The Logic of Communitive[1] Action:

A Case Study of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement

Boyu Chen, Da-chi Liao, Hsin-Che Wu and San-Yih Hwan[2]

ABSTRACT

March 18, 2013 became the first time the floor of Taiwan's Legislative Yuan was occupied, an incident which received the attention of the international news media. The name "Sunflower Movement" was bestowed upon these activities, and from the moment students occupied the legislature internet technologies played an instrumental role in both organization and mobilization inside and outside the building.   On March 30, protesters called the Taiwan public at large to take part in sit-ins and marching demonstrations at Ketegalan Boulevard in front of the Presidential Hall. Tens of thousands of protesters, identifiable by the black shirts they wore, swarmed into the area surrounding the Legislative Yuan, thus creating a new page in the history of Taiwan's social movements.   Furthermore, the movement received over 6,630,000 NT$ in contributions within 3 short hours for posting a series of advertisements in the New York Times entitled "Democracy at 4am."

This movement shocked Taiwanese society and had a great impact on political researchers.   In examining the above mentioned literature on social movements, we found many aspects of the Sunflower Student Movement would be a worthwhile subject for dialogue based on this literature researching news media and social movements.   Based on the logic of collective action as well as the logic of connective action, this research proposes a new perspective: the logic of communitive action, which supplements previous theories in three ways.   Firstly, we believe community consciousness created by affect plays a critical role throughout a

---

[1] Here we use "communitive," a term not often used, as the adjective of community.

[2] Boyu Chen is an Assistant Professor at Institute of Political Science, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan; Da-chi Liao is a Professor at Institute of Political Science, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan; Hsin-Che Wu is an Assistant Professor at School of Government, Nanjing University, China and San-Yih Hwang is a Professor at Department of Information Management, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan.

movement, and it is political opportunity which invokes public emotion. Secondly, a new type of leadership is emerging in the digital community, which means technology savvy and political knowledgeable leaders facilitate the process of organizing. Thirdly, crowdsourcing is a central means of coordinating the work involved in a movement, and communitive consciousness is the most important motivation for crowdsourcing. Our proposal of a logic of communitive action is not a denial of the logic of collective action or of connective action. Rather, we desire to provide a new perspective for internet mediated social movements through an examination of the Sunflower Student Movement.

I. **Introduction**

From Arab spring to Occupy movement, internet-mediated protests have overthrown governments or forced them to change policies. The speed and scale of this mobilization is unprecedented. A large volume of literature has explored the characteristics of these protests in the information age. Past research has pointed out that when channels of interaction between the public and government are blocked, the web can serve as an avenue for voicing dissatisfaction and, as a new technological medium, it has transformed the mode of interpersonal communication, which has led to changes in how social movements mobilize (Castells 2012; Anduiza, Jensen and Jorba 2012). Such movements are now able to launch large scale collective actions in a short time.

Social scientists try to provide answers for the following questions: How does the information communication technology make the protest different? Does this new medium change communication modes and the logic of organizing groups for collective action? What makes netizens take to the streets and become truly engaged and devoted to making a change, instead of staying online without getting out of their chairs?

Most early social science studies of social movements either utilize Olson's logic of collective action (Olsen 1971) as a theoretical foundation for analysis, or theories based on it, for example, resource mobilization theory (Jenkins 1983) and the new social movement theory (Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield 2009; Melucci 1988). The

former emphasizes the importance of resources in social movements, while the latter stresses the importance of identity, which is critical to avoid the free rider problem. The goal these collective actions try to achieve is a common good which is, by nature, something that is not divisible or selectively allotted.   That is, if a movement succeeds, everyone will benefit regardless of whether or not they participated, which can lead to a freeriding problem.   Certain measures can be taken to overcome the problem of freeriding.   For example, a large organization or powerful leader can provide resources to serve as incentives or, from a psychological perspective, an emphasis on collective identity cause members to combine forces for action.

As a result of internet technology development, the appearance of social websites and the popularity of big data analysis technologies, social movements are transformed dramatically with respect to communication methods and organizational modes when those familiar with communication technologies participate no matter their level of technology skills.   Based on the logic of collective action Bennett and Segerberg (2012, 2013) propose the logic of connective action.   They emphasize two transformations brought about by internet technologies: the most important of these are personal action frame and communication technology as organization.   Bennett and Segerberg point out and explain the manner in which all netizens express themselves to achieve collective actions, and how the internet itself has become a new mode of organization.   These discoveries provide a new perspective for social movement theory.

March 18, 2013 became the first time the floor of Taiwan's Legislative Yuan was occupied, an incident which received the attention of the international news media. The name "Sunflower Movement" was bestowed upon these activities, and from the moment students occupied the legislature internet technologies played an instrumental role in both organization and mobilization inside and outside the building.   On March 30, protesters called the Taiwan public at large to take part in sit-ins and marching demonstrations at Ketegalan Boulevard in front of the Presidential Hall. Tens of thousands of protesters, identifiable by the black shirts they wore, swarmed into the area surrounding the Legislative Yuan, thus creating a new page in the history of Taiwan's social movements.   Furthermore, the movement received over 6,630,000 NT$ in contributions within 3 short hours for posting a series of advertisements in the New York Times entitled "Democracy at 4am."

This movement shocked Taiwanese society and had a great impact on political researchers.   In examining the above mentioned literature on social movements, we found many aspects of the Sunflower Student Movement would be a worthwhile subject for dialogue based on this literature researching news media and social movements.   Based on the logic of collective action as well as the logic of connective action, this research proposes a new perspective: the logic of communitive action, which supplements previous theories in three ways.   Firstly, we believe community consciousness created by affect plays a critical role throughout a movement, and it is political opportunity which invokes public emotion.   Secondly, a new type of leadership is emerging in the digital community, which means technology savvy and political knowledgeable leaders facilitate the process of organizing. Thirdly, crowdsourcing[3] is a central means of coordinating the work involved in a movement, and communitive consciousness is the most important motivation for crowdsourcing.   Our proposal of a logic of communitive action is not a denial of the logic of collective action or of connective action.   Rather, we desire to provide a new perspective for internet mediated social movements through an examination of the Sunflower Student Movement.

This study is composed of five sections. The present section is the introduction. The second section provides a brief review and comments on the logic of collective action, as well as the logic of connective action. The third section is the theoretical framework of the logic of communitive action, as coined by the authors. The fourth section elaborates on how Taiwan's Sunflower Movement demonstrates the logic of communitive action.   The fifth section is the conclusion.

II. From the Logic of Collective Action to the Logic of Connective Action

The logic of collective action in the informative age

Olson's collective action theory starts with the supposition that all people are

---

[3] Crowdsourcing is the combining of the public's wisdom, and the call for people with varying abilities and talents to contribute their efforts.   Crowdsourcing movements involve communication over the internet.   The details of this concept will be discussed in later sections.

self-interested rational actors, and asserts the problem of free riding must be overcome in order for these actors to work together as a group in accomplishing a goal aimed at the common good (Olsen 1971).   Because of the self-interested actors' considerations, as well as the costs involved with common action, the actor might anticipate other participants will achieve the desired actions and that he or she will obtain the benefits involved in collective action by the group without providing any of the necessary capital.   Because common good is allotted to all, it does not matter whether an actor participates in the collective action or not.   He or she will still receive the benefits if the action succeeds.   Thus, if every actor has an inclination to become a free rider, and the group is a large one with members unfamiliar with one another, it will be difficult for this collective action to succeed.   For this reason, Olson suggests selective incentive and coercion might be useful in overcoming the pitfalls involved with self-interested rational actors in collective action.   Selective incentive refers to additional goods such as benefits allotted to workers joining a union, while coercion refers to negative selective incentives like making employment contingent on union membership.

Several theorists have suggested revisions to Olson's theory in order to overcome the pitfalls associated with collective action.   For example, Norman Frohlich and Joe Oppenheimer (1978, 1997) put forth the theory of political entrepreneurship, in which they assert the success or failure of collective action depends on whether or not there is a political entrepreneur within the group.   The political entrepreneur, who is the organization's leader, provides the resources and capital necessary for the collective action, thus increasing the desire for participation in collective action and thereby increasing the possibility of success.   Jenkin's resource mobilization theory sees institutional resources as critical (Jenkins 1983); it emphasizes resources, organization, and political opportunity.   Jenkins takes as focal point the aggregation of benefits and the utilization of various related resources in the process.   Tilly (2004) believes resources must be mobilized before collective action can occur, and this mobilization must be organizational to some extent in the launching and direction of a group.

New social movement theorists believe the logic behind Olson's collective action, which emphasizes rational self-interested individuals, is based on materialist assumption, and fails to provide a psychological perspective.   For this reason, new social movement theory emphasizes identity in collective actions (Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield, 2009; Melucci 1988).   Identity was a strong motivation and force for

participating in the collective actions of most of social movements such as the feminist movement and the labor movement; such participation could not be fully explained simply by material interest.   Tarrow (1994) also criticizes Olson's materialist tendencies, and believes his theory fails to account both for political and social context, as if people lack connections or relationships altogether.   As such, he emphasizes that social networks are a critical driving force in collective action.

In summation, selective incentives, coercion, political entrepreneurship, elites with authority and resources, collective identity, and social networks might all be necessary in order to solve the pitfalls associated with collective action.   With respect to organizational form, a strong organization is necessary as the center of collective action mobilization.   In addition, a vertically connected hierarchical structure is necessary（Klandersman 1993）in order to recruit members and be a voice to the wider public and government.

Most of the scholars mentioned above make little discussion about the influence of new mediums of communication in their theories. The internet communication technologies have interjected a critical variable into theories concerning collective action, and provided a possibility for solving the above mentioned pitfalls for collective action.   As stated by the theorists of collective action, people often participate in these actions because of dissatisfaction, but lack the ability to voice these grievances through official channels.   The internet, a new medium of communication, has become a tool which can be utilized for voicing such grievances. When the influence of government systems fails to serve as a channel of communication for the public, people will use the internet to make their voices heard, to connect with others, and even to launch 'extrarepresentional' protest movements outside of the system according to a great volume of research (Anduiza, Jensen and Jorba, 2012).

There is much literature related to the internet as a mobilization tool, and many scholars have discussed the manners in which internet communication technologies overcome the pitfalls of collective action, in addition to increasing individual desire to participate.   Firstly, the internet economizes the temporal and monetary capital necessary for collecting information, and this new medium characteristically creates a situation in which movement participants are not limited by their own economic or social status (Kann, Berry, Grant and Zager, 2007).   The internet provides them with

resources sufficient for participation.   Citizens can effectively obtain information concerning public issues, and this sufficiency of information further increases their motivation to participate in offline political activities (Tolbert and McNeal, 2003). As Pippa (2001) suggests, digital technologies reduce the costs of "gathering information and communicating messages, with consequences that will mainly serve to benefit minor parties, smaller groups, and fringe movement activists"(p. 238). Thus, as Liao and Chen (2013) propose, the internet is the best mobilization tool for peripheral political agents.   In addition, the anonymousness of the internet increases the willingness of the public to discuss political activity (Rohlinger and Brown, 2009). Prior to the internet, those expressing political speech or initiating actions were forced to bear the risks and costs, including the loss of interpersonal relationships or career. The anonymousness of the internet decreases the risks and costs involved of those launching political activities.   In summation, internet use decreases the costs and risks of collective action participation.

We would expect, based on the logical of collective action, while the internet medium could, for the most part, decrease cost, and provide resources, overall organizational form, or the method in which large organizations operate, would not change drastically.   However, from observing the Arab Spring movement scholars discovered the changes brought by the internet as medium were not merely a reduction in cost.   Rather, more importantly, the overall organizational form and communication methods were also fundamentally transformed.   If this were not the case, it would have been impossible for this large scale protest to occur, or for protesters to come together so quickly.

Scholars have referred to certain revolutions as "twitter revolutions" because of the critical role social media played in connecting members of the public.   Based on the logic of collective action, Bennett and Segerberg (2012) propose the "logic of connective action."   Here, they provide an analysis for internet era group organization methods, and undertake dialogue concerning the logic of collective action.

The logic of connective action

Because the internet breaks down temporal and spatial limits and connects those who use it, the name "connective action" itself, which Bennett and Segerberg (2012, 2013) propose, points to the uniqueness of the internet as tool.   Their research involves the demonstrations at the 2009 G10 Summit in London, and the "indignant ones" *(los indignados)* protest in Spain, as well as the Occupy Wall Street movement in the United States.   Most of these protests occurred because governments were unable to undertake measures to solve economic problems precipitated by the 2008 economic crisis.   Rather, citizens were enraged and took to the street as a result of being asked to accept austerity measures.

What is more, because countries were preoccupied with the financial crisis, they put other critical issues, such as climate change, on the backburner, which was met by dissatisfaction by many environmental groups.   The authors find the participation of organizations with longer histories in demonstration activities decreased substantially.   Only 38% of participants were key organizations with brick and mortar addresses, and only 13% came from groups with membership or affiliation.   In addition, the average age of protest organizations was not over 3 years (Bennett and Segerbergp 2012, p.741).

These facts demonstrate large scale actual organizations with memberships are on the decline in social movements during the internet era.   Given this, what is replacing these organizations which once played an important role in collective action? Bennett and Segerberg put forward these central tenets concerning the logic of connective action: 1) personal action frames; 2) communication technology and organization.

In this theory, Bennett and Segerberg (2012) emphasize the shift from group-based to individualized society resulting from of the formation of an online society.   There are several differences between the connective action created by this individualized society and traditional collective action: firstly, connective action emphasizes personal frame action, while collective action requires collective frame action (p.747).   Community websites ensure individuals have a place in the virtual world, and provide a space in which the individual can express himself or herself. What is more, these personal expressions are imparted to the individual's friends in the community website, and this becomes an online social network.

Social media sites are also a natural channel for expressing political dissatisfaction. Netizens desire to receive feedback from others through sharing news, videos, pictures, and script.   If they are acknowledged by other netizens, then the above mentioned information is disseminated very quickly.   As such, the flow of information expressing protest starts with self-motivated sharing, and then finds force in the cyberspace.   Once the first person has sent out a message, others who agree with the message need not share it with others in original form.   Rather, each person can use any method they like in expressing their opinion about the message, and can even alter or recreate the expressive form.   This communication process itself involves further personalization.

One example involves the Occupy Wall Street Movement, in which netizens used various memes to express protest on the internet.   Among these, the most famous was "We are the 99 %."'   Many posts described in detail the personal challenges of living in an economically unbalanced society.   As soon as a meme starts to be echoed, it gains force on the internet, and even becomes a central tool in mobilizing for on the ground action.   Therefore, in comparison to connective action, collective action requires a common organizational slogan, which is difficult for individual netizens to develop.   Thus, collective action cannot be a mainstream means of mobilization in the internet age.

Secondly, within the theory of connective action, internet technology is the networking agent, and is communication technology as organization, which means it does not require the large scale organizational operation necessary for collective action to provide resources, or central coordination of all actions (Bennett and Segerberg 2013, Ch.3).   In addition, the internet is not monolithic.   Rather, it is a "network of networks" created between various internets.

These networks, created by communication technologies, have the following utilities: first, distribute resources : report from the scene of events, circulate mass media reports, especially those news from independent media, create new discourses, allocate money, provide information regarding lodging, medical aid, food etc. Second, digitally networked action (DNA) can respond rapidly to emergencies and coordinate action, alert people to show up, avoid or confront police, take new action, etc. (Bennett and Segerberg 2013, Ch.3).

The logic of connective action views the reason for the speed at which large scale

mobilization could occur as the effectiveness of personal action frame and communication.　However, the authors have no explanation for how individual expression transforms into a network possessing an identity on the internet, even though they suggest individual expression is brought to bear and becomes a loose collective identity.　In the succession of events from individual expression transforming into a network, and eventually becoming an offline collective action, the force which lies behind the process is, in fact, extremely important.　Therefore, we believe the logic of connective action has the following problems.　First, it fails to explain psychological factors that foster netizen action.

Here, "psychological factors" refers to community consciousness or feelings, a belief that "my" actions can influence others through the internet, and exhort "us" or "everyone" to improve society through action, or to influence government policy. We believe the logic of connective action over-emphasizes the individualization of society and thus downplays the role of collective identity an affect.　It is difficult to build a network, or take to the streets without community consciousness or sentiment. Rather, you will only have low commitment netizens going online at home.　Second, even with a digitally networked action it is impossible to avoid the problems involved with determining who the leader is. As Bennett and Segerberg (2013) admit, to examine the problem of how power is distributed in networks, and how this matters is crucial.　This involves the problem of leadership and member relationships for all those participating.

We expect that online collective action still has a leader with the consciousness of a "we," and it is merely that the relationship between the leader and the community undergoes a transformation in the internet age.　In summation, this research proposes the logic of communitive action, which does not dispute the logic of connective action, but desires to provide a new perspective in order to shed some light on the theoretical framework of Internet activism.

III. The Logic of Communitive Action

Why communitive action?

The community has always been a critical modus for the actions of humankind, and it is traditionally believed that community is collectives of people.　That is　(a)

the community possesses common values and beliefs, and (b) the social relationship of this group of people is a relationship of affect, and it is uniquely characterized by mutuality and emotional bonds.   It is furthermore (c) characterized by frequent interaction (Bell and Newby 1971).   As early as two decades ago, a number of sociologists brought up the commutative qualities possessed by social movements and proposed the notion of a social movement community (Buechler 1990).   Here, the social movement community refers to "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani 1992, p.13).   The notion of a social movement community, in fact, already includes organizations which are social movement networks, and those which are not; the condition for being a social movement community is the communal sharing of values.   In the internet age, scholars have proposed various communities formed as a result of the internet medium.   Polyadic interaction is made possible because the internet is a tool which allows people to communicate across geographical boundaries, whether or not they share membership in a common group or exist in the same geographic space (Virnoche and Marx 1997).

The communitive action indicated by this paper is action undertaken based on communitve consciousness.   Here the notion of a community has the following characteristics:

1. We believe, as indicated by the logic of connective action, that social movement organizations do not play the greatest role in large scale social movements of recent years, nor is there simply a community made up of social movement organizations.   Here, we emphasize that while many of the primary members of traditional social movements are already familiar with each other before the movement begins, and are already part of a community, many participants in online based movements do not know each other at the outset, nor have they met online.

Therefore, we cannot say participants in an online movement are a group of people who already share a collective identity.   Rather, political opportunity plays an important role in molding a community consciousness for those who were previously unfamiliar with each other.   For example, if crowds were not enraged at government

11

missteps, they would not have taken to the streets in the 2009 London and 2011 Spanish demonstrations.   In addition, because participants in these demonstrations did not know each other well, there could not have been a community consciousness at the outset.   This means the space for personal self-realization was great in these movements, and community consciousness was gradually formed later as a result of personal interactions.

2. We believe emotion/affect plays an important role in an internet mediated social movement community.   While, in the social sciences, emotion/affect is often neglected, we emphasize its importance. Though we do acknowledge all persons participating in an action have their own cost calculations or considerations, and that rationality is still important, we add that emotion/affect is also critical in the formation of social consciousness.   Here, emotion/affect refers to anger, solidarity, and/or sympathy.   Participants first become dissatisfied with the party in power, existing systems, and the mainstream media before gradually developing a "we" in opposition to the above mentioned adversaries.

3. While a community may not have a set organizer, it still requires those who have knowledge of politics and internet technology to perform leadership roles.

4. The role ICT plays here is as a medium of affect for the transmission of community consciousness.   In addition, it allows for participants to be motivated to crowdsource through the internet in turning community consciousness into a social movement.

Therefore, we believe both the logic of collective action and the logic of connective action ignore the importance of the role community plays as a concept. Thus we propose the logic of communitive action.   This logic leads to three deductive aspects: emotion generated community, new types of leadership and communitive consciousness as crowdsourcing motivation in the digital community.

Emotion generated community

Emotion and affect are often relegated to the periphery of social science research.   In particular, political analysis often neglects the importance of emotion

and effect in community action.   The importance of emotions and affective ties in collective identity formation has been highlighted by Hunt and Benford (2004) in their excellent overview of collective identity, solidarity and commitment in social movement.   In recent years, literature on demonstrations and protests has started to see the role emotion and affect plays as important.   For example, Castells (2012) refers to internet mobilized social movements or revolutions as "networks of outrage and hope."   Davou and Demertzis (2013) examine the emotions felt by Greek citizens as a result of the financial crisis and austerity measures, as well as the impact of these emotions on political attitudes and actions.   They point out the most important variables for allowing motivation to become political action are hope and perceived political efficacy.   Wendy Pearlman analyzes the 2011 uprising in Tunisia and Egypt and expresses doubt concerning dominant rationalistic perspectives on social movement.   She believes past analysis of social movements overemphasizes dominant rationalistic perspectives on social movement, and indicates even though participants in these protests and demonstrations were faced with unfavorable political climates and clogged information channels, they still were willing to risk death in order to in a situation where the probability of success was not great. Rather, emotions of pride, anger and solidarity played an important role in mobilizing participants to take to the streets.   Emotion thus provides a new perspective on anomalies which structure and instrumentality cannot explain.

Because human being is an animal with a feeling of connection with society s/he is infected with the emotions created by external events, and these emotions become a central impetus for mobilization.   Barbalet (1998) indicates emotion/ affect is not created simply in the individual.   Rather, many affects are created by the interaction between individuals or by the interaction between individuals and their social situations.   In other words, public sentiment does not arise without being provoked.   We believe the political opportunity structure Tarrow (1994) suggests is an important origin for the stimulation of public mood.   When the public is dissatisfied with their life under a system, with government policy, and when it lacks an avenue for expression, this rage will be disseminated through the internet, and gradually grow into a form of solidarity in cyberspace.   Government missteps, an inability of leaders to deal with problems, and partial reporting by mainstream media can all easily be transformed into community consciousness, and create a "we" to confront the adversary.   Collective identity is an ongoing process created by

interaction between participants, as well as between the social movement and the environment it is situated in (Melucci 1988: 342-343).   In addition, emotional ties between activists can keep activists from experiencing setbacks and help them overcome the effects of repression (Fominaya 2010).

Needless to say, if most people simply grumble online concerning their discontentment, it is impossible for concrete collective action to take place.   As Davou and Demertzis (2013) state, the most important driving forces behind political actions are "desire" and "feelings of political efficacy."   That is, the netizens who not only express dissatisfaction online, but also desire to improve the present situation through action, feel greater political efficacy (Anduiza et al. 2012).   Unlike netizens on community websites for entertainment, these netizens often participate in social movements out of a notion of improving others or society (Kenski and Stroud 2006).

New type of leadership in the digital community

Does social movement in the internet era need leaders?   Many scholars cast doubt on the role of leadership in the internet mediated social movement.   Some social movement activists in fact intentionally put more emphasis on the collectiveness of their action instead of leadership.   Some of the activists are tired of a dominated way of decision making which is made by a small and exclusive group of people (Stutje 2012). Much of the literature emphasizes the lack of organization in the internet age, as though leaders are not an important element to success.   Can we now state that the political entrepreneurship theory of Norman Frohlich and Joe Oppenheimer has become obsolete?

This study believes it is not the importance of leadership has not subsided but, rather, a new form of leadership has emerged.   Social protest movements that occurred in recent years in the West and the Middle East indicate how leaders in the organized political minorities utilize the Internet. For example, the Occupy Wall Street Movement was led by many key players (Ungerleider 2011).   In 2004, a group of Tunisia's dissidents, who were familiar with Internet technology, used the open-access software WorldPress to create the Nawaat.org website.   Information on the political activities was collected on this site.   In the following five years, Nawaat disseminated information on Tunisia's human rights situation through videos, pictures,

and text, and made the atrocities of Ben Ali public. These forms of information were also broadcast via YouTube, Flickr, Facebook, and other websites.   Several years ago, these Tunisian activists connected with Arab language bloggers, and this became the main impetus behind the Jasmine Revolution and the Arab Spring Revolution (Mackinnon 2012, pp. 21-35). The abovementioned protest groups would not have been able to express their dissatisfaction through official political participation and channels.   Even though they were passively connected to the relatively free medium of the internet in the very beginning, they immediately learned to utilize that to broadcast and express their views, as well as gather like-minded groups to participate in collective action.

The difference between the logic of communitive action we propose and connective action theory lies in our emphasis on the obvious necessity for technologically and politically savvy leaders for internet based social movement success, even though it is hard to identify who are the true leaders among the network of networks mentioned by the connective action theory.

Communitive consciousness as motivation of crowdsourcing

Crowdsourcing has become a very popular term recently.   Not only have businesses used this method to solve problems, but social movements have also utilized crowdsourcing to achieve their ends.   It integrates public knowledge and calls on people with varying degrees of ability and different talents to connect, communicate, and make contributions.

With the advent of internet technology, crowdsourcing has become a very cost effective solution for businesses or social movements which need to find problem solvers urgently.   However, the public requires a motivation for joining crowdsourcing, and certain scholars, such as Leimeister, Huber, Bretschneider and Krcmar. (2009) and Hossain (2012) indicate crowdsourcing still requires both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.   While intrinsic motivation refers to the enjoyment gained from performing task, extrinsic motivation refers to material incentives such as money or prizes.

From the perspective of extrinsic motivation, the incentives stated in Olson's logic of collection action are, as yet, critical to the success of crowdsourcing. Livingston

(2010) points out the challenges faced by crowdsourcing, and demonstrates without sufficient incentives and management it will still fail. That is, in a situation where incentives and coercion are insufficient, crowdsourcing can easily fail because participants will give up halfway through the endeavor.

Therefore, we believe certain conditions must be fulfilled in order for crowdsourcing to succeed. Namely, a political opportunity which spurs community consciousness must exist. The community which is created can then overcome the above mentioned failure obstacles, that is, those which can cause failure. Wikipedia is a good example of success created through community consciousness, and it is essentially a social movement. Many scholars who research Wikipedia state it creates a community. Every Wikipedia editor must interact with other editors, thus creating a sense of wikipedian's own necessity within the Wikipedia community (Bryant, Forte and Bruckman 2005; Kuznetsov 2006).

Wikipedia's success is not a random outcome brought about by technology or the contributions of millions of people. In fact, this success requires the coordination of all its editors with their common goals, customs, and traditions in the chaos created by an "order" in which "everyone is the editor" (McGrady 2009). In this self-organized community, there is no autocrat or managing organization with ultimate authority.

Yet, Wikipedia can succeed in reaching its goals in a disorganized situation where order exists. Some have referred to this phenomenon as "chaordic" a term coined by Dee Hock (1999). A portmanteau combining "chaos" and "order," this term refers to a system which integrates chaos and order then achieves harmony in its operation. We believe community consciousness is extremely important in allowing coordination within a movement seeking to find harmony between chaos and order.

Wikipedia is not merely an example of crowdsourcing with each person providing creativity, and it is not the case that all editors continue to contribute because of intrinsic motivation or enjoyment. Scholars point out that Wikipedia is already a social movement providing participants with the opportunity to create a social consciousness. Its enemies are exorbitant encyclopedias like Britannica, as well as the media and even governments which attack it, such as those governments which seek to censor Wikipedia. Originally it was a movement promoting free and open source software (Konieczny 2009).

The Occupy Wall Street movement also utilized crowdsourcing in its organizing and mobilization. It is worth noting two crowdsourcing organizations joined the Occupy movement and contributed their technology for the dissemination of messages. The Kickstarted, a crowdfuding website published the Occupied Wall Street Journal through publicly raised funds, and provided financial support for the Occupy movement. The Occupied Wall Street Journal states:

> "The *Occupied Wall Street Journal* is made possible by dozens of bright and talented people who have volunteered their work. The paper got off the ground thanks to over 1,600 generous donations to a kickstarter.com fundraiser. The *OWSJ* does not (and could not) represent anyone except its participants. The views of the authors are their own".[4]

In addition, the EpicStep is creating billboards which create public concern. EpicStep will donate the billboard if the number of votes surpasses a specified number.

In summary, crowdsourcing has already become a major organizing method for social movements. In a chaordic system with no central management, each contributes according to his or her strengths, and work is coordinated to achieve commonly shared goals and visions. In this form of crowdsourcing, it is political opportunities which create community consciousness and serve as intrinsic motivation to mobilize people with various talents to contribute their efforts.

Table 1 shows the theoretical framework of communitive action logic in contrast to the logic of collective action as well as the logic of connective action. The differences and similarities of the three logics are demonstrated by four dimensions: motivation, key network property, effect of new media and assumptions. In the following section, we utilize the Sunflower Movement in discussing these various theories.

---

[4] http://occupiedmedia.us/about/

Table 1: A comparison of the three theoretical logics regarding social movement at the internet age

	The Logic of Collective Action	The Logic of Connective Action	The Logic of Communitive Action
Motivation	• Self interest • Need selective incentives	• Self motivated; self disclosure	• Political opportunity fostered emotions and communitive consciousness • political efficacy
Key network property	• Coalitions of organizations as coordinator • Hierarchical overarching structures • SMO (social movement organization) as center	• No dominant organization or individual • Horizontal networks	• Technology savvy and political knowledge equipped leaders organizing • Both horizontal and hierarchical • Chaordic network
Effect of New Media	• Reduce cost but did not replace conventional organization	• Online communication platforms become organizations	• Community consciousness based online crowdsourcing
Assumption	Materialist rationality; individualism	Post-materialist rationality; individualism	Co-existence of rationality and emotion; communitarianism

IV. Sunflower Movement and the Logic of Communitive Action

4.1 Emotion Generated Communitive Conciousness

Political opportunity: The 30-second incident

The Sunflower Student Movement started after March 17, 2013.   On that day KMT committee chairman Chang Ching-chung gave his 30 second muddled announcement, which went as follows: "fifty-two are present.   Thus the legally necessary number has been reached.   Meeting is commenced.   Let us begin discussion.   Since it has been three months since the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (海峽兩岸服貿協議) (CSSTA) was submitted to committee for review, it is viewed as already reviewed according to regulations, and will be sent to the Legislative Yuan general assembly.   Meeting is adjourned."

After Chang declared the agreement had already passed, a group of social movement group leaders waiting outside believed President Ma Ying-Jeou's (馬英九) government, the group of KMT legislators led by Ma, and the KMT majority controlled Legislative Yuan had wantonly overstepped the bounds of acceptable democratic behavior, and violated the basic principles of a democracy, thus losing public trust. [5]   The outrage and dissatisfaction toward President Ma's government and the KMT members of the legislature, and the belief this government was challenging the norms of democracy, brought people from various walks of life together.

There were 23 groups in all participating in the Sunflower Movement community, with the main participants being: Black Island Youth Front (黑色島國青年陣線), Anti-Media Monopoly Youth Alliance(反媒體巨獸青年聯盟), the National Taiwan University Graduate Student Association (臺灣大學研究生協會), the Democratic Front Against Under Table Cross-Strait Trade in Services Agreement(反黑箱服貿行動聯盟), Taiwan Democracy Watch (台灣守護民主平台), Civic 1985 Action

---

[5] In particular, the website which explains the reasons of occupying the Legislative Yuan states '"the Legislative Yuan's power comes from the people.   Its primary directive should be to serve the people' is the directive stated on the Legislative Yuan's website, as well as the responsibility the people bestow upon the legislature in the constitution.   However, in reviewing the Service Trade Agreement, the Yuan was completely remiss in its duties.   In the past months, not only did it fail to review provisions carefully one at a time, but Internal Administration Committee co-convener Chang Ching-chung went so far as to violate review order and called review to a conclusion after only 30 seconds.   It is necessary for the people to take back their own legislature when it cannot fulfill the responsibilities the public entrusts to it."   See http://occupy-ly-flyer.tumblr.com/post/80234036137/why-occupy

Alliance (公民 1985 行動聯盟) , Citizen of the Earth (地球公民基金會), and the Taiwan Referendum Alliance (公投護台灣聯盟). When these groups stormed onto the Legislative Yuan floor on March 18, the nearly month long Sunflower Student Movement had begun.

Hereafter, tens of thousands of young students and members of the public identifying with the Sunflower Movement congregated around the Legislative Yuan and gradually formed a chaordic operating community. On March 30, close to five hundred thousand students, groups, and members of the younger generation took to the streets to protest a lack of transparency in the CSSTA process and the violation of democratic principles by the Ma government.[6] "When dictatorship is a fact, revolution is a duty," famous words from the novel *Night Train to Lisbon*, were written on the Legislative Yuan building not long after. The various groups participating in the Sunflower Movement generated community consciousness based on emotions of rage. This study explains the source of these emotions and how these catalyzed community cohesion below.

Anger & dissatisfaction

Prior to the Sunflower movement, the Taiwanese citizenry had expressed their extreme displeasure in and lack of trust for President Ma and his government in public opinion surveys.[7] In the midst of this distrust and dissatisfaction, as well as discontent about the lack of transparency in the Cross-Strait Trade Service Agreement, the exploitation of the younger generation, the conflict between the government and various social movement groups, and the government response to various controversies, all served to create greater dissatisfaction and anger among the younger generation and the white collar class.

The controversy over the CSSTA started in 2013. While the media divulged Mainland China and Taiwan would sign the agreement, the responsible government

---

[6] Yang Man-yu (楊曼瑜)(2014) and Chang Tieh-chih(張鐵志) (2014) both point to procedural problems in the Legislative Yuan as a critical element. In particular, Yang's onsite questionnaire survey demonstrates the lack of legitimacy in procedures is the problem protesters occupying the legislature are most concerned with.

[7] TVBS and Taiwan Indicators Survey Research polls show satisfaction and confidence have been at under 15% for more than one year.

organs did not have any plans or assessments concerning which items would be open to Mainland Chinese service industries, nor did the public have a clear grasp of the CSSTA, which led to its doubt concerning the agreement. [8]   Public opinion surveys indicated a large majority did not want the agreement signed, or felt a majority of citizens must consent before it was signed. [9]   Taiwan's citizens also were concerned about the impact Chinese industries would have on many of Taiwan's industries after the agreement was signed, in addition to having a negative influence on the groups which were presently looking for employment.   That is, it would deprive the younger generation of the means to make a living (Zheng Xiuling, 2013).

Huang Kuo-Chang (黃國昌), an Academia Sinica Institutum Jurisprudentiae (中央研究員法律所) researcher, was one of the primary leaders of the student movement.   He believes not even the officials responsible for reviewing the CSSTA know which laws should be applied in the review process. [10]   In addition, the government held no dialogue with the public concerning the agreement prior to signing, nor did they provide any assessment reposts; there was not even any data for the public hearings according to Huang.   After the Chang Ching-chung 30 second incident many of the Taiwanese public felt the KMT had violated democratic order.

While the public believed the students occupying the legislature were defending democracy (TISR, 2014, March 28), the government's response caused dissatisfaction and anger among the social movement leaders participating in the movement, students, and the public.   Posters visually recorded the student movement, and captured the belief held among participating students and members of the public that President Ma's government was authoritarian, that the student movement was forced on the public by the government, and their objection to the lack of transparency in the CSSTA.   These feelings of anger and dissatisfaction made President Ma's government the clear adversary of the student movement community.

The sentiments felt by participating students and citizens were well expressed by student movement leader Chen Wei-ting (陳為廷) in his speech to five hundred thousand participants.   Chen indicated the government had mistakenly assumed they could drag out previously used measures in dealing with these novices (the students)

---

[8] Hao, Ming-I. (2013, June 20).
[9] TMBS 47.9% support，37.6 oppose (TISR, 2013, June 28); TVBS 47% oppose，30% support(TVBS Poll Center, 2013, June 27).
[10] Please find the video at : http://youtu.be/R8ynQDzitjw

but that the taking to the streets by five hundred thousand students demonstrated they were not intimidated by the measures government took. In addition, Chen stated, because of Chang's absurd 30 second announcement, it would be necessary to pass laws revising the manner in which agreements such as the CSSTA were reviewed before it could be signed.

For these reasons, neither students nor the public could accept the government's actions concerning the CSSTA according to Chen. He further indicated it was President Ma and his government obstructing Taiwan's future development, and not the people. Finally, Chen urged compatriots to come together, and they did. At this time, there was a top-down emotional coming together of the participating students and citizens. They all felt the same opposition to the CSSTA's lack of transparency, as well as disgust toward President Ma's government. [11]

Figure 1 Opposition to lack of transparency in CSSTA

Figure 2: Fighting for Democracy   Figure 3: Take my nation back

Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/charlie_world/sets/72157643340435833/

---

[11] Chen Wei-Ting's Speech on March 30, 2014:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ujdRlZ6ARUE .

Figuere 4: Misgovernment drives the people to revolt.

Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/charlie_world/sets/72157643340435833/

The voice from the younger generation

Inglehart & Wezel (2006) propose every generation creates its own unique value system, which is not easily modified within this generation.   The past ten years have seen generational differences between the post-war baby boomers and the younger generation, as well as increasing tensions between the paternal mentality of the post-war baby boomer government and the younger generation.   Members of the younger generation were mostly born between 1970 and 1980, have a higher level of education than the previous generation, and grew up on a democratic environment.

While the younger generation has to abide by the rules set by the post-war baby boomers, they find their efforts in the workplace are often not adequately rewarded. Generational conflict is starting to appear because the younger generation is are gradually becoming the main source of labor in society, and feel they are not being fairly compensated (Lin Wan-i 2011; Lin and Li 2014).   The younger generation feels exploited for a number of reasons.   Their efforts in the workplace are rewarded with remuneration they feel is inadequate, a feeling which is met with scorn and cynicism from a baby boomer generation they see as hypocritical.   In addition, the government is unable to address their problems.   For these reasons, this generation feels the present leaders should not be the ones to decide their future (He 2012, p.20). These younger generation voters, feeling they lacked power or a medium for expression, distrusted the government, and gradually came together to form a group of young government opposition protesters as a result of the CSSTA controversy (Lin and Li 2014).

In particular, it was online that the younger generation came together before the

23

student movement began.　　On saying gained popularity on PTT, Taiwan's largest BBS: "We will not be united by social movement groups, the Civic 1985 Action Alliance, Chen Wei-ting, or Lin Fei-fan to take to the streets.　　Rather, Captain Ma (refers to President Ma) will unite us."　　So it was "Captain Ma" in the end who would bring these groups to take part in street demonstrations.

This widely circulated joke reflected young netizen ridicule and resentment toward President Ma's government.　　　When the student movement erupted, the above mentioned posters visually chronicling the events of the student movement directly reflected the students' dissatisfaction and feelings of helplessness.　　What is more, on PTT and Facebook President Ma was redrawn as a dictator, as *ma-ka-rong* (a nickname given to him because he thought deer antler velvet grew out of the deer's ears),[12] or someone who pretended not to hear the demands of the younger generation. These posters all expressed the young generation's resentment toward Ma Ying-Jeou (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Posters ridiculing President Ma
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/charlie_world/sets/72157643340435833/

This study also applied text mining technique and sentiment analysis to the digital data retrieved from Facebook fan pages of Black Island Youth Front (黑色島國青年陣線), the Democratic Front Against lack of transparency in Cross-Strait Trade in Services Agreement(反黑箱服貿行動聯盟), Civic 1985 Action Alliance (公民 1985 行動聯盟) and Watchout (沃草) during the period from March 1st 2014 to April 30th 2014. The netizens' narratives on those Fan Pages revealed Castells's notion of "networks of outrage and hope", and demonstrated the most important variables for allowing motivation to become political action.　　We found the terms

---

[12] The source of the phrase "*ma ka rong*" was an incident on March 3, 2014.　　While receiving foreign officials, President Ma stated deer antler velvet grew out of the deer's ears.

"*ma ka rong*"(馬卡茸) (N=331) and "lack of transparency" (黑箱) (N=102) were among the top 10 negative sentiment words used by netizens, which reflected the source of anger and dissatisfaction while "hope" (希望)(N=141) stood out as one of the three most used positive sentiment words.

In summation, the formation of this community of young generation members came about as a result of anger and resentment toward Ma Ying-Jeou, in addition to feelings of generational exploitation in the young, and dissatisfaction and government ineptitude. Experienced members of the younger generation formed the Sunflower Student Movement after becoming enraged by Chang Ching-chung's 30 second announce, and proceeded to launch a bitter protest. Beneath, this research discusses this community's feelings of political efficacy, and proposes feelings of anger and resentment were transformed into a notion of an "us" (young generation) and a "they" (government) because those willing to participate, such as student movement leaders, students, and members of the public, had strong feelings of political efficacy.

"We must take it upon ourselves to save our country": protesters' political efficacy

In the theoretical section of this paper, we propose members of the public who wish to participate in social movements have stronger feelings of political efficacy. In the Sunflower Movement, from those participants' age, their experiences growing up in democratic environment, and from their internet technological abilities, as well as from student movement slogans, we can clearly see the strong feelings of political efficacy held by Sunflower Movement participants.

Participants in the Sunflower Student Movement were made up primarily of the age group between twenty and forty[13] with the following characteristics: first of all, it was comprised of students, those who had not been active in society for long, and white collar workplace members. Those younger generation grew up during

---

[13] For example, a Google Taiwan search finds online discussion articles indicate participants were primarily between 20 and 30 years old. During the Sunflower Movement Yang Man-yu (楊曼瑜) and her friends handed out questionnaires and published the results on the Sunflower Student Movement Trade Service Civil Information Website. These results show participants were mainly between 20 and 40 years of age. Among these, the largest percentage, 50%, were between 20 and 29. Next was those 30-39(38%) (Yang 2014).

Taiwan's transition to democracy or during its democratic era and, thus, democracy is a part of their lives. In contrast, members of the post-war baby boomer generation grew up during a period of authoritarian rule, and were past their middle ages when the transition to democracy began. The research of scholars You and Xiao (2007) and Lin (2013) demonstrates the younger generation has significantly greater democratic values than the older generation. As such, they could not tolerate the lack of transparency and autocratic methods employed by President Ma's government, nor could they tolerate the Chang Ching-chung 30 second proclamation, or other examples such as the government's contempt for public opinion or its trampling on the principles of democracy.[14] Secondly, as stated previously in the theoretical portion of this paper, they desired to change society, but lacked actual authority, and the system gave them a feeling of powerlessness. They were unaccustomed to the "authoritarianism" of President Ma's government and the KMT majority in the legislature, who they felt were ignoring their needs and spouting lies. They also were not used to being able to do nothing about major political or economic events. Thirdly, at the same time, they were society's primary internet users. The experience possessed by online social movement leaders, information technology and related knowledge was integrated, and crowdsourcing was utilized to create an easy understand source of information on government. This provided the young generation, with strong feelings of political efficacy but no official channel for expressing itself, with the ability to quickly acquire knowledge, transmit messages, participate on collaborative sites, gather to participate in rallies, and seek to change their country and society (He 2012).

After the Chang Ching-chung incident, the civil movement was transformed from a social movement based on a unitary incident to a comprehensive social movement with a firm consciousness of "we" and "they" (young citizens who had become aware against President Ma's government). These newly awoken citizens often not only desired to oppose government, but felt Taiwan would change for the better as a result of their proactive participation. Yang (2014) performed onsite questionnaire surveys during the demonstrations and used text cloud method to

---

[14] Wei Liulin (柳林瑋) was one of the charter members of the 1985 Alliance(1985 聯盟) which dealt with the 2013 Hung Chung-chiu incident (洪仲丘事件). He asked: if the government does not see the people as master, and sees itself as master, can this be a democratic country? When the country starts to breach its obligations, and gradually encroaches on our inalienable basic rights, should we protest? Should we teach this government a lesson? (Liulin 2013 Aug. 3).

discover the goal of the younger generation's participation in the student movement was to make Taiwan a better country (Figure 6): "This is an opportunity to practically win back democracy and, at the same time, publicly discuss Taiwan's future direction in a society which takes part in exchanges without fear.   What is more, through the transforming the world, we will transform ourselves.   So you, and those around you, should not fear conflict.   Rather, do your best to communicate with one another, and Taiwan, was well as you as individuals, will be healthier and stronger for it."

The core tenets held by the social movement group was largely exemplified by these thoughts.   The younger generation making up the leaders and participants in this society believed they could protect Taiwan's democracy in standing up to the muddleheaded government and save this imperiled country.

Figure 6: We, Taiwan
Source: Yang (2014).

Figure 7: I love Taiwan, Never give up; Protecting our Democracy; Sunflower
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/charlie_world/sets/72157643340435833/

In summation, the younger generation's feelings of dissatisfaction were gradually formed over several years.   Many of groups who felt they had no official channel for expression took to the internet and created various associations to express their dissatisfaction.   They felt the present system and government could not represent them.   The lack of transparency in the CSSTA and Chang's thirty second incident caused the eruption of the student movement in which the student movement and social movement leaders, with strong feelings of political efficacy, took action and occupied the Legislative Yuan floor.   This provided an outlet of expression for the younger generation already resentful of government.

The student movement leaders furthermore used communication and the internet to inspire feelings of political efficacy in other members of the younger generation, thus giving them the will to stand up for their rights.   Political opportunity created feelings of anger and solidarity, as well as other sentiments, and brought the younger generation together in community consciousness.   Under the impetus of this group with strong feelings of political efficacy, all participants felt, through this student movement, they could force the government to respond to the demands of the people and move "our Taiwan" in a better direction.

4.2 Leadership in Communitive Action: Chaordic Organizing

Chaordic network and equipped leaders

As this study previously indicates, over twenty communities participated in the Sunflower Movement.   In addition, many members of the public and students joined the movement right on site.   These groups, students, and members of the public had not previously been familiar with each other, nor had there been clear organization within the student movement community at the outset.   However, within two days of the student movement's eruption, leaders such as the Black Island Youth Front's Chen Wei-ting and Anti-Media Monopoly Youth Alliance's Lin Fei-fan started to appear before the media.

Hereafter, the *gøv Website*[15] started providing an information platform for the

---

[15] gøv is an online community in Taiwan that promotes information transparency, focusing on

movement, but did not participate in movement decision making.   Not long after, the media reported not all groups or members could participate in student movement leadership.   The leadership class was comprised of certain part of the movement which has social movement experience which made up a decision making committee (ETTV News, 2014, Apr 3). However, the situation was more fluid concerning who could participate in decision making discussions.

According to reports, the decision making committee for the Sunflower Movement was made up of nine members.   Among these, five were members of a student group and four were members of social movement groups.   All members had substantial experience as social movement leaders.   These leaders included Chen Wei-ting, who had participated in the Dapu Farmland eminent domain case(大埔農地案), Lin Fei-fan, who had protested the attempt of the Want Want China Times Group to form a media monopoly (旺旺中時案), Huang Kuo-Chang(黃國昌), who had been a commentator on the CSSTA controversy, and others.   Students and groups with no previous experience were all on the outermost periphery concerning decision making, and complained in discussion meetings prior to decision making (Appledaily, 2014, Apr 7).

Many participants were resentful of the committee and felt the decision making process was not democratic.   In fact, as decisions were made by a small number of persons with experience calling the shots, the Sunflower Movements decision making process was not at all democratic.   The reason for this lack of democracy was the necessity of making rapid decisions to address adversarial attacks, in addition to preventing leaks (LTN, 2014, Apr, 7). Therefore, the movement gave up on having collective or democratic decision making apparatuses (Kung & Ho, 2014, Apr 9).

Chen Wei-ting indicated that the reason for a small number of people making decisions because only a few but not all participants know how.   In addition, they were avoiding a despotic totalitarian.   Therefore, they could not utilize democratic mechanisms, as this might lead to a situation in which decisions could not be made and allow the movement to be broken by the government.   On the contrary, Chen stated, we should ask what kind of government forced this closed decision-making

---

process on the student movement (Ho & Hung, 2014; LTN, 2014, Apr, 7). A student spokesperson did not respond concerning the reason a number of students left the movement and formed the "liberated area of the untouchables" to protest the exclusionist and elitist cadre leadership (Kung & Lu, 2014, Apr 3).

Community consciousness and organizing

Figure 8 diagrams this student movement's structure of organizing. The highest decision making level was a nine member committee composed of five student movement leaders and four social movement group leaders. This committee could also exchange opinions with the participating community through the gøv Website. However, these groups did not participate in making decisions. Students and citizens further on the periphery of this movement acted in accordance to operation commands.

The right side of the organizing diagram (*gøv Website*, groups and citizens providing resources) is the crowdsourcing part of the community. While the *gøv Website* and related assisting groups supported student movement operations, they also did not participate in decision making. Rather, crowdsourcing appears in the section concerning *gøv Website* and other groups providing assistance. The student movement organization differs from other vertical top down leadership social movement organizations in that its core figures could not control or order around those under them. Rather, they provided direction, so that overall structure of community organizing could continuously change in response to the situation.

This emotionally generated community took action as result of the CSSTA controversy and Chang's thirty second pronouncement. Because of their feelings of resentment concerning generational exploitation, strong feelings of distrust toward government existed. In addition, the younger generation was resentful and angry because the system did not provide them with a channel for expression. At the same time, the leaders and students, and citizens participating in this community had strong collective efficacy (Bandura, 1995), and believed they could make the country better through their efforts. This communitive consciousness supported the entire organizations operations.
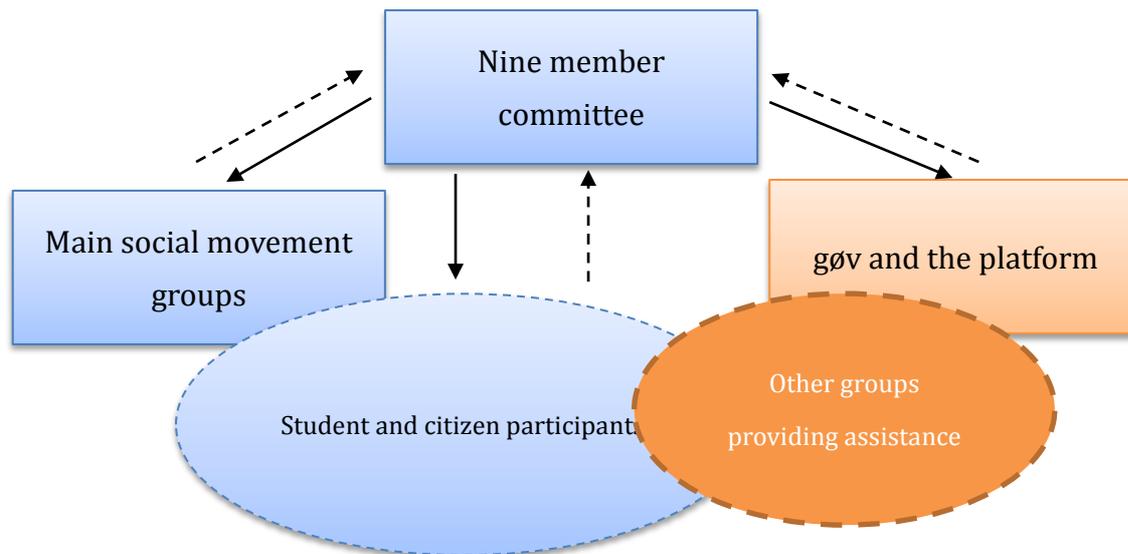
Figure 8

The Structure of Sunflower Student Movement community organizing diagram

* Solid lines represent actual impacts, while broken lines represent assistance or support.

4.3 Communitive Consciousness as Crowdsourcing Motivation

"Crowdsourcing" was first proposed as a concept in 2006.   In his 2008 book *Crowdsourcing*, Jeff Howe officially defined the term as a group of people providing their own extra-professional time to collectively undertake an activity outside their own careers and without the goal of profit (ETToday, 2014, March 19).   Participating groups immediately demanded assistance online after the Legislative Yuan was occupied on March 18, 2014 in order to deal with the security and riot police on the outside of the building.   Newspaper reports from and after 3/18 indicate thousands of police were continuously dispatched to the areas around the legislature in order to deal with the occupation.   The students occupying the Yuan were in desperate need of humanpower, material resources, and monetary resources.

If there was insufficient humanpower, the police on the outside would be able to break through student movement barricades, and material goods were an essential necessity form sustaining humanpower inside and outside of the legislature. Financial resources were necessary to the support of large scale activity operations

and making pronouncements to the outside world.   These all required the assistance of a competent group.   The crowdsourcing involved in communitive consciousness indicates cooperation and participation based on common beliefs and ideas.   Groups participating in this student movement essentially identified with its demands.   Their qualities resemble the logistic section of organizational operations, as they were of assistance to the entire operations of the student movement community.   Overall, crowdsourcing can be divided into information, press releases, fundraising, and other areas.

Crowdsourcing platform

Within the student movement crowdsourcing was an example of a horizontal cooperation framework being undertaken within a vertical top down leadership community.   The *gøv Website* platform was originally a crowdsourcing site.   When it was founded, it emphasized its members came from across Taiwan.   There guiding principles were freedom of speech and information transparency, as well as the pursuit of independent and transparent information concerning government.   They also emphasized a goal of bringing about change and an unwillingness to resort to cynicism or apathy.   Furthermore, this organization was decentralized in nature; it sought free participation and discussion in decision making.   As such, it shared many similarities in its original organization and decision making methods.

Crowdsourcing information

The *gøv* Platform started the Congress Occupied website (http://g0v.today/congressoccupied/ project) during the student movement.   Their slogan is "a new day will come."   Within this project, the *gøv Website* provided the following while the Sunflower Student Movement was going on:

1.   Created media broadcast zone faster than satellite news gathering vehicles: "the original 3G would not work.   We then set up a Wi-Fi base station

Wimax action wireless internet base.   Hereafter, we extended a 60M / 15M bi-directional line onto the legislature floor to provide a wireless internet feed in addition to the wired one."

2.   Created the information portal *gøv.today*:   this innovative network was the result of many HackFolders being reorganized on the *gøv* portal.   People could use the fastest Ustream to view video broadcasts, text broadcasts (including English), video recordings, and news excerpts regarding CSSTA.

3.   Network management and central control: the area of network management involves responsibility for the role of MIS inside the legislature. Central control is the contact people who coordinate all work, much like PM (Atticus, 2014).

At the same time, this platform also provided channels with live broadcasts to directly view the student movement.   These channels were provided by freely participating individuals.   Furthermore, this platform also coordinated man power so that students and citizens participating freely in the student movement could go to the places where there was the greatest need in assisting the movement (gøv, 2014) (See Figure 8).

Crowdsourcing news

The student movement also used crowdsourcing for news releases.   Prior to the start of the Sunflower Movement, student leaders had no intention of relying on the mainstream media.   Wei Liulin (柳林瑋), one of the organizers of the 1985 Alliance, also organized the creation of the *Musou.tw* Website during the CSSTA controversy.

Through contemporaneous video and text, the site presented the news concerning Legislative Yuan sessions.   For example, it was *Musou.tw* which disclosed the Chang 30 second incident. [16]   In addition, if the mainstream media would present the student movement in a biased manner while it was happening, leaders of *Musou.tw* called on the public to participate, and created a large information network which presented news to Taiwanese and foreign media sources (such as PTT, Facebook), and constructed the *Democracy at 4am Website* for crowdfunding.

---

[16] http://musou.tw/focuses/19

After the student movement started, more and more websites spontaneously joined the movement to organize and provide information. At the same time, whenever the mainstream media or government presented news disadvantageous to the movement, these sites were able to provide rapid response. Such groups included "The Democratic Front Against Cross Strait Trade in Services Agreement," "the News Lens," "Taiwan People News," and others. These news sites were able to present an alternative to the mainstream website media format news and opinion sites. Though some of these news sites were created before the movement, they became a new news complex after attending crowdsourcing.

This division of labor made it possible for the student movement to utilize the internet in coordinating the labor division, to release news, and to use live video broadcasts to put an end to the mainstream media's dissemination of false information. It also assisted in the allotment of duties for students inside the Executive Yuan, as well as calling for material resources, and other actions.

Crowdfunding

Social movements require funding. The *white shirt brigade* (白衫軍), which had used small contribution funding in movements from protests over the Hung Chung-chiu incident in 2013, in which an army corporal was forced to perform excessive physical exercises, thus resulting in his death, to the Sunflower Movement. During the Sunflower Movement, it created a dedicated fundraising planning site for social movements. Most commendably, student movement participants were able to raise 6,630,000 NT$ and publish a two day advertisement entitled "Democracy at 4 am" in the *New York Times*.

Social movements requiring capital can propose projects on VDEMOCRACY[17] by posting a video and a fundraising plan on the site, as well as ideas, before commencing public fundraising. Many of the ideas held by VDEMOCRACY's team of charter members, as seen on its Facebook page, are similar to other Sunflower Movement groups. They state "this mass fundraising site is solely for social movements, and we hope one day this will not be necessary" (Vdemocracy, 2014a). Plans such as the "appendectomy plan"(to recall the legislators from the KMT camp)

---

[17] https://www.vdemocracy.tw/

raised 11,984,994 NT$ (Vdemocracy, 2014b), and the Sunflower Movement image record raised 5,011,309 NT$ in funds (Vdemocracy, 2014c).   This division of labor concerning finances allowed social movement groups participating in the Sunflower Movements to efficaciously connect with those groups willing to provide capital assistance without having to deal with other fundraising organizations.

In examining crowdsourcing in the Sunflower Student Movement, we find most participants were social movement groups comprised of the younger generation. Because the larger part of them were of the younger group, or had normal jobs, the process of networking and crowdsourcing in and of itself was the spontaneous coming together of these groups.   These crowdsourcing groups had already started to contend individually with the government over the CSSTA dispute.   After the student movement erupted as a result of the Chang Ching-chung 30 second incident, these groups, which were technologically savvy, were able to assist in movement operations to achieve common goals: make Taiwan better and force President Ma's government to take responsibility for its policies.

V. Conclusion

This study has proposed the logic of communitive action as an avenue for analyzing social movements in the digital era, and attempted to facilitate a dialogue based on this logic and those of connective and collective action, and to analyze these three theories and the implications of their similarities and differences.   This paper took Taiwan's Sunflower movement as case study, and hoped to propose a new way of thinking concerning the research of online politics.

The logic of collective action starts with an assumption of materialist rationality, and believes selective incentives and coercion are necessary in order for collective actions aimed at the common good to succeed because of the individual's self-interested considerations.   Therefore, it is necessary to have large scale social movement organizations to provide, resources and to mobilize participating groups in a top down manner.   While new forms of media can lessen the capital necessary for collective action, it cannot alter organizational form or mobilization methods according to the logic of collective action.

In contrast to materialist rationality, the logic of connective action emphasizes young netizens' self-expressive mentality in the post material society.   It also emphasizes the personalizing effect internet technology has on social movements. At present, social movements are not led by large scale organizations, and do not have dominant organizers but, rather, are horizontal networks made up of individuals. The use of new forms of media has substantially decreased the importance of formal organizations, and communication technology itself has become the organization.

This study proposes the logic of communitive action with three primary aspects differentiating it from the two other theories.   Firstly, we believe emotion/affect plays the important role of creating community consciousness in online social movement mobilization.   Furthermore, political opportunity spurs dissatisfied groups to express this dissatisfaction online, and these groups gradually come together in a collective identity, thus forming a community consciousness.   Secondly, with respect to organizational form, the logic of communitive action emphasizes the importance of leadership.   Internet initiated social movements still require the constant organizing process made by technologically savvy and politically knowledgeable leaders. While they do not have set large scale organization leadership, the existence of several core figures with strong feelings of political efficacy is critical.   Thirdly, another impact of internet technology regards the division of labor in a social movement.   Collective consciousness is a motive for online crowdsourcing, for which there are no set leaders or regulations.   Therefore, the key properties of the network in communitive action are its horizontal connections.   However, leaders and participants are still connected in a top down manner.

Taiwan's Sunflower Movement was not only the first social movement to occupy the Legislative Yuan, it was also unprecedented in terms of its utilization of internet technology.   Controversy over the lack of transparency in the CSSTA and Chang Ching-chung's 30 seconds provided the political opportunity allowing the public to express their resentment.   A group of citizens and students who wanted to change Taiwanese society gradually formed the Sunflower Movement with its commonness of identity.   Among these groups, the *gφv Website,* organized by technologically skilled participants, provided a crowdsourcing platform.

In addition, under the direction of leaders with social movement experience, and participants with a strong knowledge of information technology, groups utilized

outsourcing to lend a hand.   From the Sunflower Movement we can discover selective incentives or coercion are not necessary to overcome the problem of freeriding, a concern for the logic of collective action.   Because of the anger created by resentment toward the present government, a communitive consciousness of "our side" was formed with the government as the "other."   In addition, the education participants received in Taiwan's democratic environment caused them to have unyielding demands of transparency toward the government.   They also possessed strong feelings of political efficacy.   Under the direction of leaders who understood internet technology and possessed social movement experience, the entire movement quickly spread and had a great impact.

Internet technology is already an integral part of modern society, and we can expect internet initiated social movements will be necessary trend.   Changes in political behavior brought about by internet technology are an issue both social movement research and political research must grasp.   This study hopes its logic of communitive action theory can open up new research horizons, and assist us in understanding and analyzing the ceaseless social movements which will occur in various countries in the future.

References

Anduiza, E., Perea, E. A., Jensen, M. J., & Jorba, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Digital media and political engagement worldwide: A comparative study*. Cambridge University Press.

Appledaily. (2014, Apr 7). Undemocratic? Fan and Ting: "pain every day". *Appledaily*. Retrieved 26th July, 2014 from http://www.appledaily.com.tw/realtimenews/article/new/20140407/374788/ (Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Atticus. (2014). Technologies and Applications for 318 Students Movements. Message Posted to http://www.cool3c.com/article/78266(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Bandura, A. (Ed.) (1995). *Self-efficacy in changing societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Barbalet, J. M. (1998): *Emotion, Social Theory, and Social Structure: A Macrosociological Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bell, C. and Newby, H. (1971). *Community Studies*, London: George Allen and. Unwin.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, *15*(5), 739-768.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2013). *The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Bryant, S. L., Forte, A., & Bruckman, A. (2005, November). Becoming Wikipedian: transformation of participation in a collaborative online encyclopedia. In *Proceedings of the 2005 international ACM SIGGROUP conference on Supporting group work* (pp. 1-10). ACM.

Buechler, S. M. (1990). *Women's movements in the United States: woman suffrage, equal rights, and beyond*. Rutgers University Press.

Castells, M. (2013). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in*

the internet age. John Wiley & Sons.

Chang, Tieh-chih. (2014, April 2). From "a Little Happiness" to the Angry Generation. *CommonWealth Magazine.* Retrieved 31st July, 2014 from http://opinion.cw.com.tw/blog/profile/7/article/1201(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Davou, B & Demertzis, N. (2013). Feeling the Greek Financial Crisis. In Demertzis, N. (ed.). *Emotions in Politics: The Affect Dimension in Political Tension*. Palgrave Macmillan, 93-123.

Diani, M. (1992). The concept of social movement. *The sociological review*, *40*(1), 1-25.

ETToday. (2014, March 19). 318 Student Movement: Students from Central and Southern Taiwan Support the 318 Student Movement by hiring Buses. *ETToday.* Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from http://www.ettoday.net/news/20140319/336466.htm(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

ETTV News. (2014, Apr 3). Wild lily student movement in the past "collective decision", now Sunflowers "nine people leadership". *ETTV News*. Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from http://news.ebc.net.tw/apps/newsList.aspx?id=1396528808(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Fominaya, C. F. (2010). Creating Cohesion from Diversity: The Challenge of Collective Identity Formation in the Global Justice Movement. *Sociological inquiry*, *80*(3), 377-404.

Frohlich, N., & Oppenheimer, J. A. (1978). *Modern political economy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Frohlich, N., & Oppenheimer, J. A. (1997). Tests of leadership solutions to collective action problems. *Simulation & Gaming*, *28*(2), 181-197.

Gøv. (2014). Anti Black Box CSSTA, Defending our Democracy. Retrieved from URL: http://hackfoldr.org/congressoccupied/https%253A%252F%252Fethercalc.org%252Fstatic%252Fcongressoccupied.html(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Hao, Ming-I. (2013, June 20). We left less than 24 hours. *CommonWealth Magazine*. Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from

http://opinion.cw.com.tw/blog/profile/88/article/418(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Ho, Che-Hsin & Hung, Min-Lung. (2014, Apr, 8). Fang-Ting are blamed made black box decision. *Appledaily*. Retrieved 30th July, 2014 from http://www.appledaily.com.tw/appledaily/article/headline/20140408/35752573/(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Ho, Ming-Hsiu. (2012). Rise of Student Movement and Generation Justice.(Electronic Version). *NTU Alumni Bimonthly, 82.*

Hock, D. (1999). *Birth of the chaordic age*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Hossain, M. (2012, May). Users' motivation to participate in online crowdsourcing platforms. In *Innovation Management and Technology Research (ICIMTR), 2012 International Conference on* (pp. 310-315). IEEE.

Hsu, Ching-fang. (2014). Why We Need to Occupy Legislative Yuan. Message Posted to http://occupy-ly-flyer.tumblr.com/post/80234036137/why-occupy(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Hunt, S. A., & Benford, R. D. (2004). Collective identity, solidarity, and commitment. In David Snow ed., *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, 433-457.

Jenkins, J. C. (1983). Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements. *Annual review of sociology*, 527-553.

Kann, M. E., Berry, J., Grant, C., & Zager, P. (2007). The Internet and youth political participation. *First Monday*, *12*(8).

Kenski, K., & Stroud, N. J. (2006). Connections between Internet use and political efficacy, knowledge, and participation. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *50*(2), 173-192.

Klandermans, B. (1993). A theoretical framework for comparisons of social movement participation. In *Sociological forum*, 8(3), 383-402.

Konieczny, P. (2009). Wikipedia: Community or Social Movement?". *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*, *1*(2), 212-232.

Kung, Te-Lien & Lu, Yun-Sheng. (2014, Apr, 3). 23 Students left and organized Lower People Liberation Zone to Against Elite-Leadership of Sun Flower Movement. *Appledaily*. Retrieved 30th July, 2014 from http://www.appledaily.com.tw/appledaily/article/headline/20140403/35743128/(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Kung, Yu-Chien & Ho, Yen-Tang. (2014, Apr, 9). Next Step for Sunflower student movement: Running Democracy by The Spirit of the "People Boss". *Liberty Times News (LTN).* Retrieved 28th July, 2014 from http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/opinion/paper/769213(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Kuznetsov, S. (2006). Motivations of contributors to Wikipedia. *ACM SIGCAS computers and society*, *36*(2), 1.

Laraña, E., Johnston, H., & Gusfield, J. R. (Eds.). (2009). *New social movements: From ideology to identity*. Temple University Press.

Leimeister, J. M., Huber, M., Bretschneider, U. and Krcmar, H. (2009.) Leveraging Crowdsourcing: Activation-Supporting Components for IT-Based Ideas Competition. *Journal of Management Information Systems* (26:1) Sum, 197-224.

Liao, D. and B. Chen (2013). The Internet: a Mobilization Tool for the Peripheral Political Agents - a Reflection on Online Political Participation Theories. Paper presented at Japanese Political Science Association Annual Conference, Sapporo, Japan.

Liberty Times News (LTN). (2014, Apr, 7). Decision undemocratic? Chen Wei-Ting: People Misunderstood. *Liberty Times News (LTN).* Retrieved 24th July, 2014 from http://iservice.ltn.com.tw/2013/specials/stp/news.php?rno=10&no=983602&type=l(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Lin, Chien-Fu & Li, Chun-Wei. (2014).Why Some Young Generation don't Want to Accept CSSTA?. *National Policy Foundation Commentary*. Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from http://www.npf.org.tw/post/1/13457(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Lin, Wan-I. (2011, November). *Generations justice, Distributive Justice and Residential Justice: Status and Prospects.* Paper presented at Faced with Public and Justice: Towards Sustainable Seminars. Yu, Chi-Chung Cultural & Educational

Foundation.

Liu Lin, Wei. (2013, August 3). Liu Lin, Wei's Speech for protest over Hung Chung-Chiu Death on 3rd August, 2013. Message Posted to http://pttcitizen1985.blogspot.tw/2013/08/803.html(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Livingston, Geoff. (2010). 4 Real Challenges to Crowdsourcing for Social Good. http://mashable.com/2010/10/12/social-good-crowdsourcing/(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

MacKinnon, R. (2012). *Consent of the networked: the world-wide struggle for Internet freedom*. Basic Books.

McGrady, R. (2009). Gaming against the greater good. *First Monday*, *14*(2).

Melucci, A. (1988). Getting involved: identity and mobilization in social movements. *International social movement research*, *1*, 329-348.

Norris, P. (2001). *Digital divide: Civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide*. Cambridge University Press.

Olson, M (1971). *The Logic of Collective Action- Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard Economic Studies.

Pearlman, W. (2013). Affects in the Arab Uprisings. In Demertzis, N. (ed.). *Emotions in Politics: The Affect Dimension in Political Tension*. Palgrave Macmillan, 228-242.

Radio Taiwan International. (2014, March, 17). Conflicts Between the Ruling and Opposition Parties, and the CSSTA is Sent to Plenary Session; for reference. Retrieved 30th July, 2014 from http://news.sina.com.tw/article/20140317/11999201.html(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Rohlinger, D. A., & Brown, J. (2009). Democracy, action, and the Internet after 9/11. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *53*(1), 133-150.

Stutje, J. W. (Ed.). (2012). *Charismatic Leadership and Social Movements: The Revolutionary Power of Ordinary Men and Women* (Vol. 19). Berghahn

Books.

Taiwan Indicators Survey Research (TISR). (2013, June 28). *Taiwan Mood Barometer Survey (TMBS) on the last third of June 2013*. Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from http://www.tisr.com.tw/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/TISR_TMBS_201306_2.pdf(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Taiwan Indicators Survey Research (TISR). (2013, October 31). *Taiwan Mood Barometer Survey (TMBS) on the last third of October 2013*. Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from http://www.tisr.com.tw/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/TISR_TMBS_201310_2.pdf(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Taiwan Indicators Survey Research (TISR). (2014, March 28). *Taiwan Mood Barometer Survey (TMBS) on the last third of March 2014*. Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from http://www.tisr.com.tw/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/TISR_TMBS_201403_2.pdf(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in movement: Social movements, collective action and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tolbert, C. J., & McNeal, R. S. (2003). Unraveling the effects of the Internet on political participation?. *Political research quarterly*, *56*(2), 175-185.

TVBS Poll Center. (2013, June 27). *Survey for CSSTA*. Retrieved 29th July, 2014 from http://home.tvbs.com.tw/static/FILE_DB/PCH/201401/20140117100505510.pdf(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Underleider, N. (2011). The Stealth Leaders Of Occupy Wall Street. http://owsanalysis.wordpress.com/2012/04/24/leadership-in-the-movement/ (Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

VDemocracy. (2014a). About VDemocracy (Facebook). Retrieved from URL: https://www.facebook.com/vdemocracy(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

VDemocracy. (2014b). Project of Recall KMT Legislators. Retrieved from URL: https://www.vdemocracy.tw/project/3080(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

VDemocracy. (2014c). Project of Image Record of 318 Sunflower Student Movement. Retrieved from URL: https://www.vdemocracy.tw/project/2775(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).

Virnoche, M. E., & Marx, G. T. (1997). "Only Connect"—EM Forster in an Age of Electronic Communication: Computer-Mediated Association and Community Networks. *Sociological Inquiry*, *67*(1), 85-100.

Yang, Man-Yu. (2014). What We Learn from Sun Flower Movement: Power of Participation. Message Posted to http://sunflower318.com/section-table/social-person/item/440-the-power-of-involve.html(Accessed at Aug. 1 2014).