Today's Hong Kong, Tomorrow's Taiwan: Social Movements and Social Media

By

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人民誓心歸來
We'll be back

Abstract

In this thesis, I explore the relationship between social media and social movements. The cases I have chosen to examine are the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan. These two movements were chosen because of their similarity of background, yet different outcome. By collecting data off of Facebook and Twitter, I perform a qualitative content analysis to discern the utility of posts and identify themes of discourse. This is largely and exploratory these, but by examining the movements I find that differences between movements, social media platforms, and discourses in different languages both within-movement and between movement differences exist, but by understanding the differences we can provide a better understanding of the formation of social media discourses across cultures and their relative effectiveness for movement success.

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Introduction

Social media provides a useful tool for organizing and sustaining social movements. From hashtag activism to live-streaming protest, the web hosts a variety of both online and offline protest repertoires. Social movements are the leaders of social and political change, and they are organizations representing individuals' interests when they have not been adequately represented. However, a movement does not form only because a large number of people share the same grievances, they also have to be mobilized to act contentiously behind a common goal. Organizing collective action is a problem that Olson (1965) famously poses in his book: the free-rider problem, meaning that people might not participate knowing that they could enjoy the benefits without incurring the costs of participation, e.g. time, money, and even the risks of being arrested. Since the early 1990s, the emergence of new social movements such as the Arab Spring and the Occupy Movement, has indicated that internet and social media have greatly enabled participation by reducing the costs of certain important aspects of movement organization, such as information sharing.

However, whether the internet has only had a positive effect on mobilization is still a debate for social science scholars. Social media provide a useful tool for information gathering, disseminating, and recruitment for social movements. Traditionally, movement have had to rely on mass media for advertising their contention and framing their movement. If a movement fails to be seen by the public eye, it will likely not succeed in mobilizing enough participants. Making it into media is an important step for movement success, but it also matters how they are framed.

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Mass media communications, especially if under control of the state, can frame those participating in a movement negatively as rioters or violent. Social media facilitate alternative media productions, allowing movements to use language that accurately depicts their objectives.

Social media sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Weibo, have become some of the most useful alternative media tools circumvent the influence of mass media. Since news media is unlikely to report on movements fairly, or report on their protests at all, social media can be used to recruit members. With the ease of disseminating information online, protests schedules can be shared to thousands of people in a day. Although there has been an increase in studies exploring the use of social media by social movements, not a lot of attention is paid to the differences in the social media repertoires of successful and unsuccessful movements as well as on differences in movements that employ multi-language posts.

To fill in this gap, in my thesis, I to explore the differences in social media practices in two movements that embody cases of successful vs. unsuccessful movements. I define success as the achievement of a movements stated goals or outcomes. The two movements that I explore are the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan. Therefore, the contribution of this paper is exploring this dynamic by analyzing the social media content of the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan.

The phrase "Today's Hong Kong, tomorrow's Taiwan" was said by student activists during the protest in the capital of Taipei (Fei-Fan 2014). This was a popular chant because of the fears that Taiwan will become another Hong Kong—too much under the influence of mainland China. It is just one of the pieces that link the two countries protests and demonstrates that they are ultimately worried about their fate in regard to China's control and loss of democracy. While democracy has remained and is flourishing in Taiwan, Hong Kong suffered

losses of basic civil rights since being assimilated with the mainland. Restrictions of democratic freedoms of the press in Hong Kong foreshadow a grim future of Taiwan if the prospects of unification are ever realized. It was these worries that motivated some of the protestors (Fei-Fan 2014). Given the similarities in their frames of protest and the proliferation of social media usage to frame the movement as a positive force for democratization, I will look at how the movements use of the internet as a tool for organizing and framing contentious action.

Both Taiwan and Hong Kong have a history of protest and a vibrant civil society, and both the movements have been compared to Tiananmen protests of 1989. These student-led movements had a primary goal of standing up against China, and an ideological goal of realizing democratic ideals. The events were viral online, with posts regarding either movement numbered in the millions in the first few days of the movement (Sile 2015). In this thesis, I will assess the social media tactics and themes used by the movements to identify whether, given the similarities in the two countries' political situation as well as in their relationship to China, the differences in social media usage could account for the some of differences in the outcomes of the two movements. Towards this aim I will conduct a thematic analysis and identity not only the different utilities of posts, but also the themes of the posts, i.e. how they frame themselves. This is mainly going to be exploratory research; therefore, it will not explicitly be guided by theory.

Nevertheless, there are some general questions that guide my inductive approach: What are the differences in social media tactics of both movements? Are there differences in the framing of the movements online? Are there differences in the utility of posts in English versus Chinese?

The framing and rhetoric of protest towards realizing a democratic ideal in both Hong Kong and Taiwan demonstrate the usage of social media as both a tool for constructing the

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movements own image separate from traditional forms of mass media, as well as a tool that facilitates the sharing of ideas and rhetoric between movements. The communication and mobilization for mass movements is necessary, but the way in which this develops in modern social movements with explicit reliance on social media is changing the framework.

The results of my analysis indicate, there are substantial differences between both movements social media usage, also language differences indicate different utilities, for example posts that mobilize were mainly in Chinese language. This indicates that movements tailor their social media use based on the platform and intended audience. The rethinking of social media's role in movements is needed to construct new theories about its influence, rather than just dismissing internet as a disconnected or ineffectual form of participation. Rather, it contributes to movements' framing and mobilization.

In chapter 1, I will introduce important concepts and the theoretical background for social movements and social media. In chapter 2, I will explain the methodological framework I am employing, detailing in particular the use of qualitative content analysis. In the third chapter, I introduce the relevant histories of protest in the respective countries, as well as an in-depth relevant overview of the cases. Chapter 4 will contain the data I have compiled from both Facebook and Twitter, followed by the analysis and discussion. I will conclude with the implications of this study and possible ways of further research.

Theoretical Background

In this section, I will briefly introduce the main theories of social movements, focusing in particular on the role played by alternative media and on how social media as tools for producing alternative content for movements. Finally, I will review current relevant contributions of social media studies and identify the gap in the field that this research intends to cover.

Social Movement Theories

Although there are many definitions of what constitutes a social movement, a consensual definition pertains to a political organization composed of many individuals, usually united behind an ideology, and acting as a collective agent to achieve a common goal. Sydney Tarrow defines the existence of social movements as when "ordinary people often try to exert power by contentious means against national states or opponents" (Tarrow 1996, 6). The formation of social movements relies both on the unification behind some ideological, or practical, goal, and the ability to mobilize masses behind said goal. Traditional social movement scholars emphasize the need for the contention to be *sustained*, a single day's protest does not merit the label of social movement. A movement is the process of change or attempt to change some social or political aspect of society that happens over time. Commonalities and differences exist throughout definitions and the reality of movements themselves.

The most important requirement of social movements in order to be successful is to mobilize the people. Theories of collective action stress the reasons why, or why not, an individual would join a movement given the costs. An example is Olson's (1965) theory, in which he describes the individual as a rational actor who will act collectively with others in order

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to achieve a common goal. In this understanding a movement is an organization that provides the public good. However, this individual also has incentives to free ride, because they can still receive the public good despite not contributing to its production (Olson 1965). This classic conundrum of collective action means that movements should provide punishment or incentives to assure that individuals work towards the collective goal. Participation is often difficult and costly because it takes someone's time and energy, also organizers of movements spend enormous amounts of resources recruiting and organizing a movement. The internet has been found to lower the cost of organization (Shirky 2008). Advancements in the internet have been a positive force in improving movements' ability to organize and publicize information.

Aside from mobilization, another important aspect of social movements is the construction of group identity. The ideas of framing and repertoires are germane to this. (Tarrow 2006, Tufekci 2017, Zald 1996). Equally important to the construction of group identity is to define the inner group identity as 'us' and oppose it to them, the perceived enemy. By creating the world out there, the movement can frame their own goals in relatable ways (Tarrow 2006). Donatella Della Porta (2005) asserts that modern social movements, especially global ones in nature, have greater heterogeneity within their base. She argues that the transnational nature of protests has shifted the need from a homogenous group to a more heterogeneous one. Despite the perceived differences among the participants in identity, they are still able to organize around a common goal.

The ways in which the movement constructs its identity is called framing. Framing is defined as: "a means of understanding how people construct meaning and make sense of the everyday world" (Cacciatore et al. 2016, 10). Traditionally, mass media was once the only tools

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social movements had to work with. The framing was not only done by the social movement itself, but also by the media. This dependency on mass media meant that framing was not completely under the control of the movement and not always positive. (Tarrow 2011). Rucht (1999), discusses the complex relationship that mass movements have with media. Although the movements depend on media to convey their message, oftentimes getting media attention and being portrayed properly is difficult. He assesses under what conditions social movements manipulate media usage to their advantage by looking at several movements in the U.S. and Europe. While current social movements still cannot control the way legacy media frames them, alternative sources of social media allow better control of movements' representation.

Frames are created and understood by the actors both within and outside of the movement. In order to appeal to the public, movements often rely on framing that "pulls together accepted and new frames to legitimate contention and mobilize accepted frames for new purposes" (Tarrow, 146). Framing takes on multiple layers in interaction with the movement and the society. Cultural construction and histories provide content that can be used to strategically frame a movement (Zald 1996, 262). From the literature discussed above, it is clear that there are many sides to consider when observing social movements. In combination with a goal, and the proper resources for mobilization, movements are created and sustained. In fact, both internal and external factors are likely to affect the success of a movement. How a movement creates the common goal or sense of groupness and organized collective action is often created by alternative media.

Alternative Media

Classically, social movements have relied on the help of mainstream media to spread their message. However, the media landscape is not under the movement's control, which can often lead to misreporting interests or events against the movement's own wishes. Mass media is a challenging landscape that has the ability to frame movements that shape to the public's perception. Given that often "the press and officials have criminalized their protest behaviors," mass media is an unreliable source for social movements (Bennett 18). Despite this, media is still incredibly important to movements in order to gain members. If not mass media, then how do movements relay their message to a wider audience in order to gain support for their cause? Alternative media is often the tool of social movements which attempt to combat, or at least clarify, mass media's misleading messages. Downing (1989) in his famous work claims that alternative media is the media of social movements.

Alternative media, as opposed to mass media, is challenging the dominant or hierarchical culture, and comes in many forms (Watson and Hill, 2003). Fusch (2010) defines alternative media as the critical media that opposes the capitalist forms, in which everyday citizens can be participant journalists (178). This participant form is relevant to the ways in which new social movements utilize alternative media to conceptualize their movements and to gain followers in the age of the internet. A main, but certainly not the only, platform for alternative media is the internet. It allows for the "ideas and plans of protest can be exchanged with relative speed, ease, and global scope—all without having to rely on mass media channels for information or recognition" (Bennett 20). Mass media can underrepresent a certain groups or ideas, especially if they are manipulated by governments. Alternative media is then serving to represent these excluded groups, and in their chosen style. It has helped social movements "bypass mainstream

media gatekeepers or repressive governments and communicate directly with their constituencies or greater public" (Stein 2009, 750). In the simplest sense, the internet has allowed for the reduced cost of communication, an essential tool for the creation of alternative media.

Social Media as a Tool

While there is some debate whether mainstream social media networking sites such as Facebook or Twitter count as alternative media given their corporate ownership that is generally hostile to alternative ideas (Gehl 2015, 2), they could still be considered as serving the purpose of allowing citizens to be journalists. The ease of mobile phones usage in the social media era means "that protesters have shifted tactics from holding signs to holding cameras" (Gehl 2015, 4). Social media can be thus seen as an alternative to traditional/mainstream mass media, which movements can use to further their goals by spreading information and recruiting people or funding. It also fills the role of documenting events live, with the proliferation of live-streaming in the form of video as well as live-blogging. Social media, although by itself is not enough to be a transformative political actor, complements activism in real life and can increase international attention given to an event.

Given the multiplicity of uses of social media, their importance in new social movements is undeniable. Social media can "facilitate political participation and mobilize grassroots groups or individuals against common goal" (Fenton and Barassi 2011, 181). Social media's role can be empowering, even if the direct casual effects are difficult to measure. Social media, much like mass media, is the "means not simply to convey abstract opinions, but also to give a shape to the way in which people come together and act together, or… to choreograph collective action" (Gerbaudo 2012, 4). Relevant social media websites include Twitter and Facebook.

Twitter as a micro-blogging service allows dynamic use for social movements, especially since it can be updated in real time. Tweets can directly communicate relevant information with users and followers as part of an open stream of communication, or relay information to a larger audience with the use of a hashtag. Tweets are limited to a 140-character count, so messages are also concise and digestible. The attractiveness of Twitter comes from its large user base; both domestic and international users can be informed in real-time about events during a protest. The platform creates a "network of interconnected actors rather than constraining conversation within bounded spaces or groups" (boyd, Golder, and Lotan 2010, 1). Reaching beyond the immediate participants of a movement or followers on Twitter is important to recruiting more members and obtaining international exposure. Despite being free to use and landing outside of the controlled media press realm, Twitter is by no means completely devoid of corporate interests which can at times hinder the visibility of certain tweets or accounts.

Facebook as a social media platform is focused on connecting friends and finding groups and events. Facebook, unlike Twitter, is not limited in the word count on posts, and one can easily upload multiple photos and videos as well. As a popular, globally used platform, especially in Hong Kong and Taiwan, Facebook has a lot of attractive features for social movements, especially with the presence of groups and pages that people can be a part of or 'like'. Liking a page on Facebook allows the followers to be updated on their posts, and sharing the posts allows for further dissemination of alternative media (Chan, 2017). For social movements, the pages created can be maintained by multiple people and can act as versatile spaces for posting photos, videos, or comments. However, Facebook can also create events, which has the potential to boost protest visibility and potentially promote mobilization.

Social media is undeniably a useful tool for many reasons for the creation of alternative media. With Twitter containing live update from the protest on the ground, to Facebook events created by movements, social media provides an alternative media source for movements to frame their identity and encourage mobilization.

Social Media and Modern Social Movements

Since the turn of the century, mass media has faced growing competition with social media. The internet is increasingly apart of people's daily lives, from casual networking on social media, all the way to including their civic engagement. Scholarly work on social media has covered many aspects of social movement organization since the Arab Spring (Rød and Weidmann 2015; Gerbaudo 2012; Lim 2012; Selander and Jarvenpaa 2016; Theocharis et al. 2015; Tufekci 2017). With the ease of social media sharing, social media is therefore immensely important to the formation of contemporary social movements, many of which rely on it for mobilization and organization. Older movements were a lot slower to begin with, and many of them spread by word of mouth, they "had to build their organizing capacity first…. Modern networked movements can scale up quickly and take care of all sorts of logistical tasks without building any substantial organizational capacity before the first protest or march" (Tufekci 2017, 70).

In this way, the spread of the internet can be seen to have a positive effect on the formation of social movements. Those who advocate for social media as a useful tool for organizing collective action and social movements in general have pointed to its role in spreading awareness and growing movement supporters. Merlyna Lim (2012) explores the relation between social media and the Arab Spring in Tahrir Square, Egypt. She argues that

social media was an integral part in organizing the protests, especially for the formation and the expansion of the personal networks of those involved. "But availability alone cannot fully account for participation. Mobilization depends on contact as well and this is where social media played their greatest role in the Egyptian uprising" (Lim 2012, 235). Social media acts as a tool for mobilization, as well as a space for movements to grow and organize. One prominent study of the use of internet as alternative media successfully was the Zapatistas in Mexico; the "first information guerrilla movement" was able to successfully utilize communication technology to strengthen their movement (Atton 2002, 133). The increased use of internet as a tool for social movements has increased in potential, and it operated as a tool for utilization by movements which is both accessible, and valuable.

The proliferation of the internet has led to emerging online repertoires in the evolving landscape of social movements. The actions or means that are available to movements are growing past the traditional legitimate acts of striking or protesting. "Through the use of digital action repertoires, such as hacktivism, thunderclaps (i.e., crowd-speaking), and virtual sit-ins, supporters can engage with movements for political and social causes that are not directly controlled by SMOs [social movement organizaitons]" (Selander and Jarvenpaa 2016, 332). Not only has social media changed the organizational costs, but also the protests repertoires practiced by movements.

While there are positive organizational effects of the internet, whether social media actually lead to an increase in participants that correlates awareness is debated. This worry is echoed by Theocharis et al. whose study reflects the usage of social media in various movements. The internet has contributing to diversified repertoires, and "it has facilitated the development of 'weak ties', which allow activists to extend and better manage their social

networks and affiliate with distant groups" (Theocharis et al. 2012, 204). With the ease of communication on the internet, communication costs have greatly diminished. However, in studying whether the social media platform twitter was primarily used for mobilization, information, or discussion, they find that the tweets actually do not often contain a message that calls for mobilization. What is problematic in the nature of content analysis of tweets is that the direct effect of the tweet cannot be measured or assumed based on the content.

The skeptical view of social media as a positive tool is increasingly present. Ferrari (2017), notes the increased role of social media in political engagement has become a field for political activism. However, it is unclear if the tweets have a mobilizing role or not. Rucht (2004) also explores the evolving social media strategies, claiming that despite the advantage of availability of information online, it will not take place of gatherings in real life, nor diminish the importance of traditional mass media outlets. Skeptics of the internet and mobilization frequently point to 'slacktivism' problem, in which online participation is seen as sub-par and less effective to participation in real life. Effective activism cannot be deduced to represent a single model or method, but it encompasses a combination of repertoires dependent on the context of the situation.

Along the lines of this thesis, Paolo Gerbaudo (2012) attempts to understand the significance of social media in multiple movements. In the book, his finding trace not on the concrete usage of the internet and social media use, but also the tactical practices of the movement leaders. He finds that rather social media has complimented, and created new forms of, face-to-face meeting of individuals. The values of the social movement organizers may contribute directly to the use of online activism as a tool, or conflict with their notions of real activism. The legitimacy of online activism may be questioned by movements or be used by

them extensively. These authors have contradictory claims about the causal relationship between social media messages and mobilization. The role of online activism therefore is multifaceted, yet still misunderstood, thus this thesis will explore this aspect of the utility and the content of posts across multiple platforms—creating an understanding about how social media is utilized in both the practical sense, and how movements talk about issues online.

Context of Movements

A further discussion of the movements is necessary to frame them and their value to social movement literature. The year 2014 proved to be an especially contentious one for East Asia—both the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan attempted to resist Chinese influence in some form. The driving factions behind both protests were clear; for Hong Kong it was free and fair elections, and in Taiwan it was review of the trade agreement. It is important to note that these movements were not revolutions per se, they did not attempt to overthrow the current government, but with articulated goals and organized contention, attempted to coerce the current apparatus. Both were largely student-led, but by no means exclusively, with the primary goal of standing up against China, and an ideological goal of realizing democratic ideals. There have been studies written about the online content produced by either movement, but previous studies have not yet addressed the utility and the content of their social media posts in a comparative manner.

Sunflower Student Movement: Taiwan

The Sunflower Student Movement, also known as the 318 or the Occupy Legislative Yuan, in Taiwan is a series of protests that occurred from March 18th to April 10th. The Cross-Straight Service Trade Agreement was a direct trigger of the occupational movement (Rowen 2015). On Monday March 17th, the Kuomingtan (KMT) party had attempted to pass the major trade agreement between China and Taiwan. The KMT party, which has been the ruling party since the island-nation's transition to democracy in 1987, was a known supporter of relations with mainland China (Ho 2018). The main complaint by those opposed to the agreement was

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first the nature in which it was passed, behind closed doors without prior notification or consent of the citizens, and the worries about the potential increase of Chinese influence in Taiwan. This resulted in the eventual occupation of the Legislative Yuan (LY) the next day by planned by the umbrella group Defend Taiwan Democracy Platform (Rowen 2015). Despite mass media focus on the negative aspects of the movement such as property damage, the public favor was generally aligned with the movements, in order to review the recently passed trade agreement (Ho 2018). The symbol of the movement—the sunflower—came about as a gift from a local florist who donated them. The symbol then spread over various media platforms soon afterwards.

The occupation of the LY was ground zero for the movement. It included many organized teams in charge of delegating tasks such as surveillance, distributing supplies to occupiers, and updating social media. The media team was staffed largely by National Taiwan University students, who updated various pages on Facebook, Twitter, and other sites, as well as translating them into English (Rowen 2015, 12). Also present was mass media new crew, who reported on press conferences or other announcements. However, reporting about the protests were not numerous outside of Taiwan. Instead of relying of foreign press, the protestors turned to creating their alternative media- through the use of the internet. The official Facebook page had received over 50,000 likes in just a day, and with the help of a team of translators, produced content in over 6 languages (ibid, 15). The main live-stream of the movement was supported by the platform g0v.tw, in which "video cameras supported live feeds on the g0v.today website, a sophisticated, collaborative online multimedia workspace, which also included multilingual announcement and meeting transcripts and discussion forums" (ibid, 16). The Sunflower Student Movement therefore extensively relied on multiple online platforms to support their movement, as well as live-stream video feeds to document the daily occurrences and keep the participants

visible to the public eye. The movement depended on the content that they produced themselves online, because they felt often under-represented by international media.

The outcomes of the movement were generally positive, and the CSSTA agreement was never finalized and the KMT party eventually lost power in the government. The fast mobilization and effective occupation were helped out by the heavy use of social media (Cheng 2014, Chao 2014). The 24-hour lives updates and steaming by both organizers and participants of the movement contributed to its rapid growth in the occupation during the initial few days. The online mobilization even helped crowd-fund an ad in the New York Times, which was fully funded in just 12 hours (Cheng 2014). Chao (2014) also remarks at the incredible and constant use of social media by the protestors, which they used extensively because foreign media coverage was scarce. The highly technologically advancement of the movement contributed to its remarkable success due to organization of protestor action and coordination of supply donation and delivery.

Umbrella Movement: Hong Kong

The pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong largely mirrored the ones in Taiwan just months earlier. The initial planning of the Occupy Movement in Hong Kong happened years in advance.[1] The protest's early planning phase begun in 2013 by the group Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP). The Umbrella movement got its name from international media, prior it was known as occupy central (Chi and Chan 2017). The protests were in response to legislations proposed by the central Chinese government that would encroach on the freedom guaranteed by

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[1] Official Website: https://oclphkenglish.wordpress.com/about-2/story/

the Hong Kong Basic Law. Many worries about the Chinese Communist Party gradually chipping away at the freedoms in Hong Kong have been central to the protest. Despite the planning of the movement, the actual protest and physical occupation began earlier than planned. Another student group, the Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS), begun protests against the Chinese government prior to planning on September 22nd, 2014 (Chi and Chan, 2017). The beginnings of sustained contention and potential conflict lead to the official beginning of the Occupy movement being announced two days prior than planned. The proposed demands of the movement are the free and fair election of the leader of HK, and to realize democratic ideals which were promised in the Basic Law.

The social media usage was wide and varied during the movement. Given that the movement was composed of many people and various organizations, social media networks were as vast as the movement itself. The occupation of three sites around Hong Kong—Mong Kok, Admiralty, and Causeway Bay—constitute the main places of physical occupation around the city. The protests themselves lasted a grand total of about 72 days, before students agreed to clear the sites. In just the first few days of the movement, there were 1.3 million tweets (Lee 2014). Both Facebook and Twitter, and Chinese alternative websites such as Weibo, contained thousands of posts about the movements in the first few days. Online presence was necessary to coordinate the on-ground contention between the protestors and the various places.

Unfortunately, the movement was unable to achieve its demands. Despite the success in sustaining mobilization, the Chinese government was unwilling to give into their demands. The Umbrella Movement itself attempted to 'borrow' from the successful Taiwan movement by adopting the principles of "ample time for development, strong public support, and good

timing."[2] Despite the proliferation of social media posts on Facebook and Twitter, various live-streaming blogs and sites, and the attention of foreign media, the movement eventually came to an end without meetings it's stated goals. Despite this, it still stands as a successful example of mobilization of citizens and the advanced usage of social media to produce alternative content and organize participants.

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[2] http://oclp.hk/index.php?route=occupy/eng_detail&eng_id=5

Methodology

This research is mostly exploratory, and by performing a content analysis of the social media content on the platform Twitter and Facebook by either movement I aim at gaining insight into the differences of usage based on the content of the posts.

Using inductive reasoning, I will perform content analysis based on the data collected. I will further discuss the methodology behind the content analysis in the next section. It is important to note that online was not the primary platform of protest for either movement, the real contention took place on the streets in the form of physical occupation, nevertheless is an essential tool for either movement.

I use the comparative case study method to compare the two protests—the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan—and analyze the differences in social media tactics and discourse. Specifically, I will look at posts on the social media platform Twitter and Facebook from prominent pages/users of both movements. Twitter and Facebook are useful for several reasons. Tweets are generally considered public data, so I am able to collect and analyze them without granted specific permission. The accessibility of information for collection makes collection and analysis relatively easy, and the posts represent member.

Given the similarities of the protests, it warrants a paired comparison. A paired comparison is advantageous because it allows a systematic comparison between two cases either in a most-similar or most-different system, in order to discern an influential variable. Given the similarities of the movements themselves, I will be using the former. Comparing their media usage is advantageous because it allows for more leverage than theory building with a single

case (Gisselquist 2014). In the universe of cases of modern social movements that rely on social media, the Umbrella Movement and the Sunflower movement were chosen because of their relative similarity and comparability. To my knowledge, there have been no other studies that qualitatively compare the social media content of both cases.

These two cases were chosen from the universe of cases because they have not only an extensive social media presence and have many similarities in the contexts and the movements themselves. They merit an interesting comparison given the successfulness of the Taiwan case, and the unsuccessfulness of the Hong Kong case. The Sunflower Student Movement will be taken as a positive case, where the movement was able to successfully mobilize to achieve its stated goals. Conversely, the Umbrella Movement will be taken as the negative case. Despite its relatively successful mobilization and sustained contention for several months, the movement did not manage to coerce the HK government and China to accept its demands. The movements themselves show remarkable similarities in repertoire both online and off, as well as borrowing from each other. Authors and participants alike drew parallels between the movements themselves, and the plights of both Hong Kong and Taiwan in regard to Chinese control are often noted as interrelated (Rowan 2014, Sui 2014).

I will be looking at the content produced by the movements themselves, and by actors of the movement. This is particularly important to the representation of the movements because of the media situation in either country. Both Hong Kong and Taiwan's press freedoms are somewhat restricted. Freedom House ranked Hong Kong's press freedom as a 37 on a 100-point scale (100 being least-free). Despite freedom of expression being protected in Hong Kong under the Basic Law, China is able to restrict press and media freedoms according to their own interpretations. Taiwan ranks better in press freedom circa 2014, with a score of 26. In general,

media freedoms are respected. This however, did not stop the press from framing the Sunflower Movement in a negative image, in order to support the current government of the time. Relying on social media then, becomes a must for movements attempting to escape the potential harsh framing from mass media channels.

Method of Collection

Due to the limitations of this paper, a sample was chosen based on a constricted time frame. The first week of each movement was chosen as the time frame for analysis because it reflects the social media use at the inception of the protests, when recruitment and information is essential to gain momentum. The decision to settle on a weeks' worth of posts is both because of the limitations of this paper, as well as to give enough data to make the analysis well-rounded. The Tweets were compiled individually by me by selecting the time frame and extracting the tweets directly off of the user's profile, as well as using a software to cross-reference unique tweets versus retweets.[3] The data was then compiled and sorted for original tweet, containing hyperlink, and containing a photograph. The time frame I gather information from Facebook corresponds to the Tweets. The posts were also gathered with information regarding the likes, shares, comments, and any linked content on the posts. After the initial gathering of data, I analyzed each post's content according to the categories delineated in my methodology section.

I have included the amount of 'attention' the posts get in the form of likes, shares, and comments, in order to get a sense of the popularity of the users and the post itself. The popularity of each posts, as well as the general followers of the page, have implications for the popularity of

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[3] Tweet complier: http://www.twimemachine.com/

the page, and the ability for the movement to relay information to a large group of people. Even if the account has a large number of followers, if the post has limited number of likes/retweets/shares, then the information conveys is not particularly attractive to the audience. The less likes/comments also mean the followers are not interacting with the movement. However, interaction via simple interaction such as liking, and more complex such as commenting, are both important for the movement to interact with its followers and to possibly mobilize new ones. Further implications of the attention a post receives will be discussed in the analysis section of the paper.

Qualitative Content Analysis

The methods of online analysis for social movements usually involves discourse or content analysis. Political discourses of movements can represent the values or perspectives that they hold. The internet is a useful tool both for the movement to disseminate information, but also a tool for social scientists conducting observation. "Slogans and agendas of social movements, often short and compelling, are easily chanted and spread with the support of social media features such as hashtags, location tags, and user profile features" (Kou et at. 2017, 808). Content analysis of either the media produced by a movement, media produced by mass media or the government, or other online responses from citizens not partaking in the movement can help situate the multiple competing frames and assess the overall context it operates in.

The method of content analysis I will be using is an amended version of the categories employed by Laura Stein (2009). Her initial research was based on articulating how movements use alternative media to "debate, formulate, articulate, disseminate and sustain an oppositional culture and politics" (Stein 2009, 751). The categories she provides for the analysis of alternative

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media content by social movement is as follows: provides information, assists action and mobilization, promotes interaction and dialog, makes lateral linkages, serves as an outlet for creative expression, and promotes fundraising and resource generation. While these categories and their delineated function are useful for analyzing communications, for the purposes of this research my categories will be produced both loosely based on these categories, as well as inductive and thematic categorization. An amended version will more accurately capture what is there, instead of being guided about what is expected to be found. Given the largely exploratory aims of this paper, I believe this is a more appropriate approach for analysis.

Categories

Below I have listed the categories for the analysis of the data I have collected. The first coding scheme relates to the utility of the tweet, or function of the tweet. These categories are loosely based on Laura Stein's (2009) social movement and media theory. The six categories are as follows: information, mobilization, protest updates, lateral linkages, creative expression, and resource generation. For the first coding scheme, I assign a number to identity the primary function of the tweet. However, within the original coding scheme I also identity themes related to the discourse of the posts or tweets. These are categories I have created inductively by analyzing the data and identifying the main content and the ways in which they frame themselves or the issues within each post. These are themes which I have identified by the ideas and the choice of words behind them, essentially reducing the content of the posts to *how* the movement talks about *what*. The discursive patterns are as follows: framing the government in a negative way, outside solidarity or support for movement, and framing movement in a positive way.

These categories will be further explained in the analysis section. I will explain these broad utility categories in further detail below.

In like with Stein's approach, the first category consists of providing information. This information is not only limited to information regarding events happening on the grounds of the protests that may not reach mass media or may be misinterpreted, but also information regarding views on issues. Social media is an ideal place for distributing information otherwise not known to the news, especially given the ability to provide live-updates of protest situations. The ideals of the movements posted on media also help with identity construction. The main types of posts that fall into this category are alternative media, critiques to mainstream media, and other self-released articles and press releases.

The next category is assisting action and mobilization. This is conceptually the most clear-cut category, in which posts that put information regarding protest events, time and location are necessary for mobilization. This can also be participating in methods of online civil disobedience. The content of mobilizing posts should however, let potential participants know *how* to participate. However, it is also possible that any tweet would 'mobilize' and individual to want to participate. Distributing concrete information about protest is a categorically distinct type, but it does not only include the calendar or plans of action, it also includes online contention such as petitions or email campaigns.

The next category that I have included in my analysis is on-the-ground updates of protest activity. This can consist of updates about protestor locations and size. However, it also includes live documentation of action that happens during protest, such as conflict or confrontation with police. The documentation of such incidents is important to protestors because mainstream media might misreport, or not report these types of incidents at all. Finally, this category also

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includes descriptions of protestors or other supporters of the movement. All these provide information of the movement and protest real-time and are important for framing the movement as opposed to mainstream media. First-person accounts and support services for protestors are the main qualifiers of this category.

Making lateral linkages is the next category considered. It entails links to other websites, that allows the followers to see other sources of information that are supported by the movement. The links may include links to other websites, news articles, or even other users. The linked news media may be to alternative media that is produced by the movement themselves, such as a press release, or mainstream media. Mainstream articles can be posted in a positive way, as in the movement agree with the coverage, or a negative way, and the movement offers some critique towards the news. Some links were to content on websites also managed by the movement, given that they utilized more than one platform. Since Twitter platforms are user-based, I also consider "links" or suggestions to follow other users in the lateral linkages category. These users are can be affiliated with the official movements but are also producing content informing others about the protests, usually accompanied by a hashtag for wider coverage.

Creative expression for the creation of a movement identity is also incredibly important for its cohesiveness. The internet, much like in real life, can serve as an outlet for creative expression. The expression can be of many kinds such satire, irony, slander, or humor. The posts that I consider of this nature usually also contain a photographed link of some sort. Posts with content attached reflecting the creative expression of protestors on the ground are also considered as part of this category. The artistic expression that has been posted (or re-tweeted) by the user facilitates in creating the image or symbols the movement wants to be represented by.

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The last category is the fundraising and resource generation category. This is not limited to the request for monetary funds. Although a main aspect of resource generation is money related in general, the requests can range to many other practical products. For example, requesting food or water to be brought to protestors would also be considered to be resource generation. If the protestors currently occupying are unable to collect resources themselves due to the nature of the movement, resource generation from those outside, yet sympathetic to the movement or the protestors is essential. This is especially the case for occupation, where the protestors were unable to leave the facility and relied on the assistance of such resource generation.

Aside from the above mentioned six categories, I will also consider the content of the post for analysis. This includes reading, and then coding thematically, the discourse of a post. I have complied and aggregated themes of the posts depending on the content of such post. The posts were read and re-read to refine the categories and what types of discourse falls within them. A single post might contain multiple categories, and that is also considered when doing the analysis. I will discuss several examples under each theme. The first theme is framing the government in a negative way. This concerns questioning the legitimacy of the ruling party or government, and its actions or response to protestors. Within this category, including the incidents that frame police negatively by reporting on behavior that either obstructs the movement, or actively is violent towards protestors. concerns for the issues at hand. This category also includes concerns about the economy, democracy, and the future wellbeing of the nation.

The next category which frames the movement in a positive way. This can be seen when the protestors are described with adjectives such as democratic, polite, non-violent, and victims.

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Movement identity and symbolism, represented by slogans or pictures, is the main identifier for this category. Also in this category are songs that protestors sing or songs that the movement endorses. The positive manner in which the movement describes itself and in which other people describe the movement are consolidated integral parts of this category.

The last thematic category is posts drawing on the solidarity of the movement. Posts which are in the outside support for the movement especially talk about the growth in support both domestically and internationally, prominent figures that support the movement, solidarity internationally, and link to other movements/protests. Displaying the support for a movement can have a positive effect by triggering more support, because people will feel that they are not alone in their grievances.

The analysis is not only meant to assign a specific value to a post, because it is not a quantitative analysis. In performing a qualitative analysis, I aim to deeply understand and extract ideas from the posts themselves. By doing this, I can look at the differences of and frequency topics. The content analysis is meant to identify the social media use and discourse from both movements across multiple platforms in attempts to construct a picture of tactics online.

Limitations

The potential limitations of this type of study is that Twitter and Facebook only partly the use of social media by the movements. Due to the constraints of this paper, a wholistic analysis of all social media networks employed by the movements is impossible. It also only focuses on a limited time-frame and therefore cannot account for shifting changes in the use of social media over the time span of whole the movement. However, given the ubiquity of Twitter and Facebook as major online platforms for movements, this study will still be able to provide

insights to their social media tactics. The coding scheme for utility is also not ideal for the

Facebook platform, where long posts may perform many functions.

Data

In this section, I will present the data I have collected from both Facebook and Twitter. I have collected the data myself, by visiting each page and compiling the relevant posts and tweets. The posts that I have gathered are all original content, as in posted by the users themselves. I complied the data in a spreadsheet which included the text from post itself, the date posted, number of likes, comments, retweets, and any linked content. Linked content to news articles, videos, and photos also was considered for the analysis of posts. Linked content, despite not being an original post, contributes directly to the utility of the post, and thus will be included. In the next section, I will focus on the description of the data, and conclude with the analysis and findings.

Twitter

The table below represents a summary of the data I have collected from the five separate accounts on Twitter. The chosen accounts may not represent all participants of the movement, however by selecting multiple prominent accounts of either movement, a general picture can be derived. The first three accounts are representative of the Sunflower Student Movement, while the other two represent the Umbrella Movement. [4] These were chosen both based on the 'officialness' of the accounts based on the description and having the largest number of representative posts. Below is a table with a brief summary of the Twitter handles of which tweets were compiled and analyzed.

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[4] Whether the accounts can be considered to compose the official representatives of the movements is somewhat debatable, given the movements' democratic and leaderless approach. However, the description of the user and the tweets posted determine the relevancy of the page.

User	Description	Total Tweets	Followers	url
@AntiTradePactTW	Taiwan Protest Live [PLEASE SUPPORT TAIWAN] More information please visit Sunflower Movement Official website: 4am.tw	458	290	https://twitter.com/ AntiTradePactTW
@SunflowerMvmt	Sunflower Movement The Sunflower Movement (aka Occupy Parliament) is an ongoing student and civil protest in Taiwan, currently centered at the Legislative Yuan.	58	693	https://twitter.com/ SunflowerMvmt
@OccupyLY1	OccupyLY We are the people of Taiwan, and we are occupying the Legislative Yuan. Info/Photo reference/source: NtuNewsEForum	181	149	https://twitter.com/ OccupyLY1
@OCLPHK	Occupy Central 和平佔中 OCLP is a nonviolent direct action movement that demands a fully democratic government in Hong Kong. Media enquiries: media.oclp at gmail dot com 希望在於人民，改變始於抗爭。	15.1K	23.9k	https://twitter.com/ OCLPHK
@HKFS1958	學聯 HKFS Hong Kong Federation of Students 學聯由香港七個大專學生會組成，推動學生運動和增加學生對社會的投入。 (*translation*) HKFS is composed of seven HK Student Unions, in order to promote student sports and increase student investment in society.	894	12.5k	https://twitter.com/ HKFS1958

Table 1: Twitter Accounts

Summary of Tweets

In total, I collected 865 tweets. All tweets were in English, but the links were occasionally to Chinese websites or articles. Images also occasionally contained Chinese texts. These were also translated, analyzed, and incorporated into the decision for the content of the tweet.

The tweets from the Sunflower Student Movement total to 187. These tweets were taken from March 24th to March 30th. The reason why this time frame was chosen it that the earliest tweets from the respective accounts were only available starting on the 24th. This means that the accounts were created and active *after* the initial start of the movement on the 18th. This does not mean that the movement was not live on Twitter prior. The hashtag #Sunflowermovement was used by a variety of accounts reporting news, artwork supporting the movement, and photos of active protest. The activity on these posts are relatively limited, even the most popular post contained only 15 re-tweets. The average post had about 5 retweets. Despite the relatively limited activity of the twitter users analyzed in this thesis, still a lot can be learned through their use of the platform.

Tweets from the Umbrella Movement accounts total to 683. These tweets were taken from September 22nd to September 30th. This time frame was chosen because it captures the start of the student protests launched by Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) as well as the official announcement of the Occupy Central movement as well. Most of the tweets are in English, but again some of the linked content and photos are in Chinese. Both accounts posted many tweets per-day, giving a lot of content and variety. The largest number of retweets numbered to about 120, however on average the tweets got 20-40 retweets. Both user accounts

affiliated with the Umbrella Revolution with active on twitter both producing individual tweets as well as retweeting.

In general, the tweets tend to follow a pattern. The first couple of days protest were packed with links to articles as well as live updates. The general reflection of the tweets shows a pattern of posting links to various articles with a focus on information spreading and identity building, to focusing on providing on the ground news from various protests sights and live accounts, as well as sharing opinions of responses from outside and within the movement. The trend of switching from information providing to live-tweeting mirrors the movement's spike and lull in protest activity.

Tweets by Category and Theme

In the first category, information spreading and identity building, the use of tweets to relay information is expectedly the most prolific. The average, 50% of posts from the Sunflower Movement's three accounts fell into this category, and 36% of the Umbrella Movement accounts posts. Information mostly consists of statement of the movements goals, small snippets of reports of mundane protestor activities, and other identity construction. An example taken from the @OccupyLY1 timeline is:

> "1. We demand President Ma to end the violent crackdown, stop provoking the people, and take full responsibility for the use of violence."
>
> (@OccupyLY, 13/24/14)

This is a direct articulation of the demands of the movement. This is only one such a tweet, as many tweets by the @OccupyLY1 handle also contributed to information. The vocalizing of

demands on the platform was not only done by this account, but other accounts affiliated with the Sunflower Student Movement. This type of information allows the movement to clearly articulate their own goals as defined by themselves, and not what other media perceives it to be. It signals to participants and observers alike the success of the movement would be the realization of said goal.

The demands of the movement were also present on the Umbrella Movement Accounts @OCLPHK and @HKFS1958, where they often posted links to a document with their demands on the movement's website, or they posted multiple demands on twitter. This ranged from the demands for genuine democracy, for the current government to honor the agreement of the HK basic law, for the police violence to be condemned, or demanding to meet with the Chairman Leung. However, some of these demands also escalated to asking the Chairman to resign. For example, on the @OCLPHK, they have many post directly addressing the chairman: "CY Leung, you have just a few hours to meet our demands. What kind of 'National' Day do you want to have?" (9/30/2014). The @OCLPHK often articulated demands more frequently than the other account, and do not always concern the demands of the movement as a whole, but specific demands instead.

The Tweets not only often articulate demands on the twitter, but also post ideological or identity building messages. These usually come in the form of a symbol, such as a photo of a sunflower for Taiwan or an umbrella in Hong Kong. These symbols that have become associates with the movements become common identifiers and appear frequently on social media. Identity Building can also be in the form of a slogan. Popular slogans from either movement that appear on twitter are below:

Taiwan:

1. Democracy at 4am

2. A Morning without YOU is a dwindled dawn

Hong Kong:

1. 我要真普选 (I want real universal suffrage)

These slogans appeared on multiple accounts in various forms, such as tweets or photos of the slogans on banners or in news. The first slogan from Taiwan represents the time that the Legislated Yuan was first occupied, as well as the name of the movement's website. The second slogan appeared in the New York Times advertisement purchased by the movement and their supporters. The Hong Kong slogan articulates the core movement demand, which concerns the general election. Their call for genuine universal suffrage is for the proper implementation of the HK basic law, but also the recognition of democratic ideals. These common symbols and themes articulated on twitter help with the identity construction of the movement.

Tweets concerning mobilizing people to join the protests were not very frequent across any account, about 7% for the Sunflower Movement and 9% for the Umbrella Movement accounts. Often, these tweets contained explicit information about movement location and times of important events. Typically, these posts also contain a photo of the protest schedule, or a map of where to protest and find other resources. Posts asking for mobilization from the various sights are as such: "Please come down to HK gov HQ at least once this week & support student strike for democracy" (@OCLPHK, 9/22/2014); or support through online participation "Taiwan needs your attention and support for democratic crisis via the official international website: http://4am.tw/ #Taiwan" (@AntiTradePactTW, 3/28/14). Posts also contained links to international solidarity protest events to let international participants show their support for either

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movement. Both movements had international support protests, and shared information about them on social media respectively.

The next theme is protest updates, and another frequently utilized method on Twitter. Posts containing updates were about 21% of the Sunflower Movement posts and 36% of the Umbrella Movement posts. The protest updates usually contain photos or links to live video coverage of the movement. Not only did it provide live updates, but user @OCLPHK also asked other users for current updates of protest locations and accessibility. Many of these tweets contain the location of protestors with the photo: "Nice to see HK students encircling headquarters of unelected government for teach-ins" (@OCLPHK, 9/22/2014); "The mass has reached Gov't Hse. #CYLeung Come out and face the people! #hkclassboycott" (@HKFS1958, 9/25/2014). These tweets also frame the government in a negative way, often pointing to their inability to response, or non-response in general. A majority of the tweets coming from the pages provide real-time updates of protestor movements and actions, as well as confrontations with police. "Photo: water cannon attack on sit-in student protesters. #反服貿 #CongressOccupied" (@AntiTradePactTW). The updates that focus on the police brutality or the potential for police brutality/obstruction frame the police force in a negative light, and often portray the protestors as victims. This dialogue is thoroughly played up on multiple accounts during reporting of protest action, often also calling the police actions ridiculous and questioning their legitimacy.

These tweets also often framed the movement in a positive way, signaling that movement support is growing. The on the ground updates that work on creating a positive image of protestors focus on the respectability and politeness of participants, the democratic of the movement, and their commitment to non-violence. Live updates with photos portray protestors keeping the protest sites clean, as well as any form of democratic participation the movement

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engages in. An example is: "Students very polite, making way for passersby, police facilitating march" (@OCLPHK, 9/24/2014). Alternative framing of the movement is especially facilitated with on the ground updates, which might be lacking in mainstream news media, or which might report the movement differently and frame protestors as rioters.

Lateral linkages were also relatively common on Twitter, more so for the three Taiwan social media accounts, which had 17% in this category, in comparison to 13%. Links were often to alternative media produced by the movement themselves, such as movement demands, press conferences, and press releases. These were often direct link to both the Chinese and English translations of documents or were otherwise hosted on the websites of the movements. These all articulated the movement's framework and demands. Links to mainstream media were also common across users, and most articles frames the movement fight for democracy in a positive manner. These links were kinds that the movement agreed with. However, there were some articles that contradicted the movement's cause or demands that were linked, and in this case, they were news articles that the movement did not agree with. Also present on twitter were links to other accounts that provided blogging regarding the movements, in some cases individual user accounts not affiliated with the movement but were protestors themselves actively documenting the events.

There also exists links between the movements. Despite the fact that they did not take place at the same time, @AntiTradePactTW posted this ""Hong Kong's Occupy Central movement may take on shades of Taiwan protest" #HK #Taiwan #Occupy" (3/25/2014). The links between the movements existed before the protest in Hong Kong had even begun. There were also multiple solidarity protests in both places in support of the other movement. Another interesting linkage discovered between the Hong Kong tweets in particular is links to other

protest movements globally, such as the Uyghur plight in Xinjiang, and linking to Tiananmen. The OCLPHK posted several times alluding that the Umbrella Movement face similar oppression to Tiananmen "Head off a Tiananmen massacre in #HongKong, by @tengbiao , @hu_jia & Yang Jianli" (9/23/2014). These types of links are building solidarity between the various movements.

Another part of building movement identity is the use of creative symbols. However, Twitter as a platform was not heavily used for this purpose. This category held only 3-5% of the Twitter posts on average. There was one addition of a song, "Singing Taiwan "The Battle Hymn Of Labor", originated from Korea Gwangju Uprising encourages protesters at LY. http://goo.gl/w6waIC" (@OccupyLY1, 3/26/14), but other than that, the creative expression was limited. Sharing photos is another way that the movements drew upon establish symbols, such as sunflowers and umbrellas.

Lastly, resource generation is an important part of sustaining a movement, especially when the majority of the movement is physical occupation of a space. However, the Sunflower Movement did not have any posts within this category at all. The Umbrella Movement's accounts had approximately 6% of posts within this category. Both Umbrella Movement accounts requested donation of supplies for the protestors: "V important that demonstrators stay put. That means providing them w necessities. If you are near a demo, ask what they need & get it for them" (@OCLPHK, 9/28/2014); "More supporters needed in Admiralty! Need eye goggles, food, heat reducing plaster, umbrellas and glucose candies #OccupyCentral #OccupyHK" (@HKFD19589/28/2014). These requests for help were often met, and tweets thanking support of donations also appear on pages. The movement could not have survived if it were not for the generous donations of citizens who support the movement.

The tweets show a variety of utility and themes. In general, the Umbrella Movement's tweets on both pages follow a pattern of posting media coverage to posting protest updates. This dynamic is not so much reflected on the Sunflower Movement's tweets, where each user focused largely on a single type of tweet—updating information. The Umbrella Movement frequently used Twitter to cover live protest, and it was the more popular platform. Because the contention was sustained longer than the Sunflower Movement, and had more participants, the movement relied more on instant updates to coordinate actions.

Facebook

The data I have collected from Facebook comes from two separate accounts. The first account is the Sunflower Movement 太陽花學運[5] account, and the second account is 讓愛與和平佔領中環 Occupy Central with Love and Peace.[6] These accounts were chosen because they represent major actors in both movements, and they correspond to the previous Twitter accounts. Given the amount of information posted on Facebook (ex: number of posts, and unlimited character count), I have chosen only two accounts to analyze. Below is a table that includes a brief summary of the accounts I have chosen.

Page	Description	Likes	Followers	link
@sunflowermovement	The Sunflower Movement (aka Occupy Parliament) is an ongoing student and civil protest in Taiwan, aiming to raise public political awareness	59,879	58,375	https://www.facebook.com/sunflowermovement/
@OCLPHK	Occupy Central with Love and Peace is a mass movement fighting for genuine universal suffrage in Hong Kong.	86,662	83,061	https://www.facebook.com/OCLPHK/

Table 2: Facebook Pages

In total, I have gathered 194 Facebook posts. Of these posts, 152 are from the Sunflower

Movement page, and 45 are from the OCLPHK page. The posts on Facebook are generally much

longer than those on Twitter, given that there is no limit to word count. This means that one post

often includes multiple themes or utilities, which were included in the analysis. The Sunflower

Movement page was largely multilingual, posting in both Chinese and English, but also

including translations of the posts in Arabic, German, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese. The

Occupy Central with Love and Peace page contained mostly posts in Chinese, with few captions

or posts in English.

Summary of Facebook Posts

The posts on Facebook follow no set pattern like Twitter. Facebook posts, however,

received an enormous amount of attention comparatively. Given that both pages had followers in

the tens of thousands, the posts generally gathered comments and shared in the double digits.

There were a handful of posts that each reached above one thousand, or even two thousand likes.

These extremely popular posts are varied in topic and language, however a majority of them are in Chinese.

Facebook Posts by Category

The Facebook posts roughly follow the same thematic discussions as the Tweets, but often differ in utility. Because of the longer posts, they often contain multiple themes and intents. However, the bulk of the Facebook posts focus on alternative information spreading and creating identity. The distribution of posts per category is much more even for the OCLPHK page than the Sunflower Movement page, on which will be further enumerated in the discussion below.

Many of the posts focus on explaining the situation behind the beginning of the protests their worries about the issues, and their goals or demands. This was the bulk of the SM posts, about 52%, while the OCLPHK page only had 31%. Below are some examples and themes of goal articulation from the Sunflower Movement Facebook page:

> The occupation of the chamber of the Legislative Yuan, as well as peaceful sit-ins around it and other related protests and marches, will persist until government of President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) meets our four basic demands:
>
> 1. Send back CSSTA,
>
> 2. Pass legislation for monitoring cross-strait agreements; legislation must come before any review of CSSTA,
>
> 3. Hold a Citizens' Constitutional Assembly, to address the constitutional crisis resulting from the lack of due process,
>
> 4. Ask legislators from all parties to respond to the demands of the people.
>
> (@Sunflowermvmt, 3/25/14)

The clear definition of these goals on the Facebook page facilitate the cohesion of the movement and its ideology. This way the movement can have a clear ideology that the participants can stand behind. The Sunflower Movement's articulation of these demands helps in identity formation, and as stated before is one of the main themes of Facebook posts. This is also related to the larger ideological goal of realizing democratic ideals. Aside from this, the sunflower movement also communicates their commitment to non-violent occupation. This framing of the movement on their terms shows commitment to two ideals, non-violence and democracy. This allows for the movement to identity itself on its own terms with a different focus—aside from how the media usually framed the students as protesting a trade deal with China (Brown and Li 2014).

Posting alternative news media is also another way the Sunflower Movement primarily utilized its Facebook page. Much information about the current state of the movement and other events related were posted, especially things that were not covered by mass media or frame the movement in a positive light. For example, there were many posts in every language about the Umbrella marathon, which the page praised by saying: "Please give a round of applause to these wonderful students who have used their own legs to conquer the beautiful west coast of Taiwan that have been domineered by the government and unjustly invaded by conglomerates and factories" (@Sunflowermvmt, 3/39/2014). Alternative news posts in this way was used frame themselves in a positive light, drawing on themes of non-violence, respectfulness, and solidarity.

For the Umbrella Movement, the Facebook page contained many press updates about what is happening within the movement and progress with meeting with the leadership of Hong Kong. They often expressed doubt about the commitment of the government to meet with activists, and the future of the democracy in Hong Kong. These press updates serve as frequent

reminders of the commitment to non-violence but also to realizing true democracy promised in the Basic Law of Hong Kong. Also frequent were transcripts of democratic speeches by prominent figures in the movement. The types of information spreading the Umbrella Movement page relied on was closely related to themes of democracy, fears of becoming China, and disappointment in the government.

The posts concerning the government often framed them in a negative way. Both movements had to deal with police brutality and violence against protestors and utilized their social media to document it. Given both have a commitment to non-violence, the violent actions of police seriously threatened the legitimacy of the police, and the government at large. Specifically, from the Sunflower Movement, they question the legitimacy of the administration, and call upon other prominent figures such as the UN to denounce the violence that has been committed towards protestors. On the other hand, the Umbrella Movement has many posts documenting the police violence in Hong Kong, and denouncing it. They further call upon the government to restrain the police and to also condemn violence and to commit to non-violence.

Much of the movement symbolism and identity that is often iterated on posts centers around a few themes

1. 我要真普选 (I want genuine universal suffrage)

2. 民主不怕催泪弹 (Democracy is not afraid of teargas)

3. Umbrellas

These three themes build not only the movements symbolic identity, but also create images of solidarity. The posts about these themes also often call on supporters to not forget the intention of the movement, and to continue to support it. For the Umbrella Movement, these posts were

most popular. For the Sunflower Movement, the posts that have the quote 'democracy at 4am' from the New York Times advertisement were most popular. Symbols that are posted online can easily be identified with the movement, and when shared, will show the increased solidarity for the movement.

Active mobilization did not occur frequently SM Facebook at 2%, but it was quite frequent on the OCLPHK page, at 20%. The Sunflower Movement page often called upon support from people on the ground non-explicitly such as sharing protest events or tactics, but more as a side note, asking people to join or continue to support the movement. Requests for online participation (such as liking or sharing the page) and posting pictures of participants of the movement were also sporadic in frequency. Indeed, the posts which contained direct requests for participation on the Sunflower Movement's page were in Chinese, rather than in English. The OCLPK page posted multiple event schedules and dates for democracy lectures on their page, allowing followers the information to come out and support the movement on the ground. These posts were in Chinese, aside from the information about how one could participate in the democratic voting forum they hosted. Since a majority of the mobilizing posts were in Chinese, the expected audience for participation is the Chinese (Cantonese or Mandarin) speaking Hong Konger or Taiwanese.

On the ground updates on Facebook were much lengthier that those on Twitter. Posts that were concerned with coverage of the movement often told heartwarming stories of participants, such as older citizens that come out and volunteer their time and supplies to help the students. For example, on the Sunflower movement page, they stressed the participation of elders in the movement supporting the younger cohort. Drawing on themes of unity within the Taiwanese community, and the commitment to democracy by the people. The framing of the movement in

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these posts fall within the themes of drawing on movement symbolism and displaying the movement in a positive and compassionate way.

On the ground updates occurred with similar frequencies on both pages, about 12%. The most popular post of this category was concerning the banner containing the slogan of the movement, "I want real universal suffrage", being hung from Lion Rock, a nearby mountain. This post symbolizes the main slogan of the movement, which is instantly recognizable. It also draws on themes of solidarity, mentioning that the place and the movement will forever been in Hong Kong people's hearts. Solidarity and community building is an important emotional part of the Facebook posts, especially the ones with photos. The page also updates protestors on where to get help. The information provided is phone numbers and other contact information in case of injury, or the need to report some incident. Posts of this nature are meant to assist those who are currently participating in protest and facilitate organization. Since many people follow the Facebook page, both participants and not, they can always be updated on information regarding movement participation, or simply be updated on the status of the movement and negotiations with the government.

Facebook posts on both pages contained similar frequencies of lateral linkages as Twitter posts, 22% to 17% respectively. The links mostly include of articles that support the movement or frame it in a positive light. The favorable framing often involves mentioning the movement participants are striving for democracy. Linked news articles are performing the action of providing relevant and credible information to those who follow the movement. Most of these links of mass media that is supportive or positive about the movement are foreign press. The framing of either movement in foreign press is generally favorable, and therefore is shared on the Facebook pages.

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Other types of lateral linkages are ones that refer to other pages. Both @Sunflowermvmt and @OCLPHK reference their twitter accounts on Facebook, facilitating a larger supporter base across websites. The links were to other Facebook profiles that also updated on the movements. The last type of lateral linkage is the links to the movement's self-created webpages.7 Aside from the Facebook content that represents the movement, the alternative pages are a wealth of information for potential follower. Since both Facebook pages are relatively popular, external links can be made very popular though the website. This is good for both movements, because depending on the shares they could get a seat.

Movement creativity is more prominent on Facebook than on Twitter. The OCLPHK page contained 20% of posts in this category, while the SM page had about 12%. Since the posts are not restricted by a word count, many of the creative posts are about poetry so song lyrics. The Sunflower Movement posted the song Island Sunrise, as their official song for the movement. While the OCLPHK page posted multiple poem supporting the movement as well as democracy, Creative expression is important to a movement because it allows the identity to be represented in a difference sense that normal.

Overall, there were slightly more similarities between the types of posts on Facebook than there were on Twitter. The ways in which either movement expressed themselves on Facebook was different given that the Umbrella Movement almost exclusively posted in Chinese, which the Sunflower Movement posted in a multitude of languages. Because of the differences in language, the audience was intended to be more international and the support for the movement more far-reaching. The popularity of the posts fluctuated greatly, some a couple hundred to a few thousand. On the Sunflower Movements page, the most popular posts (above one thousand) number to 20 posts. The Umbrella Movement had 13 post that were liked over a

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thousand times, showing not much difference in popularity. These posts are mostly ones that spread information and also spread the movement in a positive light.

Analysis and Discussion

Social Media Platform Differences

The first notable difference is in the visibility and the frequency of usage of the various platforms. The accounts associated with the Taiwan Sunflower student movement have much less activity than the accounts associated with the Umbrella Movement. Given that the Umbrella Movement received a much larger international media attention that the Sunflower Movement, the users might have felt compelled to heavily rely on the platform, given its large English-speaking audience. However, the posts were more frequent on the Sunflower Movement Facebook page than the OCLPHK Facebook page. This shows that the respective movements had different levels of usage of social media dependent on their followers and their perceived utility and needs. Despite its attempts at lateral linkages, the Sunflower Movements twitter page was significantly less popular that Facebook. Furthermore, the Sunflower Movement Twitter was less popular on mass media, it has posted more on the relevant platform.

There is a remarkable difference in the utility of posts across the platforms aside from the obvious word limit difference. The posts on Facebook, while of course lengthier than the ones on twitter, are also more concerned with identity building. The identity construction is a part of the framing process of a movement, in which they attempt to define the world view, and construct the 'us' against 'them' image. This was clear in both the Umbrella Movement and the Sunflower Movement. A majority of the posts concerning identity also define the other—or the government. In Umbrella Movement, this was criticizing Chairman Leung and his

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administration. The longer posts allow for the discussion of ideals, demands, and concessions. Theories about the ways in which movements frame themselves online through discourse depend on the platform they utilize and the attention they receive. Facebook was useful for this because it can effectively communicate lengthy ideas to a large audience, building relationships and linkages between supporters.

The twitter posts, given the shorter word-count limit, are largely used to post short on-the-ground updates of protest occupation and activity. Twitter allows to post at lightning speed live-time updates, hence it was used as such. The differences in the post content on Twitter during protest hours, and non-occupation hours is drastic. This agrees with current literature, that "twitter is used for real time organization and news dissemination" (Mason 2010). During protest time, there are a multitude of live updates on the @OCLPHK handle, while the periods during the day in which the occupation is calm, there are more press and news related posts. However, The Sunflower Movement accounts (@OccupyLY1, @TaiwanProtestLive, @Sunflowermvmt) did not follow this pattern, but posted tweets largely in line with creation of identity. Despite the movement under-utilizing Twitter's arguably most useful function, the movement was able to communicate effectively over Facebook.

Overall, the Facebook posts got more attention than ones on Twitter. The number of likes, comment, and shares on Facebook overall were much higher than the retweets or comments on Twitter. On average, a Twitter post got around 100 or less retweets, while on Facebook, there were posts that were liked 2 thousand times. This is partially due to the difference in the number of followers, but also the difference in content of the posts and the format of the platform. This suggest that the Facebook platform fosters more communication and interaction between the movement organizers of the page and the followers. Interaction between

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movement organizers and followers is important to form stronger internal bonds within the movement.

Language Differences

The differences in the utility of posts also presents itself in the languages. The Twitter accounts almost exclusively posted in English, however, many of the links and pictures, and retweeted content was in Chinese. Given the native Chinese language of both movements (Cantonese in Hong Kong and Mandarin in Taiwan), the Chinese language posts were focused on giving information crucial to protestors. This included maps, links to live-stream blogs and other media, and protest tactics. But Chinese language posts also asked for support from protestors by contributing photos and web-content for the websites of the movements.

English language posts were varied, but many of them consisted of lateral linkages, or links to other mainstream or alternative media sources that cover the movement more generally. The Facebook posts tended to be more varied in language. The Sunflower Movement posted about half in English, but also had seven other languages on their account aside from Chinese. The Chinese updates focused more on alternative news coming from protestors and prominent figures within the movement.

The Hong Kong Facebook group, OCLPHK, was almost exclusively in Chinese. This is entirely different tactic from their Twitter, which was almost entirely in English. This suggests that different platforms were meant to target different groups of movement goers and movement supporters internationally. The Occupy account used English the most grammatically correct. English posts on the Sunflower Page are worse in grammar, and their English is more fragmented. The implications are that language and communication with intended audience matters, and actually affects the online strategies of movements. For the Sunflower movement,

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this meant effective communication in English and a multiplicity of other languages to reach a wide range of audience. The Umbrella Movement's Facebook shows that with their largely Chinese language page they kept a lot of utility, and focused on diverse posts for their intended local audience.

Account Differences

The differences between the accounts also represent individual or groups dynamics. Of course, as I have mentioned before, it is difficult to claim that any of the accounts represent the entire movement as a whole, especially given their leaderless position. The differences in the type of posts per account is interesting. The various groups each posted with their own personality and focus issue of the respective movements.

For example, the @AntiTradePactTaiwan account largely focused on the police brutality aspect of the protests, often referring to the protestors as victims and questioning the legitimacy of the police and the regime. This type of framing of the on the ground updates always follows the police as the bad guy, and the defenseless protestor being subjected to the police brutality. The other two Sunflower Movement Twitter pages focused more on lateral linkages, or links to mass media posts supporting the movement, as well as posting press releases. However, by far the most active account was @OCLPHK on Facebook, which posted many presses released, on-the-ground updates, and news articles. The most impressive difference was that this account contained the same posts translated into multiple different languages.

The multiple accounts under the Umbrella Movement generally posted similar things, which a focus on reporting the news media which frames the government poorly for their responsibility of the situation. The main difference is that the @OCLPHK on Twitter focused much more on creating links to outside movements, such as Tiananmen and Xinjiang. Another

difference is that the account also mentioned the inner-movement discourse and stressed the need to stick together. Since the Umbrella Movement was composed of multiple organizations, one of the main pages emphasized solidarity over everything else.

Even within movements, multiple accounts can create multiple identities. The different accounts explored in my thesis show that movement being unified internally, as in the case of the Sunflower Movement, less variance exists across accounts. However, for the Umbrella Movement, the various accounts display a variety of usage and topics. Since the movement was composed of different affiliated student groups and organizations, the social media usage was less unified.

Movement Differences

The differences between the two movements and their social media use, thus documented by my thesis shows that the Sunflower movement relied more on Facebook than Twitter and relied more on English and multiple other languages across both platforms. The audience that could access the content are very international. The Umbrella Movement used both Facebook and Twitter extensively, but Facebook posts were less frequent. In addition, most of the OCLPHK Facebook posts were in Chinese, meaning their primary audience on Facebook were locals.

The two movements relied heavily on social media to perform different functions across the different platforms, with Twitter hosting most of the shorter on the ground updates, and Facebook containing longer, identity building posts about movement ideals and demands. In general, the framing of either movement drew upon similar themes of positive protestor coverage, questioning legitimacy of the government, and continually reaffirming their demands.

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These themes were found in many of the social media posts and helped frame the movements' identity without the interference of mass media.

While these few similar aspects were found in both movements, the differences also illustrate that despite movement's sharing a lot in common, they do not share everything. Overall, Taiwan's social media pages were more efficient with communicating to an international audience. Not only did they have a Facebook page that still relied on English, they also translated multiple posts in multiple different languages. They also posted more frequently on the Facebook page as well. Hong Kong posted heavily on both Twitter and Facebook, with a slight emphasis on the former, due to its focus on real-time updates that the Sunflower Movement largely lacked on these social media sites.

The relevance of these findings is that show that social media usage within and across movements is extremely multifaceted. Alternative media reproduced across social media performs several roles, utility wise it serves to provide information, mobilize, give live updates, make lateral linkages, serve as an outlet for creative expression, and request resources. However, this study illustrated that these movements primarily posts information for identity creation and protest updates. This can mean that movements do not need to directly "mobilize" on messages relayed over social media. With the proliferation online of alternative media and protest updates, movements provide ample information that can convince people to support the movement, online and offline. This is especially the case when posts focus on the growth of movement support. The solidarity between different movements, updating on the increase protestor population, and mentioning prominent authority figures support for the movements all point to a growth in support for the movement, which encourages more.

Conclusion

Social media continues to be an important and pertinent tool for modern social movements. Social media is a gateway for the production of alternative media, which allows the movement to frame itself and create an identity, without being subject to the mercy of mass media and their alternative agendas. It also allows a movement to gain international support, and foster connections internationally and with followers within the movement. Despite concerns about social media harming, instead of helping mobilization during protests, it is undeniably a useful tool for information about both the movements ideology and goals, and the organization of protestors as well.

In this thesis, I have compared the social media usage and discourse of two movements, the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan. However, the Sunflower movement was a success, as it succeeded to recall the trade agreement that was previously passed. This success influenced the Umbrella Movement, which took place later that year. The Umbrella Movement despite having much more attention was eventually unsuccessful. The movement was unable to achieve its stated goals of realizing real universal suffrage, because the Chinese Communist Party still had a say in the Hong Kong general elections.

From my analysis, the first prominent aspect is how popular and how often are social media platforms used and are useful. For the Umbrella Movement, both Facebook and Twitter were heavily used, Twitter more so. The opposite is true for the Sunflower Movement, where Facebook was the preferred medium of choice. This shows the differences in preferences for social media platform. This preference also shapes how the movement will communicate. Since Twitter has such a small character limit, the posts are limited to snappy, on-the-ground updates.

Twitter has the potential to be used to so call live-tweet a protest. However, a movement should also consider its international audience. The Sunflower Movement successfully did this by translating multiple posts on their Facebook page. These posts were extremely popular, and the international community could read and find out about the movement. The OCLPHK Facebook page was nearly exclusively in Chinese. This is isolating for people who would like to join the movement but are not Chinese. Despite the target audience in Hong Kong speaking Chinese originally, considering the popularity of Facebook, the page could have gotten more likes had it been multilingual. Despite not making a direct causal claim, the consequences of this are some of the differences in social media use may have affected the success of the movement in terms of spreading information. The lessons that we learn from the comparison of the two movements is that social media use tailored for audience can be more useful to the movement.To conclude, the movements exhibited some prominent differences in social media use of both type of social media they relied and the way in which they discussed the movements over various platforms.

The limitations of this study are that it cannot provide a wholistic picture of the social media usage of a movement, just a snapshot. Despite the movements comparability, there might be external factors that could have affected their relative success and failure outside of online tactics. Another area of research that this study leads to is: How is social media discourse articulated differently across multiple-language and heterogenous movements? Avenues for further research of this topics include investigating social media tactics and discourse on a larger scale, charting the differences in social media use to identify patterns in language and discourse across countries of their distinct use of social media.

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