website. Parents could send the letter to their children’s schools simply by writing down their personal particulars on the letter template. A “map of M&N schools” was also released online by the Parents Concern Group, which collated information on different schools’ attitudes to the M&N. The Parents Concern Group encouraged parents to circulate the map, which helped them to select schools for their children or to know more about the political stance of their children’s schools. Parents were also encouraged to provide first-hand information to update this online map.

This action reveals similar characteristics to the Taiwan action of “July say No to Want Want”, echoing what has been termed by Castells as rhizomatic action. During the stage of the Next Media sale issue in Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement, rhizomatic action witnessed its peak, as a ton of images showing support flooded into the Facebook page of the Youth Alliance. “At the very beginning, a friend of ours studying abroad sent us an image showing support. We found it very funny and posted on our page… we never expected it eventually to turn into a large campaign” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). T15 and T20 used to manage the Facebook fan page for the Youth Alliance. They both told the author that different styles of info-graphic packages and images of supporting gestures kept flowing into their Facebook inbox. Members from the Youth Alliance designed three templates for netizens to print out and to hold for taking photos (e.g. a template with “I safeguard
Taiwan’s freedom of speech at (a place)”. "You can feel that netizens are quite enthusiastic in trying to contribute to this movement" (T20, personal communication, 2013, November 28). In the Facebook archive of the Youth Alliance, there are three categories for collecting supportive images sent from netizens (example in figure 6.7): overseas support (66 images), national support (137 images) and individual support (65 images). Usually a single image contains a large number of individual images, which means in total there were hundreds of thousands of individuals taking part in this supportive action. This trend of posting supportive images from all around the world reveals a viral effect of ICT-facilitated movements. It lowers the cost of taking action, especially for those overseas, since printing, taking and uploading photos have become part of young people’s everyday life.

Figure 6.7. The anti-media monopoly photo containing three hundred and sixty-four frames, which was uploaded by Yuan Ze University. (Retrieved from https://goo.gl/3TNMG2)
ICT platforms also largely facilitate internal communication among group members. Scholarism made great use of ICTs to facilitate member recruitment and internal communication. By entering personal particulars easily into a Google document sheet, those with an interest could become a member of Scholarism. At the early stage of the movement, even the core members’ Facebook accounts provided a way to recruit new members, such as Joshua Wong and Ivan Lam’s pages (Scholarism, 2012, January 29). Netizens who wanted to join Scholarism could express their willingness by leaving a message on Joshua or Ivan’s Facebook walls. With the increasing number of volunteers, Scholarism was able to carry out street booths in different districts. “We had one secret group (member joining via authorization) of each district, writing down what should be done on the wall. Then we sent private messages to volunteers who might be able to help” (H11, personal communication, 2014, July 22). The selection of the communication platform was considered very seriously. They chose a Facebook group because it does not have a limit for the number of participants, while Whatsapp (a communication gadget used on cell phones) sets a limit on the number of chat-group members.

Similarly, members of the Youth Alliance in Taiwan used a metaphor that, the Youth Alliance was like parasite on Facebook. “As a parasite, we heavily relied on Facebook for internal communication throughout the movement… different working groups were set up. We posted different tactical ideas on the wall for members to make comments, then revisions would be made… this process of ideas exchange just kept going on” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). Not only the youngsters, but also the scholars and NGO/SMO representatives of 901 Alliance largely relied on email communication. According to T8, almost all the public statements from the alliance were decided via email communication. “Every time we
encountered a new topic, we opened a new thread of discussion and added new members… we did not have time to meet very often but just let hundreds of ideas flow in email groups. And decisions were made after rounds of communication” (personal communication, 2013, October 9).

From the above illustration, it can be seen that the material resources of the movements never existed in a fixed form. Instead, resources were derived from public donation, crowdsourcing of daily supplies, and from the networking of different movement entities. A social movement community is hardly restricted to SMOs or professional individuals. Rather, a movement community makes an open system to include different social groups who hold similar goals. Moreover, under the umbrella of the informational age and network society, movement resource mobilization is also going through a transformative passage, with dynamic and rhizomatic flows. It has been shown from the cases that, without a fixed central plan, movement resources were generated and scattered from online to offline, from a single point (the graphic designer) to different areas, such as the “July say No to Want Want” sticker templates which were uploaded to the online platforms, to make them available to a larger number of participants. Participants in different locations turned them into material movement props to further mobilize the public. In addition, the prevalence of ICTs among the general public enlarges the technological material resource pool and expands the scale of mobilization. Smart phones and recording devices have become a common material resource in people’s everyday lives, which is significantly different from previous social movements where only a small group of professionals could manage publicity and recording devices. Possessing the ICT tools and the capabilities of managing the devices, people are able to engage in social movements to a different extent, from being a core organizer handling various working groups to acting as a
supporter by posting supportive pictures on a Facebook wall.

Figure 6.8. Categories of “networked-sourcing material resource”
Chapter 7 Networking of Human Resource

When talking about social movements, people usually immediately think of a few movement stars, some well-known SMOs or political parties. But in the age of network society, with the rapid transmission of information and mobility of human resources, movements are made up of collective efforts from a large variety of directions. Although the Anti-M&N Alliance played an iconic role in the Hong Kong anti-M&N movement, it actually provided a platform for different organizations to exchange opinions and to supply material mutual aid. Rather than stably recruiting members to run a SMO, the most eye-catching groups in the anti-M&N movement – Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group – operated various protest activities relying on a large number of volunteers’ efforts and assistance from different SMOs. In the Taiwan case, networks in various areas collectively contributed to the movement organization and mobilization, including the scholars’ network, a network between scholars and NGOs and the most important network of movement mobilization – the college students’ and young activists’ cross-college networks.

7.1 Networking of People in Multiple Areas

7.1.1. Alliance as social movement community

It is common that activists set up a movement alliance as a communication platform in different social movements. For one thing, working in an alliance holding similar goals, movement groups in various areas actualize a division of labor, for example, academic groups contribute theoretical knowledge and some experienced SMOs help take care of logistics. More details about different groups’ movement roles will be illustrated in later sections. For another thing, founding a movement
alliance has a certain symbolic meaning, as a way to elevate a movement’s legitimacy (e.g. including some world-class scholars) and to expand the representativeness of the movement (e.g. the joining of NGOs in different fields), showing that the movement goal is seldom constrained to a small group, but is a society-wide issue. As stated by interviewee H2 regarding the anti-M&N movement, “after the 729 parade, we saw that the M&N issue caught the attention of various organizations, then we decided to invite them to form an alliance, mainly for facilitating the movement mobilization and operation” (personal communication, 2014, March 24). Moreover, in terms of the political negotiation strategy, H2 admitted that, “facing the government in the form of an alliance is to avoid the three major stakeholders – Scholarism, the Parents Concern Group and HKPTU – representing the whole movement… we discussed most of the strategies together, in order to avoid the government trying to divide the different organizations” (personal communication, 2014, March 24). Although movement actors from different movement organizations had a consensus that “they were helping Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group to encounter such a big issue”, they presented themselves to the public as an alliance (H6, personal communication, 2014, June 6).

Although the 901 grand rally was hosted by the Association of Taiwan Journalists, they hardly had enough man-power to deal with tons of administrative work and to hold a large number of meetings, not to mention a full-time staff to take care of documentation. That was why the 901 Alliance was set up to gather movement organizers from different areas. Acting as a rally host, Association of Taiwan Journalists was more or less a symbolic icon in the issue of media mergers. It was the 901 Alliance, constituted of movement organizers and volunteers from all directions, which made the 901 grand rally happen. Although the Youth Alliance and other
college student organizations made great efforts in movement mobilizing for the 901 grand rally, Occupy Executive Yuan and the New Year sit-in protests, we can hardly ignore the fact that SMOs involved in the 901 Alliance also intensively mobilized among their long-established networks of members/followers. “It was very interesting that, when we needed to estimate the turnout for the upcoming 901 grand rally, the SMO representatives looked at their contact lists and calculated how many members or groups could be mobilized. But for the youngsters, they never knew how to estimate because they heavily relied on the Facebook platform to mobilize… eventually we thought the SMO network could mobilize around 1500-2000 participants” (T5, personal communication, 2013, October 7).

7.1.2 Networking of academic scholars

Regarding Taiwan’s media issue, a network of scholars from different fields provided a solid theoretical backbone for the latter development of the anti-media monopoly movement. “Unlike other previous media-related movements, this time the anti-media monopoly movement attracted lots of scholars… how to define ‘monopoly’ and how to calculate the scale of ‘monopoly’ demands scholars in economic fields… regarding the issue of freedom of speech, it did touch quite a number of areas and brought in even more scholars” (T7, personal communication, 2013, October 4). In Taiwan’s academia, a group of media scholars have been doing media-related research and carrying out media advocacy for decades, due to the collapse of the authoritarian government and the drastic change of the media environment in the transitional society. As has been mentioned earlier, a small group of scholars from the media and economics fields formed a research group in NTU before the start of the anti-media monopoly movement. Starting from an early stage,
when Want Want Group’s intention to purchase CNS emerged, they applied for a research fund and commenced to collect relevant information, which later became a significant theoretical backup to the student activists. Another group of scholars who got involved in the media-merger issue was the law scholars, such as Huang Kuo-Chang, the one who was accused by CtiTV. At the time before the movement started, Huang was the convener of a NGO called Taipei Society, which is constituted by a group of liberal scholars. Knowing that Want Want was trying to buy CNS and noting Tsai Yan-Ming’s controversial words in the Washington Post (Higgins, 2012), Huang started a “say No to China Times” campaign, advocating that columnists withdraw from the China Times, a long-established Taiwanese newspaper purchased by Want Want in 2008. In April 2012, the above two groups of scholars started to collaboratively voice their opposition to Want Want’s merger with CNS and to demand the NCC scrutinizes Tsai Yan-Ming’s appropriateness to take over CNS (Epoch Times, 2012, April 11). Several young activists admitted that it was after the Huang incident and the 731 protest that they got a chance to study the media issue. “We read the newspaper articles written by the scholars… reading the newspaper is much easier than studying their research papers” (T13, personal communication, 2013, November 7).

7.1.3 Networking of organizations and activists

Another important movement network was made up of scholars and NGOs. Besides doing research and writing columns in newspapers, sometimes scholars need to collaborate with relevant NGOs to implement advocacy. Some media scholars not only teach in universities, but also take various positions in different media advocacy NGOs such as Media Watch and Campaign for Media Reform. This multi-faceted...
identity facilitates the scholars in bridging academia and social advocacy. A NGO-platform called Citizen Media Watch is made up of various NGOs. Though each NGO has their particular aims, such as women’s rights and child protection, they get together to place media content under surveillance in order to protect these underprivileged groups. Actually, Citizen Media Watch is exactly a product of the collaboration between media scholars and NGOs after witnessing the chaos in the post-authoritarian media market. In this case, the initial stage of the formation of 901 Alliance was advocated by this group of media scholars and NGOs in Citizen Media Watch (figure 7.1). “Our connection was never out of the blue. We have been working together in different issues and areas… This media monopoly issue touches our base of freedom of speech, so our NGO network took part in the movement. It’s quite natural for us”, commented an NGO representative (T7, personal communication, 2013, October 4).

Figure 7.1. NGOs formed an anti-media monopoly alliance and protested at NCC (Retrieved from http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/life/breakingnews/674508/print)
In Hong Kong’s anti-M&N issue, the interplay between scholars and NGOs also appears, but less obviously than in Taiwan’s. In the Anti-M&N Alliance, a number of SMOs have placed general education on their organizational agenda for a long time, such as Hong Kong Alliance of Civic Education, the Justice & Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese (HKJP), and the Federation of Students. Professor Leung Yan-Wing from the Hong Kong Institute of Education is the convener of the Alliance of Civic Education and he has utilized this NGO platform to advocate civic education and political knowledge enhancement in Hong Kong. For a long time, the Alliance of Civic Education has established collaborative relationships with other NGOs such as HKJP and HKPTU whenever it comes to education related issues. These NGOs also became the major organizational participants in the Anti-M&N Alliance. During the anti-M&N movement, when the Anti-M&N Alliance and HKPTU tried to suggest their own curriculum to counter the official guidelines, they went to consult Professor Leung Yan Wing and the Alliance of Civic Education regarding the theoretical background.

It has been long recognized that pre-existing networks of activists play an essential role in movement message dissemination and mobilization. Long-term established networks are especially of great importance for high-risk contentious action taking (Schwartz & Paul, 1992). People working or volunteering in some long-established SMOs or NGOs have known each other on different occasions through various issues.

At the initial stage of the anti-M&N movement, Scholarism started to seek help from different NGOs such as the Federation of Students and HKPTU, as mentioned above, and they gradually built up the connections. The two founding members of Scholarism, Joshua Wong and Oscar Lai, started to get in touch with some
experienced movement activists during the anti-Express Rail Link movement in 2009-2010. These experienced activists play a role somewhat akin to a hub, linking Scholarism to the existing social movement activists’ network. Some members in the Parents Concern Group were journalists, who have already gained a broad human network due to their journalistic work. As mentioned before, the professional stage designer who took charge of the 901 carnival is a good friend to the Parents Concern Group. In terms of the growth of Scholarism, it also originated from pulling in friends from different circles. As affirmed by the interviewees, it is quite natural for them to recruit members and helpers from the school network, such as schools’ student unions and those junior or senior schoolmates. H10 said, “for Scholarism, we do not have as long a history as the Federation of Students which has established a cross-institution organization. For us, we could only start building the network from our own friend-circles” (personal communication, 2014, July 21).

Without exception, Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement was organized based on some existing networks, not only the scholar-NGO network mentioned above, but also the college students’ network which eventually became the major mobilizing force. After the outbreak of the anti-media monopoly movement, when Professor Huang Kuo-Chang was intensively attacked by the Want Want media group and a student from Tsing Hua University, Chen Wei-Ting, was threatened by this media group because Chen forwarded an image unfavorable to CtiTV, a group of college students gathered at NTU and discussed a “rescue plan” for Chen Wei-Ting. Chen had made friends with a vast network of young activists during the Wild Strawberry Students’ Movement in 2008 when Chen was still at high school. It is said that the Huang incident ignited fury among media scholars and Chen’s being threatened by CtiTV led to indignation among college students, especially the
network of experienced young activists who were his friends since the 2008 student movement (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). Several interviewees who were core organizers during the movement told the author that, immediately after they knew about Chen Wei-Ting’s incident, a small group of friends who were mostly from the Wild Strawberry movement network, gathered at NTU and started planning the 731 protest. “We are from the Wild Strawberry network and in the north, knowing each other very well. Someone also brought in Lin Fei-Fan, who was from the south and just joined NTU. It is said he used to organize the sub-group of Wild Strawberry in the south. So we think he has an appropriate background and was trustworthy to be included in the protest plan” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). The words from T12 vividly reveal that existing interpersonal networks play a crucial role in small-scale and high-risk action (as they did not apply for the permission to carry out assembly). Although Lin was also a student from NTU, this did not guarantee the “pureness” of his background. Only his previous experience as a movement organizer could give him the “entrance ticket” to the strategic plan discussion.

It was due to this young activist, Lin Fei-Fan, who later became the convener of the Youth Alliance, that it was not only students from the north who joined the various protests, but also participants from the south. It has been a tradition in Taiwan’s social movement field that there is an obvious geographical gap between the north and south (Wright, 1999). College students in the north are more likely to show up in protest sites than those from the south. SMOs are inclined to demonstrate directly to the relevant central departments on various issues. And these central executive departments are mostly located in Taipei, the political and economic center of Taiwan. This is very convenient for the young activists in the north. But during the anti-media monopoly case, because Lin Fei-Fan had grown up and pursued his bachelor degree
in the south, he advocated that student organizations from the south should join the protests. People saw a number of coaches taking students from the south to join collective actions such as the 731 protest and the occupy Executive Yuan event. “Lin actively called his friends and student groups to come to Taipei. Because it was in the summer break, they arrived one day in advance and later joined the 731 protest… students’ groups in the south have their own networks, as they hold summer camps to gather students’ groups from different universities every summer, as routine… students in the north can easily get to know each other on different protest occasions, but for the groups in the south, they must build up their own network through other means” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22).

It is noteworthy not only that different protest occasions created a large platform to recruit young activists, but also a well-known social science and humanities oriented camp called “high-school club”, annually sponsored by Ministry of Science and Technology, became another significant platform for youngsters, especially those passionate about social participation. “This club has quietly become a network for us the youngsters to get in touch with the social movement circle… every year, 200 high-school students are selected for the club… over the 14 days, some senior club-mates and professors gave talks in various disciplines… lots of well-known and active protestors are senior members of this club” (T13, personal communication, 2013, November 7). Among the interviewees, some used to join this club and admitted that this club actually links up a group of elite students through their filtering process. These elite students mostly joined the elite universities in the north and further consolidated this network. Among several elite universities, an online platform called PTT2 also contributes to the consolidation of movement networks among the students. As a senior college student, T12, commented, , in 2011 and 2012, Facebook
and PTT met each other at the cross roads then later Facebook gained its popularity among college students. “PTT2 is for individual pages, though anonymous, people somewhat know who he/she really is or at least get familiar with each other’s IDs… it’s like an invisible network among several elite universities, especially NTU students… because it is not totally public, you need to know the exact address to access different individuals’ pages. So when you enter NTU, some senior fellows will teach you how to access… by this means, on PTT2 we have a solid collectivity” (personal communication, 2013, October 22).

7.2 Political Party Involvement

Both in Hong Kong and Taiwan, social movement arenas maintain an ambivalent relationship with political parties. In these two societies, political parties have played an indispensable role in the process of democratization and in striving for a more equal society (e.g. Sing, 2006; Ho, 2003). However, the general public seldom hold a positive attitude towards the political party system in either of the societies. Even against the backdrop of the two-party system and the transition of the ruling party in Taiwan, surveys have shown that general public has low trust in political parties (Lin & Tsai, 2010). According to a survey released by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (2012), over 60% Hong Kong people said that they did not support any political parties or political organizations. Over the long term, this trend of unfavorable attitudes towards political parties has led to a rejection of political parties’ involvement in the social movement arena.

In the anti-M&N movement, political parties played an ambivalent role. During the peak period of the movement, as thousands of people gathered at the Civic Square, political party members made themselves hidden among the crowds to avoid
the spot-light. For one thing, it corresponds to Hong Kong’s political culture that people have strong suspicions towards political parties, afraid that they are just after their votes. Another reason is that, in September 2012, the peak of the anti-M&N movement, was the legislative council election month in Hong Kong. Any public speech made by the candidates or presentation of the political parties’ symbols might break the election rules. Therefore, political party members’ appearance in the anti-M&N movement was more sensitive during this peak time than at the early stage. But before the movement peak and the sensitive period of the legislature election, political parties did get involved in the movement and had a certain degree of collaboration with the movement groups. According to H10, “in an anti-M&N education parade in 2011, members from political parties joined us. We were fine with their participation, taking them as part of the supporting force” (personal communication, 2014, July 21). H8 contended that, “it was through assistance from friendly political party members, that we were able to join the meeting held by government’s panel on education” (personal communication, 2014, July 21) (as shown in figure 7.2). Members from HKPTU (which is regarded having a strong connection with the Democratic Party) and the Civic Party and Labor Party shot a promotional video to advocate people’s participation in the 821 parade, with members from Scholarism and the Federation of Students (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jkRhu7eMC8k).
It is clearly stated in the public statement released by the Parents Concern Group that, “a former Hong Kong representative of Beijing’s national congress stated that the M&N issue has been manipulated by politicians… here our concern group reiterates our non-partisan background. We are just a group of parents caring about the next generation” (Parents Concern Group, 2012a, July 28). Many interviewees stated their multi-faceted views towards political parties’ involvement in social movements. H6 explained that, “some members of HKPTU are political party members. But they kept a very detached role in the movement in order to sustain the purity of the movement as being led by students and parents” (personal communication, 2014, June 6). For one aspect, HKPTU has been closed to the pro-democratic parties and some of its members were politicians. For another aspect, HKPTU represents the largest labor union for education practitioners in Hong Kong, making it a recognized stakeholder in this education-based anti-M&N movement. Seeing the unavoidable overlapping between political parties and civil society, H9 expressed a positive view that, “a political party is also part of the society, same as the
social movement arena. I do not see any problem if these two groups take part in social affairs together” (personal communication, 2014, October 7). It depends on how the activists judge every gesture taken by the party members. H1 pointed out that “we could not deny that, part of political parties’ involvement in the movement is just their plan to win more bargaining power in the civil society” (personal communication, 2014, March 13).

In the anti-media monopoly movement, the rejection of political parties’ participation also appeared as an unspoken rule. During the 901 grand rally organized by 901 Alliance and the new-year sit-in demonstration held by the Youth Alliance, any signs from political parties were forbidden in the protest sites. “We welcome political figures to join our demonstration as an ordinary citizen. But he/she should not wear shirts with party logos or hold their parties’ flags” (T8, personal communication, 2013, October 9). Several scholars who had been striving for a better media environment were of the opinion that, scholars and related NGOs had walked a long way in the war, but political parties always played the role of a follower. “When an issue starts to get wide attention after a long fight by NGOs, political figures or parties will automatically follow, because they see public support and votes in the issue” (T6, personal communication, 2013, November 6). An activist even teased the oppositional party DPP that, “they see the student activists are ideologically closed to their beliefs as pro-independence… that’s why they efficiently come up with an anti-media monopoly draft bill” (T9, personal communication, 2013, October 30). At the latter stage of the anti-media monopoly movement, the battlefield had turned to legislative procedures, as a group of scholar activists thought that, only through legislation could further media-monopoly be prevented and a better media environment in Taiwan could be guaranteed. Considering this, they had to seek help
from political parties to submit the draft to the Legislative Yuan. “We visited different political parties, including the ruling party and the opposition ones… but we can see different attitudes from different parties”, stated a young movement organizer (T19, personal communication, 2013, November 5). Even though the scholars brought forth their own version of an anti-media monopoly bill, they had to rely on political parties to go through the legislative procedure in the congress. To further avoid too much collaboration with the political parties, “we only went to the meetings directly related to the media issue… but seldom attended their party meetings” (T1, personal communication, 2013, September 18).

Generally speaking, from the cases of anti-media monopoly movement and anti-M&N movement, the movement field was constituted by vastly interconnected networks of SMOs making up the dynamic social movement communities (SMCs). In Hong Kong’s movement, although some interviewees argued that the major players were the high school students who formed Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group, the whole movement process revealed a networked form with voices from different entities. In addition, the formation of the cross-organizational Anti-M&N Alliance acted as a platform for resource and information exchange, with mutual respect for each organization’s autonomy and subjectivity. Regarding the situation in Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement, the SMC was heavily based on existing interpersonal networks in various areas. The long-established cooperative relationships involved a large number of entities, which not only facilitated the efficiency of co-working, but also enhanced the mutual trust between them. Despite the SMCs’ public stance that they reject political parties’ involvement, an ambiguous relationship between the movement circles and political parties still exists both in Hong Kong and Taiwan. It is difficult to ignore the indispensable role of those
oppositional and pro-democratic political parties in the long-haul fight for democracy in these two societies. In this process, political parties inevitably have built up relationships with various SMOs and have offered certain types of movement resources (e.g. material resource, mobilization of party supporters, and access to lobby chamber). On the one hand, political parties could be viewed as a constituent in the society who is able to provide important resources to the movement arena. In this sense, it is hardly any moral judgment as to whether the activists should accept political parties’ support and involvement. On the other hand, due to different historical reasons, people both in Hong Kong and Taiwan now give low credibility to political parties, causing social movement groups to hesitate to put their relationships with political parties in the spotlight. This ambivalent relationship between the social movement arena and the political parties somewhat overlaps with the question of movement legitimacy which will be discussed later.
Chapter 8 Networking of Knowledgeable Actors from Various Areas

In the traditional approach of RMT, the people who play significant roles in mobilizing public support mainly included those possessing high socio-economic status, who had access to the mass media and public relations expertise, and lobbying influence over politicians. At the same time, SMOs heavily rely on full-time staff to handle daily administration. In the current epoch, the social movement arena has become a wide platform for citizens from various backgrounds to take part in social affairs. This is not to deny the important part played by professionals such as scholars and lawyers. What is emphasized here is the networking of knowledgeable human resource from various fields, creating a set of counter discourse against holders of power and disseminating their movement’s goals to the public. The counter discourse (or movement discourse) here is deeply embedded in the social movement context, referring to the activists’ own understanding and solution of the movement issues.

Professional knowledge refers to those who have gained professional certification or society-wide recognition of their particular occupations (e.g. scholars in academia, lawyers, teachers, media professionals), as well as those having special experience in various areas which differentiates them from people’s everyday life experience (e.g. movement activists who have rich experience in handling protest sites, government documents, meeting government officials and facing the police).

8.1 Professional Knowledge

It is hard to deny that, in both of the movement cases, academic professional knowledge from scholars played a relatively marginalized role. Scholars’ theoretical knowledge, as a type of professional resource, contributed to movement discourse
generation, such as discussing the development of civic education and the contested opinions of journalistic professionalism. However, these academic backup forces remained in an old mode of mobilization. Even then, it was the young activists who sometimes bridged the gap between academia and the movement site, translating academic research into movement discourse.

In the anti-M&N movement, the role of academic knowledge in the education issue was somewhat marginalized. Professor Leung Yan-Wing from the Hong Kong Institute of Education has been conducting civic education research for decades. He emphasizes the importance of political education in the student curriculum. But he did not agree with the mutual exclusiveness of civic education and national education. After years of research on civic education and involvement in editing curriculum guidelines in the education department’s working group, Professor Leung, in his doctoral thesis, presented a dynamic relationship between nationalistic and civic education, indicating that national education could exist paralleling with a well-designed civic education, as long as the teachers provide sufficient information and knowledge to the students (Leung, 2003). However, what was advocated by Professor Leung and his fellows in the Alliance of Civic Education (a civic organization convened by Professor Leung) was different from the Anti-M&N Alliance. The major anti-M&N movement groups advocated abandonment of the whole national education curriculum thoroughly.

“The first draft of the M&N curriculum guidelines was released in May 2011, which triggered serious criticism from scholars. But these controversies did not capture the attention of any movement organizations… In April 2012, a revised version of the curriculum was announced, which was substantially improved compared to the original version, by adding items such as ‘controversy’ and ‘human
rights’… However, eventually the notorious ‘China model’ triggered the whole movement, leading to the abandonment of the whole curriculum… Actually it does not benefit Hong Kong education” (H5, personal communication, 2014, May 30).

The scholars confirmed in the interviews that they insisted on keeping a detached role in the whole movement, but at the same time “backing the issue with academic theories and rational discussion” (H3, personal communication, 2014, April 9). H4 stated that what scholars did in the movement actually was to “increase the movement’s moral legitimacy by standing on the stage… the presence of academic scholars at the movement site symbolically put more pressure on the government” (personal communication, 2014, April 14).

From the movement activists’ side, though the importance of the theoretical knowledge provided by the scholars was regarded as necessary, some activists, especially the youngsters, did not think that the academic language could be effectively disseminated to the public. When the Anti-M&N Alliance and HKPTU tried to suggest their own curriculum to counter the official one, they went to seek assistance from Professor Leung Yan Wing and his Hong Kong Alliance of Civic Education, and learned from their conceptualization of civic education. “Scholars’ research findings are a precious resource of a civil society… we tried to translate the research findings which are not reported by the mass media into our movement discourse and slogans” (H10, personal communication, 2014, July 21).

In the case of Taiwan, a Taiwan scholar stated straightforwardly that, “we scholars produced ‘hard’ facts and analysis regarding Want Want’s purchasing of CNS and Next Media… after absorbing the ‘hard’ materials, what slogans the students would come up with and in what ways they would carry out the mobilization were totally up to themselves” (T4, personal communication, 2013, October 1). As
mentioned before, a small group of media and economics scholars from NTU formed a research team to conduct media-monopoly related studies. At that time, these scholars got some hints from members of the NCC who are also media scholars about Want Want’s proposed purchase of CNS. Admittedly, it was due to the close connection among media scholars that they became the first ones to know about the case. From the end of 2011, this group of scholars started writing newspaper articles, attending meetings with the NCC, holding press conferences and forums. “As communication students, we knew about this issue in classes and we also knew that the scholars had done something… but we never thought it would become a ‘movement’”, a communication student who was also one of the movement organizers in the latter stage told the author (T15, personal communication, 2013, October 18). Since this group of media scholars has been doing media research and media advocacy from the 1980s, they got used to routinize methods of mobilization such as writing articles, holding press conferences and academic forums. “Yes, our teachers care very much about the issue, but they never thought about including students in the issue or imagined what this campaign could be like”, another communication student said (T18, personal communication, 2013, October 23). While most of the public statements and newspaper articles written by scholars in the 901 Alliance focused on how to calculate the scale of media monopoly and how to improve media laws, student activists translated them into the language of emotional advocacy and slogans. In a public statement by the Youth Alliance advocating Occupy Executive Yuan, it was suggested that, “friends, we are in the darkest moment, but there can still be light… the resentment caused by the erosion of freedom of the press has led us to the front”. Slogans included “anti-media monopoly”, “media law to curb monopoly” and “say No to China factor” (Youth Alliance, 2012, November 25). The
term “China factor” is derived from a Taiwanese sociologist Wu Jieh-Min. Two core members from the Youth Alliance attended a talk delivered by Professor Wu and they realized that the concept of the “China factor” could be included in the anti-media monopoly slogans to enrich the movement discourse.

8.2 Professional Knowledge in Other Areas

Compared to the marginalized role of academic knowledge, professional knowledge from school teachers and from law scholars played a more important role in the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement.

School teachers were the first group who got access to the controversial teaching material “China Model” when it was delivered to each school. It was from the exposure of this “China Model” that the movement got intensive attention in society. “We sense that this is more a political issue than an education one. Educational problems are usually solved between the bureau and teachers, after several rounds of consultation, with no need to take to the street… When we took a first glance at the ‘China Model’, we already recognized how serious the problem was and that it had to be given media exposure” (H6, personal communication, 2014, June 6). Based on their teaching experience and professional examination of the M&N curriculum, they were able to provide important first-hand material to the Parents Concern Group and Scholarism when they needed to face the officials. “If the official says, schools have high degree of autonomy in handling the teaching of M&N. Then the parents could fight back by arguing that teachers or even school principals do not really enjoy that much autonomy, because of the pressure from the school sponsoring bodies” (H6, personal communication, 2014, June 6). In addition, through the process of networking between secondary school teachers and primary school teachers, the
movement organizers were able to obtain sufficient material to build up the movement discourse. With assistance from the teachers who were involved in the movement, the Parents Concern Group designed guidelines about “how to choose the right primary school”, to instruct parents what kinds of questions they should ask the school staff to scrutinize the schools’ implementation of M&N (Parents Concern Group, 2012, September 14).

In the Taiwan case, after the Next Media issue, the battlefield turned to the anti-media monopoly legislative process. In fact, after the new-year sit-in protest in front of the Presidential Office, there were not many collective actions organized by the Youth Alliance or other students’ organizations. During that period of time, some core members from the Youth Alliance and scholars from the 901 Alliance devoted themselves to the passing of an anti-media monopoly law. Without much doubt, drafting a piece of legislation is beyond the capabilities of students, especially since most of them were not from the field of law studies. Professor Huang Kuo-Chang, an active law scholar involved in the anti-media monopoly movement took up most of the legislative writing. A core member from the Youth Alliance stated that, “(among the few legislative drafts from different parties) Huang wrote up the 901 Alliance version almost all by himself... of course we students had our own opinions regarding this issue, but after all our opinions are abstract thoughts, legal language is a meticulous system” (T11, personal communication, 2013, October 24).

8.3 Media and Public Relations Professionals

In the traditional approach of RMT, media and public relations experts are crucial to the operation of social movements due to the important role of the mass media in the process of message dissemination. Knowing how to make voices heard
by the public has been one of the major targets for movement organizers. Even given that in the age of informationalism and network society, ordinary people, equipped with communication tools, can act as amateur journalists, traditional media such as newspapers and television are still important information channels. In this case, capabilities of handling and even manipulating media coverage are necessary. In addition, due to their journalistic routines, media and public relations experts have got used to confronting bureaucrats and police.

The important role of media experts was particularly obvious in the Taiwan case of anti-media monopoly. Due to the movement’s nature, the first large-scale demonstration of the movement was hosted by the Association of Taiwan Journalists. Although there is no full-time staff in this organization and only the convener, Chen Hsiao-Yi, got involved directly in the movement operation, she did play a leading role in the whole process. A member from the 901 Alliance admitted that, “we were so lucky to have a media expert in the alliance, as we did not need to worry about how to face different journalists, or contacting media or other media manipulating strategies” (T1, personal communication, 2013, September 18). With her fruitful experience as a journalist, Chen Hsiao-Yi suggested “a rally route which ended at the NCC, which symbolized that the NCC should take the responsibility, she also advised us how to promote the 901 grand rally to get media attention and what kinds of information should be released at different points in time during the rally preparation” (T8, personal communication, 2013, October 9). Actually, throughout the whole movement, from the 901 grand rally to the Next Media issue, The Liberty Times, the newspaper organization where Chen Hsiao-Yi works, closely followed the students’ activities. For instance, during January 2013, the Youth Alliance organized “soap box talk” tours across the country in different cities and counties. In that period of time,
the four major newspapers mostly paid attention to the sale of Next Media. The Liberty Times was the only newspaper to carry a series of reports covering their activities in different locations (e.g. Luo & Chen, 2013, January 22; Wang, 2013, January 31). In addition, some features about the student activist leaders were written by Chen Hsiao-Yi herself (e.g. Chen, 2012a, December 2; Chen, 2012b, December 2).

Besides dealing with media exposure, Chen also dealt with the police in different protest actions and helped the scholars get in touch with different politicians in the phase of advocating media legislation. It is no surprise that, as an experienced journalist and on the political news beat, Chen was familiar with the police. And as a political news journalist, Chen has close ties with some politicians, especially the legislators from the opposition party, the DPP. Partially due to Chen’s connections, the students and the 901 Alliance were able to get in touch with DPP politicians about submitting the anti-media monopoly bill.

In Hong Kong’s anti-M&N case, several members of the Parents Concern Group were working in the mass media or used to be senior journalists. They were able to connect to media resources. And they also cared a great deal about how the campaign was presented to the public and to the mass media. “Due to some members’ professional background, the parents made great use of their connections in the media, in order to get as much media attention as possible… They always wanted to do more, especially for the 901 carnival, to generate better media effects” (H3, personal communication). The 901 carnival was reported live by several media, including commercial radio stations and some online media. The spokesperson of the Parents Concern Group said that they operated the movement and processed the huge amount of messages according to the logic of their journalistic jobs. The Parents Concern Group posted on their Facebook page some words from a member: “Just fell
asleep for a few minutes… CY Leung again expressed his opinions. Messages immediately flooded in my cellphone, sent by the campaign mates… I know telephone calls from mass media will soon come… I am from the media industry and I am quite familiar with this journalistic routine” (Parents Concern Group, 2012, August 2). The spokesperson of the Parents Concern Group, Eva Chan, a former senior journalist and now a university teacher, was sent to the front line as a spokesperson to face the mass media. Based on her previous journalistic experience, she knows well when and what kinds of information the mass media need from the Parents Concern Group’s response.

Besides the Parents Concern Group, Scholarism also had certain connections with media employees. It was disclosed that a journalist from Apple Daily helped set up an online communication group (WhatsApp group) for Scholarism’s core members to facilitate their communication. At the same time, through this type of interaction, the journalists were able to establish friendly relationships with the young activists (H2, personal communication, 2012, March 24). This is not to say that the Scholarism members exchanged all their conversation and movement information for media exposure. But Apple Daily, as a pro-movement media outlet, did follow Scholarism’s Facebook fan page closely. Some little stories posted on the fan page got reported by the newspaper. For example, the story mentioned before about an old lady donating her half-month government old age allowance to Scholarism with some encouraging words, was immediately given media exposure the day after (Apple Daily, 2012, July 31). Additionally, some small-scale actions conducted by Scholarism were also reported by Apple Daily, such as an unexpected encounter with police when the Scholarism members held street booths (Apple Daily, 2012 August 10), and a series of “chasing Ng Hak-Kim” and “chasing political parties” direct actions (e.g. Apple
Daily, 2012, August 14). These actions seldom drew a large number of participants but were carried out by a few core members. But Apple Daily kept pace with them.

8.4 Special Experience in Different Areas

Experience of movement mobilization and operation always plays an indispensable role in every movement. Generally speaking, special experience from senior activists contributes in two aspects: how to achieve the moral legitimacy of the movement and how to measure the movement’s momentum.

In the anti-M&N movement, the spokesperson of the Anti-M&N Alliance was an experienced activist. As an organization with decades of movement mobilization, members of the Federation of Students also contributed to this movement. In terms of how to frame a movement and how to legitimize the movement discourse of M&N, Scholarism at first concentrated on some technical problems, such as estimate school teachers’ increase of workload if the M&N subject were introduced. H1 recalled that, at the very early stage of the issue, members from the Federation of Students suggested that, “it is not possible to touch the core of the issue only through raising technical problems, because they could be settled by administrative means” (personal communication, 2014, March 13). In their very first public statement, a combination of technical problem analysis (e.g. calculating the change of teaching hours in each course if the government was to implement M&N), and some fundamental points regarding brainwashing was raised (Scholarism, 2011, May 29). As stated before, professional knowledge and experience from school teachers provided first-hand curriculum information to help fight back against the bureaucratic officials. Moreover, according to H6, sometimes, experience from the parents also enriched the policy analysis by the teachers. “We started to know that parents cared most about the issues
of principle, such as the June 4 incident, and that the Chinese Communist Party is in no way a good party” (H6, personal communication, 2014, June 6).

From the perspective of taking action, during July 2012, at the time that Scholarism had started sequential actions of “chasing Ng Hak-Kim”, H2 provided some suggestions to Scholarism that, “public attention will decrease and your image will deteriorate if you continually undertake similar direct actions. To sustain the movement, we have to come up with something as an alternative to counter the official curriculum” (personal communication). Afterwards, Scholarism started to try to work with the Alliance of Civic Education to design their civic version of the teaching package, though this version did not generate substantial impact after the movement because the government eventually withdrew the whole subject. Additionally, along with dramatic scenes of mass demonstrations and hunger strikes, running a movement requires tons of daily chores to be taken care of. With rich experience in the social movement arena, H3 argued that, “neither the school students nor the parents had experience of holding a march of more than ten thousand participants. Actually, in the Alliance, only a few of us can grasp the picture… Suddenly Scholarism initiated a hunger strike. You know, this is not only about those strikers. I ran to take care of the logistics immediately… Then they started the occupy action, which means something must be kept going on the stage. I rushed to invite speakers and some activist friends came to help take the MC role” (personal communication, 2014, April 9).

The anti-M&N movement is regarded as a movement of and for students and parents. High school students represented the target who would be indoctrinated by the M&N education curriculum, while with the slogan “protect the children”, parents also took a leading role in the movement, assuming that parents possess the closest
connection with children. In this sense, the particular experience of being a high school student and being parents enriched the movement. The 729 demonstration was the one with the largest number of participants during the movement. What caught the public’s attention at this event was the large variety of games and activities for children at the starting point, as well as various booths set up in the middle of the route for parents to change babies’ diapers. The march was regarded as “a parade full of safety, children’s fun and momentum” (Apple Daily, 2012, July). The tone of the parade was exactly as initiated by the Parents Concern Group. As stated by H7, “we don’t want the kids to feel bored when they are waiting at the starting point, so we invited volunteers to make artwork which can engage the children, such as soap bubbles and face painting… we also specially designed some slogans and props suitable for the kids” (personal communication, 2014, June 19). Generally speaking, it was the experience from movement activists, high school students and parents which intertwined and integrated to enrich the movement.

Experience derived from activists who have been working in advocacy NGOs and in different social movement arenas also enormously contributed to the anti-media monopoly movement in Taiwan. As the 901 Alliance was constituted by a number of NGOs who for a long time have devoted themselves to media issues or social minorities’ rights, they have obtained fruitful experience lobbying politicians and official departments. In terms of movement discourse manipulation and movement operation, first, one of the strategies to enhance the movement’s moral power and raise public attention was inviting distinguished world-class scholars to endorse the movement’s legitimacy.

Second, considering that journalists and columnists were the direct potential victims of media monopoly, one of the strategies employed was making them visible.
“One way to defeat the enemy is making them weak, that’s why we had ‘say No to China Times’ action among the intellectuals. By drawing the journalists and columnists to our side, we made ourselves stronger and the enemy weaker” (T4, personal communication, October 1). Two waves of “say No to China Times” actions (February and August in 2012) stirred the whole intellectual milieu.

Thirdly, in terms of action plans, a group of senior activists carefully orchestrated the anti-media monopoly protests based on the harsh lessons they had gained in the Wild Strawberry movement. Right after the incident of Chen Wei-Ting being threatened by CtiTV, a small group of Wild Strawberry activists gathered for discussion. At the same time, some anonymous college students made an online petition to show support for Chen Wei-Ting. It was by accident that the Wild Strawberry group got to know about this petition. Seeing the dramatic increase of signatures on the petition, they made a decision that a protest rather than a flash-mob action should be carried out, because “judging from the online trend, public opinion is on our side” (T9, personal communication, 2013, October 30). Although the 901 grand rally attracted around nine thousand demonstrators, after this, the issue seemed to disappear as a new academic year started and students got back to school. In November, as the Next Media issue reached its crucial moment, some core members from the Youth Alliance decided to mobilize series of collective actions again to rebuild the morale. In addition, in accordance with the lessons learned from the Wild Strawberry movement, each action should not last too long but there should be a decent retreat at certain moments. “Sometimes the student protestors felt confused about why we retreated without an answer from the officials. We had to tell them from the Wild Strawberry experience that, exhausting everyone’s energy is never a wise choice. Instead, sustaining our morale would be the most important” (T13,
personal communication, 2013, November 7). In addition, whenever it comes to making decisions in an organization, young activists usually believe in equality and democratic consensus. However, an experienced activist strongly advised a partially hierarchical organization based on representative democracy. “They may say this is hierarchy, but learning from Wild Strawberry’s so-called full democracy, we know there are free riders coming to give ideas then leaving without taking any responsibility… we must have certain extends of structure and leadership” (T9, personal communication, 2013, October 30).

In sum, regarding the analytical blocs of material resources and professional/specialist human resource, the power of constructing a network and the power of networked efforts are substantially demonstrated from these cases. Material resources and human resources equipped with professional knowledge and specialties used to be regarded as the biggest secret to running a successful social movement. What this research shows is the continuing importance of these two aspects, but also the significance of gathering different sorts of resources and assembling resourceful people from various directions. It echoes what was stated by Castells (2011, p. 776) that, the means to build up a powerful network includes two mechanisms: the ability to construct a network and to program the network; the ability to connect and facilitate the cooperation of different networks by sharing common goals. Through the networking of various types of resource, and human resources with specialties in different areas, the movement actors were able to form a mobilization network constituted not only by the professionals or those possessing relatively high socio-economic status but also resources and knowledge gathered from all directions.
Figure 8.1. Categories of the “human resource specialties and movement networking”
Chapter 9 Movement Active Agency

As illustrated in the literature review section, in the paradigm of the informational age and network society, humanity’s everyday life is permeated with rapid communication tools, open data systems and wide-ranging communication networks. As stated by Lash (2001), we have witnessed a change in life-style in a technological form of life, which largely refers to a dynamic relationship between human beings and technologies. Here is an age in which the mass of technologically-savvy people are able to easily search and retrieve knowledge in different areas, and to become technologically-savvy no longer means only a small group of professionals who are capable of handling hardware or writing computer programs. Instead, equipped with user-friendly and handy devices, the relationship between users-technologies-knowledge is “knowing, learning and practicing by doing”. In this chapter, the active role of the movement activists is termed the “agency”, which indicates their capabilities in making use of the tools and knowledge to achieve the perceived justice goal.

9.1 Access and Comprehend New Information

“Thanks to the rapid development of communication technologies, for those who have an interest, they have a lot of online channels to understand social issues. With their fresh minds, they absorb and process knowledge very fast. You see now lots of students can have inspiring comments on social issues… Compared to the old-style politicians, the new generation is closer to the current social situation.” (H6, personal communication, 2014, June 6)

“College students used to stick to PTT for information exchange, which is a
platform unknown to junior-high school students... now everybody's communication world shifts to Facebook. Sometimes junior-high school students saw us the college students protesting on television. They search our profiles on Facebook and contact us for more information about the issues and even seek for opportunities to join actions.” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22).

In the following paragraphs, the author illustrates how the activists from Hong Kong and Taiwan obtained and managed a large amount of information which they got from various sources. Facilitated by the prevalence of ICTs, some information which used to circulate only within a small circle of professionals or could only be obtained via restricted channels now could be accessed by a large group of activists, such as different official documents and legislative works. But this is not to say that it was only through ICTs that the activists could get the above information. The essence of the technological form of life refers to the transformative way in which people get access to and comprehend the information they need. The open-sourced system and multi-functional platforms in the online world facilitate people’s multi-faceted information-seeking process, which further leads to a transformation in ways of information searching in daily life. Whenever certain information is needed, people nowadays have got used to multi-directional searching and informational filtering, to generate knowledge about different issues.

In the case of Scholarism in the anti-M&N movement, they formed a research team, intensively reading M&N related documents (assisted by other SMOs) and seeking relevant materials to respond to the government’s latest statements. As public documents, a large part of the important M&N related materials (e.g. the curriculum guidelines) are available online. At an early stage, when Scholarism was newly founded, members studied the related documents together. Members who joined
Scholarism at this stage got access to these materials and uploaded key notes to Scholarism’s Facebook platform (some secret groups), providing a rapid way for later comers to comprehend the issues. “Sometimes the spokespersons were too busy to read through all the latest documents, and the research job was out-sourced… after doing research and discussing with other Alliance parties, they provided the ‘bullet points’ to the spokespersons to confront the officials” (H9, personal communication, 2014, October 7).

Newspapers provided Scholarism with another important channel to grasp the latest information and to comprehend different issues. Besides reading the hard-copy newspapers which received through subscriptions by the schools, the students made use of the WiseNews online database for electronic versions. In addition, some comprehensive analytical articles only appeared on online news media, such as InmediaHK. The grown-up-digital youths could largely absorb nutrition from this soil. “I usually read newspaper articles on WiseNews… To equip myself, I read articles in some business-oriented newspapers, in order to grasp the mind-set of those who care more about economic benefits than Hong Kong’s local culture”. During the interviews, several young members in Scholarism disclosed that, though they got information from various sources, including mainstream newspapers and online media, they regarded mainstream newspapers as more trustworthy while content from online media were for reference only, as “you really don’t know who the boss is behind some online media” (H10, personal communication, 2014, July 21). From these words, the youngsters revealed their high information literacy in terms of carefully selecting useful information. References from newspapers were also shown on their various public statements.

In a similar way to Scholarism, members from the Parents Concern Group also
spent lots of time studying the M&N related documents which could be downloaded from the government website. During the interview with a member from the Parents Concern Group, the interviewee showed a bound document to the author. It was the full document of the M&N subject, with a large number of stickers in different colors attached. The interviewee said, during the movement, she held his heavy file day and night, “we, as the concern group members, must be very familiar with every detail written in the guideline… We took this every day, because we attended countless public forums and meetings. We showed what we had found from this file, based on the black-and-white hard facts” (H7, personal communication, 2014, June 19). In some of their public statements, exact quotations from the official M&N guidelines were utilized to straightforwardly tackle the official response. By contrast, as a member from the Parents Concern Group stated, the chief official of the education department, Ng Hak-Kim, showed his unfamiliarity with the guidelines and had to ask his colleagues to respond to the parents’ questions during their meeting (p.59, Parents Concern Group, 2013a). Furthermore, in a layman-package designed by the Parents Concern Group which was mainly a digested-version of the guidelines, various academic references and government document sources were cross-referred to provide a comprehensive picture of the M&N curriculum.

In Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement, newspapers also played a crucial role for the young activists to obtain useful information. As T13 described, “some movements break out suddenly, including this anti-media monopoly movement. We, as non-media major students, needed to grasp the issues quickly in order to answer the journalists’ questions and tackle the officials’ feedback. At that moment, media scholars’ articles in newspapers became a major source for us” (personal communication, 2013, November 7). What the online platform brings to today’s
young people is not only the ocean of information, but the chaos of information. In order to tackle the chaotic information pool, a group of post-graduate students voluntarily took up the job of producing their own bi-daily “newspaper” – anti-Want2 TwiDaily (figure 9.1). “In order to collate the information, we had a division of labor, such as searching legislative rules and reading newspapers. If the topic was related to finance, we knew that the United Daily News may have more news than the others… the way we make our bi-daily newspaper is also a process for us to comprehend and digest the issues, as we need to sort out what are the key points of the topic and what are the oppositional opinions” (T15, personal communication, 2013, October 18).

There were generally three parts to each TwiDaily: important news quotes, important commentaries, and oppositional opinions. In addition, in order to understand the complicated process of news making and the media tycoon’s influence on news making, the young activists not only sought help from reading newspapers and documents, but also went to different scholars/professionals to grasp their first-hand information. A media-major student, who is also an amateur graphic designer, told the author, “we kept track of the process of digesting the issues and visualized each step. That’s how a layman-package was produced” (T14, personal communication, 2013, October 18). The layman-package is one of the most important types of movement message deliberation and publicity. It explains an issue in concise and layman language along with images (figure 9.2).
Figure 9.1. The anti-Want Want TwiDaily made by Youth Alliance
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/v0TOcD)

Figure 9.2. The layman-package explaining the process of making news
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/bvKolB)
As mentioned before, the latter stage of the anti-media monopoly movement dealt with legislative procedures. During that period of time, though most of the writing tasks were taken on by the scholars, the young activists still played the bridging role between the scholars and the movement side. Besides keeping an eye on the updated development of the Next Media purchase case, some youngsters in the Youth Alliance read through the relevant legislative rules. “There was no reason to write the rules into our public statements. But based on our understanding of the related rules and laws, we came up with our own movement messages delivered to the public, which were mostly fundamental principles and easy to understand” (T11, personal communication, 2013, October 24). At the crucial movement as the Legislative Yuan examined the anti-media monopoly bill, instead of writing the students’ own version of the act, the Youth Alliance released their public statement suggesting ten fundamental principles to echo this law making process. Each principle was written in layman’s language and explained in no more than three sentences, including “a transparent index to measure the media ownership scale” and “take public interest into consideration in measuring media monopoly” (Youth Alliance, 2013, May 15).

9.2 Knowing and Learning by Doing

Running an organization or organizing an action full of networked dynamics is a process of learning by doing. This may be due to the emergency nature of the issue, as the M&N subject was about to be officially implemented in September, 2012, and in the case of Taiwan, the Huang and Chen incidents suddenly ignited the anti-media monopoly movement. But also because of the new social movement culture and the networked form of movement organization spreading around the world, forming an
organization relies heavily on effective communication channels and networked voluntary efforts, instead of on the traditional membership system. In this sense, sometimes a social movement organization appears in an ad-hoc way, without a concrete blue-print. However, the technological form of life equips people with the capabilities of knowing and learning by doing – through DIY and simple facilities and practice via trial and error.

In terms of how to speak publicly and how to write a public statement, this is very different from what young students have learned from school life. On the street, one may encounter a large variety of responses to a particular issue. As with writing a public statement, one has to catch the public’s attention and explain the issue to audiences with various mind-sets and social backgrounds. When Scholarism held street booths to promote the anti-M&N movement messages, according to H9, if anything strange or unfamiliar occurs, a group of their Scholarism peers would collectively solve the problem. “(at street booths) You must explain to a lot of people about the issues. It pushed me to read more about the M&N issue. But in turn, by the process of repeatedly explaining the issue, I became more skillful” (H9, personal communication, 2014, October 7). To make their points clear and sharp in public statements, H10 observed, “the first paragraph consists of shouting out loud our oppositional opinion, then the second paragraph starts to elaborate our rationale, point by point” (personal communication, 2014, July 21). As they gradually learned from experience, members of Scholarism started to take control of the speed of the movement and the media. “When something happened, you know there would be a group of journalists asking for your response… Responding speedily is so important that we did not have time to ask each member’s opinion. To solve this dilemma, we usually provided some fundamental points as responses to the media, playing safe and
not touching the bottom-line” (H10, personal communication, 2014, July 21).

For the Taiwanese youths, the anti-media monopoly movement brought them a big opportunity to learn how to manage and disseminate movement messages to a large number of anonymous audiences via the mass platform of Facebook. As mentioned before, the outbreak of the movement came so quickly that the young activists had to grasp the issues in a short time. A group of post-graduate students were recruited to do issue research, a group of amateur graphic designers and computer science specialists were drawn in to design the online page. “All of us suddenly were pushed to learn how to collect information, how to comprehend issues and the most important, how to present our messages clearly on the Facebook platform… we were all learning by doing” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). A group of media-major students were also involved in the anti-media monopoly movement. Taking this movement as a platform, this group of communication students not only disseminated media knowledge widely to a larger pool of students, but also recruited more non-media major students to re-examine and discuss college students’ role in the whole media environment. Through organizing workshops, a series of ideas and action plans were constructed by the students after intensive discussion and debate. As shown from figure 9.3, the workshop participants came up with several aspects to tackle the Next Media issue, among which “journalists’ labor rights” became their main focus.
In terms of how to run a movement organization, the young activists also went through a tough process of learning by doing. Scholarism was founded in May 2011. In the early stages, until mid-2012, anyone who joined Scholarism was called a “member”. Afterwards, newcomers were called “volunteers” and they could be “promoted” to “member” after they had accumulated some action experience. It was not until the release of the “China Model” that Scholarism and the M&N subject caught the public’s intensive attention. It was also at that point that a huge flow of people asked to join Scholarism. “We had to learn how to manage; for instance, the experienced members were asked to lead the newcomers, or we set up different layers of systems… though there existed some hierarchy, we still worked and discussed together” (H9, personal communication, 2014, October 7). On the one hand, it provided an opportunity for the newcomers to accumulate action experience. On the other hand, this was a process for an organization to learn by doing – to learn how to
empower a new member, to observe the new members from different backgrounds – a way to maintain organizational autonomy and try to avoid “undercover” people being involved in the organization (H11, personal communication, 2014, July 22).

It seems that, a hierarchical structure of organization was inevitable both for Scholarism in Hong Kong and the Youth Alliance in Taiwan, in order to better manage the expanding scale of the organization. By dividing the Youth Alliance into different sectors, the senior activists tried to facilitate their organizational communication and to enhance movement operational efficiency. “After several actions over the Next Media issue, we decided to re-organize the Youth Alliance… six working teams to respectively handle movement tactics, issue publicity, information managing, member empowerment and external communication… when there is no special action, each group runs their job led by two leaders. When we need to take a collective action, six teams would gather to have action planning and task distribution” (T9, personal communication, 2013, October 30). Based on the senior activists’ Wild Strawberry movement experience and the movement experience in the few past months during the anti-media monopoly movement, Youth Alliance adjusted their operation of democratic deliberation into this type of “bounded multi-layer democracy”. In a public statement addressing their organizational transformation, the Youth Alliance adapted Bill Moyer’s “movement action plan” (Moyer, 1987) to articulate the reason why they shifted from a loose organization model to an empowerment model, in order to avoid the “tyranny of structurelessness” (Youth Alliance, 2012, December 22).

9.3 Mass Self-Communication

As mentioned in the literature review section, equipped with the competency in knowledge acquisition and generation, and with the prevalence of new media
technologies, people are able to be the media themselves – mass self-communication (Castells, 2007). It refers to a process of “self-generated in content, self-directed in emission, and self-selected in reception by many that communicate with many” (p. 248). We have witnessed the blurring of the boundary between traditional journalism and independent/civic journalism, as traditional media journalists may consult the civic journalists for first-hand information, and civic journalists may also present their news in a traditional journalistic way (e.g. with anchor and information sources). The distinction between these two forms of journalism has been broken by the growth of mass amateurization, people who are armed with affordable and portable equipment and the capabilities in editing and spreading the words via multiple channels.

9.3.1 Integrated methods to promote movement messages

Traditional ways of external communication

Traditional means of promoting movement messages and gaining public support are still of great importance even in today’s informational age. In the anti-M&N movement, both Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group held a large number of street booths to voice their opinions in the actual world. At the early stage of the anti-M&N movement, as this issue had not yet gained wide attention, Scholarism set up street booths in different districts and distributed leaflets to promote the issue. As stated in their slogan “Stand on the street, be with the people”, they regarded face-to-face communication with ordinary citizens as a significant way of carrying out a campaign. As a huge inflow of volunteers joined Scholarism at the peak of the movement, they enlarged the scale of the street booths, each day with one booth in one district, lasting five days. As mentioned in the previous section, talking to ordinary citizens at the street booths not only represented a way to promote the
movement message, but also a process for Scholarism members to absorb the issues – learning how to present the issues efficiently to audience. “We had different mobilization means to attract wider attention, making this July full of an anti-M&N atmosphere. Then we had street booths, leaflet distribution and some community activities, to enlarge the scale… of course, sometimes we had to confront the ‘fifty-cents party’ (referring to those who are paid to support the government)” (H9, personal communication, 2014, October 7).

Similarly, the street also became an important field in Taiwan’s movement. “July say No to Want Want” and “soap-box talk” campaigns were the two featured street activities to promote the movement’s messages. It is a Taiwanese tradition that people worship the gods in July with various kinds of snacks, among which Want Want’s snacks are popular products. During the anti-media monopoly movement, the Youth Alliance suggested their members should protest outside supermarkets in different cities, denouncing Want Want’s ambition to monopolize Taiwan’s media and asking people to stop buying Want Want snacks. Though this campaign did not receive much resonance, it opened up the movement into diversified formats – protesting via commercial boycott.

The “soap-box talk” was another street campaign bringing the activists into face-to-face communication with the public. During the school spring break in 2012, based on the material resources gained from some Youth Alliance members and from public donations, Youth Alliance members travelled around the nation to conduct “soap-box talks” in various cities and towns (figure 9.4). Traditionally, the public space in front of temples is usually somewhere for people to have festive celebrations and to gather for assembly – a space for collective activity. Delivering speeches while on a soap-box and distributing leaflets in the public areas in front of temples, Youth Alliance
members relied on this traditional way to promote their beliefs about anti-media monopoly among the general public as well as to build up their organizational image as “getting close to the ordinary people”.

Alongside the above small-scale street actions, large-scale demonstrations are also necessary for a movement. Through collectively constructing the actions, the actors are able to form a sense of “togetherness”, echoing what Holland et al. (2008) have defined, namely that collective identity is made up of participants’ shared sense which inspires collective action, leading to a world imagined and constructed by their shared commitments. The dynamic and organic interaction among various elements – the place, the people, the action, the songs, the words, and other tangible or intangible elements, occurs in a specific time and space, bringing forth the irreplaceable uniqueness. During the anti-M&N movement, besides several small-scale (not more than one thousand participants) marches held by Scholarism, a number of large-scale
demonstrations took place at the peak, such as the 729 anti-M&N parade with ninety-thousand participants, the 901 carnival with thousands of participants, which filled the whole of Tamar Park, and the more-than-one-week-long Occupy Civic Square.

During the occupy days, Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group kept posting images showing huge crowds of people gathering at and around Civic Square, emphasizing the importance of being together.

“[please forward] Latest news: at this moment, we need your support! This morning, we may not have enough time to invite the musicians or guest speakers. But, please, please come to the square, to show your support! Now is the crucial moment! Last night, one-hundred-and-twenty thousand people’s participation is our bargaining power with the government. Today, we need more! If you could not come last night, please join us today. It’s time!!” (Parents Concern Group, 2012a, September 8).

A Taiwanese NGO representative who has paid attention to media issue for a long time said that, “it was due to the students’ large-scale and eye-catching demonstrations that, the public started to notice the media monopoly issue” (T7, personal communication, 2013, October 4). The 731 demonstration under a typhoon elevated the movement to a level that, it was no longer an issue just among a small group of scholars, but an issue everyone in Taiwanese society should pay attention to.

On September 1, the Association of Taiwan Journalists hosted the 901 grand rally. As far as the Next Media issue, was concerned, several protests were organized by the Youth Alliance during November and December in 2012. In order to bring the media monopoly issue back to the boil and to re-heat people’s morale, the Youth Alliance initiated the new-year sit-in protest in front of the Presidential Office. Though some scholars criticized this sit-in action as not having a concrete target to fight for, members from the Youth Alliance explained that, “this action was just for attracting
people’s attention and boosting morale among those who had ever fought for the anti-
media monopoly movement” (T13, personal communication, 2013, November 7). As
shown on a picture designed by the Youth Alliance, they emphasized the spirit of
“walk together in rain and storm” (figure 9.5). It is undeniable that, through the
various collective actions, no matter whether it was a rally or a sit-in protest, the
symbolic meaning of “togetherness” was enormously underlined, to reveal the
strength and hope embedded in the presence of a large number of protestors.

![Figure 9.5. Youth Alliance declared “walk together in storms and rains”](https://goo.gl/hTPOL0)

**Online-based external communication**

In the informational age, ICT facilitated promotional channels are crucial to
every movement organization. Thanks to some members from the Parents Concern
Group who were media professionals, they invited media friends to transmit live
reports of the whole 901 carnival demonstration. An independent video team called
“SocRec” also sent a team to the demonstration site to conduct live-reports.
Scholarism suggested that those who could not join could log on to SocRec’s live-stream channel to virtually join the event. Live reports were also popular for social movement occasions in Taiwan. During the new-year sit-in protest in front of the Presidential Office, the anti-media monopoly activists set up a number of laptops to have a live report of the protest, which lasted two days.

Facebook has become the foremost communication tool for Hong Kong and Taiwan young activists for both internal communication and publicity. Some Scholarism members affirmed that Facebook was the primary and most important communication channel for Scholarism during the anti-M&N movement. In the previous section, which discussed movement facilities, the importance of Facebook in terms of internal communication has been illustrated. Regarding its role in external communication, according to H10, “Facebook was the major channel for us to tell people and journalists where we were (holding street booths) and what we needed” (personal communication, 2014, July 21). It is clearly stated in a public statement that, “any newsletter and public statement should be referred to the Facebook version accordingly” (Scholarism, 2012 July 25).

“Facebook is the biggest treasure of Scholarism, for publicity, recruitment, communication and interaction. We cared about the Facebook content very much. Images need to be sharp and simple. Photos must be eye-catching and professionally presented, so we gradually formed a filming team. We learned to know people’s Facebook behavior, such as the relationship between image presentation and the number of ‘likes’ and ‘shares’. We tried to post more images than words as people do not like reading lots of words” (H8, personal communication, 2014, July 21).

From Scholarism’s photo albums, the author observes that, from the very beginning, many photos were taken with cell-phones, showing low image quality. But
gradually, they formed a special team for taking photos and filming, with members equipped with handy video-recorders and professional cameras. As revealed from their action photos, the quality of images was very much improved, with higher definition and more vivid color display (Scholarism, 2012, July 2).

As Scholarism regarded Facebook as their biggest treasure, members from the Youth Alliance in Taiwan used the metaphor that the Youth Alliance was like a “parasite” on Facebook. “You see people surrounding you all use Facebook, which makes you have to rely on this platform to make your voice heard. Then you have to comply with the logic of this platform… we studied some commercials, finding that 1/5 of the space is for words, 1/5 for reference information and the rest is for images” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). According to this logic, besides the layman-packages and the bi-daily newspaper “Anti-Want Want TwiDaily” which presented the movement messages in a highly visualized format, some core members from the Youth Alliance invited their friends to post interesting DIY “count-down” images as a way to mimic the commercial style, in order to attract more attention. Seeing those interesting pictures, some netizens made their own ones and posted online as well, drawing an increasing number of people towards sharing the “count-down” pictures (figure 9.6). At the same time a large amount of supportive images were sent from home and abroad, as shown in the previous chapter. The first one who took a supportive picture actually was a friend to some Youth Alliance members. In the picture, with a simple framed composition, someone held a banner saying “anti-media monopoly and protest freedom of speech”. Members from the Youth Alliance realized that this type of supportive images might potentially draw a large scale of virtual participation and invited more friends overseas to take such images. Eventually, both the “count-down” images and the supportive pictures got large viral
effects online.

Figure 9.6. Count-down eleven days to the 901 grand rally
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/gLmyGe)

Facebook is a low-cost, efficient and convenient tool to make announcements, especially compared with printing hard-copy leaflets. According to a research report, Facebook is the top website which Hong Kong people visit every day, and the most popular digital behaviors include posting and browsing status/photos (Singapore Management University, 2012). Simply by following the movement groups’ page, users can get the latest information in a very short time. Especially during the peak time of the movement, with the high viewership, messages posted by the most active movement organizations, such as Scholarism, the Parents Concern Group from Hong Kong and Youth Alliance and 901 Alliance from Taiwan, easily got exposure on the followers’ walls. Activists in Hong Kong and Taiwan both affirmed that, managing Facebook means a process of learning by doing, because they had to take a long time to grasp the netizens’ online behavior and tastes. “When you set up a Facebook fan page, you can download a statistical report generated from Facebook, to see which time frame has the highest viewership and which type of post gets more attention…
by studying this report, you know how to improve the page” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). A graphic designer who was also an anti-media monopoly activist illustrated this point further, “we tried different ways to promote our messages… eventually we found that the posts that got most sharing were layman-packages and those extremely amusing pictures” (T14, personal communication, 2013, October 18). As stated by H8 (personal communication, 2014, July 21), they cared a great deal about whether the audiences liked their posts and whether they gave responses or shared the movement-related posts. Scholarism members attempted to gain more attention by using images to accompany words. In order to grasp a concrete picture of what the movement fan pages were like during the anti-M&N and anti-media monopoly movement, the most active movement organizations were selected for a statistical test: Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group in Hong Kong, the Youth Alliance and 901 Alliance from Taiwan. According to the t-test derived from Facebook pages of Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group, results show that, a post containing an image/video gains significantly more “Likes”, \( t(223) = -2.415, p < .05 \). Similar results are also derived from the Taiwan case, as results show that posts embedded with an image or video got significantly more “Likes” than those that have not, \( t(305) = -4.473, p < .05 \). In addition, posts with images or videos also obtain significantly more “Shares” than those that have not, \( t(305) = -3.243, p < .05 \). If the Facebook data derived from Hong Kong and Taiwan cases are merged as a single set, as well, results reveal that Facebook posts with images or videos got more “Likes”, \( t(530) = -2.753, p < .05 \) and significantly more “Shares”, \( t(530) = -3.584, p < .05 \).

Looking at table 3, the data shows that Facebook was largely used as a channel to make public statements (e.g. express their attitude to the government, clarify some
points), to call for public participation, and to update the latest action information. And these categories of Facebook content are also among the top posts gaining a large amount of responses (the number of “likes” and “shares” as shown from table 4 & 5).

This differs from the format of newspapers, which provides concrete textual information about the 5Ws (when, where, what, who, why); the functions of Facebook are more similar to electronic media such as television, which aims at disseminating the latest news assisted by live images. However, unlike television, Facebook, managed by a group of tech-savvy youths who have grown up digital, has been a major platform for releasing immediate news containing first-hand information, images, inside stories as well as subjective feelings, because those managing the Facebook fan pages are the activists themselves. The above statistical and descriptive results derived from Facebook data further reinforce what has been greatly emphasized by the tech-savvy activists from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Going through years of living with ICTs, the activists have adopted the technological form of life in such a way that managing a communication platform is totally a process of learning by doing. And the process itself repeatedly provides the activists with opportunities to further improve their capabilities of mass self-communication. They have grasped how to attract audiences by quietly acquiring the logic of that particular media channel, Facebook.

[Table 3. Types of Facebook posts]

[Table 4. Average “likes” and “shares” gained by Hong Kong groups]

[Table 5. Average “likes” and “shares” gained by Taiwan groups]
9.3.2. Be quick, and be interesting

One of the biggest advantages of online communication is the immediacy of information exchange. As stated above, the functions mostly used by the movement groups are public statement announcements, calling for public participation and updating, and the latest action information – timely and present-tense in nature. Additionally, images showing people’s power and national/international support – images showing high morale among protestors, are also those most commonly seen from the movement groups’ Facebook pages. According to table 4 & 5, these two types of posts have gained the most “likes” among other types of post. This reveals one of the important strategies of Facebook that, a message needs to be especially overwhelming (e.g. moments with a huge crowd of supporters) and eye-catching (e.g. scenes of a large group of people holding crossed hands or carrying banners). Instead, policy analysis, which usually contains lots of words, is rarely seen on Facebook pages.

Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group were two groups which caught most of the media attention during the anti-M&N movement. In order to respond to the public and the media efficiently, they made great use of public statements released on their Facebook pages and on the Parents Concern Group website. For example, on the morning of July 28, one day before the 7.29 anti-M&N parade, representatives from the Parents Concern Group had a meeting with some officials from the education bureau, though this ended up with little compromise. By the afternoon of July 28, the Parents Concern Group had already released their public statement regarding the details of the morning meeting, including the exact words spoken by the education bureau officials (Parents Concern Group, 2012b, July 28). As stated by a Scholarism member, “whenever we came across any concern from the government, media or
public, we had to release a public statement immediately… we had little time to circulate the statement among all the members, because we must be quick… everything requires immediacy and efficiency, that’s why Scholarism could carry out more actions than other organizations” (H10, personal communication, 2014, July 21). Among the forty-six public statements released by Scholarism during the anti-M&N movement, over ten pieces were immediate responses to various issues – a response given by Scholarism within one day after an issue was raised. For instance, a paper reported that Scholarism advocated a class-boycott campaign (Oriental Daily, 2012, July 6). Scholarism released a public statement clarifying their organizational attitude on July 7 (Scholarism, 2012, July 7). In addition, Scholarism’s YouTube channel also acted as a channel for immediate information release. On July 15, the chief official of the education bureau, Ng Hak-Kim, attended a public forum in Yuen Long district. During the event, participants holding different opinions had quarrels, which led to the abandonment of the forum. Scholarism recorded the process of conflict and uploaded the video on their YouTube channel. With the first-hand video, Scholarism was able to clarify that, though members of Scholarism attended that event, they acted in an orderly way and did not get involved in the conflict (Scholarism, 2012, July 15).

Facebook provided to Taiwan activists a fast way to form their anti-media monopoly group. As mentioned, the students’ anti-media monopoly group was initiated by a small group of Wild Strawberry movement activists who wanted to protest in front of the Want Want CtiTV building in order to support Chen Wei-Ting. At that very early stage of the movement, these activists did not have their Facebook group set up specifically for the anti-media monopoly topic because they had gathered based on their pre-existing friendship circle. But immediately after this 731 protest, a
Facebook fan page was set up by some other activists. Seeing the large crowd of student protestors gathered for the 731 protest the senior activists from Wild Strawberry decided to carry on to manage the Facebook page and run an anti-media monopoly student organization, which later became the Youth Alliance. A core member from the Youth Alliance recalled, “those who set up the Facebook fan page are also friends to the Wild Strawberry circle, but they did not discuss with us before setting up the fan page… it was shocking that, in a few hours after the protest, the number of page followers grew to two thousand” (T9, personal communication, 2013, October 30).

Besides the live report of the new-year sit-in protest, Facebook was an important channel to release timely information. During the action of Occupy Executive Yuan, in which hundreds of protestors demanded the Executive Yuan scrutinize the business tycoons’ purchase of Next Media, activists from the Youth Alliance kept updating their action on Facebook, from the evening of November 26 to the afternoon on November 27. “Updated announcement: we decide to spend the night outside the Executive Yuan, demanding our officials to face the problem. Please come and join us to have the night vigil for Taiwan’s democracy” (Youth Alliance, 2012, November 26). After several incidents of violent confrontation outside the Executive Yuan, the Youth Alliance announced a retreat and called for another protest in the near future. “We came to demand a meeting with our officials, but having our friends hurt and even arrested… now we retreat temporarily to keep our energy, see you all this Thursday at the Fair Trade Commission” (Youth Alliance, 2012, November 27). The one who managed the Facebook page during the occupy action recalled that, “it was such an intensive job; you knew our page had thousands of fans, so I must keep updating with them with my first-hand photos and texts… it was freezing cold but
you have to be there to conduct Facebook live reporting” (T20, personal communication, 2013, November 28). Among the twenty-three public statements released by the Youth Alliance during the whole anti-media monopoly movement, nine of the statements responded to their related issues within three days. As a core member of the Youth Alliance contended, “in our imagination, we formed a research team to develop our own set of movement discourse. Unfortunately, everything was in such a rush that we were all devoted to generating public statements in order to give timely responses” (T13, personal communication, 2013, November 7).

As illustrated above, to gain more attention, an image posted online must be interesting and funny. Kuso is one of the strategies – a sub-culture derived from online communication with users re-creating an original image in a funny or even sarcastic way. Here, kuso mainly refers to re-creating the image of certain human or non-human figures in a sarcastic way. In Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement it was the logo of Want Want which got re-created into various evil images. The logo of Want Want (synonym of “prosperity” in Chinese) is a male kid with round eyes and a laughing face. This logo is so eye-catching, not only due to its easy-to-recognize shape, but also because after Want Want group purchased China Times and CtïTV, the smiling kid logo was embedded, everywhere associated with the company, such as on their building, on the printed newspaper and even on their souvenirs. The Want Want smiling kid logo came under severe attack by netizens, saying that the smiling kid appearing everywhere is much too vulgar (Liberty Times Net, 2015, January 16). But during the movement, the original hilarious image was turned into a little monster and a little vampire (figures 9.7 & 9.8), with designs contributed by various anonymous netizens who expressed their fury towards the Want Want group by showing their artistic capabilities.
In Hong Kong’s anti-M&N movement, the chief official of the education bureau, Ng Hak-Kim, came under serious attack and his image got re-created in lots of the posters designed by Scholarism. By exaggerating the negative characteristics of a political figure, the movement organizers clearly and effectively conveyed to the public “who is the enemy” and “who should be responsible for the problem”. The poster in figure 9.9 shown below referred the running man and missing man Ng Hak-Kim, who tried to avoid the students’ requests. The re-creation of certain crucial figures has become a common strategy in social movement operations. The exaggeration and negative exhibition of those figures corresponds well to the logic of media politics in the network society – conveying a message with simplicity.

*Figure 9.7. Poster made by Youth Alliance*
*(Retrieved from [https://goo.gl/RbUcD7](https://goo.gl/RbUcD7))*
Figure 9.8. Poster made by Youth Alliance  
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/Da958r)

Figure 9.9. Poster made by Scholarism, “chasing Ng Hak-Kim”  
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/5Rwozo)
9.3.3 Switch on the activists’ programming of counter-network

In Castells’ terms, there are programmers (those set the rules of the game) and switchers (those who keep the gate of exclusion/inclusion) who manage a network. Movement activists, armed with the technological competencies, are able to form counter-power networks. The activists could counter the dominant network by bringing forth a new set of programming codes. What’s more, in Castells (2012)’s analysis of the networked social movements, a group of online and offline activists form their network to seek and actualize autonomy. And this quest for autonomy is further facilitated by the free online environment and people’s adaptation to equal communication relationships, which is also partially generated from the online world.

In the case of the anti-M&N movement, in the face of the official version of the M&N subject guidelines, different movement organizations put forward their own programs of civic education to counter the official interpretation of this education topic. Since the official M&N subject guidelines were criticized as putting too much weight on cultivating students’ nationalistic and patriotic sentiment, the movement side emphasized the importance of universal values and critical thinking. In the Taiwan case, as CtiTV unreasonably accused Professor Huang Kuo-Chang of employing student protestors and threatened Chen Wei-Ting for forwarding controversial images, netizens started a “boycott CtiTV” action, though its effect was unknown. In addition, to enlarge the movement network on the issue of anti-media monopoly, different student organizations, including the Youth Alliance and Society of Communication Students, travelled to universities in different cities to line up student organizations scattered around the country. Moreover, a network made of scholars, NGOs and students brought forth a civic version of an anti-media monopoly bill, as a way to say No to business tycoons’ control over Taiwan’s media industry.
“We are living in the twenty-first century, and many people nowadays need to travel globally. This is an era of globalization... not only the national identity, Hong Kong students must also recognize their global citizen identity ... students need to know more about the global big issues, after which they can get back to the national and local affairs”, this was the opinion of a Hong Kong parent regarding what he/she thought was an appropriate way to educate the next generation (H7, personal communication, 2014, June 19).

During and after the anti-M&N movement, the Parents Concern Group conducted a series of actions to reveal their power as an opposition alliance. Online advocacy was made by the Parents Concern Group, while offline actions were widely taken to echo the online advocacy, such as the “one person one letter” campaign to call for each parent to write an inquiry letter to their kids’ schools regarding the M&N subject. The Parents Concern Group also released a number of online and off-line packages: how to select a primary school in order to avoid the red pitfall (Parents Concern Group, 2012, September 14), a Hong Kong-wide “national education map” showing different schools’ attitudes to the M&N subject implementation (Parents Concern Group, 2013b), a digest-version of the M&N guidelines containing the parents’ critical comments (Parents Concern Group, n.d.), and a small book addressing a series of universal values which the parents regarded as appropriate for students to study in civic education (Parents Concern Group, 2014, January 7). These packages were contributed by individuals and groups from different areas, including ordinary parents, professional school teachers and scholars - echoing what has been discussed above regarding the networking of knowledge in multiple areas.

As mentioned before, some education scholars and an organization called the Alliance of Civic Education have devoted themselves to civic education research for
years. Scholarism adopted some ideas from the scholars and came up with their own advocacy on civic education and universal values education. “Besides loving themselves, their families, communities, nations, and the globe, our students must learn the value of ‘philanthropy’. It refers to a value beyond the national level, but reaching to a critical thinking on global development… and further reflecting an individual’s position in the world” (Scholarism, 2012, July 25). This is derived from the “a civil version of civic education guidelines” designed by the Alliance of Civic Education (Alliance of Civic Education, 2012).

In the Taiwan case, besides the students taking street action to besiege the CtiTV building, after the 731 protest, Taiwan netizens initiated a “boycott CtiTV” campaign. On the internet, various comprehensive ways to boycott Want Want owned television channels were explained, such as how to delete or skip CtiTV channels on the BenQ system, the LG system and the Sony system (Newtalk, 2012, August 1). As mentioned before, the Youth Alliance travelled around the country to hold “soap-box talks” to enable them to have face-to-face communication with the public regarding the media issue. This campaign was also based on their proposition that, “our progressive imagination includes going into civil society, into the rural areas and the community, for our network to become the eyes and mouth of the people” (Youth Alliance, 2013, January 1). Another student organization which tried to carry out networking work was the Society of Communication Students. The society organized lecture tours in order to further debate the anti-media monopoly issue with college students in different universities, especially those in non-elite colleges. “After the 901 grand rally, although the issue of media-monopoly got wide attention, we were not sure if it really got fully debated… we decided to take advantage of our communication major backgrounds to have further deliberation and discussion with students in different
places… we did not have the resources to call a grand rally, but we could approach student groups and do grass-roots networking” (T14, personal communication, 2013, October 18). According to the core members of this society, not only did they take the first steps to approach different student organizations, but also the students from different cities sent them inquiries and invitations, hoping to recruit more students to get involved in the anti-media monopoly campaign.

Before the 901 grand rally hosted by the Association of Taiwan Journalists, the 901 Alliance had already raised concerns regarding a legislative amendment to inhibit media monopoly. During the Next Media sale controversy, scholars involved in the 901 Alliance tried to present an anti-media monopoly bill. With the involvement of a number of scholars in law and economics, through endless rounds of discussion via their email group platform, a civic version of an anti-media monopoly bill was released under the name of the 901 Alliance. As mentioned before, this version was submitted to the Legislative Yuan via the DPP. Though the students from the Youth Alliance were seldom involved in the process of legislative writing, after intensive study of relevant documents, they brought forth a set of fundamental principles. Members from the Youth Alliance have said that, “the scholars needed to consider whether the political parties would accept their version, so they needed to set a relatively loose standard to measure monopoly… but we did not want to compromise” (T19, personal communication, 2013, November 5). This is not to say that the young students were incapable of comprehending legal issues, some of them had read through the 901 Alliance’s version of the anti-media monopoly bill, and consulted relevant scholars. During the public hearings in the Legislative Yuan, the representatives from the Youth Alliance were able to address comprehensively the media-monopoly issue from various perspectives, including horizontal and vertical
amalgamation (Youth Alliance, 2013, April 17).

In sum, from the chapter about “movement active agency”, we are able to see another type of human resource – wired and active movement actors embedded in the technological form of life, alongside the professionals and those possessing special experience. Comfortable in an environment surrounded by various forms of internet-based communication, the grown-up-digital youth and middle-aged adults inevitably make great use of ICTs in everyday life. It is people’s lifestyle in the informational age and network society - a dynamic and organic inter-relationship between human and technologies - and the integration of traditional interpersonal communication and ICT-facilitated communication has reformed the social movement mobilization process.

By taking note of everything and sharing every little story on Facebook and other online media open to the public, this generation of activists is keen to be seen. Being seen, to a certain extent, signifies that the movement messages, or at least the activists’ images come before the public. They play a role as self-media. In addition, having acquired the capabilities of information access and action taking, after much trial and error, the movement actors are able to form a counter-network against the authoritarian force, not only in terms of the networking of human resources from various backgrounds, but also knowledge building and dissemination via online and offline channels. According to Castells (2012), one of the key aspects of networked movements is that of networked activists fighting for autonomy, facilitated by online connections and offline solidarity. Here, though the use of internet-based communication tools is seldom a sufficient condition for the formation of autonomous culture, Castells said that “the internet goes beyond instrumentality” (2012, p. 229). The two cases are good illustrations of the activists’ quest for autonomy, hoping to
free education from the government’s control and the media from the tycoons, for the sake of a media environment filled with freedom of thought.

In addition, it is noteworthy to look at the data in table 6, where the author exhibits the number of references (coding units) coded into different categories in the aspects of active agency and mass self-communication. From the Nvivo matrix result, the number of references related to these categories that are embedded in the youth group is much larger than in other groups of movement actors. What has been illustrated above echoes well what Negri (2008) described as: creative and productive individuals; different from the mass, the people, the class – intelligent, mobile multitudes around the world against exploitation structures; “swarms” of self-organized, self-regulated, self-governing individuals using disobedience as a tactic against the establishment.

[Table 6. Different characteristics of movement active agency]
Figure 9.10. Categories of “human resource – mass self-communication and active agency”
Chapter 10 Building Movement Legitimacy

The aim of legitimizing a social movement is to gain greater public support. In order to show support towards a social movement, which usually temporarily breaks the normality of everyday life or even causes social instability, people must regard the movement as representing justice and for the public good. As mentioned in the literature review, according to the orthodox conception of legitimacy derived from Max Weber (1962), there are emotional and rational ways to build up legitimacy. In this research study, the emotional means of legitimacy building refers to ethical power and the power of solidarity which leads to public sympathy. The rational way includes informing the public to tell right from wrong based on facts or reasonable perception.

In the traditional approach of RMT, the movement’s legitimacy largely relies on media coverage – how much the movement is exposed in the media and how it is reported. Later related research proposed a dynamic relationship between the movement actors and the mass media, exchanging movement information to gain mutual benefit. In this research, a cultural aspect has been examined, in which the way the movement’s legitimacy is built by the movement actors is the focus. Media logic – the way that activists present certain figures and scenes facilitates the public to better comprehend the movement- is employed to probe into the process of building legitimacy. This process includes presenting movement icons, movement scenes, movement appeals and movement identity.

10.1 External Factors and Legitimacy from Mass Media

First of all, of the external factors, the constitution of the movement is one source of building legitimacy. McCarthy & Zald (1977) mentioned that the increase of
constituents and the decrease of potential beneficiaries in a movement may reduce its legitimacy, since the public might presume the movement is manipulated by the activists but not really benefiting those directly affected by the issue. This means that, in the two movement cases under discussion, if the anti-M&N movement had not got support from students, parents and school teachers, or if the anti-media-monopoly movement was not endorsed very much by journalists/editors, the movements’ legitimacy would have been largely weakened. In the anti-M&N movement, the students’ group and parents’ group played a significant role in various actions and large-scale demonstrations, which contributed to the legitimacy of the movement as people can easily comprehend that teenage students and their parents are those most affected by the M&N subject. Though people have witnessed different organizations’ involvement in the movement, including a group of school teachings showing their supports by forming a “Progressive Teachers’ Alliance”, the dominant roles had been given to the high school students and the parents, both in media coverage and in the mass self-communication by the movement alliance. According to H3, the formation of the Anti-M&N Alliance was for different organizations to exchange information and to assist the two major groups (personal communication, 2014, April 9).

Although a large group of college students were the major force in the anti-media monopoly movement, media staff and writers also played certain important roles. The 901 grand rally was hosted by the Association of Taiwan Journalists to legitimize the movement. Some student activists commented that this organization of Taiwanese journalists was never an SMO with visible movement momentum. But this time, facing a crucial media issue, eighteen years since the journalists’ last protest, though the student activists clearly knew that the journalists’ organization lacked manpower, they helped out in the organization and mobilization tasks. Meanwhile,
Professor Huang Kuo-Chang initiated the “say No to China Times” action, arguing that columnists should support the action by withdrawing from China Times, as a way to “make our side stronger and the enemy weaker” (T4, personal communication, 2013, October 1).

Secondly, in terms of movement legitimacy given by the traditional media, results show that both the movements enjoyed much larger support from certain types of media than others. Although some pro-government media or the media that was at least not on the movement’s side seldom appreciated the movement organizations or the activists, in both of the cases under investigation, positive discourse dominated quantitatively and qualitatively (table 7). Specifically, Hong Kong’s anti-M&N movement was positively depicted by the pro-democracy paper Apple Daily and the elite-oriented paper Ming Pao. Because the M&N subject was launched by the government, the government and relevant officials became the opposing side to the movement camp. The anti-media monopoly movement in Taiwan also gained wide coverage by the pro-democracy media, such as The Liberty Times. Since the Taiwan Apple Daily was deeply involved in the media monopoly issue during the second phase of the movement (from November 2012), compared to the facilitator role played by Hong Kong’s Apple Daily, it failed to dominate the pro-movement media coverage.

What needs to be explained here is that, in the Taiwan case, both the government and the business tycoons were on the opposite side to the movement. Not only were the business tycoons and the media buyers under serious attack by the movement organizations, but the responsible government departments (e.g. the NCC, Fair Trade Commission) were also criticized for neither taking strict action to curb the potential media monopoly nor facilitating the anti-media monopoly legislation. In this sense,
the division of media camps in Hong Kong’s case was “pro-government” and “pro-movement”, while the opposition camps in the Taiwan case can be generalized as “not on the movement’s side” and “on the movement’s side”.

Here the results generated from the media analysis regarding several crucial moments in the two cases also further prove the ambivalent relationship between social movements and mass media. On the one hand, news media reported certain events based on their news worthiness (e.g. the eye-catching large-scale collective action) and the journalistic norms which fulfilled social expectations (e.g. a determined movement icon or an innocent victim). On the other hand, media possessing different ideological stances take different positions when reporting social movements, especially t contentious movements which oppose the establishment. Research has shown that newspapers could even play a role as a movement facilitator (Chan & Lee, 2007). In the current study focusing on the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement, analysis of the mass media coverage shows a clear picture (see tables 8 & 9). While the media holding a pro-government/establishment stance downplayed the movements, there were still several media outlets which substantially supported the movement side and delivered a positive movement image to the public, partially contributing to and enhancing immaterial movement legitimacy.

[Table 7. News articles reported the two movement cases at the crucial phases]

[Table 8. Different stances taken by different newspapers in Hong Kong case]

[Table 9. Different stances taken by different newspapers in Taiwan case]
10.2 Presenting Movement Icons

“Constructing an aura of a student hero echoes media logic. In movement circles, it is not easy to introduce many figures that are capable of being the spokesperson. And the movement organizations also hope the public will recognize one or two faces.” (H14, personal communication, March 24)

“The outbreak of the movement was caused by CtiTV’s accusation that the students were employed to protest. Why did this lead to nine-thousand protestors taking to the streets in the 901 grand rally? This accusation was a serious aspersion on the purity and integrity of our students.” (T1, personal communication, 2013, September 18)

Legitimacy is a type of intangible resource, with movement actors’ utilizing the power of words and images to gain wider support. As Castells (2009) stated in his book “communication power”, politics in the network society reveals itself as media politics to a large extent: the battle of images, frames which have an impact on people’s minds. But getting a position in the battle of news frames and images depends on how much attention you can get. As described in the anti-WTO example in the literature review (Leung, 2009), the protestors successfully got media exposure and public sympathy by presenting collective actions in a certain way. This echoes what media scholars have conceptualized as “media logic” (Altheide & Snow, 1979, 1991). “Media logic consists of a form of communication … how material is organized, the style in which it is presented, the focus or emphasis on particular characteristics of behavior” (Altheide & Snow, 1979, p.10). Various social sectors adhere to media logic to make strategic decisions, for example, how someone giving a speech dresses and grooms him/herself, or the detail of how a political campaign should be run. Images and actions also constitute a powerful way to build up
legitimacy. The first-person angle, the dynamics between the actors and the environment, and the sound on-the-site, makes up “authenticity”, which contributes to legitimacy. This type of first-hand information disclosure is widely used by citizen journalists and alternative media (e.g. Atton, 2002), who are usually movement actors themselves. This is not to say that media logic is restricted to the ways of gaining media exposure. Instead, the essence of media logic refers to the movement actors’ consideration of how to present certain figures and actions in order to capture public attention and to fulfill people’s notions of a “movement”. The media logic is a way to present to the public an image which builds movement legitimacy. It also bridges the movement’s presentation and its media coverage.

10.2.1 The innocent image of students

“Why we should let the children bear the whole world? Scholarism members have been undertaking a hunger strike for three days. They reject the hypocritical power holders who have come to ‘greet’ them. Neither servile nor arrogant, they withstand the high wall ahead of the adults.” (Apple Daily, 2012, September 1)

It is not difficult to conclude that, in the anti-M&N movement, the intention of the campaign was to narrow down the scope of the beneficiaries – focusing on high school students and the parents. The anti-M&N movement highlighted two groups of movement actors: the brave and adorable image of Scholarism, and the parents who took to the streets based only on their care for the kids, instead of accumulating political resources.

“If it was the members of a traditional social movement organization, such as the HKPTU, starting the hunger-strike, it would not be as powerful as the high school students” (H2, personal communication, 2014, March 24). When talking about their
decision to undertake the hunger-strike, a member of Scholarism accepted that their identity as school students had granted them an advantage in avoiding being regarded as “performing a political show”. Compared to the carnival style campaign held by the Parents Concern Group, such as the 901 l protest at the government headquarters, the hunger strike undertaken by the high school students, to a certain extent, showed a strong contrast. Even though Scholarism’s recruitment platform was open to the whole society, people still regarded it as a high school student group, because their major organizers were high school students. This created an iconic branding for this organization. After the founding of Scholarism in May 2011, their first public debut was the 7.1 rally in 2011. Though the rally theme of that year was about the quest for universal suffrage, the issue of M&N education was brought forth by Scholarism, whose presence was one of the highlights of that year’s rally. This group of young students was labeled as “a fresh generation pursuing the road to democracy” (Ming Pao, 2011, July 2). A member from Scholarism argued for the power of the students’ innocent image by saying that, “the moral status of the high school students was so overwhelming that, even after we occupied the civic square, the public did not have negative feelings about this somewhat radical action” (H11, personal communication, 2014, July 22).

An eye-catching scene widely reported by mass media was that, after a few days’ of the hunger strike, three members of Scholarism put on their school uniforms in the early morning and went back to school (Apple Daily, 2012, September 4). This action showed the strong media sense of Scholarism, knowing how to present a good image of being a high school student. “Scholarism did not intend to create a radical image to challenge the public’s tolerance. What characterizes us is that we care about society and voice our opinions… We tried to convince the public that we are still normal
students. As the new semester started, we went to school as usual” (H9, personal communication, 2014, October 7). H2, a major movement organizer, affirmed that, “it is a smart way of doing the hunger strike, with two boys and one girl. The public can easily recognize them, as they were only three students. The combination of boys and girls is appealing as well. After a few days, they went back to school. This reinforced the innocent and good image of school kids… the public, even the parents, dare not blame them for undertaking the seemingly radical step of a hunger strike” (personal communication, 2014, March 24). As Scholarism vowed in their hunger strike declaration, “we are not heroes… in a hero-less age, we are just normal students” (Scholarism, 2012, August 30). Even though Scholarism intentionally downplayed the meaning of “movement hero”, and as Ming Pao expressed in a news report headline “Scholarism relies on organization rather than heroes” (Ming Pao, 2012, July 29), a clear image of “a new movement generation” was created by Scholarism and played a leading role in the movement.

Another iconic incident was that the spokesperson of Scholarism, Tommy Cheung, performed excellently in his college entry examination. Apple Daily reported this news by saying “the excellent performance of Cheung polishes the image of Scholarism, proving that they are not a group of idle youths” (Apple Daily, 2012, July 21). During the movement peak, as thousands of people gathered in the civic square, the spotlight was further concentrated on Scholarism. H1 said the alliance noticed this problem and tried to shift the attention back to the multi-organizational social-wide nature of the movement participants. However, “even as the mass media conducted interviews with alliance spokespersons, they still cast the spotlight on the young students and the parents… you can see how the subjectivity of the movement actors was simplified to only two groups” (H1, personal communication, 2014, March 13).
After the anti-media monopoly movement in Taiwan began, rather than branding it as “support Chen Wei-Ting”, the core organizers strategically placed Chen’s activist identity behind the scenes. Instead, “Chen appeared as an ordinary young netizen being accused by a cruel business tycoon”. And “we joined together as a group of ordinary anonymous netizens as well, to support him for doing such a normal online gesture as sharing a picture” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). The young activists tried to characterize the protest as a business tycoon against a huge group of netizens, who were acting for the right to enjoy freedom in the online world. Since college students represent the major group of internet users, this also signified that it was a battle between the tycoon side and the students’ group. Expressing furious emotion, T15 said that, “if he was not Chen Wei-Ting but someone else who we were not friends with, we would still stand up… only because he forwarded an image unfavorable to CtiTV, CtiTV disclosed his past history and accused him of belonging to the DPP… it is totally intolerable that students got dyed green and netizens got accused” (personal communication, 2013, October 18). This interviewee’s words indicated that, CtiTV had trespassed on two lines: students’ purity and netizens’ innocence. On July 31, at the protest site outside the office building of CtiTV, over five hundred young people showed up to support Chen Wei-Ting, who was regarded as an innocent netizen, and to oppose CtiTV’s intensive media criticisms of Huang and Chen. The students held various types of banners with a single theme: I am a student, I say No to CtiTV. Following the 731 protest at CtiTV, during the 901 grand rally, a section in the parade was branded as “student troop”, with a number of marchers held the huge “student troop” banner leading the hundreds of young participants.

Moreover, in the phase of the Next Media sale issue, some core organizers,
especially the media major students, suggested the focus should be the Next Media staff and their labor union, rather than the student protestors. “But sadly, on the night the Youth Alliance had Occupy Executive Yuan while the Next Media staff had a night vigil in front of their office building, all the media attention was drawn to the students” (T16, personal communication, 2013, October 21). Of the four major newspapers (China Times, United Daily News, Taiwan Apple Daily and The Liberty Times), on November 26 and 27, 2012, only one piece from United Daily News and one piece from Taiwan Apple Daily fully covered the night vigil conducted by the Next Media staff. Five articles from the above papers reported the students’ Occupy Executive Yuan in detail, especially the physical confrontation between the students and the police in front of the building (e.g. The Liberty Times, 2012, November 27).

Besides the college students as an entity being highlighted, a few individual activists attracted extra attention, becoming icons of the campaign. They were called the “movement stars”. Similar to the operation of Scholarism in Hong Kong, some members from the Youth Alliance affirmed that, creating a few icons was one of the strategies to promote the movement issues. “Stars are visible to the general public, especially for those unfamiliar with the issue… something must attract their attention, such as images showing an ocean of supporters, or a star’s face” (T9, personal communication, October 30). Movement stars were hubs in the social movement arena, connecting the general public and the movement circles. “People who want to support the movement may not know exactly what our organization’s name is, but they can recognize our ‘stars’ and make donations” (T11, personal communication, 2013, October 24). In the age termed by Castells as media politics which is characterized by waves of image battles, people are inclined to recognize faces rather than words. In the process of making stars, the mass media played an important role.
Liberty Times and Taiwan Apple Daily, which are regarded as the major pro-democratic media, devoted lots of manpower and pages to reporting the anti-media monopoly movement. “(Taiwan’s Apple Daily) participated in the process of star making… they followed the development of our Facebook fan page and always had a whole newspaper page to report the Youth Alliance’s activity. Some of our Youth Alliance organizers even made friends with Next Media staff” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). Taiwan Apple Daily even reported some minor activities by following posts on the Youth Alliance’s Facebook page. For example, there was an article reporting Professor Huang Kuo-Chang holding a banner and calling for people to join the 901 grand rally (Chen, 2012, August 25). This gesture was originally posted on the Youth Alliance Facebook page. Feature reports on two movement stars, Chen Wei-Ting and Lin Fei-Fan, appeared in The Liberty Times, such as “Lin: Fight against the media monopoly with youth” (Chen, 2012a, December 2), AA1; “Chen Wei-Ting and student activists: Anti-media monopoly, new wave of student movement” (Huang, 2012, December 17). Regarding the issue of creating social movement stars, some students activists were critical, noting that “usually a collective action was carried out by a group of students, but the mass media always highlights certain figures, such as Chen Wei-Ting” (T13, personal communication, 2013, November 7). For instance, coverage by The Liberty Times reported a small-scale action “July say No to Want Want” which occurred in Miao Li. Although there were dozens of college students taking part in the street action, the newspaper report emphasized Chen Wei Ting by saying “the students tried to burn the China Times newspaper. But eventually Chen Wei-Ting did not ignite the paper, just showing a symbolic gesture” (Lin & Tsai, 2012, August 11).

Another typical incident regarding the media image of the Taiwan student
activists was the “politeness incident”. Actually, after the 901 grand rally, few contentious actions were taken by the students due to the commencement of the new semester. Throughout those few months, newspaper coverage related to the media monopoly issue focused on the case of the sale of Taiwan Next Media. Until November, when the Youth Alliance organized a few protests at the Fair Trade Commission, an education bureaucrat suggested universities should pay more attention to their students. This gesture ignited the student protestors. On December 4, the student activist Chen Wei-Ting appeared in the Legislative Yuan and boldly accused the education bureaucrat as hypocritical bureaucrat telling lies and completely out of date. As a student representative, Chen’s words led to a wave of coverage. Besides the two pro-democracy papers, Taiwan Apple Daily and The Liberty Times, who reported the incident and the students’ response, even the pro-blue-camp media, the China Times, covered the voices supporting the students’ protests (Li & Chu, December 6).
10.2.2 A group of protestors we had never seen on the street

“In order to give an untainted civil education lecture to their young kids, today parents will attend the anti-M&N rally with their kids sitting in baby buggies. Some parents have prepared to breast feed their babies during the rally. Some said their bags are extremely heavy today because they have to take sufficient drinking water, food, toys and diapers for the rally. Not being afraid of this hardship, the anti-M&N parents are determined to kick out brainwashing education” (Chan et al., 2012, July 29).

The description above was an excerpt from an article in Apple Daily news, which vividly depicted the image of the parents and kids who took part in the anti-M&N 729 rally. Baby buggies, breast milk and diapers became the icons. It used to be that only banners, loud speakers and all sorts of DIY props were symbols of political rallies. However, this 729 anti-M&N rally overwhelmingly overturned the traditional
By setting the rally theme as “family day”, the Parents Concern Group encouraged Hong Kong parents to join the rally with their kids. To reinforce the message of “family day”, the organizers arranged various sorts of games and activities, such as face painting, at the rally starting point to entertain the kids. Several service areas were set up at different points along the rally route, to let the participants feed the kids and change diapers. In addition, a rally handbook was released by the Parents Concern Group, concretely instructing parents on “how to bring your kids to a safe and interesting rally” (Parents Concern Group, 2012b, July 26). By emphasizing the family–friendly nature of the rally, the Parents Concern Group provided a series of gimmicks and news values to the mass media, including not only the pro-movement Apple Daily, but also the elite-oriented newspaper Ming Pao (Ming Pao, 2012, July 27). In a news report, Ming Pao journalist highlighted that many of those participating in the 729 rally were newcomers to political events, “walking while feeding their babies and wiping” (Ming Pao, 2012, July 30).

The Parents Concern Group was formed in July 2012, in the early phase of the movement peak. Unlike other existing social movement organizations who had accumulated a large number of supporters (if not members), the parents’ group, without any organizational background, represented a fresh face in the movement. Soon after the founding of the Parents Concern Group, Ming Pao introduced this special movement group on A1 front page headline, by saying that, “(after school teachers and students) another major stake holder in the education arena – parents – finally rise up to voice their oppositional opinion. They voluntarily founded a concern group on the internet, which attracted over eight-hundred members in only a few days” (Chin, 2012, July 15). It is noteworthy that, some core members of the Parent Concern Group are professionals who are regarded as enjoying relatively high social-
economic status, such as the spokesperson, Eva Chan, who is a university lecturer and the core organizer Linda Wong, who is a barrister. “Interestingly, that group of parents is supposed to be career-centered and family-centered… joining a protest is a high-cost activity to them… this time, the whole society has witnessed that, even this group of people decides to speak aloud their voice and take to the street. You can imagine how shocking and appealing the picture it is” (H14, personal communication, 2014, March 24). Moreover, the combination of parents and kids made ever more powerful images. It is taken for granted that kids should be under protection at home or in a school, rather than playing a role in a street demonstration. But in the anti-M&N movement, the kids, even the babies, who were framed as the victims in the M&N issue, stood in front of the camera and chanted slogans. The press conference held by the Parents Concern Group ended with chanting as parents and their kids called out slogans “saying no to the M&N subject”. The 729 parade was presented in a family-day style, with a row of baby buggies pushed by the parents. And the 901 carnival showed a similar repertoire by inviting a group of kids to stand on the stage and chant the anti-M&N slogan. Portrayed in its A1 front page headline, Apple Daily depicted the Hong Kong’s parents and kids’ participation in the 729 parade as a “historic moment”, with “infants on fathers’ shoulders” and a large number of “rally newcomers” (Pak et al., 2012, July 30). Echoing what had been demonstrated by the various movement organizations, Ming Pao had a feature report describing the 901 carnival protest “under an ocean of umbrellas, people said the heavy rain did not mean anything, especially compared to the hardship undertaken by the student hunger strikers. People also expressed their support to the students and their determination to protect the next generation” (Ming Pao, 2012a, September 2; 2012b, September 2). The “pure” background of the Parents Concern Group enhanced the legitimacy of the
movement so much that even the pro-government newspaper, Wen Wei Po, seldom raised suspicions of the parents’ political motivation or condemned the parents’ image in their news reports (excluding columnists). An article from Wen Wei Po reported words spoken by the education bureau official Ng Hak-Kim, “(the representatives from the Parents Concern Group) made the bilateral conversation too difficult” (Yam, 2012, August 11).

The particular movement scenes filled with kids showed that, the movement actors made great use of the symbolic messages transmitted through a particular group of people in order to construct an appealing image to the public. In accordance with the public’s mind-set that kids should be protected, the appearance of a large group of kids and babies sent a message to the public that, every citizen should join the anti-M&N movement to protect the next generation.

![Figure 10.2. Group photo after a press conference held by Parents Concern Group](https://goo.gl/3050Dw)
Besides presenting babies and kids as the front-line icons, an appealing slogan raised during the anti-M&N movement caught wide attention – do not touch my son (figure 10.8). On the one hand, it reached many people’s hearts due to its family-centered framing, which is deeply embedded in everyday life. On the other hand, this slogan astonished quite a number of experienced social movement activists in that it revealed a strong individualistic aspect which runs counters to the altruistic values of social movements (which are usually regarded as being for the public good). Eventually, this contradiction drew wide social attention - this issue was so down-to-earth and even affected large group of conservative citizens, who felt it crossed a line. In the sociological approach to journalism, certain characters such as hero and victim, are commonly utilized by the media as constructing a simplify story. By the same token, media logic argues that, on different occasions, the way certain figures and activities are presented in a way that the general public can easily grasp the nature of an event. This is known as “normalized social life” (Altheide & Snow, p. 12). In the
case of the anti-M&N movement, the constructed images of “brave and innovative
good students”, “caring parents” and “kids as the innocent victims” fitted in with
public perception of these three groups of people. Therefore, the parental message of
“protect our kids” and “do not touch my son” had a huge power of appeal during the
whole movement. Compared to rationally justified movement messages, such as
promoting the concept of civic education, this parental slogan played the role of
arousing emotion. In a number of public statements written by the Parents Concern
Group, the parental framing of movement goals was explicitly addressed: “this is a
movement in the name of our kids, see you there, Hong Kong parents” (see
https://www.facebook.com/events/280106852098505/), and at the end of the
movement, they argued for people to persist in their surveillance on the M&N
subject: “protecting our children is a life-long task, and saying no to the M&N
subject is a long-term project as well” (Parents Concern Group, 2012, September 14).

Figure 10.8. An anti-M&N banner, saying “do not touch my son”
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/z0NAXQ)
According to Ku (2004, 2007), the movement culture embedded in Hong Kong people’s minds is law-and-order (e.g. sit-in protests, parades, and petitions) rather than taking violent and radical actions. In Hong Kong the cultural frame of social movements reveals itself as conventional and dualistic, viewing leftists’ violent actions in the 1960s as aggressive and a peaceful mass parade as rational and acceptable. Although Taiwan went through what scholars called a “golden age for social movements” in the 1980s and 1990s, with martial-style resistance and physical confrontations on occasion (e.g. Ku, 2003; Hsiao, 2010), the image of the student movement remains pure and innocent (Chen, 2005). Moreover, as stated before, people’s trust in political parties is at a low level both in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Movements mobilized by political parties are usually viewed as part of political power games. By contrast, movements initiated by NGOs and participated in by a large number of ordinary citizens may gain higher legitimacy. In the anti-M&N movement case, the central movement actors – the high school students and the parents - not only presented a “pure” movement image, not part of the game of political power, but also constituted a fresh face as they were seldom seen in the traditional social movement arena. Even though the high school students led by Scholarism undertook a three-day hunger strike, which seems a bit radical, when they put on their school uniforms and went to school as usual, their “good student” image was created, fulfilling public expectations. In the Taiwan anti-media monopoly movement, the presence of college students as well as the movement organizations’ emphasis on their identity as students attempted to reinforce the movement’s legitimacy by highlighting the students’ innocence and integrity, especially when they shouted outside the CtiTV building “we are not paid to protest because we are students”. In this sense, the aura from the movement actors – the students and the
parents - greatly elevated the movement’s legitimacy in both cases. Moreover, the branding of movement stars further promotes the movements to the public by identifying some easy-to-recognize figures: the three brave faces of the Scholarism members, and the enthusiastic new wave brought forth by Lin Fei-Fan and Chen Wei-Ting.

10.2.3 Endorsement from celebrities

In Tuchman (1978)’s investigation into the relationship between the mass media and the National Organization for Women (NOW) which was established in the U.S., she revealed that, even though the women’s issues were strategically designed by the NOW public relations executives, to gain an eye-catching role in the news, this public consciousness awakening campaign without identifiable leaders was beyond the male-dominated journalists’ imaginations. In this case, the journalists still attempted to find someone who was able to “speak for” the issue, e.g. women celebrities.

In this anti-M&N movement case, celebrity endorsement was one of the most efficient ways to build up the movement’s legitimacy. Pop singers were invited to perform during the 901 carnival concert. Supportive words from celebrities were highlighted on Scholarism’s or the Parents Concern Group’s online platforms, and when this occurred audiences showed an extremely positive response. For example, a pro-movement statement posted by a pop singer, Hins Cheung, got over thirty thousand “likes” and almost three thousand eight hundred “shares” on Scholarism’s Facebook page. In fact, this post from Hins Cheung got the most “shares” of all that Scholarism’s posts during the period of the movement. H2 who is an experienced activist, commented, “there are some media professionals in the parents’ group. They care about the presentation of the events… the parents made the carnival in a very
beautiful style, with pop singers on stage, among whom some were super stars. That’s why some of the media found it news worthy to do a live report” (personal communication, 2014, March 24).

Posting statements from celebrities were also one of the commonly used strategies in the Taiwan anti-media monopoly movement. During the count-down period to the 901 grand rally, the Youth Alliance and the 901 Alliance invited famous figures from different social areas to endorse the movement issues and the rally. These figures included popular school teachers, well-known radio station anchors, film directors and Professor Huang Kuo-Chang, who was the key person at the beginning of the movement. It is noteworthy that the figures involved here were mainly targeting college students. For example, a young film director’s anti-media monopoly advocacy was posted on the Youth Alliance’s Facebook page. Although this director, Yang Ya-Che, is not among the top award-winning directors in Taiwan, his film <GF*BF> was popular among college students since the film depicted college life during the Wild Lily student movement in 1990. Through this film, the director is well-received among college students in Taiwan. On the post, the web page administrator highlighted Yang Ya-Che’s advocacy by quoting dialogue from <GF*BF> that,

“today we got Yang Ya-Che! (scream) ... in his film, we are all familiar with the words ‘one person dancing is rebellion, but all students dancing means public opinion’. Let’s go dance and show our opinion on 901!” (Youth Alliance, 2012, August 28).

Moreover, in January 2013, as supporters from home and abroad gradually shared supportive images to the Youth Alliance’s Facebook page, an image caught intense attention. In front of the camera, a world-class media scholar, Noam
Chomsky, held a banner saying “anti-media monopoly, say No to China’s black-hand, safeguard freedom of speech – I protect Taiwan in MIT” (Youth Alliance, 2013, January 5). This post suddenly got over four thousand “likes” on Facebook, compared to the usual rate of around one thousand “likes” for each post during that month. But the more than four thousand “likes” received for this Noam Chomsky post made it top among all the supportive images.

### 10.3 Packaging Movement Scenes

Alongside getting attention by celebrities’ endorsement, the movements sought media exposure in a number of ways. Both in Hong Kong and Taiwan, ways to seek media attention revealed big differences between the youth movement groups and the “adult groups” (a term given by the young activists). While the “adult groups” treated holding formal press conferences/forums as the usual means to make their voices heard, the young activists took another but interesting way to attract media exposure. Employing the *kusō* internet culture and trying to exhibit the moral aura associated with being students, the youngsters were more used to using direct action to make their voice heard.

Before the outbreak of the anti-media monopoly movement, a group of media scholars had already formed a research team to keep an eye on the media-merger issue. These scholars held a press conference in October 2011 and organized several academic forums to deliberate the issue, though these remained on a small scale and only attracted audiences from academic and media circles. This group of media scholars had started to engage in media reform campaigns in the early 1990s as Taiwanese society witnessed the fall of authoritarian regime. Besides teaching and doing research in universities, they were involved in various media issue related
NGOs, such as “The Campaign for Media Reform” and “Media Watch”. Although they have built a close relationship with different media organizations in Taiwan, they have complied with the traditional forms of dealing with the media. After Professor Huang Kuo-Chang was accused by CtiTV and even got stalked, he got in touch with several media scholars regarding how to tackle Want Want media. A scholar interviewee disclosed that, “I communicated with Huang every now and then, warning him not to have exclusive interviews with any media outlet… we helped him hold a press conference and called on all the media to join” (T6, 2013, personal communication, November 6). For the “adult group”, holding press conferences, organizing forums, signing petitions and publicly submitting open letters are the most common ways to get an issue exposed to the public (as shown in figure 7.1). A representative from an NGO said, “frankly speaking, our NGOs and SMOs still rely on press conferences or public hearings as ways to engage social issues, with very fixed venues and audiences… but our youngsters have done much beyond that, reaching the grass-roots people and a larger base of the young generation” (T7, personal communication, 2013, October 4).

As a group of protestors rarely seen in street actions, the anti-M&N Parents Concern Group surprised other SMOs and experienced activists with their special concerns about event presentation. “The press conferences held by the Parents Concern Group were always very formal. Usually, for most traditional movement organizations, we make the back-drop by printing our movement messages on several pieces of plain A4 paper. But the parents insisted on a formally designed back-drop. And they wanted an ending gesture for media photo taking” (H3, personal communication, 2014, April 9). It has been a tradition in the social movement circles that, activists care more about how to reject mainstream social norms and how to
empower the people, rather than considering how to please the mass media. Holding formal press conferences and setting up a grand stage were viewed as being like showcases in the mainstream commercial world rather than in the traditional social movement style. However, showing concern for the movements’ media image was due to some parents’ career backgrounds as media practitioners. This group of people with media and public relations expertise presented their movement messages in a sharp and clear way. By seeing the news photos of the Parents Concern Group, one can immediately grasp from their backdrops and their ending gestures what they were trying to tell the audience.

Figure 10.4. A press conference held by Parents Concern Group
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/JQeRdn)

Unlike the parents, the high school students from Scholarism focused on taking eye-catching symbolic direct actions – a series of unexpected, creative and flash-mob actions. Besides the numerous street booths in different districts throughout the whole anti-M&N movement and the influential hunger strike during the “Occupy Civic
Square”, flash-mob actions and street demonstrations were carried out from time to time. After the release of the notorious “China Model” in May 2012, the whole society was stirred up by this pro-CCP teaching material. In order to keep the issue on the boil, Scholarism designed various actions to increase exposure. For example, a flash-mob action was carried out in June. In a busy street, by suddenly displaying a huge banner with hand-drawn figures, Scholarism demonstrated how an innocent teenager could be turned into a CCP military scout. The huge banner was eye-catching partly because it was totally hand-drawn, and more importantly the figures on the banner showed the process of “brain-washing” – illustrated in a somewhat horrifying way, with a teenager’s brain being physically crafted. In addition, direct actions were taken, such as protesting in the face of the target, for example, by chasing Ng Hak-Kim, to request open discussion and paying a visit to different political parties. With announcements posted on their Facebook page and newsletters delivered to different media, Scholarism followed Ng Hak-Kim’s footsteps in a high-profile way (showing banners and chanting slogans), to request an open discussion on the M&N issue. The most astonishing actions were Occupy Civic Square and the hunger strike, pushing the movement to its peak.

A large variety of props were made use of by Scholarism in different direct actions. During the action of “Chasing Ng Hak-Kim”, they carried four pieces of toast with the Chinese characters “June 4” burned on the surface, which was an idea originating from a Japanese cartoon. On another day, an “honest bun” and “liar cake” were delivered to Mr. Ng as well, to name just a few. Adapted from the online subculture, such as kuso, parody and derivative works, the youth activists made great use of the resources available in their everyday life and presented them in a creative and funny way. Apple Daily followed the high school students’ actions most closely (e.g.
Apple Daily, 2012, July 6; 2012, July 10). Accompanying these interesting props were Scholarism’s immediate public statements addressing their action aims. The combination of words and props provided the mass media with a newsworthy story. Although these small-scale direct actions did not involve a substantial number of participants, these teenagers who possessed great creativity and represented a fresh generation in the social movement arena were able to make an impression on the mass media and the public.

Figure 10.5. A flash mob action taken by Scholarism
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/OdqdHN)
The 731 protest held by Taiwan’s Youth Alliance signified the outbreak of the anti-media monopoly movement. Though the Youth Alliance members held a press conference to let Chen Wei-Ting speak to the public before the action, they tried not to let the press conference outshine the seven-hundred student protest. After the press conference, they immediately put Chen Wei-Ting behind the scenes, not letting him join the protest. “The 731 protest symbolized a large group of ordinary netizens supporting an individual ordinary netizen, but not presented as solely concerning Chen” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). Similar to Scholarism, who highlighted some key ideas by presenting collective actions in certain specially designed ways, such as “chasing a government official” and “Occupy Civic Square”, the Youth Alliance in Taiwan took direct actions right in front of the targets. For example, when they decided to conduct a 731 protest against the Want Want media group, they chose the CtiTV building rather than the China Times, “because we were not able to physically surround the China Times building due to the space
arrangement outside… so we chose CtiTV to exhibit the scene as ‘surrounding Want Want CtiTV’” (T12, personal communication, 2013, October 22). Sometimes the students’ demonstrations led to physical confrontation with the police. As illustrated in the previous section, the Youth Alliance’s Occupy Executive Yuan action got more media coverage than the Next Media night vigil, partly due to the physical skirmishes outside the Executive Yuan which attracted lots of media attention.

“Frankly speaking, expected or unexpected confrontation always catches media attention… especially during the legislation of the anti-media monopoly bill, the general public seldom pay attention to such a profound issue. It turned out to be somewhat acceptable that the media reported these contentious actions to attract audience attention” (T8, personal communication, 2013, October 9).

In the phase of the Next Media sale, several demonstrations were held outside the Fair Trade Commission and the Executive Yuan. Some media scholars did not agree with the young activists’ action against the Executive Yuan, because the departments responsible for the Next Media case were the NCC, Fair Trade Commission and Financial Supervisory Commission. But according the activists’ rationale, the above three departments all belong to the Executive Yuan. And the Executive Yuan represents the highest national department responsible for the media monopoly issue. “Protesting in front of the Executive Yuan, with the same logic as protesting outside the Presidential Office, was to elevate the movement’s legitimacy to a national level, instead of restricting it to the media industry” (T16, personal communication, 2013, October 21). The New Year sit-in demonstration on December 30, 2012, marked another significant moment both for the anti-media monopoly movement and for the Youth Alliance. For one thing, the Next Media case might last months after the business tycoons had signed the contract in November 2012. The
New Year sit-in protest was meant to boost the student protesters’ morale during this long waiting time. For another thing, this protest held a crucial symbolic meaning: “when the national flag rose in the dawn of New Year’s Day 2013, all of the protesters, around one thousand, remained seated, signifying that we are confronting the government by upholding our own attitude” (T17, personal communication, 2013, November 4). The New Year sit-in protest unsurprisingly attracted coverage by the traditional media. A series of symbolic gestures taken by the students, such as the student leaders’ words and the students reading the youth declaration, were covered by both the pro-democracy and the pro-blue-camp media (e.g. Chen, 2013, January 1; Chu, 2013, January 1).

Figure 10.7. Youth Alliance organized the New Year sit-in protest (Retrieved from https://goo.gl/31xPBm)

10.4. Bridging-Amplifying the Movements Thematic Frame

From the perspective of movement framing, scholars pointed out that frame bridging and amplification are among the most common strategies (Snow & Benford,
Frame bridging refers to the linkage between ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected groups. Bridging them could link a movement with some potential but unmobilized population, such as connecting a movement’s appeal with the academic ideology in order to draw wider attention from the academic community (McCallion & Maines, 1999). Another strategy is frame amplification, which involves “the idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs… taps into existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom and the like” (Snow & Benford, 2000, p. 624). In the same vein, Swidler (1995) postulated the metaphor of “cultural toolbox”, with which movement actors borrow existing social frameworks, stories and legacies to embellish movements. By strategically framing and packaging the movement, activists could make the movement rest in a more profound social ground that reaching beyond the specific movement topics to a wider temporal-spatial scope.

In both the movement cases in this research study, to a certain extent, the movement’s messages were tied to the same refusal – saying No to the PRC/CCP. This movement message was strongly linked to the profoundly embedded historical and cultural context of both Hong Kong and Taiwan.

In the anti-M&N movement, besides “do not touch my son”, another slogan was “say No to CCP’s brainwashing education”. If the parental slogan touched people’s hearts through an individualistic emotion approach, the slogan of anti-CCP’s brainwashing was presented within a larger cultural approach, based on the accessible facts – a rational way to build legitimacy (Weber, 1962). In the anti-media monopoly movement, alongside the appeal of safeguarding freedom of speech and demanding that relevant official departments take responsibility, a significant message was also highlighted – say No to China’s black hand. As it was expressed by one of the young
activists, “one of the complicated sides of this movement was, that we embedded a media issue under a historical scar” (T16, personal communication, 2013, October 21). When the media scholars brought forth the issue of journalistic professionalism and freedom of speech, they emphasized the possible degradation of pluralism under a high-degree of media monopoly, taking the form of either horizontal or vertical integration. In parallel with these, another concern was raised by the Youth Alliance regarding the China factor – tycoon Tsai Yan-Ming’s strong linkage with the PRC. To the Taiwan people, the PRC and CCP represent something which goes far beyond just a foreign country or a political party.

Under Chiang Kai-Shek’s KMT authoritarian regime, Taiwanese people were taught that the PRC and CCP were devils and enemies. The ROC lost its chartered membership of the United Nations in 1971 and this stirred up the whole of Taiwanese society and brought to the fore the crucial issue of how to face Taiwan’s future and identity. At the same time in the cultural arena, streams of Taiwanese localization (bentuhua) eventually led to the Taiwanese people’s increasing recognition of Taiwanese culture and identity. After years of “outside-the-party” (dangwai) movements involving a large number of dissident groups and dissident students, the 1990 Wild Lily student movement led to the breakdown of authoritarianism – a milestone for democratization. In 2000, Chen Shui-Bian from the DPP won the presidential election, bringing to Taiwan the first transition in the ruling power from the KMT to the DPP. All the above social conditions made Taiwan a de-facto independent state, separated from PRC, in both political-economic status and social-cultural status in global society. For the young generation born and raised in Taiwan’s democratic society, Taiwanese identity has been the mainstream ideology. In addition, being informed of different human-rights violating incidents in the non-democratic
political system in China and the PRC’s military threat against Taiwan, the young generation have somewhat negative sentiments towards this country. After eight years of rule by the DPP (as KMT called it “poison after eight-year rule”), in 2008 the KMT got back into power and proclaimed their determination to boost Taiwan’s economy, which included building stronger linkages with the PRC’s market. In that year, the visit of a PRC official, Chen Yunlin, led to the Wild Strawberry student movement, which marked a cornerstone for Taiwan’s young people to re-examine their Taiwanese identity and the cross-strait relationship. An interviewee who was involved in the 2008 Wild Strawberry movement and is a member of a pro-independent student group, said,

“The Wild Strawberry movement made young people face a cruel fact that, how to call your nation. We don’t know whether we should call it China, ROC or Taiwan. If you want a ‘one China policy’, which is the authentic China? If you want the ROC, is it an ROC ruling in Taiwan or an imagined ROC ruling greater China?” (T17, personal communication, 2013, November 4)

Even though media scholars involved in the 901 Alliance had been conducting research on the degree to which Taiwan’s media was under the influence of China (e.g. Chang, 2012), during the early stages of the movement, slogans seldom referred to China. Following what was suggested by Professor Huang Kuo-Chang, a number of writers joined the campaign of “say No to China Times” after tycoon Tsai Yan-Ming made his controversial comment on the June 4 massacre in an interview with The Washington Post. Although the campaign was related to Tsai’s controversial attitude towards China, this action remained in the cultural arena, not raising wide concerns in society. It was not until the proposed Next Media sale that the “China factor” was included in the movement’s messages. The “China factor” in the Next
Media context referred to the potential buyer’s strong business ties with mainland China.

Some Youth Alliance members stated that, in October 2012, they attended a university conference, in which Professor Wu Jieh-Min discussed the current influence of the China factor on Hong Kong and Taiwan. Inspired by this conference, for the first time the “China factor” appeared on the Youth Alliance’s Facebook fan page (Youth Alliance, 2012, October 11). After the 901 grand rally as the Youth Alliance and the 901 Alliance took separate actions, the young activists got a chance to lead the movement discourse in an alternative direction.

“For a long time, if you talked about China, the issue would soon become an endless debate on unification-independence, blue-green. Taiwanese people think that we need China’s market to boost the economy, so it is better not merge nationalistic issues with economic issues… and if you bring forth China as a concern, people regard you as DPP and this would delegitimize the movement” (T13, personal communication, 2013, November 7).

But this time, facing the issue of freedom of the media, the young activists took a risk in putting the “China factor” under the spotlight, “we are concerned about the non-democratic political system behind the financial sources buying Taiwan’s media… the PRC government” (T19, personal communication, 2013, November 5). It was the Youth Alliance who organized a protest outside the Executive Yuan and voiced their strong concerns about the “China factor” in their speeches on November 26, 2012, and afterwards the 901 Alliance started to mention the “China factor” in their following public statements. Before the Youth Alliance introduced the concept of the “China factor”, all public statements from the 901 Alliance regarding media monopoly were basically calculating the potential buyers’ scale of media ownership.
In their public statement on November 26, for the first time the 901 Alliance quoted the Youth Alliance’s concern about the “China factor” (901 Alliance, 2012, November 26). For the Youth Alliance, from their action outside the Executive Yuan on November 26 onwards, “say No to the China factor” became one of their four movement appeals, not only demanding that the government seriously confront the problem of the “China factor”, but also requesting political parties to promise to take the “China factor” into account in the anti-media monopoly bill (Youth Alliance, 2012, November 28).

As a matter of fact, a large section of the media scholars who were involved in the 901 Alliance and media-major student activists did not intend to raise the issue of China or the CCP in this movement. As mentioned above, the public statements published by the 901 Alliance did not mention the problem with China until the Youth Alliance raised the issue. In an article composed by the Society of Communication Students, they tried to argue that, the key point in building a better media environment was not by rejecting the China factor, but by creating a high-quality public media system (Hsu & Tien, 2012, December 14). This article triggered a series of debates between the young activists from the Society of Communication Students and the Youth Alliance and eventually led to fierce split between these two organizations. Due to their organizational nature, the Society of Communication Students carried on their media education campaign through touring lectures in different universities, while the Youth Alliance projected their movement momentum through various street protests, which gained constant media coverage and eventually dominated the whole movement discourse. Members from the Youth Alliance insisted that, “The China factor is like a background factor, which we could hardly ignore” (T11, personal communication, 2013, October 24).
In the anti-media monopoly movement thirteen public statements from the Youth Alliance were released during the Next Media sale phase of the movement. Among them, six voiced concern about the “China factor”. In a declaration for the new year of 2013, the Youth Alliance proclaimed that “we have to face the fact that in Taiwan we are in a complicated situation… under the umbrella of liberalism, the PRC government is trying to merge with Taiwan’s media through political and economic ties… through the pro-China business tycoons, the PRC government is merging our media, in order to further erode Taiwan’s democracy and sovereignty” (Youth Alliance, 2013, January 1).

![Youth Alliance declaration](https://goo.gl/VIgrfF)

*Figure 10.9. Youth Alliance declared “confront China factor, safeguard freedom of press”*
As illustrated in the chapter of background information, Hong Kong society has experienced an ambiguous relationship with mainland China. On the one hand, a large population in Hong Kong has kinship in mainland China and Hong Kong has again been part of China since 1997. On the other hand, despite the “one country two systems” promise given by the Beijing government, the scars of the 1989 Tiananmen massacre, Beijing’s increasing intervention in Hong Kong’s affairs since 2003, and the huge flow of mainland tourists have negatively affected Hong Kong people’s self-recognition as Chinese. Instead, the recognition of being a “Hongkong-er” in terms of identity keeps increasing. Therefore, the M&N subject, which aimed at building and reinforcing Hong Kong students’ Chinese national identity recognition, triggered society-wide controversy and touched Hong Kong people’s central nerve about their identity.

In the chapter discussing the role of scholars in this movement, some crucial
points from an education professor, Leung Yan-Wing, were addressed. Based on his decades’ of experience in Hong Kong’s education arena, he found that the revised M&N subject guidelines (the one which finally got shelved after the movement) was hardly as notorious as the movement described. In the English version document of “Moral and National Education Curriculum Guide – Primary 1 to Secondary 6” (Curriculum Development Council, 2012), “China” was mentioned 14 times, “motherland” 4 times, “democracy” 22 times, “human right” 25 times, while “communist party” was not mentioned at all (not including the reference and appendix). What triggered the general public’s indignation towards the subject was the release of a package of teaching material called the “China Model”, which was regarded as exalting the CCP as the savior. “It was quite commonly seen that, the movement organizers mixed the M&N subject guidelines with the ‘China Model’ material, which were totally two different things” (H5, personal communication, 2014, May 30). A public statement from the Parents Concern Group, stirred parents’ emotions by saying “if you ask your kid to recite this sentence ‘The CCP is an altruistic and progressive political party’, how do you feel” (Parents Concern Group, 2012a, July 26). But actually this sentence was an excerpt from the “China Model” rather than from the M&N curriculum guidelines.

Some members of Scholarism also stated that “the crucial point was the teaching material… whenever the movement goals were discussed, people could not get rid of that ‘China Model’… eventually that teaching material almost equaled to the M&N subject” (H9, personal communication, 2014, October 7). A scholar, H4, pointed out that too much from the “China Model” could be quoted to fulfill people’s negative image of the CCP. “You can see that, in some content cited from the ‘China Model’, they call the CCP an altruistic and progressive political party. It is too impressive to
be ignored” (personal communication, 2014, April 14).

Despite the fact that Scholarism had included the discussion about civic education in some of their public statements, in most of their posters, elements about the CCP (e.g. CCP emblem, faces of CCP members, CCP-style art work parody) dominated their graphic designs. Among the sixty-nine posters for the anti-M&N movement, forty-one pieces contained a CCP element, which means that 60% of the anti-M&N movement posters contained anti-CCP components. Here, the author is not trying to judge this strategy of transferring the anti-M&N into an anti-CCP frame. It is noteworthy that some members in the Anti-M&N Alliance, who were scholars or members of the Alliance of Civic Education raised their concerns about demanding that the government withdraw the M&N curriculum. Rather than withdrawing the M&N subject, some scholars suggested a comprehensive review and revision of the subject, because “Hong Kong students are in great need of knowing more about China and acquiring more political knowledge”, according to H5 (personal communication, 2014, May 30). However, what the movement organizers eventually presented to the public was that the M&N subject was equivalent to an evil CCP plot. H10 admitted, “we had no reason to stop the anti-CCP emotion because it really helped the movement… though our young generation had not experienced the Cultural Revolution or the 1989 Tiananmen incident, we learned about these from our textbooks and we do not want these to happen again… we made use of the anti-CCP emotion to escalate the movement, and then transferred the movement passion into further action, such as a movement for social equality” (personal communication, 2014, July 21).

Furthermore, when the fear of the CCP was connected with the education issue, the M&N subject was regarded as a project to brainwash Hong Kong’s next
generation – to control the kids’ emotions and mind-set. Many of the interviewees expressed the idea that the anti-M&N movement represented a movement with an “anti-colonized-mind-set” – a fear of being controlled. In other words, instead of regarding mainland China as the “motherland” as it is called by the CCP in official discourse, China was regarded as another colonial government in this movement.

“This subject is to step-by-step mold a person’s mind… we agree that people need to build up their national identity, but we never let our kids be told by the government who they are”, was how this was expressed by H7, a parent (personal communication, 2014, June 19).

Generally speaking, in both of the movement cases, the activists not only framed their movement goals by directly addressing the responsible entities (as discussed in the following section), but also foregrounded the implicit force hidden in the movement issues which were strongly related to the specific social contexts of Hong Kong and Taiwan. On the one hand, such a reframing strategy, by putting the “China factor” in the battle front, is derived from the existing cultural toolbox as Hong Kong and Taiwan’s previous generation have had mixed feelings towards mainland China as a result of historical events. On the other hand, the current youth generation is caught up in identity anxiety, facing the official discourse of promoting “Chinese identity” and the life experience of being a “Hong Kong-er” or “ Taiwanese” distanced from the PRC.
In sum, from the illustration above, the movement activists from the anti-media monopoly movement and the anti-M&N movement built the movement legitimacy.
largely in compliance with media logic. As stated at the beginning of this section, media logic not only refers to journalistic practices in the world of mass media, but also the way people in different areas reify the logic by presenting human activities in certain types of time, space, manner, dress style, etc. (Altheide & Snow, 1991). Unlike the traditional practice of seeking close interaction with the mass media in order to get wider coverage, the current activists, on the one hand, rely heavily on mass self-communication channels to widely disseminate their movement messages. On the other hand, they strategically present the movement in an appealing way to draw the general public’s attention and empathy, and of course to gain media coverage. As discussed in the literature review it is in the nature of traditional media to comply with certain social norms so that they tend to look for representatives or easy-to-recognize figures to speak “for” an event or movement. In the cases under discussion, the activists strategically presented three groups of easily-identifiable major movement actors, such as the innocent characters of students and parents. Regarding the movement messages, impressive and easy-to-memorize sound-bites were highlighted and dominated the movements’ tone. In addition, movement appeals which profoundly connected with the local cultural and social context were stressed to arouse the general public’s empathy. Echoing what Altheide & Snow argued (1991, p.252) media logic becomes a way of life, as the activists presented their movement in ways that were consistent with people’s social imagination and the society’s cultural context.

10.5 Framing the Movement Appeals

There are three types of strategies to frame movement messages (Snow & Benford, 1988). First, diagnostic framing means identification of a problem and
 attribution of blame. Second, motivational framing focuses on the rationale for taking action - why we take such action. Third, prognostic framing refers to the solutions for identified problems as well as strategic aspects. The movement framing analysis is based on the coding of the major movement organizations’ Facebook statuses, public statements, leaflets and posters.

10.5.1 Diagnostic frame

![Diagram of the diagnostic frame]

Figure 10.13. Diagram of the diagnostic frame

As is commonly seen in different social movements, the government, the relevant governmental departments and certain political figures have always been the targets which should be held responsible for the issue. Without doubt, the government takes charge of a huge amount of public resources and holds the administrative right to influence people’s everyday lives. Generally speaking, in the following analysis on the Hong Kong and Taiwan movement cases, the pattern of problem attribution includes: the governmental part and issue-related stake holders

Regarding the M&N issue, the Hong Kong government was blamed for promoting the M&N subject to fulfill its political tasks, as appointed by the Beijing
central government (Scholarism, 2012, July 24). Instead of disseminating knowledge of universal values such as human rights and equality, the Hong Kong government was regarded as “eroding Hong Kong’s education system” by pushing or luring primary and high schools to implement the M&N subject (Parents Concern Group, 2012, August 8). Moreover, as framed in a larger scope, the M&N issue was deemed to be another move in the central government’s game of chess to increase its control of Hong Kong, but the Hong Kong government was a scapegoat or agent only. The central government was characterized as a killer trying to destroy Hong Kong’s core values by stepping into not only the political realm but also the education system (see Scholarism event page https://www.facebook.com/events/386985374699019).

The education system was also part of the problem attribution, due to the nature of the movement issue. Partly this was because the education bureau was directly responsible for releasing the M&N curriculum guidelines, which were under serious criticism. Even though officials from the education bureau insisted that any exemplar teaching packages were designed by various independent research centers, the notorious “China Model” was regarded as being under the indirect supervision of the education bureau, because the research center drawing up the “China Model” was sponsored by the education bureau (Parents Concern Group, 2012, August 6). Therefore, the education bureau was under serious attack by the anti-M&N movement organizations, for its waste of public finances in producing controversial subject guidelines and sample teaching material, and its lack of transparency in the consultation procedure. In addition, the newly appointed education bureau chief official Ng Hak-Kim became one of the most intensively attacked targets. His former profession as a human resources manager was criticized as making him unqualified to take the chief role in the education bureau (Scholarism, 2012, June 12). Mr. Ng
showed his unfamiliarity with the M&N curriculum during the meeting with the Parents Concern Group, which also triggered the parents’ criticism (Parents Concern Group, 2012, July 28). Among all the posters designed by Scholarism, a series of *kusō* products were produced featuring Ng Hak-Kim.

![Poster by Scholarism](https://goo.gl/oPfSWP)

*Figure 10.14. Poster by Scholarism, “what makes an education bureau official”*  
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/oPfSWP)

In the anti-media monopoly movement in Taiwan, alongside with the government and the relevant government departments, which were under serious attack, the business tycoons who hoped to purchase the media groups were also blamed by the activists for being driven only by material interests. The Ma Ying-Jeou government was regarded as shirking its duty, paying too little attention to safeguarding Taiwan’s freedom of speech and the democratic system which had been achieved by people’s bloodshed. The 901 Alliance pointed out that, “in the public chanting of ‘say No to media monopoly’ during the 901 grand rally, where is our
government? Why could our government allow such negative responses from the relevant departments? Why does our government not have a mechanism to curb business tycoons’ monopoly action?” (901 Alliance, 2012, December 13). And the 901 Alliance also urges President Ma to stand up and “stop our media from becoming a commodity… this is not merely a case, but a choice about Taiwan’s values” (901 Alliance, 2012, November 27). Echoing the interrogation by the 901 Alliance, the young activists’ group, the Youth Alliance kept demanding from the current government that, “dear President Ma, do you know that the media’s public value should not be manipulated by commercial interests? Do you know that the pluralism of ideas is only pluralism in the service of the big tycoons if they take control of the media? Can you face our ancestors who fought for Taiwan’s precious democracy if you do not handle the China factor appropriately?” (see Youth Alliance event page: https://www.facebook.com/events/385486361544245).

Some relevant official departments such as the NCC and the Fair Trade Commission were criticized by the Taiwanese activists. After the business contract was signed between Next Media and a number of tycoons in Macau, including Tsai Yan-Ming, this business deal was sent to different official departments to conduct the final examination. It was pointed out by the Youth Alliance that, it was not until the contract was signed that the relevant departments openly expressed their great concerns regarding this case and that they also doubted the business tycoons’ appropriateness as media owners. Such an impromptu attitude from the government already exhibited its irresponsibility. The NCC was under the strongest attack, as it is the primary regulatory agency “to ensure effective competition in the market, safeguard public interest, promote the development of communications services, and thereby enhance the nation’s competitiveness” (NCC, n.d.). During the first stage of
the movement, the anti-media monopoly activists criticized the NCC for its failure to stop the Want Want group from purchasing CNS, but instead approved it with the condition of separating CtiTV’s television news channel from the Want Want media group. A statement from a civic group called “anti-media monster” argued that this decision would lead to “disaster” in Taiwan’s democratic system, “a business tycoon could indirectly own CtiTV news channel by any means… this shows NCC’s extreme irresponsibility by approving Want Want’s media purchase case under a so-called condition” (Anti-media monster, 2012, August 1). The 901 grand rally route started from the CtiTV building and ended at the NCC. The design of this route largely signified the demands from the activists as shouted by the Youth Alliance, “if NCC fails to fill the responsibility of media environment supervision and anti-monopoly legislation, we will definitely come back” (Youth Alliance, 2012a, September 1).

Due to the nature of the anti-media monopoly movement, one of the major targets under criticism was a business tycoon. If the anti-M&N movement in Hong Kong placed the chief education bureau official Ng Hak-Kim as a particular figure who should be held responsible for the education problem, in the Taiwanese case, that particular controversial figure would be the boss of Want Want group – Tsai Yan-Ming. Not only was Tsai’s role as a business tycoon earning money from mainland China, but also his vulgar character triggered wide indignation among activists and scholars. For one thing, though originating in Taiwan, Want Want group invests most in its food industry holdings in mainland China, making people have the impression that Tsai is a “red capitalist”. And he has promulgated his pro-China statements via his media publications and on different public occasions. When he purchased the China Times media group, he disclosed that his intention was to bring mainland news to Taiwan and promote a closer relationship across the Taiwan Strait (Ming Pao
Finance, 2009, February 1). For another thing, Tsai’s vulgar image as a new-rich businessman rather than an intellectual and his behavior enraged a group of Taiwan scholars. A scholar who is also an experienced activist commented that,

“it is not the first time Tsai’s media group has threatened those who are saying something unfavorable to them... some years ago, when Tsai purchased China Times media group, a group of scholars initiated some protests, like a signature petition, against this business action but later some of us got warning letters from Tsai” (T6, 2012, November 6).

A series of Tsai’s utterances have stirred controversy in the media industry, such as his controversial comments on the Tiananmen June 4 massacre in an interview with Washington Post, his comments on journalistic work: “reporters should think twice before making judgments and criticisms” and his attitude in favor of unification made the activists from the Youth Alliance extremely indignant about Tsai’s business power overriding journalistic independence (Youth Alliance, 2012, August 30). Of course, besides Tsai Yan-Ming, other potential media buyers and the whole business-driven media system in Taiwan were blamed for the problem of the media-monopoly issue. The Association of Taiwan Journalists, as the host of the 901 grand rally, released a public statement before the rally to address the dangerous situation of the Taiwanese media, as follows:

“media owners dissolve journalistic values by various comprehensive but invisible means... supervisors in news rooms fail to avoid product placement in news and comply with the bosses’ demands... business power makes journalists cooperate and manipulates news values... the media pleases consumers but not citizens; media obey the boss but disobey journalistic ethics” (Association of Taiwan Journalists, 2012).
10.5.2 Motivational frame

In terms of the motivational frame which justifies the various protest actions taken by the movement actors, from the case of anti-M&N movement in Hong Kong and the anti-media monopoly movement in Taiwan, these aspects can be generalized into three major categories: to express indignation towards the unsatisfactory performance of the government department(s) and the major stake holders; taking the protest action is based on social responsibility; the action is supported by a large group of citizens or the action is to gain larger public support. A special aspect of the rationale for action appeared in the Hong Kong case: “to facilitate further reflection/surveillance”, which was used by the activists to justify the activists’ retreat from Occupy Civic Square.
Figure 10.16. Diagram of the motivational frame

First of all, activists’ taking action signifies a gesture showing a dissatisfied attitude towards the power holders, either government departments or business owners. To put it simply: it is the bad performance from the power holders that motivates people to take to the streets. This aspect echoes well one of the aspects in the diagnostic frame, the problem attribution to the government and other related power holders.

During the movement peak of the anti-M&N movement, the government tried to solve the problem and to reduce people’s indignation by setting up a M&N consultation committee. The government announced that they had reserved a seat for the Parents Concern Group. However, the Parents Concern Group stated that they had never received any invitation from the government and they would carry on with the series of protest actions to continue the fight against this insincere government (Parents Concern Group, 2012, August 10). After the major movement organizations retreated from the civic square occupation, the Federation of Students decided to keep on with the class-boycott action, showing the students’ determination to maintain continuous surveillance on the M&N subject and their criticism of the government’s
expedient concession. “The M&N subject is just suspended but it still exists… the government has tried to confuse us by hiding the devil in the details… we must insist on the class-boycott action and carry on with the anti-M&N movement” (Federation of Students, 2012, September 8).

During the anti-media monopoly movement, one of the violent confrontations occurred during the Occupy Executive Yuan action in the phase of the Next Media sale issue. On the afternoon of November 26, 2012, students from the Youth Alliance held a protest outside the Executive Yuan and demanded the premier Chen Chong come to talk to the students. However, according to the continuous updates from the Youth Alliance, Premier Chen neither showed up nor gave a response, so “we decided to enter the Executive Yuan and confront Premier Chen directly… but the police forcefully attacked the protestors with batons and shields, causing injury to some of the students” (Youth Alliance, 2012, November 26). Another minor action, “July say No to Want Want” was undertaken under the banner of “in order to put more pressure on the Want Want group and make them realize their corporate social responsibility” (Youth Alliance, 2012, August 3).

The second aspect is associated with the social responsibility. Echoing what has been illustrated above regarding the moral power clearly presented in the positive images of the students, parents and little kids, “social responsibility” leads to one significant aspect of action justification. The parents’ group from the anti-M&N movement in Hong Kong explicitly showed their care for the next generation. This sort of parental discourse triggered people’s empathy and justified their persistent protest. As they said in a public statement, “we bring our kids into this world, we also have the responsibility to teach them how to tell right from wrong… we cannot stand behind any more, we must take a step forward to take responsibility as a parent”
This mind-set of child protection permeated almost all the actions taken by the Parents Concern Group, including the “one person one letter” campaign, the 729 parade, the 901 carnival, and the hunger strike in civic square. Unlike the parents’ caring sentiments, the young students strongly expressed their determination to take social responsibility – a social-centered rather than a family-centered moral call. To justify the Occupy Civic Square action, they stated that,

“If someone questioned our occupy action as too radical, we have to respond ‘if we do not speak out, who will? If we do not take action, who will?’ Even though many of the Scholarism members do not need to take the M&N subject, we care about our next generation. This is the social responsibility we must take. For decades, students always fight at the frontline and seek social change” (Scholarism, 2012, August 29).

In the anti-media monopoly movement, the action rationale of “social responsibility” consisted of in two parts: for a better media environment and for democracy. Taiwan went through a remarkable political transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic society, during which hundreds of Taiwan people had died for Taiwan’s freedom. Under such a context, the freedom of speech signifies an achievement which is far from being taken for granted. The Society of Communication Students argued that, “(as communication major students) if you want to safeguard our future workplaces, if you want to protect a high-quality pluralism of ideas, if you want to fight for Taiwañese people’s citizen rights… come and join our fight” (Society of Communication Students, 2012, August 26).

During the period when different anti-media monopoly groups called on people to join the 901 grand rally, activists from the Youth Alliance invited individuals or social groups to use their own images and words to express their determination to
support the anti-media monopoly cause. In this campaign, numerous materials from all directions were sent to the Youth Alliance and got published on the Facebook fan page. Among these materials, quite a number of posts revealed people’s worries about the current media chaos (e.g. sensational news and product placement) and their willingness to take to the streets as responsible Taiwan citizens. Furthermore, as well as the media environment, Taiwan’s democratic system was another big concern of the activists. As explicitly shown in an action advocacy post by the Youth Alliance “we wish to have a world of freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of Taiwan… we invite all of you, who also hold the belief in freedom, to come and join our actions, to retrieve our freedom” (Youth Alliance, 2012, December 26). Embedded in this advocacy post is a song composed by a popular Taiwan rock band. The lyrics describe how the students sacrificed their summer time to join the 901 grand rally and how they actively joined the movement in various ways, for the same goal – a better Taiwan (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6HuLitraqFE).

Besides the characteristics shown from the activists themselves, the action rationale was based on mass support from the public. The aim of a social movement is usually to make bystanders think of themselves as beneficiaries (the group of people substantially affected by the issue), and further to turn the beneficiaries into constituents (major movement actors). In the case of anti-M&N, one of the reasons justifying the movement organizations’ action was support from the public (increasing the number of beneficiaries). After a few weeks’ of the “one person one letter” campaign initiated by the Parents Concern Group, the action achieved a large number of respondents. This action was intended to get each parent and alumni to send a letter to their child’s school or their alma mater, to inquire about the school’s attitude towards the M&N subject. The system generated a tailor-made letter based on the
information given by the user. The group reported that the campaign had achieved wide coverage of schools: “This represents 92% of the 1035 schools in our database and 82% of all the primary, secondary and special schools in Hong Kong. Of those who participated through the website, 69% did so as alumni, 23% as parents and 8% as students” (Parents Concern Group, 2012, August). Though the “one person one letter” action targeted parents and alumni, it actually turned to be a public action, as everyone could act as an alumnus or as a citizen only, if they were not parents.

In the Taiwan case, public support also justified the anti-media monopoly activists’ protest actions. Some little stories about public support were disclosed by the campaign. For example, during the intensive preparations for the 901 grand rally, the Facebook fan page administrator of the 901 Alliance announced that stickers and posters for the rally were ready. The owner of the company publishing them said, “after sending out all the stickers, there are still twenty remained in the printing factory, but all were taken by our staff… they said they would join the 901 rally as well” (901 Alliance, 2012, August 31).

Noteworthy is that, a particular type of motivational frame was addressed in the Hong Kong case –that of “to facilitate further action”, which was utilized to justify the retreat from civic square after the government announced a concession in policy on September 8, 2012. For some movement participants, the retreat was regarded as surrender to the government as the announced concession did not seem to them to have really solved the problem. To justify this decision, the two major movement actors, Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group clarified that they had noted the government’s expedient decision, and they had prepared a variety of further actions to be carried out by every citizen. Scholarism expressed the view that, “the government tried to deceive us by giving a concession… we decided to retreat as the only way to
preserve our energy for further action” (Scholarism, 2012, September 9). The Parents Concern Group also explained that the retreat only represented a temporary rest, but “protecting our children is a lifelong task”. The concern group said it would register to become a company, in order to keep an eye on the M&N subject (Parents Concern Group, 2012, September 14).

Generally speaking, the motivational frame somewhat overlaps with the diagnostic frame in that some of the reasons for taking action actually are based on people’s negative perceptions towards the power holders. In terms of the motivational aspects, people’s sense of social responsibility made up a large part of the justification for the protest actions, among which some were large scale sit-in protests and some were rhizomized small scale everyday actions.

10.5.3 Prognostic frame

![Diagram of the prognostic frame]

The prognostic frame refers to the movement actors’ proposed solutions to the identified problem and their raising of alternative ways to counter the official side. Usually, the prognostic frame is revealed in the movement’s stated goals, such as demanding the government terminate something and bring forward something new.
In the anti-M&N case, generally speaking, the movement organizations demanded that the government should withdraw the M&N curriculum guidelines, to re-examine the existing courses in moral and civic education by reinforcing the students’ critical thinking, and to form a committee constituted by scholars and different NGOs to promote civic education courses. Corresponding with the diagnostic frame, the prognostic frame here reveals activists’ demands on the government and the education related departments to re-examine the subject and re-form a more diversified research committee.

In order to counter the official M&N subject, members from Scholarism addressed their own study experiences, since most of the members were high school students at the time of the movement. “Currently, there are enough channels for the government to embed their so-called national education in both primary and secondary school education, such as in the subjects of history and general education. Our government should implement national identity education in these subjects, rather than starting a new subject” (Scholarism, 2012, January 26). In terms of what they thought was an appropriate “national education”, echoing what has been illustrated in the preceding section about “switching on the activists’ own program”, Scholarism publicly stated that the government should include the numerous controversial incidents which have happened in China related to human rights abuses and food safety, in order to cultivate the students’ critical thinking and a holistic understanding of China (Scholarism, 2012, July 25). The Parents Concern Group did not only raise possible amendments for the government, but also provided their own solution to the public. By collecting information from all directions, the Parents Concern Group provided tips to the public as to how to choose primary schools for their children. As stated by the spokesperson of the concern group, “though the government changed the
M&N policy by authorizing each school to decide autonomously how to introduce the subject, this means that we, as parents should pay extra attention to selecting schools for our children” (Parents Concern Group, 2012, September 14).

With a similar logic, in the anti-media monopoly movement in Taiwan, the prognostic frame largely complies with the diagnostic frame, in that the targets of problem attribution are also the targets needing improvement or amendment. These targets included the government and the media-related governmental departments, such as the NCC and the Fair Trade Commission, and the media business owners.

First of all, during the first stage of the movement when Want Want group intended to purchase CNS, the prognostic frame focused on the NCC. Activist groups demanded that the NCC oppose this media deal, as well as to investigate whether the media channels within the Want Want group had violated journalistic professionalism by intensively reporting on, and even defaming, Professor Huang and Chen Wei-Ting. The slogan for the 901 grand rally emphasized “an apology from CtiTV”, “journalistic professionalism” and “anti-media monopoly”. At the latter stage of the Next Media deal issue, since the case involved various potential buyers, activists called on Ma Ying-Jeou’s government to take responsibility, obeying The Constitution of The Republic of China, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, to monitor Taiwan’s media environment and to safeguard media market pluralism in Taiwan. In addition, as illustrated in different sections of this study, activists denounced Tsai Yan-Ming’s huge business profits earned from mainland China’s market and worried that his ongoing deals in Taiwan, using his mainland China interests, might threaten Taiwan’s national security. In this sense, the Youth Alliance took the leading role to hoist the banner of “say No to China factor”, demanding that the Taiwan government
declare its stance on the issue of the “China factor” (Youth Alliance, 2012, November 25).

At the same time, more concrete demands were placed on the NCC, the Fair Trade Commission and the Financial Supervisory Commission. Not only the scholars from the 901 Alliance, but also the student activists from the Society of Communication Students and the Youth Alliance made use of a number of existing laws and regulations to request that the relevant governmental departments take action regarding the Next Media deal. Besides demanding that the NCC should pay greater attention to the possible consequences of media integration, the activists referred to the Fair Trade Act and the Banking Act in order to push the Fair Trade Commission and the Financial Supervisory Commission to scrutinize whether the potential buyers were appropriate to be media owners. For example, it was said that one of the potential Next Media buyers was engaged in a banking business, but according to Article 22 in the Banking Act, “A Bank shall not conduct any business other than as approved by the Central Competent Authority” (Law and Regulation Database of The Republic of China, 2014), so students from the Society of Communication Students strongly requested the related commissions and departments to comprehensively scrutinize the financial background and sources behind the Next Media deal. “Taking into consideration an amount of capital from an unknown source… the Society of Communication Students called on our Financial Supervisory Commission to investigate this mystery, in order to guarantee the stability of Taiwan’s financial industry… if the truth turns out to be that the financial source is from Tsai Yan-Ming, the NCC should seriously examine the Next Media case, to take responsibility to safeguard the betterment of Taiwan’s media industry” (Society of Communication, 2012, November 7).
Secondly, demands targeting business tycoons were also included in the prognostic frame. At the stage of the campaign focused on “anti-CtiTV”, activists mostly requested an apology from Want Want media regarding their false accusations against Professor Huang Kuo-Chang. When it came to the Next Media issue, demands on the businessmen shifted onto a legal level, so that the biggest demand on the business tycoons was mutual agreement on the “editorial statute”. Appeals from the Next Media labor union were posted on the Youth Alliance’s Facebook page, including demands on the boss of Next Media, Jimmy Lai, to negotiate with the labor union, demands that working conditions should be agreed after discussion with the labor union, and a mutual agreement to be reached on the “editorial statute” to ensure editorial autonomy and journalistic professionalism, regardless of the change of media ownership (Apple Daily labor union, 2012, October 17).

Last but not least, corresponding to the “switch on the activists’ own program” demonstrated previously, the anti-media monopoly activists on the one hand demanded that the congress and political party members draft an anti-media monopoly law, on the other hand presented their own civic version of the bill as a way to put pressure on the legislators. Actually before the 901 grand rally, the 901 Alliance had already suggested a number of concrete additional provisions to the existing “three broadcasting acts” which had been under examination in the Legislative Yuan (including the Satellite Broadcasting Act, the Cable Radio and Television Act and the Ratio and Television Broadcaster Act) (901 Alliance, 2012, August 29). But when the process of amending the “three broadcasting acts” was suspended in the Legislative Yuan after the second-reading, scholars in the 901 Alliance and activists in Youth Alliance actively got involved in the drafting of a special anti-media monopoly bill. Even though it was the scholars who mainly took part in the bill drafting, some
students from the Youth Alliance actively did research on the related regulations and attended the public hearings in the Legislative Yuan of the anti-media monopoly bill. Instead of being directly involved in the process of bill drafting, student activists from Youth Alliance put forward basic principles regarding the media monopoly issue (Youth Alliance, 2013, April 17).

To sum up, as has been shown from the cases under investigation, the tactics of framing the movement’s messages mainly focus on targeting a limited number of power holders: the governmental side and the most resourceful and powerful stakeholders. In the case of the anti-M&N movement, the education bureau plus the newly appointed official in chief became the major targets. In the case of anti-media monopoly movement, the business tycoons were under serious attack. By limiting the targets of problem attribution, the activists can keep the diagnostic frame, the
motivational frame and the prognostic frames consistent with each other. That is to say, the movement legitimization process starts with pointing out a number of targets who should be blamed for the existing problems. Bearing in mind these targets, when considering how to design various movement repertoires and how to raise a series of suggestions, it means that the activists do not become directionless. According to the movement framing tactics, for example, it is because of the Hong Kong government’s intention to fulfill Beijing’s political instructions and the appointment of an unqualified education bureaucrat, that the Hong Kong activists occupied the Civic Square, had their series of “Chasing Ng Hak-Kim” actions and articulated an alternative way to choose untainted schools for the next generation. Similarly, it was the vulgar behavior of the media boss, Tsai Yan-Ming, and the NCC’s ambiguous attitude towards the media merger case that triggered the action of “besiege CtiTV” and the rally route ending at the NCC. Moreover, in terms of the prognostic frame, besides a series of suggestions raised by the activists, a new program was switched on and implemented by the networking of activists. This aspect echoes well what has been illustrated in the analysis of the activists’ technological form of life that, through the vast networking of movement actors from various directions, an alternative program could be generated as a counter force against the official discourse.

10.6 Framing Movement Identity Fields

As addressed in the literature review, this research casts light on both the structural and cultural facets of movement resource mobilization processes. Not only the material and human resources are under investigation, but also how the movement actors manage a fluid and immaterial resource – the movement frames. Along with what has been studied in the previous section as to how the movement actors frame
their movement messages and movement goals, the following paragraphs will concentrate on the movement actors’ identity building through different frames. According to Hunt et al. (1994), the movement actors “proffer, buttress, and embellish identities” (p. 185). Through framing, the movement actors attribute different characteristics to different clusters of people, including themselves – the categorization of different groups involved in the movement. Through this framing process the members of the movement side distinguish themselves from the opposite side (usually the government side), who are “assigned” to other ideological, geographical, and tactical locales (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Taylor (1989) suggested the importance of this boundary framing in collective identity formation --- the “us” and “them” distinction.

This categorization brings about an identity field, which includes protagonists, antagonists, and audiences. The protagonist identity field brings together social actors by their consensus on a problem/issue. It simply means “who we are”. The antagonist field refers to how the movement actors attribute several particular characteristics to the individuals/organizations on the opposite side - “what the enemy looks like”. In terms of the audience field, it is the attribution of identity to the outsiders, who are assumed to be “neutral” in the movement actors’ minds, and have the potential to respond to the movement - “how do the public respond”.

To distinguish the movement frames and identity frames, the author applied slightly different coding methods. To code the movement frame, the author focused on the questions “who should be blamed for the issue”, “why the movement actors should take the action” and “what solutions the movement actors put forward”. In terms of the identity frame, the author mainly paid attention to the adjectives and the concrete definitions assigned to different groups of people, the movement side and the
power holders’ side, as well as the bystanders. It is unavoidable that the content of the movement frames and identity frames overlap to a certain extent.

Since the two cases are differentiated from each other in subtle details in terms of the nature of the issues, for example the power holders in the anti-M&N movement are mainly the government and the education bureau while the power holders in the ant-media monopoly movement were the government and the business tycoons, as a result, the author will discuss them respectively. On the other hand, the audience frame field is basically the same in the two cases.

10.6.1 The antagonist frame field and the protagonist frame field

*Hong Kong - The ruthless government vs. the powerless determined fighter*

From the above identity frame map of Hong Kong’s anti-M&N movement case, we can see that several characteristics were attributed to the movement side and the power holders’ side, in order to show the difference between these two groups. A number of pairs exhibit a strong contrast between these two groups.
Figure 10.19. Diagrams of the antagonist frame field and the protagonist frame field in the Hong Kong anti-M&N movement

From the figure 10.19, here is a marked contrast between the ruthless strong power-holders and the new generation of brave fighters with a strong sense of social responsibility. Here, the new generation refers to the newly formed movement organizations. Adjectives used by the movement actors to describe the government include “emotionless”, “stubborn”, “hypocritical”, “ruthless”, to name a few. After the 729 parade with ninety-thousand participants, the government still insisted that the
M&N subject should be introduced in the coming September. The government’s stubbornness regarding the M&N subject was described in a metaphor as a “high wall” and the movement actors were the eggs trying to fight against the wall. Scholarism kept emphasizing their identity as the “new generation” of society. Scholarism was formed by a number of high school students in May 2011 and started to pay attention to the M&N issue at a very early stage, as the government had for the first time announced the introduction of this subject in April 2011. Scholarism kept fighting against the government since that point. Instead of putting forward a weak image of the high school students, Scholarism insisted on the identity of “student and citizen”, and that the suffix “-ism” refers to a “stream of thoughts”, adapting the history of the “May 4” movement in 1900s in China, when a group of progressive students and scholars advocated the abandoning of orthodox thought and the pursuit of democracy and science (Scholarism, 2011, May 29). Similar to the “May 4” students who sought social transformation, Scholarism also aimed at taking action with the public in the streets - “If someone questioned our occupy action as too radical, we have to respond ‘if we do not speak out, who will? If we do not take action, who will?’” (Scholarism, 2012, August 29). The motto from Scholarism vividly reveals their belief that, though fresh to society, the youngsters, following in the steps of their progressive predecessors, will form a force for change. As was Scholarism, the Parents Concern Group was also newly formed because of the M&N issue. During the hunger strike at the civic square, instead of describing the hunger strikers as victims, the Parents Concern Group highlighted them as “tender but determined” fighters, as the senior professor Ho Chi-Kwan and the young mother Linda Wong described them (Parents Concern Group, 2012, September 4).
Figure 10.20. Anti-M&N movement prop – eggs against the high wall
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/riksmd )

Being framed as at the opposite side to the movement organizations, the government came under attack for failing to respond to public opinion – a ruthless government turning its back to the people. In the 729 parade, more than ninety-thousand participants took to the streets and expressed their opposition opinions. But after the parade, instead of withdrawing the M&N subject, the government appointed a committee to further negotiate on how to introduce the subject. Facing the government’s response, Scholarism argued that

“Ninety-thousand citizens took to the streets and demanded the subject be withdrawn, and this number of participants was way beyond our expectation. However, the government turned its back on the public and disregarded the opposing voices… such a ruthless government did not change anything even though the survey conducted by Hong Kong University announced that over sixty percent of citizens requested the suspension of the M&N subject” (Scholarism, 2012, August 29).

To present a counter power, after the 7.29 parade, Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group organized more actions to call out larger number of supporters to
counter the government’s indifference. To actualize their motto of “Stand on the street, be with the people”, Scholarism initiated the action “street booths in ten districts” for eight continuous days. Facing police intervention, the young activists persisted with the street-booth action. “Before the incident of police intervention, we got over one thousand signatures on the petition each day. After that incident, some booths even got over two thousand signatures each day. The increasing number of signatures shows that the citizens kept supporting us in spite of the police intervention” (Scholarism, 2012, August 13).

During the action of Occupy Civic Square, the spokesperson of the Parents Concern Group, Eva Chan, expressed the sentiment that, “we have nothing but every anti-M&N citizen… we do not know how to deal with the government. The only bargaining power in our hands is from each of the citizens who supported us” (Parents Concern Group, 2012b, September 8). The touching words from Eva Chan received almost 3000 “likes” and more than 250 “shares” on Facebook. Through consistently accumulating individual support, the activists generated their power to counter the government’s indifference.

As illustrated in the diagnostic movement frame, the Hong Kong government was regarded by the movement actors as promoting the M&N subject to fulfill a political task. The “dyed red” government officials (referring to the officials who only carried out Beijing’s orders but ignored Hong Kong people’s real needs) eventually made up one aspect of the antagonistic frame. As shown below in figure 10.21, a poster designed by Scholarism, depicted those pro-M&N officials who had some linkages with the Beijing central government and the CCP. The red tone of the poster symbolized the “dyed red” character of the officials, and is consistent with the color of the national flag of the PRC.
To distinguish from the government side with its “dyed red” background, the movement actors emphasized their independent identity as non-partisan and public donation-based. As the parents stressed their non-partisan background and their pure intention to protect the children, the youths in Scholarism highlighted their identity as informed political citizens, capable of independent thinking and not easily manipulated by political parties. From time to time, Scholarism was attacked by some pro-government politicians and the pro-government press on the grounds of their political-party background. In mid-August, a news report in the pro-government paper Wen Wei Po pointed out that a member from Scholarism had attended an election campaign held by a pan-democratic political party. Scholarism strongly rejected such
accusations by stating that,

“We represent a student-organization, but it does not mean that we reject people holding different political beliefs... we have never restricted our members’ freedom to attend different political activities, but it does not mean that Scholarism has received sponsorship from political parties... we have always kept our promise to maintain organizational independence” (Scholarism, 2012, August 25).

On several occasions, different attitudes presented by the government and by the movement organizations were highlighted to contribute to making a distinction in identity between the two sides. For example, when it came to the meeting between Scholarism and the education bureau secretary Ng Hak-Kim, Scholarism kept emphasizing that the meeting should be “recorded live by the mass media and let everything be discussed in the open”. However, the education bureau only accepted representatives from Scholarism and some appointed teachers, not allowing the media to film the meeting “in order to protect the teachers”. The different approaches from the two parties were highlighted in the movement actors’ framing of identity groups to depict the government side as shirking its responsibility and the movement side as open-minded and daring to face the powerful.
Taiwan - The big brother is watching, but we never cease

The diagram below shows the identity fields, the antagonist frame and the protagonist frames generated from the data of Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly case.

Figure 10.22. Diagrams of the antagonist frame field and the protagonist frame field in Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement
Referring to the primary target, activists described the continuous deal-making and mergers by the business tycoons as a way to make the media Godzilla in Taiwan – an undefeatable monster. For instance, the full name of the Youth Alliance was “anti-media monster youth alliance”. And another name for the 901 Alliance was “anti-media monster alliance”. Expressed in the first public statement published by the Youth Alliance was that, “we say No to any form of Want Want group’s media conglomerating act which would lead to the formation of Taiwan’s media monster” (Youth Alliance, 2012, August 3).

As mentioned, even without purchasing CNS, Want Want group’s media business has already reached every media area in Taiwan. Both the student activists and scholars believed the gradual formation of a media monster would cause unavoidable disaster to Taiwan. Considering Tsai Yan-Ming’s intention to buy the Next Media, a group of scholars began a signature petition, stating that

“tycoons never stop their greed but keep purchasing media… if we allow the growth of the greedy media monster, Taiwan’s precious core values, such as freedom of speech, journalistic professionalism and our plural society will be in vain” (901 Alliance, 2012, December 13).

Figure 10.23 below was one of the major banners held during the 901 grand rally. In the image, the little-kid logo of Want Want group is merged with the Chinese character “big”, showing that Want Want represents “big brother” swallowing different media companies. While the following phrase “you are so big” is exhibits the activists’ determination “we are not afraid”.

Another type of poster reads “you are so big, we are very afraid” with painter’s name as “alliance of the powerless”. This type of poster, though saying in an ironic way that “we are afraid”, reveals the sharp contrast between the power holder and the
activists, as the powerful versus the powerless. However, the implicit meaning of this irony actually reflects the fearlessness of the activists – given that we are not as powerful as you are, we still ally together to stand up and speak out.

Figure 10.23. Poster made by 901 Alliance, “You are big, but I am not afraid” (Retrieved from https://goo.gl/aU9mnI)

Figure 10.24. Poster made by anti-media monster alliance, “You are big, and I am afraid – from powerless people” (Retrieved from https://goo.gl/xa3kK2)

The character of the “powerless but fearless” activists, especially among the student activists, was demonstrated by the Youth Alliance in their various public statements. After participating in a number of anti-media monopoly protests through the second half of 2012, the Youth Alliance held the New Year sit-in protest in front of the Presidential Office. Welcoming the new year of 2013, the Youth Alliance shouted,
“Today we stand here. But we never meant to tell you to follow me ... we know we could never be that arrogant and over-confident... now we face such a huge enemy, how could we dare to stand firm here, who we are... in this freezing night, we know that, only through our staying together and trying our best, can the fortress be defeated” (Youth Alliance, 2012, December 31).

Besides the business tycoon, another type of power holders, mainly the government, are illustrated with the characteristics of being ruthless, incapable, and indifferent. If the previous antagonist frame field of “big monster” is mainly focused on the business tycoons, then the ruthless and indifferent character is referring to the government and the relevant departments handling the media purchase case. As with the situation in the anti-M&N movement in Hong Kong, the government, facing a series of protests, including the 901 grand rally with over nine-thousand participants, remained indifferent to the media business deals. Another typical occasion was the Occupy Executive Yuan undertaken by the Youth Alliance. Physical confrontation occurred during that action, as the student activists urged Premier Chen to have a face-to-face meeting with the students. Seeing that Premier Chen still did not show up even after the student activists spent a whole night outside, the Youth Alliance denounced the government as “indifferent”, “insincere”, “incapable” and “arrogant”.

Since the Occupy Executive Yuan action captured much media coverage and public attention, the students’ determined image (e.g. protesting in the rain, spending a whole freezing night in the open) and their condemnation of the government’s ruthless face drew a clear demarcation between the movement side and the government. To counter the ruthless and indifferent government, the activists from various movement groups, exhibited their willingness to take the social responsibility. The journalists highlighted their own special role in this: “(as the fourth estate of the
country) our duty is to oversee the power holders and to build a society with justice” (Association of Taiwan Journalists, 2012, August 17).

Besides their focus on the media issue, a group of young activists expanded their action to a much broader scale. In the new year of 2013, the Youth Alliance looked back on the road they had walked and tried to find an appropriate movement position for the organization. They expressed this in their public statement:

“Our progressive imagination includes going into civil society, into the rural areas and the community, for our network to become the eyes and mouth of the people... to solve the dilemma of media capitalist monopoly by our own efforts” (Youth Alliance, 2013, January 1).

Moreover, by branding the youth activists as the transformative force in Taiwan society, their new-year declaration called on those who participated in the sit-in protest to make a vow that,

“To be a leader to lead Taiwan... it is not necessary to follow those walking ahead, nor to lead those walking behind. We must stand shoulder to shoulder, protect what we love... becoming the force for change and the force to bring freedom” (Youth Alliance, 2013, January 1).
Another aspect of the identity frame also worthy of notice is that CtïTV was framed as “enraging”, “unethical” and “debasèng journalistic professionalism” after Professor Huang Kuo-Chang and Chen Wei-Ting were subject to accusations by the channel. In order to fight back against the unethical accusation from CtïTV and its Want Want media group owner, the young activists slogan was “I will show you how many participants we could mobilize to take to the street… we join the demonstration to show dignity, not for the part-time fee” (Anti-media monster, 2012, August 16) (as shown in figure 10.26). Emphasizing the students’ integrity echoes well what has been illustrated in the media logic analysis that, in Taiwan’s movement culture, a symbolic moral high ground is established through the image of student activists. Identifying the moral integrity of the students went a long way to legitimize the movement.
10.6.2 Audience frame

The audience frame refers to the image of the general public (who are supposed to be the bystanders) constructed by the movement organizers. If this frame shows an increasing number of bystanders gradually turning into movement constituents, the movement’s legitimacy is reinforced because of the expansion of public support.

Figure 10.27. Diagram of the audience frame field
One of the major strategies to show a positive audience frame field and to legitimize the movement is by using “crowds” – exhibiting an ocean of people and supportive solidarity. The anti-M&N movement emphasized the tremendous numbers of the general public who said No to the M&N subject. The Parents Concern Group described the huge flow of supporters joining the Occupy Civic Square action as an “elephant of public opinion”. “Since Scholarism launched a hunger strike outside the Central Government Office (CGO) on August 30, an accumulated total of 286,000 people have taken part in protests at ‘Civic Square’ over ten days” (Parents Concern Group, 2012c, September 9). Bird’s eye-view images showing “how crowded the movement site was” were posted on the movement organizations’ Facebook fan pages to legitimize the occupy action and the whole movement. From the data derived from the Facebook pages of Scholarism and the Parents Concern Group, posts showing “people’s power solidarity” gained on average over a hundred thousand “likes” and 770 “shares” – the first ranking among other types of posts (see table 4).

The situation in the anti-media monopoly movement was quite similar, in that Facebook posts showing “people’s solidarity” obtained the largest number of “likes” on average among all categories (see table 5). Bird’s eye-view images showing the protest scenes were also commonly seen on the anti-media monopoly organizations’ Facebook pages. During the 901 grand rally, the number of participants was over nine thousand, which was beyond all expectations, and the crowd fully occupied the major commercial avenue in front of Taipei Main Station. “This is the power of citizens. In contrast, it is a bit of a pity that the number of policemen is so small” (Youth Alliance, 2012b, September 1).
Figure 10.28. Over one hundred and twelve thousand people gather at the government headquarters to say No to the M&N education  
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/vgvbYB )

Figure 10.29. Over ten thousand people joined the anti-media monopoly 901 grand rally  
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/ac3Z8B )

The M&N movement was legitimized as “a movement gaining wide social support”. As stated by the Parents Concern Group: “here come secondary school
students, college students, school teachers, social workers, alumni, here also come
talented illustrators, brilliant advertising experts, doctors and nurses… we as parents
feel extremely grateful to see so many people coming to protect our children” (Parents
Concern Group, 2012, September 7). During the peak of the anti-M&N movement,
signature petitions were initiated by different social groups, such as the advertising
industry, social workers, and a newly formed organization called the “Progressive
Teachers’ Alliance” formed by a group of school teachers. Besides signature petitions,
the photo rally (taking a photo while holding a supportive slogan written/printed on a
piece of plain paper) also became a popular way for people with different social
backgrounds to show their support. The slogan of “Civic Square is by your side” was
advanced during the movement’s peak. For those who were not able to physically
occupy the civic square, they could virtually “join” the action by showing an iconic
“say No” gesture (figure 10.30 & 10.31).

Similarly, supporting forces from different entities also legitimized the anti-
media monopoly movement in Taiwan, at different stages of the movement. A
signature petition was one of the common tactics to exhibit the public’s power. When
Professor Huang Kuo-Chang was accused by CtiTV, “within only three days, there
are already over two thousand individuals and over twenty social groups joining the
petition” (901 Alliance, 2012, August 15). During the preparation for the 901 grand
rally, the major movement groups, the 901 Alliance and the Youth Alliance initiated a
“photo rally” activity, calling on netizens to post their images and supportive words to
attract more friends to join the rally (figure 10.32). Because of the low cost of this
photo rally, a large number of images were uploaded by netizens from different social
backgrounds, at home and abroad. These photos not only showed people’s support,
but also generated visual impact when over a hundred supportive photos were put
Images and words showing people’s solidarity legitimized the rightness of the movement’s demands, while images showing support from all directions also contribute to the movement’s legitimacy. Not only support from different social backgrounds, but also support from all around the world gave power to the movement organizations. Castells (2000a, 2009) emphasized the power of images in the age of informationalism and the network society, as the power of symbolic messages is largely facilitated and reinforced by the prevalence of ICTs. A visible simple message with substantial meaning can generate viral effects for a movement, such as images of an iconic person, or a short video arguing the case. A simple gesture with two hands crossed in front of the chest was widely utilized during the anti-M&N movement, implying saying no to the M&N subject. Images with people crossing their hands were transmitted to the major movement organizations as a way to show support.

By the same logic, the large scale photo-rally also gained huge popularity in the anti-media monopoly movement. Without needing either to write a long passage or chant in front of the crowds, one could simply and creatively show support by taking a few steps, facilitated by their everyday communication tools. With the timeless and borderless message transmission of ICTs and the commonality of multifunctional smart phones, this way of showing support via images generated a large viral effect during the movement peak. What is more, in the same way that a picture is worth a thousand words, a combination of hundreds of supportive images creates an overwhelming visual impact and escalates the movement onto a society-wide level of protest.
Figure 10.30. The Civic Square is by your side @ RTHK
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/e5t01j)

Figure 10.31. Anti-M&N from Hong Kong overseas students
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/OhOQV2)
It is noteworthy that, the image of “a group of awakened citizens” was
constructed in the anti-M\&N movement. The movement organizers highlighted

Figure 10.32. “Anti-media monopoly. I protect Taiwan in Berlin”
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/GqLrnJ )

Figure 10.33. “We protect Taiwan in National Taiwan University”
(Retrieved from https://goo.gl/myKfqu )
“citizenship” – driven by rationality and conscience, and willing to take social responsibility through action. On the night of September 8, thousands of citizens joined the Occupy Civic Square action and jammed a huge space surrounding the government headquarters. Suddenly someone fainted and an ambulance was called. A touching moment came when the ambulance crossed the road, and the huge crowd of people immediately parted and let the vehicle proceed smoothly. A photo of this scene was posted on the Parents Concern Group’s Facebook page and got wide resonance with almost ten thousand “likes” and over two thousand “shares”. “Tonight, we had 120,000 awakened citizens. You (the government) call it a state of anarchy, we see the most beautiful Hong Kong” (Parents Concern Group, 2012d, September 8).

Figure 10.34. People quickly gave way to an ambulance during the anti-M&N large-scale assembly on September 8, 2012 (Retrieved from https://goo.gl/IR3uDJ)
In this chapter, the analysis of movement legitimacy focuses on resource mobilization through a cultural lens – the activists’ construction of the movement’s meaning. From standpoint of media logic, the presentation of movement beneficiaries and movement goals is largely consistent with the public’s social expectations and the whole society’s cultural context. The presentation of the fresh image constituted by the teenage students and the parents is consonant with Hong Kong society’s political culture – distrust of the party politics. By stressing the identity of “student protestors”, the Taiwan anti-media monopoly activists complied with Taiwan’s movement tradition that students have an aura of purity and integrity.

Eye-catching images are extremely important in an age filled with media politics, whether these gain a movement legitimacy via an individual celebrity endorsement or from a large number of ordinary citizens showing their support. With the ICT-based mass self-communication, the appealing presentation of first-hand movement scenes and supportive photo rallies coming from all directions attracted an intensive response from the online world and generated viral effects for the movement.

From the perspective of framing movement identities, the movement actors clearly drew a line between the power holders and the movement side. The power holders represent the ruthless antagonists disregarding the public’s voice and the social good. Instead, framed in an innocent, just and determined image, the movement actors are presented as the transformative force and the source of hope for society. Furthermore, the image of the public has been turned from bystanders into movement constituents, as support from all directions came to the movement organizations’ web pages via different channels of mass self-communication: participating in the movement by holding a banner, crossing hands, taking a picture and posting online.
Therefore, a clear identity field was revealed from the movement cases that the power holders represent an unjust and ruthless bloc, while the movement actors represent the legitimized force for social good, backed by a huge crowd of the general public.

Figure 10.35. Categories of “building and packaging movement legitimacy”
Chapter 11 Multi-dimensional Resource Mobilization in Network Society

In this concluding chapter, let us leave the vibrant world of the movement scenes and get back to the very beginning of the research – the research questions. This research probes into the movement resources and resource mobilization process which are embedded in the theoretical paradigm of informationalism and network society. In this sense, firstly, the key questions that need to be answered are: what are movement resources, and how do the different kinds of resources intertwine.

Secondly, the author is going to analyze further the various categories generated from the analytical blocs and comprehensively integrate them into a conceptual level – the networked resource mobilization. Lastly, concluding remarks will address the limitations of the research in order to shed light on the direction for further research.

Under what has been defined by Castells as the age of informationalism and network society, a wide range of social aspects have undergone great changes. This new epoch has greatly differentiated from the industrial age, when the division of labor was defined, with a group of social elites possessing the specialized knowledge while another group of manufacturing workers. The traditional RMT was postulated under such an industrial context, in which social movement was regarded as heavily relied on the material resources and those possessing the specialized knowledge and materials. In the contemporary era, informationalism leads to a networked logic of economic, politics and mass media as well as in people’s everyday lives. People have witnessed not only a closer relationship between human and machines, in the sense of an easier interface of control and command (e.g. the amateurization of journalism, which leads to the increase in mass self-communication), but also an organic technological form of life. This is revealed in aspects such as human beings’ ability to
learn rapidly by doing, a process of information searching and knowledge acquisition in the huge pool of internet content, and the ease of spreading information and recruiting tech-savvy peers in this breading ground of informationalism. Bennett & Segerberg (2013) further conceptualized this type of communication as the fundamental organizational form of connective action. “As digital media become more prominent in contemporary contention, they too help to configure the protest space and the action that develops within it… technology-enabled networks may become dynamic organizations in their own right.” (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013, p. 8).

Castells (2012) reified this organic dynamics among human beings, communication technologies and organizational forms in the realm of social movement as networked movements.

### 11.1 The Movement Cases as Networked Form of Movements

The cases being comprehensively studied in the current research reflect the characteristics of the form of networked movements well. First of all, the young activists were fighting against a perceived networked power. In the Hong Kong anti-M&N movement, the antagonist side not only refers to the Hong Kong government, but also the Beijing central government which was regarded as utilizing the Hong Kong government to impose the nationalistic education subject. From the frame analysis, aspects such as “blame the central government” and “dyed red officials” were shown. Taiwan’s anti-media monopoly movement reveals a more conspicuous networked power – the intertwined business forces as well as the implicit relationship between the Taiwanese businessmen and the PRC’s influence. What was framed by the Taiwan activists was a notorious “cross-strait political and economic force” trying to destroy Taiwan’s young democracy.
Secondly, “spontaneous and viral” is another characteristic of the movements. Although scholars in the related fields had done research and lobbying for quite a long time, both the anti-M&N movement and the anti-media monopoly movement broke out from an unexpected incident, and later went viral to the whole society. The “China Model” teaching package should not have taken such a central position in the whole issue, but it did trigger deep-rooted emotions and hatreds in Hong Kong people’s minds. Professor Huang Kuo-Chang and the college student Chen Wei-Ting being threatened by CtiTV was scarcely directly related to the issue of the media business. But the feeling of “innocent scholars/students being bullied by a media tycoon” soon spread among Taiwan’s social movement circles and later attracted society-wide attention. A viral state was strongly revealed in these two movements in that people from different social fields actively and continuously contributed to the movements by their own efforts – the rhizomatic online and offline participation. Shirky (2008) made an analogy that this type of communication form is similar to the spreading of disease, as rhizomatic participation assembles the viral contagion of “movement disease”.

Thirdly, networked social movements will witness people actualizing the autonomy of movement organization and the networked opposition forces, with people’s mutual aid and the cooperation between offline and online actions. This characteristic has been concretely exhibited in Hong Kong’s anti-M&N movement. Through the collective efforts contributed by people from different social groups, the Occupy Civic Square action was maintained in an orderly way. And as mentioned in different chapters, the activists’ and the public’s offline and online actions collectively generated the movement network, such as in the “one person one letter” and the “national education map” campaigns. In the Taiwan case, even though they did not
occupy a single space for a certain period of time, the Taiwan activists from various types of organizations initiated a large variety of protest actions, forming a movement net. When the young activists led direct actions in the physical spaces, the scholars NGOs backed them with hard facts and analyses generated from their long term research, especially during the period of drafting the anti-media monopoly bill. The Youth Alliance was able to bring forth their own version of an anti-media monopoly measurement, based on the scholars’ professional knowledge. It is noteworthy that, in both of the cases, a synergized online-offline resonance was actualized. With thousands of people gathered at different protest sites, thousands of netizens joined photo rallies to keep boosting the movement’s momentum. By this means, the “audience field frame” was vividly revealed in a visual form to generate a larger movement impact. Although in Castells (2012)’s analysis, autonomy was derived from the collective managing of a movement site, the movement cases in the current research did reveal a type of autonomy in the sense of forming the activists’ movement network, from the academic, professional groups to students, from offline organization to online rally actions.

11.2 What are the Movement Resources?

From comprehensively studying the cases, the author has summarized several types of movement resources flowing in the mobilization process. As mentioned at the very beginning of the research, when talking about the research significance, when contentious protests actually happen, material forms of resources and systemic ways of material organization are inevitable. Accompanying the traditional forms of material resources are the human resources, who not only manage the material facilities, but also deliver the movement messages to the public. This latter task refers
to how they build up and reinforce the movement’s legitimacy – the cultural and immaterial forms of resource. Moreover, the series of analytical blocs in this research are seldom isolated from each other, but form an organic interconnected whole.

11.2.1 Indispensable material resources

Material resources still play a necessary role in the process of movement mobilization. But what has been illustrated in chapter six is that, the crowd-sourcing of these resources could be actualized through the networking of activists and movement organizations as well as from public donations. In the traditional form of SMO, heavy emphasis was put on getting a certain number of organization members and on their membership fees as the major resources to mobilize collective action. However, lacking the fixed organizational form, the major movement groups in this study could hardly rely on a long term and stable recruitment system to gather and accumulate resources. In this sense, the ICT-facilitated communication platform as well as the assistance from other SMOs compensates for the weakness of loose organization. What is more, as people nowadays manage various sorts of ICTs and carry them all the time, they are able to make great use of this instant and wide-reaching technology to record movement scenes, spread messages and recruit more material and human resources, with little cost. This is also very different from the previous movements, in which only a limited number of devices was able to carry out printing and recording tasks.

11.2.2 Networking of knowledgeable actors

Three important aspects have been highlighted in the movement cases: the power of networking, the intertwining of professionals and specialties from various areas,
and the tech-savvy activists who take a significant part in mobilizing the movements.

It has been discussed in the literature review and reflected in traditional movements that networking between people is highly valued in social movements. From studying the two movement cases, the networking of movement groups, in whatever forms, such as NGOs, SMOs or loosely-organized activists, facilitates the crowd-sourcing of different sorts of vital material resources. In another way, the inclusion of movement groups/individuals can enlarge the pool of movement representativeness as well as enhance the movement’s legitimacy. Moreover, the movement network was so important that it provided a platform for the intertwining of knowledge in different fields. Although the theoretical knowledge in the fields of education and mass media, and the academic research output were regarded as only having a marginal role in the process of mobilization, it is hard to deny that special knowledge and experience in many areas did make a great contribution to the movements in these two cases, such as the school teachers’ first-hand information about the curriculum issue, and the special experience of journalists, which played an impressive role in terms of communicating between the activists and the police as well as in the lobby chamber. This is not to say the academic research output was totally in vain, either. The appearance of university professors at the protest sites and their theoretical contributions heightened the movement’s legitimacy, due to the respected status of scholars.

It is noteworthy that political involvement has an ambiguous status in both of the movement cases. On the one hand, political parties should constitute a resourceful entity which can provide not only the material resources, but also the channel for effective lobbying. On the other hand, taking into consideration gaining more movement legitimacy, political parties should be avoided, due to people’s decreasing
trust in party politics. In this sense, generating and managing the movement network, on the one hand is a natural process, with organizations holding the same goals and beliefs joining together. On the other hand, the networking process also represents a movement tactic by intentionally including some groups (e.g. those representing the social minorities), highlighting certain prestigious entities (e.g. the scholars), and excluding some others – strategic networking. This aspect is echoing what political opportunity process theorists have emphasized the “context dependent”. And it is through the formation of movement networks that the activists, even the youngsters, could switch on their own programming in terms of bringing forward an alternative way to tackle the movement issues. Aided by a large number of professionals, NGOs/SMOs as well as political parties, with the academic/movement knowledge backup and hard-ware/space provided by different organizations, the activists in Hong Kong and Taiwan produced their own projects to counter the official decisions. These projects – the civil version of civic education in Hong Kong and the anti-media monopoly bill draft in Taiwan – not only served to declare the beliefs held by the movement actors, but also formed a powerful counter force against the networked power holders. Moreover, what will be under discussion in the later part is that, facilitated by the wide spread of ICT-use, the movement cases had witnessed the growing of the social movement communities, expanding from the existing movement alliance to different social areas, expanding from those already in the movement circle to a larger pool of public, in which more knowledgeable actors appeared to strengthen the movement communities’ knowledge pool.

Alongside with the movement network and the professionals/specialties which already played important roles in traditional social movements, here in the current study, what needs an extra spotlight is the tech-savvy movement actor who strongly
reflects the technological form of life and mass self-communication, etched in the age of informationalism. Here, not only the “grown-up digital” young generation, but also the adults who are living by all sorts of instant communication technologies, have adopted the technological form of life in terms of information searching, knowledge acquisition and integration, as well as message dissemination. In the previous paragraph, the author highlights the importance of exclusive knowledge in academic, professional fields and movement fields. Here in the following discussion, what will be emphasized is the tech-savvy capabilities. In this sense, professional adults can be tech-savvy activists as well.

Nowadays we are facing an age of learning by doing. The low-cost, easily accessible, open-sourced and multi-functional platform in the online world largely facilitates people’s multi-faceted information seeking and managing processes in everyday life. Whenever certain information is needed or unsolved problems appear, people nowadays have got used to multi-directional help seeking and information filtering, in order to obtain the knowledge needed. In the context of social movements, embedded with the technological form of life, activists seek help from different social groups, grasp the useful and multi-faceted information, and disseminate their messages in ways that most online users can understand. Knowing that the whole society has entered the informational age and the online platform has become people’s major information source, the tech-savvy activists (who, after all, are online users themselves) understand well the logic of online information absorption (e.g. first-hand story, immediacy, creative and visualized forms). In another way they actively learn from their own experience to grasp how to effectively translate comprehensive knowledge into layman’s language. In this sense, from both of the movement cases, a large variety of “translation products” have been illustrated, such
as layman-packages and DIY online newspapers. The young activists do not only rely on the online platform as the communication channel, but also take great advantage of the traditional forms of street actions, but in an innovative way.

Scholarism’s flash mob action, “chasing Ng Hak-Kim”, Occupy Civic Square, and the Youth Alliance’s “731 say No to CitiTV”, Occupy Executive Yuan, “soap box talks”, all resonate with what Negri (2008) described as “creative and productive individuals”, who are “intelligent, mobile multitudes”.

But it does not mean that the tech-savvy activists totally rely on internet-based technologies to conduct daily communication and movement mobilization. What has been illustrated in the cases is that, for the Anti-M&N Alliance, Scholarism, 901-Alliance, Youth Alliance and so on, they still need to hold lots of face-to-face meetings to discuss action strategies. Especially for the youngster’s groups, Scholarism and Youth Alliance were quite aware of the weakness of internet communication, such as anonymity and slacktism. To simplify the registry procedure, anyone can join Scholarism by sending a request to Joshua Wong and Oscar Lai via Facebook (before 2012) or by sending an online form (after 2012). Words from a core Scholarism member vivid reveal the concern on organizational information security, “true that he/she is a person, but through the online form we do not know who he/she really is… that’s why we set up the mechanism to avoid new comers know our organizations’ financial status or some core decisions” (H11, personal communication, 2014, July 22). In the case of Youth Alliance, besides advocating supporters to upload anti-monopoly photos, they cared very much about the pace of street action. Even knowing that the scholars in the 901-Alliance were already devoting to drafting the anti-media-monopoly bill, the young activists kept calling on street protests to sustain the momentum. Physical street protest is a counter force to
slacktism, which mainly refers to people who only take virtual action.

Generally speaking, in terms of social movement human resources, alongside the importance of movement networks and professionals/specialties, which has always been discussed in traditional social movement studies, the ascending significance of technological knowledge and creative movement agency is worthy of extra notice, adding a significant new bloc to the RMT, not only in terms of their capabilities in information acquisition, integration and dissemination, but also their potential to enrich the social movement community.

11.2. 3 Various strategies to build the movement legitimacy

Another type of movement resources which the author has examined lies in the cultural facet – the activists’ movement meaning-making. If the former part deals with the forms in which the activists present the movement messages, this part mainly refers to the way the movement messages were packaged and transmitted to the larger public. The author calls this process “legitimacy building”. This is intending to enrich the movement mobilization studies by integrating the active agency and the contextual concern, as discussed in the literature review section on RMT. In the traditional RMT, the movement’s legitimacy is regarded as part of the movement resources and mainly refers to the endorsements granted by external parties. The RMT has been criticized for ignoring the emotion and cultural aspects of social movements so here in this research the author has attempted to bring forward a multi-dimensional process of resource mobilization, by incorporating both the structural (the material and human resources) and cultural forces.

The approaches used to analyze the process of meaning-making is that of media logic – how the movement actors design and present their images and messages, by
intention and by instinct. This approach also signifies how the movement’s organizers calculate what the public expects from the movement and measure the extent to which the public could tolerate the radicalness of different forms of actions and the movement slogans. From the movement cases, several strategies were exhibited: presenting the movement icons’ images in/between the mainstream social norms, presenting movement activities and scenes to show some symbolic meanings, bridging and amplifying movements with historical and cultural goal and clearly framing the boundaries between movement actors and the power holders at the opposite side. In these cases, what has been put complying with the social norms includes the image of the “innocent and good students with trustworthy integrity” and the “care-giving mothers” (as shown in “do not touch my son”). But the image of a group of “parents and babies at the battle front” somewhat goes beyond the social expectations in that it may be thought that family-centered groups should not have entered the field of a “violent” movement. Eventually, the anti-M&N groups successfully won public support even though they placed the parents and kids at the battle front, simply because these two groups of people are exactly the potential victims of introduction of the M&N subject.

Borrowing elements from the existing cultural context and depending on the current political system have been concretely addressed by scholars in social movement framing studies and political opportunity process theory (Kitschelt, 1986; Swilder, 1995; Snow and Benford, 2000). In order to attract empathy and resonance from the wider public, anti-M&N and anti-monopoly activists bridged and amplified their specific movement issues with a higher goal – the national identity. The “China factor” became the common concern in the two movement cases, based on the historically-rooted ambivalent relationship and mixed feelings towards mainland
China. In reality, people from Hong Kong and Taiwan think of themselves as different from mainland China, at least in terms of political environment and social lifestyle. However, putting the “China factor” in the spotlight had been a taboo for quite a period of time.

In the Hong Kong context, in spite of the fact that Hong Kong people have been living their social lives quite differently from those in mainland China, Hong Kong is now under China’s sovereignty. On the one hand, Hong Kong government keeps promoting the Chinese national identity among Hong Kong citizens. On the other than, past experience has cultivated Hong Kong people’s mix feeling towards China. In the case of Taiwan, the unsolved sovereignty problem makes “China” an even a more sensitive issue, even though the Taiwanese people had been totally separated from mainland China for decades and Taiwan had already been regarded as a de-facto sovereign country in the global arena. In this sense, bringing forth the issue of “China” is also a strategy taking risk of crossing the line of the social expectation - raising the taboo of “China” issue. On the one hand, people in these two societies have well understood the ambivalent relationship between their local societies and their mainland China neighbor. On the other hand, the activists still took a risky step in voicing this slogan. From the two movement cases, the fear of China is derived from its erosion of the autonomous status and freedom of thought in Hong Kong, and its erosion of Taiwan’s freedom of speech and young democracy. These vivid worries demonstrate the quest for autonomy and identity anxiety among Hong Kong’s and Taiwan’s young generation. And the “China factor” makes a strategic bridge between the specific issues and the historical context, and provides the activists with the “wrapping paper” to package the movements with the pursuit of an identity which goes far beyond a single-issue concern.
To further embellish the movement messages, from the approach of movement framing, the author looked into detail as to how the activists addressed different movement stakeholders and drew the line between different groups. In both of the movements, the activists clearly identified who should be responsible for the issues, echoing Gamson (1992, 1995)’s ideation of “injustice frame”. After identifying the problem attribution, the activists then further justified their actions not only by addressing their intention to tackle the specific problems, but also by announcing their ambition to safeguard the public good in order to counter the injustice frame in a stronger way. In terms of their motivational frame, on the one hand, in order to be consistent with the diagnostic frame, the activists demanded the responsible entities should solve the problem in a timely way. On the other hand, the activists from Hong Kong and Taiwan proposed their own solutions, seriously addressing the movement actors’ concerns on the movement issues. This aspect gives a resonance to the discussion about “switching on the activists’ own programming”, which represents one of the characteristics of the network society. In terms of “boundary framing” - drawing the line between the movement side – the protagonist – and the power holder side – the antagonist – alongside the tactic of “telling good from evil” (Hunt et al, 1994) the activists from Hong Kong and Taiwan unsurprisingly adopted an inclusive strategy, which resembled the Occupy Wall Street slogan “we are the 99% ” to draw as many participants as possible. In the cases here, an inclusive frame was employed to describe the activists, such as “determined fighter”, “new generation”, and the “integrity” of the activists. According to Bennett & Segerberg (2013), the inclusiveness of the movement frames intends to draw a larger number of participants who could take part in the movement carrying their own specific concerns and their own means of resistance; in other words, a personalized politics (e.g. different social
groups could contribute to the movement in their own fields). This inclusive tactic is also utilized in the audience frame, by framing the public as a huge crowd of supporters (e.g. the countless number of photo frames showing a “say No” gesture), signifying the low threshold for showing support and thereby attracting more supportive forces. By this means, to a certain extent, the line between the antagonist and audience frames blurred. The blurring of the line between the antagonist and the audience further enlarges the base of personalized movement participation, as a way to reinforce the movement’s legitimacy.

11.3 A Multi-dimensional Resource Mobilization in the Network Society

The second and the third research questions deal with the theoretical concerns about how different blocs of RMT intertwine with each other to facilitate the mobilization process under the informational age and network society, as well as how the author tries to update the traditional RMT in order to revive the classic theory and to make it applicable across time and space.

11.3.1 Resources transfer from traditional human resource bloc to new-comer’s bloc

As stated in the previous section, the roles played by the SMOs, professionals and those armed with knowledge in different specialties are still needed in the process of movement mobilization. Especially during the early stages of a movement, the SMOs who have already established their social status and accumulated a certain amount of resources (e.g. the necessary protest facilities and the staff) can take an important role in terms of supporting those without many resources or much movement experience. In addition, from the movement cases in this research,
professionals and specialties in various areas took up different important positions throughout various stages of the movements. Through years’ of gradual formation of linkages among different individuals and organizations (hubs) in different social movements, and strategic networking of social groups representing different social areas, those resourceful SMOs/NGOs and professionals/specialties gather together to integrate useful movement resources and to enhance movement legitimacy. Moreover, this linking up of social movement networks leads to a process in which the non-resourceful movement activists, such as the secondary school students and the spontaneously formed student groups, become empowered. From linking up with different entities, the youngsters could obtain material resources, the necessary knowledge to tackle the movement issues, and the access to lobby the power holders.

11.3.2 Out-source the material, communication and action cost

Besides the assistance provided by the resourceful SMOs/NGOs and the professionals/specialties, the non-resourceful movement activists turn to “become resourceful” through their tech-savvy mass self-communication capabilities with penetration of ICTs in people’s everyday lives (the blocs with dash lines in figure 11.1). Facilitated by the ICTs, the activists are able to disseminate the movement’s messages in a short period of time. This is not to say that ICT-communication is the sole method of message transmission. Instead, integrated communication channels were utilized by the activists in both of the movement cases: spreading the news via their own personal networks, via the SMO (as movement hubs) networks, via their own eye-catching street actions, and of course via different online channels. These methods integrated to increase the exposure rate of the activists. The notion of being “keen to be seen” and seizing every attempt to increase their exposure rate are
important characteristics of the newly formed student groups and the spontaneously
gathered crowds who hardly possess sufficient resources at the beginning stages of
their organizational lifespan and are in great need of support from different directions.
It is through these integrated methods that the young activists in the two movement
cases got recognition from other SMOs, NGOs and the public, and more importantly, got material support from them.

With the activists’ everyday technological capabilities, it is not necessary for only the major movement organizations to take up the leading role to organize collective actions. Instead, different social actions can be actualized in a scattered form, which is termed “rhizomatic” by Castells (2012) – bearing in mind the movement theme and goals, people in different locations can take actions in different forms and on different scales. Bennett & Segerberg (2013) called this the personalized DIY politics with peer production. The young activists’ creativity and passion in movement participation are well illustrated in the two movement cases. The members from the main movement organizations designed a large variety of activities and campaigns, which were mainly through DIY methods and with minimum cost, to address the movement goals. The members from Scholarism drew their own banners, and the Youth Alliance students made their own online newspapers and conducted soap-box street talks. But also a huge amount of ordinary citizens got involved in the movements by their own efforts, using both online and offline methods. A wide array of actions were undertaken through mass participation, such as the “one person one letter” campaign designed by the Parents Concern Group in the anti-M&N movement, and the “July say No to Want Want” action initiated by the Youth Alliance. The photo rally appeared both in Hong Kong and Taiwan on an extremely impressive scale.
Individual or group photos were taken and sent to Scholarism and the Youth Alliance.
Also, different student groups or working units took on the role of hubs to collect the large amount of photos and aggregated them into a huge frame. Through the rhizomatic movement networks, the major movement organizations substantially lowered their need for resources because a huge number of ordinary citizens took part in the movement by their own means and with their own resources. If each individual participant represents a dot, a group represents a small hub and the major movement organizations make the larger hubs, then the resource mobilization format turns into a vivid networked form, in which the flows of resources run from different dots and hubs to enrich the whole movement. Moreover, what has been illustrated above, especially the activities facilitated by the ICTs, further reify what Castells (2000a) called “timeless time and space of flow”. The rhizomatic-form of movement publicity carried out by supporters in different places and the international photo rally vividly demonstrate the timeless and spaceless movement participation, regardless of the designated protest site or the time of parade. In Castells’ conceptualization, the “timeless time and space of flow” contains two levels: the temporal-spatial boundary and the elimination of cultural boundary (e.g. the world-wide similar floor plan of airports). If what has been discussed above refers to the former aspect, the following section will be related to the latter.

11.3.3 Enlarge and enrich the SMC

The technological form of life granted the activists different roles in the movements, even though they lacked material resources or professional knowledge. The “grown up digital” young generation have acquired the logic in the online world that messages should be disseminated in a form that people find it easy to understand and so that people can access first-hand information as soon as possible. In this sense,
the young activists played a role as the bridge and translator between the professionals/scholars and the general public.

In addition, by aggregating useful information obtained from various sources, the activists also took up the position of archivist. Layman-packages, DIY online newspapers, online interactive maps, and other forms of online peer production exemplify the significant role of message translators taken by the tech-savvy activists. By reading through the scholarly findings, the official documents, the large number of issue-related news, and other forms of material, the anti-M&N and anti-media monopoly activists were able to filter, integrate and even visualize useful information to help the general public grasp the movement issues faster. Moreover, knowing the netizens’ online interests well, such as posting photos with the minimum number of words, the activists tried to express their movement messages through a similar logic in order to get closer to the general public.

It is commonly understood that, social movements mean contentious political actions filled with chanting slogans, marches and even physical confrontation. But nowadays the movement organizations’ online platforms provide another channel for the general public to get a glimpse into the movement sites, by reading the personal stories written by the hunger strikers or knowing how the activists orderly managed the chaotic crowds. And these online platforms also provide the channel for the movement newcomers to get into the issues, and to participate at the lowest cost, such as by reading the issue related layman-packages by posting their own photos. Through all these means, the activists deliver their messages to the public pool as large as possible – enlarging the movement alliance. And in this process, they even gradually attract knowledgeable supporters from different fields to further enhance the knowledge pool of the movement. For example, in the anti-monopoly movement, a
netizen shared a list of methods to boycott Want Want’s Cti station. In Hong Kong’s anti-M&N case, many ordinary parents actively joined the movement by contributing their professional knowledge, such as computer science experts helped out the website building (Parents Concern Group, 2013a). Milan (2013), in her study on how technology geeks get involved in social movements, found that through the way that they participate in movements with their distinct specialties the geeks establish strong affiliation with the movement circle and more positive self-recognition. By recruiting more contributors, the SMC could become more diversified and robust, forming stronger force to counter the power holders.

In terms of image power, as stated by Castells (1997, 2000a), in this conceptualization of network society and networked social movements, our society has witnessed media politics and the viral effect generated by the wide spreading of images online, which bring considerable momentum to social movements in the straightforward form of visual impact. The visualized layman-packages actually contain lots of research findings and factual data from the industry, but exhibit in a simplified form. The crossing-hands in the anti-M&N movement and the banner-holding photos straightforwardly transmit a simple message of “say No”. Photo/image language somewhat could be transmitted beyond the cultural boundary, reflecting one of the characteristics of the online world – easy to be seen and understood. “Being seen” is important in the huge information pool on the internet. And members from Scholarism and Youth Alliance from the cases have well demonstrated this through their principle of designing Facebook post. This aspect of viral image politics actually echoes Castells’ “timeless time and space of flow” in a cultural perspective.

Compared to textual language, image represents a form of medium able to be comprehended by people from different backgrounds. By this means, the activists,
facilitated by the wide permeation of ICTs and advantages of image presentation, are able to bridge the movement world with the general public, and even reaching the international sight. Actually, in the recent years, the representative figure of Scholarism, Joshua Wong, got widely covered by international media. He even became a cover man of Times magazine (see http://time.com/3482556/hong-kong-protest-teenagers/).

To sum up, this study develops and enriches the RMT by integrating the traditional analytical blocs with a number of new ones, which are composed of a series of organic intertwining elements. Through the networking of various movement groups into a SMC, the material resources and human resource could be gathered, integrated and made great use of through cooperative work by different organizations and individuals on the same platform. In the age of informationalism and network society, the technological form of life empowers the new generation of activists, armed with the capabilities to strategically gather and manage resources in the rhizomatic network. Though sometimes they lack resources they can still “become resourceful”. Facilitated by the wide range of ICTs, non-resourceful constituents can become capable movement translators and archivists, bridging the movement with the general public by strategically disseminating the movement’s messages. In this process, not only ordinary citizens get to know about the movement, but also potential movement constituents got attracted and voluntarily contribute their specialties to enrich the movement community’s knowledge pool.

Moreover, equipped with the capabilities of mass self-communication and acting as message translators, the activists further take up the role of construct the movement’s legitimacy or co-constructing it with the mass media. As discussed, the way the movement activists present their images and how they frame the movement
become immaterial movement resources to mobilize the wider public.

Figure 11.1: A developed RMT
Chapter 12 Conclusion

12.1 Summary of the Study

This research examines social movement resource mobilization in two Chinese societies – Hong Kong and Taiwan. In the case selected from Hong Kong, a large number of organizations, including some newly formed groups, took various collective actions to demand the government withdraw the national education subject. This movement witnessed the high school student organization Scholarism playing the pioneer role and representing a fresh generation of activists. In the anti-media monopoly movement, professional organizations and college student organizations took to the streets to oppose the formation of a media monopoly and the potential influence of capital from mainland China. In this movement, the most vocal group to attract public attention was a student group called the Youth Alliance. After various contentious collective actions over several months, in the new year of 2013, they declared their determination to safeguard Taiwan’s democracy in front of the Presidential Office.

Using a qualitative research approach, the author has investigated the hidden details of these two movements, both of which witnessed a leading role being taken by the young generation, the wide use of ICTs in movement mobilization and the creation of movement networks composed of a large variety of social groups. Results show that various traditional forms of movement resources still comprise an indispensable part of the process of movement mobilization, including the necessary monetary support, material facilities, professionals who provide issue-related theoretical backup and the specialists who possess fruitful experience in dealing with all sorts of movement chores – all these form a cluster of resourceful constituents.
Endorsement from a number of well-recognized celebrities and from a certain type of influential mass media also forms an immaterial resource for the movement in terms of building legitimacy. But alongside the above aspects, this research tries to contribute a up-to-date RMT which is deeply situated in the informational age and network society for analyzing the blossom of network social movements in the recent years. Specifically, this multi-dimensional RMT delves into individual actors’ and groups’ active role in resource management. The integration between technologies and human beings’ everyday lives accompanies the process of the technological form of life, including the trend of strong capabilities in searching and integrating information from multiple sources, learning/knowing by doing, and the ability to perform mass self-communication. Armed with the above capabilities, which are obtained by the movement actors (especially the youngsters) in the network society morphology, those formerly non-resourceful constituents “become resourceful” through their no-cost online mobilization and low-cost creative offline mobilization, through the rhizomatic form of mobilization which crowd-sources the materials in need and out-sources the action cost. These types of rhizomatic crowd-sourcing of needed materials and out-sourcing of publicity tasks somewhat reveal one of the distinctive features of network society – the compression of time and space. The situation that the public participates in social movements by their own means has gone beyond the time and venue constrains of traditional street protest. And people’s individual politics and peer production for social movements in turn enrich the SMC. In this sense, a networked form of SMC is formed, composed of the organic intertwining of dots and hubs, in a dynamic and robust form.

The introduction of ICTs into human’s life and social movement arena has made the traditional RMT reveal in a more dynamic form. Not only the tech-savvy
movement organizers’ competence has added a new important human resource bloc to the traditional RMT, but also the rhizomatic blooming of massive and creative movement participation from the public leads to a robust relationship between the traditional movement circle with the supporters. Grassroots’ individual politics have blurred the boundary of movement arena and have revealed potential to enrich and enlarge the SMC.

To examine how the activists legitimized the movement in order to gain wider support, the author employed media logic as an overarching approach to see how the activists packaged different aspects of the movements. In the traditional RMT, with the abundant material and human resources ready for mobilization, a missing link was identified regarding empathy between the movement side and the general public. In this research, the author attempted to introduce the cultural lens, to facilitate a more comprehensive investigation into the process of mobilization. Alongside the media coverage on the movements, resulting from the newsworthiness, embedded in eye-catching figures and confrontational scenes, the activists, armed with the capabilities of mass self-communication, endeavored to reinforce the movement’s legitimacy. Various strategies were employed to capture the media and public attention, while in order to arouse empathy from the public, the activists delineated the movement goals by embedding the issues in the historical context – frame bridging and amplification, and by demarcating the boundary between good and evil – framing of identity fields.

12.2 Limitation of the Study

The limitations of this study are mainly related to the networked form of movement community. In both of the movements, a huge number of social groups participated on different scales. However, the author was not able to exhaust all the
groups or examine all the small actions related to the movements, especially friendship-based groups and actions. In terms of the selection of interviewees, due to the constraints of time and the scope of this research, the author has focused on the core organizers or semi-organizers, instead of conducting a survey with both organizers and public participants. Admittedly, resource flow is never a one-way process. Especially in nowadays networked social movements with supporters’ various forms of contribution, nodes and hubs intertwine to weave the movement network.

In order to cope with this problem, the author utilized a triangulation of research methods to probe into the dynamic movement field. Through in-depth interview, the author tried to probe into both aspects: how did the movement organizers collect and manage resources and what sorts of resources they have got from anonymous supporters. The author also employed archive study, including doing analysis with movement organizations’ publicity materials and daily external communication platform – Facebook. By this means, the author was able to grasp some hints of how the movement organizers interacted with other organizations and with the public, because from time to time the major movement organizations involved in this research shared action information about other small groups or art works designed by anonymous supporters.

For further research, besides considering incorporating a survey to compensate the drawbacks of interview-based research, a big data approach may also provide a possible way to build up a broader picture of a movement, by looking into every piece of movement-related information.
12.3 A Study in the Eye of Storm

To take a gleam into the cultural side of these two movements, one indispensable aspect which should be born in mind is the geo-politics which make Hong Kong and Taiwan fall into the eye of storm and start to build up a “fate of common destiny” in recent years.

This research examines social movements in two Chinese societies – Hong Kong and Taiwan – two regions geographically close to each other and having had long-established economic and cultural exchanges. Putting these two regions together is based on the rationale that both of them have experienced a rapid pace of economic development and have become developed regions in the Asian world. Within their affluent economic environments and relatively open political spheres, with freedom of speech, communication technologies in these two societies have undergone huge development. Moreover, in terms of the social context, which differs from other Asian countries, Hong Kong and Taiwan have had ambivalent relationships with the PRC. Even though the PRC claims sovereignty over these two regions, local people have established their distinctive lifestyles at a distance from their PRC neighbor and have shown low identity recognition with the PRC. Against the backdrop of “China’s rising power” on the international stage, Hong Kong and Taiwan have been in the eye of storms in recent years, in terms of their closer economic ties with the PRC, while having a more distant political relationship. In such a historical and social context, studying social movements in these two societies by linking Hong Kong and Taiwan as a joint research field embellishes the current research to keep pace with immediate social concerns.

Viewing that Hong Kong and Taiwan are situated in a largely common context in terms of economic, political and social life, this research employs a two-case study to
elicit a more robust and holistic picture of the resource mobilization process. Both cases reveal a dynamic networked pattern of RMT, leading to a more profound understanding in this process under the network society paradigm. Despite of this, Hong Kong and Taiwan are also suitable for conducting comparative study, in which the democratic system, issue of national status and the movement ecology in these two regions could have made differences in social movements. For example, in the two cases, the author spotted some nuanced differences in terms of to what extent the China factor was highlighted. When Hong Kong activists put CCP as the major cause of problem, Taiwan’s activists somewhat described the issue being associated with the “China” as a whole. This might relate to the controversial cross-strait “special state-to-state” relationship. Since geo-politics is out of the foci in the current study, the author did not go into details on this aspect. But for further Hong Kong-Taiwan study, a comparative approach employing the fluctuated national status/identity as the focal independent variable would be noteworthy.

Social movements represent a contentious form of politics against the establishment and the holders of power. Within the historical context of Hong Kong and Taiwan’s ambivalent relationship with their huge neighbor in terms of sovereignty and the contemporary social context that these two small regions are now facing their “love/hate” neighbor’s rising power, the activists in Hong Kong and Taiwan delineated the meaning of their collective action by including strong concerns over this factor. Despite the fact that the “China factor” was hardly the main theme in the cases selected for this research, as Hong Kong’s movement was an education issue and Taiwan’s movement centered on the media business, the activists highlighted the “China factor” as an important immaterial movement resource to mobilize the public rationally and emotionally. In this sense, this cultural aspect of movement meaning-
making, by integrating the national identity concerns with the immediate social problem, may have a practical significance in studying social movements within countries/regions encountering sovereignty crises or identity anxiety. Furthermore, as Hong Kong and Taiwan are witnessing increasing turbulence in the social movement arena, especially having experienced historic large-scale social movements in 2014 signaling society-wide opposition to China’s influence in the economic and political realms, further exploration of how the young generation of activists or movement participants interpret and understand the relationship between Hong Kong/Taiwan and the PRC, and how they will pave the path of the future cross-border/strait relationship, is greatly needed.
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### Table 1. Economic status of Hong Kong and Taiwan

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International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, October 2014

324
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<td>10/1/2013</td>
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Table 3. Different types of Facebook posts of the active movement groups in Hong Kong and Taiwan

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<td>Call for joining</td>
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<td>Little stories</td>
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<td>Layman-package</td>
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<tr>
<td>National/international support</td>
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<td>Quotes from mass media</td>
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<td>Policy analysis</td>
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<td>Photo album sharing</td>
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Table 4. Summary of the average number of “like” and “share” gained by each type of post by Hong Kong groups

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<th>No. of post</th>
<th>Average &quot;Like&quot; gained</th>
<th>Max of “like”</th>
<th>Average &quot;share&quot; gained</th>
<th>Max of “share”</th>
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<td>16440</td>
<td>320.65</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotes from mass media</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>193.63</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>47.13</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy analysis</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>15.67</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo album sharing</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>772.11</td>
<td>4306</td>
<td>36.74</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>225</td>
<td><strong>3173.383636</strong></td>
<td><strong>226.1936364</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Summary of the average number of “like” and “share” gained by each type of post by Taiwan groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwan groups</th>
<th>No. of post</th>
<th>Average &quot;Like&quot; gained</th>
<th>Max of like</th>
<th>Average &quot;share&quot; gained</th>
<th>Max of share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>531.54</td>
<td>6696</td>
<td>248.34</td>
<td>5051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for joining</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>376.9</td>
<td>4726</td>
<td>161.49</td>
<td>5012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Update action info</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>486.31</td>
<td>2837</td>
<td>97.71</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's power solidarity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1706.25</td>
<td>2914</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little stories</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>391.31</td>
<td>1187</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic work</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>444.33</td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>83.67</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layman-package</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>288.65</td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>62.91</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National/international support</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>901.7</td>
<td>4183</td>
<td>144.5</td>
<td>1180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotes from mass media</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>307.35</td>
<td>1298</td>
<td>38.53</td>
<td>239</td>
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<tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>338.24</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>103.24</td>
<td>417</td>
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<tr>
<td>Photo album sharing</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>774.21</td>
<td>1058</td>
<td>34.93</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>307</strong></td>
<td><strong>595.1627273</strong></td>
<td><strong>111.9381818</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 6: Different characteristics of movement active agency shown in different groups of movement actors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HK-professionals</th>
<th>HK-experienced activist</th>
<th>HK-parents</th>
<th>HK-youth</th>
<th>Taiwan-scholar cum activist</th>
<th>Taiwan-experienced activists or NGOs</th>
<th>Taiwan-scholar cum activist</th>
<th>HK-youth</th>
<th>HK-parents</th>
<th>HK-experienced activist</th>
<th>HK-youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access and comprehension of new information</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate response</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning by doing</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated external communication methods</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>switch on the activist own programming</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. News articles reported the two movement cases at the crucial phases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hong Kong Newspaper</th>
<th>Wen Wei Pao</th>
<th>Oriental Daily</th>
<th>Ming Pao</th>
<th>Apple Daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0725-0731 (rally)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0825-0912 (901 Carnival, Occupy Civic Square and class boycott)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1220-0103 (2013 New Year sit-in protest)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1120-1130 (Occupy Executive Yuan, Protest at FTC)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0725-0809 (911 protest)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1120-0103 (2013 New Year sit-in protest)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1120-1130 (Occupy Executive Yuan, Protest at FTC)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0725-0809 (911 protest)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwan Newspaper</th>
<th>China Times</th>
<th>United Daily News</th>
<th>The Liberty Times</th>
<th>Wen Wei Pao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0725-0801 (731 protest)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0825-0902 (901 grand rally)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1120-1130 (Occupy Executive Yuan, Protest at FTC)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0725-0809 (911 protest)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8. Different stances taken by different newspapers regarding the anti-M&N movement (number of units coded in each category)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wen Wei Po</th>
<th>Oriental Daily</th>
<th>Ming Pao</th>
<th>Apple Daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pro gov</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civil society support</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M&amp;N/gov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good intention of</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M&amp;N/gov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public is misled</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative image of</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pro movement</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civil society oppose</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M&amp;N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notorious M&amp;N</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M&amp;N as political task</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irresponsible gov</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal &quot;brain wash&quot; experience</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>positive image of</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>263</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mix/neutral image</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of activists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9. Different stances taken by different newspapers regarding the anti-media monopoly movement (number of units coded in each category)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>China Times</th>
<th>United Daily News</th>
<th>The Liberty Times</th>
<th>Taiwan Apple Daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>against Apple Daily</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>against DPP</strong></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pro-China</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pro-gov</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pro-media tycoon</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>negative image of activists</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>against gov</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>against media tycoon</strong></td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td><strong>facilitate movement action</strong></td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>positive image of activist</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>not explicit stance</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mix/neutral image of activists</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CURRICULUM VITAE

Academic qualifications of the thesis author, Ms. WANG Jieying:

- Received the degree of Bachelor of Management from Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, China, July 2008.

- Received the degree of Master of Arts from The Chinese University of Hong Kong, November 2009.

- Received the degree of Master of Philosophy from Hong Kong Baptist University, November 2011.

August 2015