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大學生參與太陽花運動之動機研究  
Student Motivations in Sunflower Movement Participation:  
A Case Study

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## Abstract

During the Sunflower Movement of March 2014, it was the university students that played a prominent role. Because of this, several misconceptions about the Sunflower Movement arose. Among them was that it only appealed to a small radical fringe of society, especially those with strong anti-Chinese sentiments. This cast a shadow on the movement as a whole, and the true motivations why students became involved was unclear. This paper takes a multi-dimensional approach to specifying the reasons behind why students participated. First, it breaks down the various motivations students had and compares this with how invested they became in the movement. Secondly, it takes into account students' backgrounds to see whether or not this affected their motivations. Using this approach, we can see a relation between one's background, motivations, and their eventual outcome in protest.

**Keywords:** Kuomintang (KMT), Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Cross-Strait Services Trade Agreement (CSSTA), Abeyance Structure, Motivation, Under-the-table Operation

## 摘要

在 2014 年 3 月的太陽花學運裡，參與的學生在此次扮演主要的角色。也因為如此，各領域響起許多質疑的聲浪，認為此運動只匯集了較邊緣的社會思想，尤其是極端反中的論點。這使得太陽花學運帶著不透明性，真正發起和參與的學生動機變得難以捉摸。此論文採用各方觀點加以探討，並分類大學生參與之背後的真正原由。研究首先細化就讀大學之參與者的動機，參考其投入程度，加以比較各種參加的原因；次而探討其學歷背景是否因而對其造成影響。本研究運用這兩項方法比對，釐清參與學生之背景、動機、成果的交互影響之關係。

**關鍵詞:** 國民黨 (KMT), 民進黨 (DPP), 服貿 (CSSTA), 擱置結構, 動機, 黑箱作業



## Preface

When I first arrived in Taiwan in the spring of 2013, I made several general observations about my surrounding new group of Taiwanese friends. Coming from the United States, I got the sense that Taiwan was generally peaceful and their society was dedicated to keeping all societal matters stable. As my studies progressed and I learned more about Taiwan's international situation, I would question local friends about their opinion on these issues. For example, the fact that their government will repeatedly have trouble joining international organizations, or engaging in trade deals with other nations is definitely an issue that I would seek to solve if I were a citizen. Yet, as I probed them on the issue, many would either respond nonchalantly. Those stating their personal opinion would follow up with keeping a "status quo" for now, so as to not push for "radical changes." There seemed to be no strong sense of unity in how they wanted their future Taiwan to look like. Most seemed to only regard short-term comfort as the most important aspect.

The following year, as the Sunflower Movement began, my previous notions of Taiwanese citizens changed in an instant. Overnight, the majority of my friends grew emotional. In the meantime, a more straightforward national sentiment among them had been mobilized. Friends suddenly grew more political: posting political messages on social networks, denouncing acts of the government, antagonizing China as a bully, and proclaiming themselves as Taiwanese. Within them was a fear about their future. A services trade bill that could impact many facets of normal life in Taiwan was on the verge of being passed. The most likely things that it would inflict: greater job competition, new laborers from China, and an uncertain path for Taiwan's domestic industries. On the surface, it was easy to understand where the problems could arise, but I had my own questions. How did Taiwanese suddenly get these strong opinions and poignant views in such a short amount of time? Is there a certain structure that houses these ideas? I set out to find my answers by searching various networks and finding people who could explain where such a strong show of strength in emotion came from.

Hopefully, this can also present several explanations as to why people engage in protest actions, and why many are willing to participate in it so eagerly. To be clear, this is not defending all types of protestors' actions, or placing blame on any group, but to

detail one's path in choosing whether or not to get involved. It is my desire that with this comes a greater understanding of protestors and their causes of involvement. Often, their voices are ignored by the media and they have no opportunity to individually voice their own opinion on the matter. It is my hope that there can be less animosity and violence towards them in the future. Protests have always been a part of society, and as long as protests are peaceful, there is no reason for them to live in fear. For those who disagree with them, a free democratic system always grants these rights.



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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

There are many different types of protest engagements that occur within society. Whether it is protesting on streets blocking traffic, or conducting hunger strikes, all of these methods work to raise awareness with the general public regarding one certain group's dissatisfactions. Protesting is society's way of venting frustrations over a particular event that has occurred. It is a mob made up of ordinary citizenry that is using its strength in numbers to go up against another, notably stronger, opponent. This study will investigate students of the Sunflower Movement, who took on the role as protestors, and see what motivations brought them from conducting their normal daily activities to going out onto the streets (or occupying government buildings) and participating in this phenomenon. All students have their own story and reasons as to why they did or did not take part, which is what we will discover in this paper. We will learn about seven different people and their own personal accounts for involvement in the Sunflower Movement.

This paper is divided into six chapters with the focus of Chapter 1 introducing the topic to the reader by building a framework for this study. It will start off with historical aspects before detailing various demographic studies that have been already completed on the Sunflower Movement. This will attempt to establish that the movement brought many different types of students together. Chapter 2's literature review will include past studies from a sociological point of view and differentiate the context of this movement from other protests of the past. Chapter 3 will begin case studies on topics that directly motivated students to protest. It will look at four out of the seven students who particularly demonstrate motivations and its outcomes well. It examines various motivations for involvement then compares this to how attached they were in the Movement. We can then begin to get a better understanding behind where the numbers in the Sunflower Movement lie. As chapter 3 mentions motivations, or direct causes for one's actions, Chapter 4 will go deeper into this issue and analyze one's background. In other words, it will examine how one can have a larger propensity to feel motivated to protest due to certain events in their past. This will suggest that one's motivation to protest was not wholly decided on that day, but structures from their past increase the likelihood for them to take action. These "abeyance structures" affected the way that they

think, increasing reason for them to get motivated. Here, the remaining three out of the seven students particularly exemplify this structural model well and we can get to know about this more through them. Chapter 5 will be an analysis bringing all three variables of the structural causes, motivations, and outcomes together. This will be used to determine how the thought process and motivational inputs all affect the final outcome in one's decision to participate or not. Chapter 6 will be a final conclusion on the project. This will be an overall qualitative study on several students examining both their background identity, environment, and thought process to pinpoint what factors led them to decide to protest.

### *1.1 Student Protest Involvement History*

In 1766, the first recorded student protest in America occurred at Harvard University, with what is known today as the “Great Butter Rebellion”<sup>1</sup>. Students staged a walkout in the dining hall as a reaction to the rancid state of butter that was continuously served to them on a daily basis. Or specifically using their words: “Behold our butter stinketh and we cannot eat thereof.”<sup>2</sup> In further disobedience, the student body held together against the school's authorities not to out the instigator. In spite of being threatened with expulsion, the students had administrators cornered. And with nowhere else to turn, the administrators had to cave into their demands and find an approach to satisfy their needs. This marked the first time university students engaged in some form of student disobedience, and using careful calculation, it just happened to be successful. The foundational seeds of an activist culture were sowed, and students would begin to express their grievances more freely and frequently. Indeed, within a few years, far more instances of student defiance arose at Harvard; it developed a new way for students to speak out and get their demands fulfilled.

University students getting involved in movements is not a rare concept throughout the world. Even in a more traditional Chinese society, students too have played vital roles in the past. On May 4, 1919, during the early days of the Republic of China governance, China was put at a weak international position due to foreign powers' intervention. The Treaty of Versailles granted former German spheres of influence, namely Shandong, to the Empire of Japan. To protest officials' weak stances and the

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<sup>1</sup> Ireland, 2012

<sup>2</sup> Lipset, 1972

impending Japanese takeover of former Chinese land, students from different universities met and drafted specific demands. Among these were dispose the government ministers failing to protect Chinese interests, boycott Japanese products, and to protest the treaty. After protestors burned down the home of one of the government officials, the government began to clamp down and arrest students involved. Protests then spread to other large cities, such as Shanghai, where a general strike severely hurt this major economy. Forced to cave into public pressure, the arrested students were released, the involved officials were dismissed, and China officially withdrew support the treaty, although the latter would only be a symbolic gesture as Japan retained control of the territories negotiated in the treaty. The partial victory did mean that students' successful rallying cry brought all people of society together, laying the foundation for future Chinese Nationalist, and perhaps Communist movements.<sup>3</sup>

Today, university students have taken this torch and continued to play a very active role when it comes to social movements, similar to in the past. This demographic of society, by and large, has maintained a significant voice in a multitude of countries across the globe when it comes to expressing their grievances with society. As in the above example, many student protests converge around themes properly concerning them. Among different college campuses in the United States, protests against tuition costs, budget cuts, or other local issues are very widespread and it does not extend outside of campus boundaries. However, there are other times, especially during protest waves, where the main issue at hand may only indirectly concern students at best, yet something always pushes huge numbers of students to get involved in this debate (Van Dyke, 2003). The 2014 Sunflower Movement in Taiwan serves as a primary example in this regard. Students were the primary protestors, despite what they were fighting for did not primarily concern just them.

### *1.2 What Happened to Spark the Sunflower Movement?*

In March 2014, students in Taiwan protested the expedited passing of a controversial trade deal known as the Cross Strait Services Trade Agreement (CSSTA), which is part of the larger Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). The main premise of CSSTA was to open up service sectors between the two economies of

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<sup>3</sup> Wasserstrom, 2005

China and Taiwan.<sup>4</sup> Although these two governments have already been engaged in substantial trade for several decades, they are historically political rivals, cautious of each other's intentions. Many restrictions are still put in place when it comes to dealings with the other side, and there remains suspicion as to what the other side's true intentions are. These sentiments in Taiwan are particularly strong. China regards the self-governed island as a "renegade province," that must inevitably be put under the governance of the People's Republic of China (PRC). This suspicion as to China's true intentions runs deep in the minds of many Taiwan residents, and is another reason which brought fuel to protestors to challenge the trade deal.<sup>5</sup> As a result of these protests, CSSTA was stalled and still has not been successfully implemented to this day. The student protestors had substantive grievances that they wanted addressed.

Back when CSSTA was initially ratified on June 21, 2013 among representatives from both sides, fear regarding these closed-door negotiations settled in, compelling the majority Kuomintang (KMT) Party leadership to make an agreement with the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The consensus was to adhere to a line-by-line review of the trade measure in the Legislative Yuan. In addition, there were 16 public hearings agreed upon for government officials to consult with business groups, lawyers, and other civic groups; ultimately giving government the ability to amend specific measures of the bill, if anything arose. Eight would be chaired by the KMT, while the other eight would be chaired by the DPP. After the KMT hearings took place, however, they announced that no changes would be made to the negotiated bill and it will be adopted as is. The DPP was still in the process of conducting its public hearings, but they were cut short after KMT legislator, Chang Ching Chung (張慶忠) contended that the 90 days allotted for review had already passed. Thus, the DPP unhappy with the outcome of these hearings, engaged in stalling tactics to prevent them from voting on the measure. In a push back, the KMT considered the bill to have already been reviewed and will be submitted to a floor vote. With a majority KMT in the legislature, the agreement would have been a sure pass. As a result of this procedural problem, opponents complained the KMT were breaking democratic form, as they did hurry through the measure without adhering to the line-by-line review previously agreed upon. In reaction, what started out as a small group protesting outside began spiraling out of control.

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<sup>4</sup> Ministry of Economic Affairs, ROC

<sup>5</sup> Rauhala, Emily. "The 'Battle of Taipei' Shows Just How Wary of China Young Taiwanese Are"

On the night of March 18, several students unexpectedly climbed over the fence to the Legislative Yuan occupying the building. These students withstood attempts by police to remove them, and vowed not to leave until a line-by-line review of the bill be reinstated. Their actions suspended any vote from occurring by not allowing anyone else to enter. Over the next few days, the Legislative Yuan remained occupied and the movement outside slowly gathered momentum to protest the deal. To quell the unrest, Taiwan President Ma Ying Jeou (馬英九), held a Press Conference on March 23, calling on protestors to respect democracy and leave, and maintained his previous stance that the deal was necessary for Taiwan economically. That night, a group of protestors broke into the Executive Yuan, despite it being officially closed off to the public. Police removed them, and questions over unreasonable force further angered the public. After several talks between the protest leaders and Ma Ying Jeou broke down, the protest reached its high point on March 30, where hundreds of thousands of protestors lined the streets near the Presidential Office asking for more government transparency. Finally on April 6, KMT speaker Wang Jin Pyng (王金平), made a visit to the occupied Legislative Yuan and promised to postpone CSSTA until a law governing cross-strait negotiations and agreements was passed. What could have been a much longer impasse ended with these concessions.

In essence this protest movement is unique. The government could not function due to its own people's interference. At the heart of the debate is sensitivity the Taiwanese people have when dealing with China: the fear that China is using trade as a veil to eventually win control of Taiwan politically. Also, as with any other trade deal, many felt that the middle class and working classes of Taiwan would be harmed the most. Some also say that the breakdown of Taiwanese democracy line was used to gather as many people together as possible. But in actuality, all three reasons worked together to motivate all types of people in society, especially university students. Their efforts to come out did not only stall legislation, but also brought about an honest debate of Taiwan's current state of political democracy. This protest was appropriately dubbed the "Sunflower Movement," in line with past movements, which carries the name of a plant and the circumstance's representation in nature. Due to a sunflower's representation of transparency, organizers hoped to bring attention to issues of government transparency.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Wasserstrom, 2014

### 1.3 The Sunflower Movement's Participants

To get a clearer representation of the type of students that showed up, it is necessary to look at demographics provided within the Movement. Approximately one week after the start of the Sunflower Movement, between March 25 to 29, Professor Chen Wan Chi of the Department of Sociology at National Taipei University conducted a questionnaire survey around the Legislative Yuan.<sup>7</sup> Although the Sunflower Movement happened relatively quickly, a research plan was conducted by this group of students and teachers.

A systemic sampling was used to select the respondents. The time of a day was divided into six periods: one period into four hours in the sampling. The area around the Legislative Yuan was categorized into four parts: Jinan Rd., the west side of Qingdao E. Rd. gate, the east side of Qingdao E. Rd. gate, and inside of the Legislative Yuan (However, according to research ethics and feasibility, the sample inside of the Legislative Yuan was only collected before the 26th, and instead, new small areas, Ln. 8, Linsen S. Rd. and Zhenjiang St. were added in after the 27th.) At one period during the day, 2-3 interviewers went to an area to interview one person among a group of 16 people. Their information was collected using questionnaires. (The number of 16 was previously decided in order to collect 1000 questionnaires.)

First of all, the study established that 554, or 56%, of all protestors were some type of student ranging from elementary school to the PhD level. But the majority comprised of undergraduate students making up 73%, respectively, followed by master's students who together with undergraduates form 90% of all students that participated. The whole process was dependent on whether or not the interviewee was willing to participate in the survey being done. This has the potential of causing some disproportionate amount of data, but the total amount of people who refused to be interviewed is 16 out of 1005 asked, or 1.6%.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, we would not expect the results to be too skewed as long as this method of research closely represents the whole movement. Here are the results of students broken down by school:

<sup>7</sup> Chen Wan-Chi. “誰來「學運」？” <<http://twstreetcorner.org/2014/06/30/chenwanchi-2/>>

<sup>8</sup> Ibid



School	Number in Sample	Percentage of Students	Percentage of Student Population	Ratio of Participation
National Taiwan University	48	9.41	2.38	3.95
National Chengchi University	26	5.1	1.18	4.32
Fu Jen Catholic University	26	5.1	1.98	2.58
National Tsing-hua University	19	3.73	0.92	4.05
National Cheng-Kung	19	3.73	1.63	2.29
Soochow University	15	2.94	1.16	2.53
Chinese Culture University	14	2.75	1.96	1.4
National Taipei University	13	2.55	0.72	3.54
Shih-shin University	13	2.55	0.88	2.9

The first three columns of data is the original information given to us by Chen Wan Chi's study. The last column is the ratio of participation calculated by dividing the percentage of students by the percentage of student population of each university or college. By doing this simple arithmetic function, it takes into account schools with larger populations relative to the amount of students who protested, providing us with a starker contrast with remarkably different results.

At first glance, this list of participation closely resembles that of the top 10 schools in Taiwan, possibly showing that the movement is mostly made up of highly elite students. In gross numbers, it seems many students who invested highly in their education participated in the movement and more than likely found the underlying issues very important for their future. National Taiwan University (NTU) is by far the school with the highest participation rate. In terms of the raw number of students who participated, it is nearly double the second and third highest schools. However, the movement is actually much more diverse than just the elite participating. In fact, this list of the top ten schools only represents a small percentage of all participants as people came from over 96 different schools within this study. In addition, if we add the total number of students within this chart, there is a total of 193 (or 35%) out of the 554 students accounted for. The fact that there are still 65% of students not accounted for in this chart means that no significant conclusions can be drawn in regard to student participation by just looking at these raw numbers.

We must instead look at the ratio of students protesting relative to its school size. When looking at the ratio of participation taking student population into account, NTU still has a high percentage of students participating compared to others, yet it is not as pronounced. According to this, National Chengchi University (NCCU) had more

students who participated relative to its size. By looking at the statistics from this perspective, we are able to more accurately understand school representation in the movement. In fact, the school with the largest participation rate to student population ratio is actually Taipei National University of the Arts (臺北藝術大學), as there are only 2,800 students there in total, and the survey picked up 9 participants.<sup>9</sup> This accounts for an incredibly high ratio in comparison to other schools, and further vouches for the fact that the movement did not only appeal to elite students, but a wider array of students. As the highest participating school relative to its size is a university specializing in art, it is important to see the majors of students participating in the movement as a whole. We can then see if any particular types of students tended to be more involved.

Department	Over-represented	Same	Under-represented
Education		X	
Art	X		
Humanities	X		
Design		X	
Sociology and Behavior	X		
Communications	X		
Business and Management			X
Law	X		
Life Sciences		X	
Natural Sciences		X	
Math and Statistics		X	
Computer Science			X
Engineering			X
Architecture and Urban Planning		X	
Agriculture		X	
Veterinary Studies		X	
Pharmacy			X
Social Work		X	
Human Welfare			X
Transportation Service		X	
Environment		X	
Other		X	

This chart compares participants' majors as a whole to the national average in Taiwan. As we can see, there is an over-representation from the movement in most departments regarding humanities and liberal arts, but an under-representation in business and engineering departments. This quickly gives an explanation as to why NCCU's ratio of

<sup>9</sup> Chen Wan Chi Taiwanese Sociological Association Annual Meeting Conference Paper December 6, 2014



participation is higher than NTU's. NTU has a high percentage of students enrolled in sciences, business, and engineering departments, while NCCU has a high percentage of students enrolled in humanities and communications.<sup>1011</sup> First, it should be understood that students of all majors participated, but as a whole, those in humanities and communication departments came out in larger numbers in comparison to many others, such as business and engineering. Second, it should then be understood that since humanities and communications numbers are highly represented students in the chart in comparison to its business and engineering counterpart, these students were overall more motivated to go to the protest site.

But the exact reasons why more humanities and communications majors came out are unclear, and each individual will have their own different answers. Personal reasons can range from engineers being too busy with school work and not wanting to skip class, to humanities and communications majors feeling threatened about their future as a result of this agreement. Or perhaps a large part can be contributed to the educational environment that certain departments provide. If we look at these questions from a macro-perspective it will always be debated, and there may never be a definitive answer as many of these variables cannot be accurately measured. But we can investigate these reasons at a person-to-person level to understand what one's individual motivations were in protest and see if these effects were due to personal reasons, or outside influences. By looking at it from an individual perspective, we can better understand how each person's characteristics, personal circumstances and outside influences come into play to affect their decision making process. We can then draw a clearer comprehension of the larger process as a whole.

#### *1.4 Research Questions*

The research questions for this thesis are the following:

- What motivating factors brought students out to protest?
- Are there abeyance structures in the Sunflower Movement?
- What is the correlation between abeyance structures, motivations, and how involved one became during the Sunflower Movement?

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<sup>10</sup>NCCU Office of Academic Affairs – Statistics Informaiton

<sup>11</sup> NTU Statistics Report – English Version

### *1.5 Research Methods*

To completely understand the circumstances surrounding this study, my research methods were made up of conducting open-ended interviews with students who were both involved and not involved in the Sunflower Movement. My criteria for interviewing was just that they had to be a student when the Sunflower Movement happened, and I also wanted to make this exclusive to Taiwanese students. Since they were more affected by the Sunflower Movement than other students from around the world, and would also have a much better understanding regarding the intricacies of the Movement and CSSTA. Additionally, the amount of media attention that was put forth during the movement would be hard to escape for any fluent Mandarin speaker living in Taiwan. Therefore, I assumed most would have strong feelings either for or against the movement because of the sheer magnitude that the Movement brought. But to be able to achieve the correct data for this research, I had to find ideal candidates.

Particularly, I was looking for around 6-10 candidates with a range of Movement participation: from not at all, to going to the site nearly every day. This allowed me to analyze separate viewpoints and their reasons that got them involved. To research outside influences affecting an individual person's decision to protest, I had to be sure to find ideal candidates that had this particular type of experience. I made a concerted effort to network as much as possible to find people who potentially went through a great deal of ideological change in college. Discussing with different clubs and protest groups at NCCU, NTU, and to members on Facebook groups dedicated to protest, I eventually found students who fit my ideal candidate criteria. Some were former politically conservative students, who changed their views after joining certain events in college, while others just found that their views were amplified by taking seminars in school.

Every person had similar stances in terms of how they viewed the Sunflower Movement, but they all had different reactions. I wanted to find out what particular variables made these differences. So, I made a questionnaire asking the same questions to each person, sometimes asking for more details in certain areas or delving into different questions for longer periods of time, if I thought it was necessary. In the end, it was similar to having a conversation about their perceptions and experiences for nearly one hour each person.

Lastly, and perhaps the most challenging aspect, was to look at all of the data and quantify everything together. After conducting all interviews, I had to re-examine all

interviews, identify all different causes of motivation in terms of their environment, and also identify any potentially negative influences one experienced that worked against them participating in protest. I then made a list of all these potential causes for motivation and complemented it with a list of “outcomes” based on the people I interviewed. For each individual, I would mark off the causes that motivated them and compared it with their outcome, or how involved they were in the movement. This proved that in fact due to one’s motivations to participate in the Sunflower Movement, it did affect the outcome in terms of how far they went in protesting. The second step was to do the same steps in identifying abeyance structures: looking at each candidate’s personal background and creating a list of all potential causes that allowed one person to become motivated to think one particular way. I could then compare this to how it affected their motivations.

These steps were done to ultimately allow for a better understanding what motivated individuals to participate in the Sunflower Movement. I realized in order to accomplish the task of solving this question, it would require qualitative research rather than quantitative analysis. This method provides an explanation that quantitative analysis cannot. It is not pure numbers that I seek to look for, it is a rationale of the behaviors certain individuals engaged in that I seek to answer. This can only be attained by conducting a qualitative research with interviews, rather than doing surveys with numbers. This method enabled me to fully comprehend a protestor’s mindset as to what their motivations were to sacrifice time and go out to protest, (or for what reasons one would not go out and protest). Furthermore, conducting face-to-face interviews allowed me to accurately direct each question. By being in the lead of interviews, I had the ability to ask for as many details as possible on certain issues and fill in any gaps that could have presented itself when telling their personal account. I also had the free-range to move the discussion onto other topics that I could not have foreseen discussing. In the end, I saw a wide range in perceptions in their personal stories, despite the similar perceived identities among the candidates interviewed.

### *1.6 Limitations*

After a long search, seven candidates were finally settled on and interviewed. All of them had different protest outcomes and different stories to share, but all of them had some kind of positive sentiment for the protestors. Even if they were not engaged in the

protest itself, they at least sympathized with those who participated. None of the candidates interviewed supported the government's actions. From the more anti-government perspective, they were angered and questioned the legality of their decisions. Other students in the middle were indifferent to the action, but did not stress support for the KMT government. Therefore, the students that were questioned represent an opinion tilted more on the side of protestors, rather than students overall. However, the main focus of this project is to analyze the causes and effects of protesting, and how certain input variables can affect one's outcome. This result is still achievable despite our lack of a candidate with extreme aversion over the movement. We can still provide reasons by comparing the results of students who protested to those who did not and see what differences can be found.

When finding candidates, many students did not protest, but finding one who agreed with the government and disagreed with student protest actions proved difficult. Perhaps they knew many of the participants personally and didn't want to express any negative sentiments towards their classmates. Additionally, having these opinions as a student could be seen negatively with classmates. On Facebook, video of potential police brutality with protestors surfaced and was widely spread among students. This only brought more students against the government and sympathy for student protestors. Students who supported the government full-heartedly against classmates would thus be more silent about their views. This also means participating students had a larger voice within Taiwan's schools. If it were easier to find a student against the Movement, they would have been interviewed; however this can be left for a continuation of this research.

### *1.7 Interview Candidate Profiles*

All candidates interviewed are listed below. Hopefully it provides a general picture of the scope of different participant outcomes included in this thesis. This introduction of candidates can also serve as a quick reference. Everyone listed below is in the same order that they appear in the thesis.

#### **Ming Fong**

1<sup>st</sup> Year NTU Law Graduate Student

Identity: Pan-Green

- Sunflower Movement was first protest, and became heavily involved
- Attributes education in Law in pushing him to protest

**CT Chang**

4<sup>th</sup> Year Mechanical Engineering Student

Identity: Does not vote, but does not like KMT

- Normally does not pay attention to news or politics
- Initially did not have any plans to get involved in the Sunflower Movement
- Got involved after discussing with Department of Law students from club

**Patrick**

4<sup>th</sup> Year NCCU English Student

Identity: Does not belong to a political party, but supports Green candidates

- Taiwanese citizen, raised in Thailand. Moved to Taiwan at 18 for university
- Agreed with what protestors were doing, but did not participate
- Did not feel by him getting involved would make a difference

**Leo**

1<sup>st</sup> Year NTU Law Graduate Student with specialization in Business Law

Identity: Supported Green in last election

- Did not get involved in protests
- Sympathized with protestors from a human right or legal perspective
- Agreed with CSSTA from a business perspective

**Wei Ming**

1<sup>st</sup> Year Computer Science Student with second major in Social Work

Identity: Leftist, Pan-Green

- Grew up in a single-family household
- Growing up money was always an issue
- Joined a club where he met people from other majors
- Strongly disagreed with CSSTA, believed it would hurt Taiwanese laborers
- Joined protests only during the big gatherings

**Sophia**

4<sup>th</sup> Year NCCU French Student

Identity: Strong Green supporter

- Father is a history professor and took her to protests growing up
- In France during Sunflower Movement
- Helped to organize a Manifestation in France to support Taiwan

**Jason**

4<sup>th</sup> Year NTU Law student

Identity: Green, grew up Blue

- Conservative while growing up
- Started to engage in protests in university
- Strong Sunflower Movement Supporter

### *1.8 Use of the Term “Abeyance Structures”*

For further clarification on this paper’s use of the term “abeyance structure,” the term “abeyance” refers to any period of cessation or temporary activity. From a legal perspective, abeyance is used when referring to property where it has not been determined to whom a deed belongs to. Therefore, the possession is in “abeyance,” or temporarily not in use. As detailed in Verta Taylor’s “Social Movement Continuity: The Women’s Movement in Abeyance,” an abeyance structure refers to a period of no protest. Specifically during this time of inaction, protest culture is preserved and taught so that eventually things are slowly built up. Little by little, things are added on to this social agenda to impact the future intensity of protest. This paper does not use and is not arguing for “abeyance structures” in this particular context to describe protest behavior. Instead, this paper uses this term to refer to only a background structure. It adopts the term “abeyance structure” to specify the connection between actions one conducts when there is no protest activity and how this impacts them when protest activity occurs. It does not argue that certain factors build up to influence the future, but instead argues there is an influence between background and protest action. This delineates from the original meaning as specified in Taylor’s reading, but if necessary, the term “background structure” may also be deemed appropriate.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature that explores why people engage in protest is always evolving. Scholars have continuously studied this issue, and there lies several theories without one definitive answer. There are a couple of reasons why the matter has not been made very clear. First of all, much of the existing social movement literature is based on specific case-studies. Most of these studies were written to focus around certain social movement events. Therefore the concepts written about cannot be transferred and applied to the entire realm of social movements. For example, some scholars have studied what drives participants in a specific event or protest cycle (McAdam, 1988), but it looks at each particular movement separately rather than focusing on characteristics of all movements in general. Secondly, protest motivation theories have been researched by several different schools of thought, resulting in each research program having separate protest motivation answers such as grievances, emotions, framing, etc. Hence, these new studies are constantly changing protest participation understanding. This paper attempts to address these issues and looks at the factors that brought students out in this particular case of the Sunflower Movement. There are motivating factors in one's environment that encourages them during times of protest. Although this is intended to be applicable only for the Sunflower Movement, we can still look back at other concepts that have been studied in the past to help us better understand motivation factors. The following literature reviews support this hypothesis.

To give historical background into the topic, it is necessary to see what research has already been done to understand why one would go out of their way and protest. From a societal perspective, reasons for protest originally started with very traditional causes. It was determined that people engage in protest activities to express their grievances. The participants do this in an attempt to correct a deprivation or perceived injustice (Berkowitz, 1972). As time went on, studies blossomed into something much more complex and scholars added more factors intertwining a mix of emotions, group-based anger, and shared grievances, which all translates into group-based protest participation (Van Stekelenberg, Klandermans, 2010). More recently, identity has played a crucial role as well, where primarily one group may feel an unjustified inequality to other people. They collectively choose to protest to try and express their grievances and hope to be heard and get these inequalities redressed. Common highlighted examples can



include gay rights, police brutality against African Americans, and pro-open border immigration rights groups in the United States. In each of these cases, one group tries to bring attention to what they perceive as an injustice and hope to bring about a meaningful change. This theorizes that identity and grievances work together to build up group-based anger, which gives it motivational strength. This motivational strength is then used as energy towards their movement and its ultimate goals.

One key theory to further explain protest support through a student's environment is abeyance structures (Taylor 1989). These help to sustain movements during down time when there are no protests occurring. The protest culture is taught about and preserved in these locations, allowing other students to learn about its significance. By keeping this cultural identity during protest waves, abeyance structures play a crucial role in bringing out many people to support measures and add to the campus' legacy. To look at it in another way, this is something innate within one's environment that works to motivate the students by keeping them engaged before a particular event happens. These students are prone to protest due to the education factors that have already been established in them by the abeyance structure. When an event does finally happen, there is already an arsenal of students ready to protest and support various causes that pertain to what they have been taught. Abeyance structures do not need to be anything tangible, it can also be abstract (Sawyers and Meyer, 1999). As long as it preserves a way of thinking and can educate others attracting them into this network, it can be classified as such. Therefore, friends, family beliefs, clubs in school, teachers, and even social media can all be categorized as abeyance structures. This paper will identify certain factors that can be labeled as abeyance structures that push students to protest.

Despite these reasons that push students to protest, it is not applicable to everyone. Abeyance structures can work negatively as well and discourage students from protesting. In addition, not everyone can get sucked into an abeyance structure so easily. According to threshold models, all people are rational actors with individual preferences (Granovetter, 1978). Some people may have a low threshold and therefore be the first to protest. For one to join in the protest and follow the first person's lead, everyone must have a low threshold of one or less. If everyone had a high threshold, there would only be one lone protestor with no one else. After a while, he may give up if no one else will join. In terms of abeyance structures, this model demonstrates that all students can still make up their own mind and choose what they want to do. But there are some students that will become influenced from factors of their surrounding environment. Part of this study is



also to find these people influenced by abeyance structures and understand the criteria that made them join.

Another issue to be explored is the social media during protests, which was widely used during the Sunflower Movement. Social media is a common tool used in today's wired world, which can also work to influence people as it quickly spreads information to many different people. This may be good for protests initially and definitely raises awareness, but it is actually a double-edged sword (Tufekci, 2014). Among one reason is that governments have caught up and can now censor certain forms of media. In addition this social media may have made activism weaker than before. After one event happens, everyone jumps on the bandwagon to protest, but the energy dies out very soon once netizens become preoccupied with other news. During the past, however, it took many years to successfully network and build an infrastructure. Although it did mean that change would take longer to occur, an organization taking years to build was arguably much more lasting and powerful. In terms of the Sunflower Movement, we will see the effect that social media had on students in university and if this actually did give them a quick reaction, but down the line, they grew tired of being inundated with the same stories and chose to do other things. With the quick speeds that information flows on social media, it could have proven influential in getting people out. This new element may have added students who are not very passionate about protesting, but went anyway due information posted by friends. Trying to measure this social media aspect as a motivating factor is something that will be uncovered in this research.

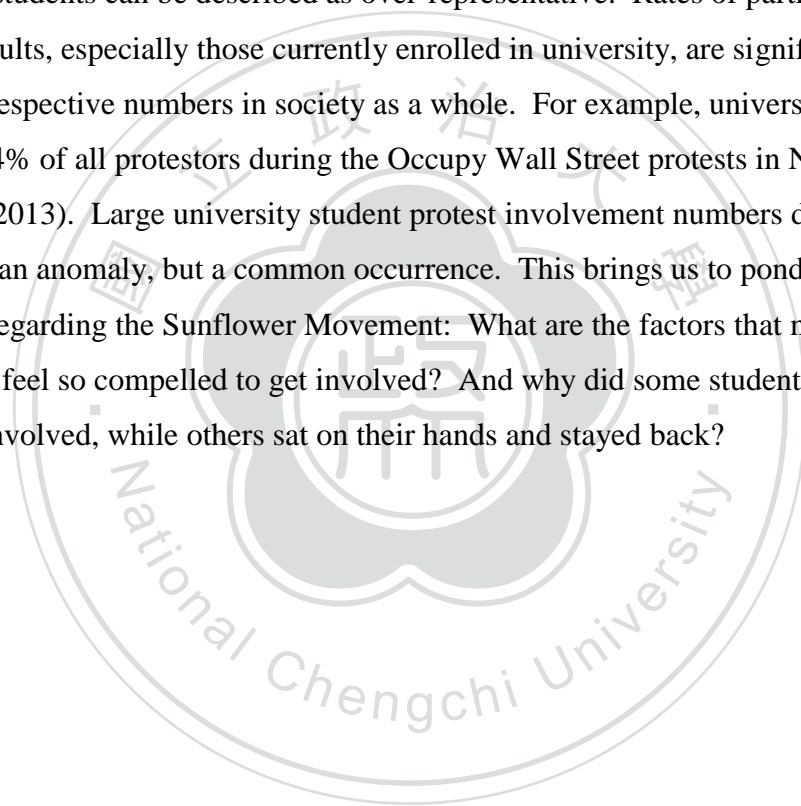
There are also many other practical reasons why students frequently get involved in protests. To begin with, university students are at an age where they are starting to develop their political identities and beliefs (Corrigall, 2012). New students to the college scene are inundated with new information about the world, and may therefore be more inclined towards consciousness raising and ideological appeals in the form of abeyance structures (Van Dyke, 2012). In addition to this flood of new minds getting together wanting to impact the world in a positive light, the campus environment itself plays as a catalyst role in a new setting of peers and a culture holding similar values. Among various means, friends, social networks, and perhaps teachers all work together holding similar views and supporting similar causes urging students to get involved and make a difference in the world. As a result, college campuses have been a very common area for protests to occur, inevitably playing a key role in the process.

Even today, if one were to visit a select few campuses across the globe, they are very likely to encounter some form of student activism or another. It is not simply that campus locations themselves are alluring for protestors, but within these campuses lie a very fabric, where students' temperaments are collectively gathered to express their grievances. Student protest is now inseparably part of the larger college campus landscape and culture. College students have been some of the most likely members of society to protest because they are more biographically available (Snow, Zurcher and Ekland-Olsen 1980). Students are free from most constraints others have in society: most do not have children they must attend to, most do not work full-time where they can leave unpunished; breaks in their class schedule allow them to come and go as they please, and most importantly of all, they have the luxury of skipping each class. Because of the lack of consequences for participating in contrast to other sections of society, the opportunity cost of joining is low and therefore, they can be fully committed to protest efforts (McAdam 1988).

Yet, that is not to say that at all universities there lies a well-established habit for students to protest at every chance. In fact, each campus is made up of different variables that each work in its own way to motivate students to protest. Depending on a school's student makeup, or its demographics, we can hopefully try to reason through its campus culture and understand its willingness to protest. Namely, highly selective universities and those with a history of protest action are the first to protest (Van Dyke 1998). It is common to see student protests always happening at these schools, all the while it may seem as taboo to participate at other more politically conservative locations. In the United States for example, UC Berkeley, a highly selective university on the West Coast fits the historical cultural aspects, and demographically as increasingly non-religious (Bayer, Astin, Boruch, 1970). In terms of its history, plenty of events played through during the 1960's up until now. Throughout the campus, lectures, buildings, coffee houses all play homage to these events. As a result, the university is built up around and prides itself on its protest culture. It is these abeyance structures that allow for a well sustained and robust activist culture. When time comes for a new concerted effort towards protest occurs, the constant flow of persuaded students are keen to resort to protest as a means to get their demands met, and continue to fill the role of its former students (Taylor 1989). In schools that are more conservative and religious, however, students tend to be more agreeably satisfied with the way things are going, and are therefore less inclined to protest. In addition, the abeyance structures and historical aspects of protest are not found. The

remarkably different cultures and demographics at each university has a profound impact on the students' way of thinking, which make them resort to markedly different tactics when problems in society arise.

Students taking such an active role on these societal matters can be looked upon retrospectively in many instances from the Vietnam War, to very recently during the Occupy Wall Street protests of 2011, and the Sunflower and Umbrella Movements of 2014, which took place in Taiwan and Hong Kong, respectively. The energy behind each of these protest movements were maintained by the large amount of people behind the movement, many of which were university students. Looking at the data, the presence of university students can be described as over-representative. Rates of participation among younger adults, especially those currently enrolled in university, are significantly higher than their respective numbers in society as a whole. For example, university students made up 24% of all protestors during the Occupy Wall Street protests in New York (Milkman 2013). Large university student protest involvement numbers during protests is indeed not an anomaly, but a common occurrence. This brings us to ponder several questions regarding the Sunflower Movement: What are the factors that motivate students to feel so compelled to get involved? And why did some students get so fervently involved, while others sat on their hands and stayed back?



## Chapter 3

### TO PROTEST OR NOT TO PROTEST?

#### *3.1 The Initial Reaction*

The events leading up to the Sunflower Movement basically happened overnight. Within one night, protestors burst into the Legislative Yuan and police, unprepared by what was happening, soon were vastly outnumbered by these protestors. No one would have anticipated the sudden reaction from the Taiwanese public. Although there are complexities behind the planning and coordination of storming the Legislative Yuan: a large amount of protestors were unaware that some had previously planned to scale the walls and enter the building. Some were just swept in by the sudden rush of people.<sup>12</sup> It can be said that the abrupt public response was as abrupt in nature as the circumstances that ended debate on CSSTA. The bill was already divisive with strong opposition from the DPP, who occupied the podium (a legally valid tactic) to prevent the bill from going forward. On March 17, 2014, presiding chair of the Internal Administrative Committee, KMT legislator Chang Ching Chong (張慶忠), unilaterally declared that time had expired on the review process for the bill and it would be reported to the floor for a vote, which caused two problems. First, it ultimately reneged on previous agreements already established. As the review was not complete yet, lobbyists and business leaders would have been able to negotiate with legislators and potentially change provisions more suitable to fit their terms. Now, however, none of this would be possible because the review process was cut short. All players were stuck with the same bill that Taiwanese representatives negotiated with Chinese representatives in a closed door meeting the previous year, basically rendering the review system useless. Secondly, it avoided the Taiwanese democratic legislative process where stalling tactics used by the opposition can be overcome by legislative tactics. In Taiwan, ruling parties will usually change procedural rules, call for unity among its members, and fight a lengthy battle for votes. But this legislative system was suddenly bypassed by a unilateral decision. Many people among the public were shocked by what had just unfolded. Not just that their government had committed a flagrant under-the-table operation<sup>13</sup> to bypass opposition, but also their

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<sup>12</sup> Rowan, Ian. "Inside Taiwan's Sunflower Movement: Twenty-Four Days in a Student-Occupied Parliament, and the Future of the Region."

<sup>13</sup> Under-the-table operation is something done secretly, a lack of transparency, 黑箱作業 in Chinese

government was temporarily unable to properly function due to the occupation. Both participants and non-participants in the Sunflower Movement told me they were angry and shocked when the events first happened. They were mostly shocked by the KMT's sudden movement to quickly end the review process, which they felt tarnished the legitimacy of the democratic system in Taiwan. The moment that this happened, many were oblivious to the complexities of the issues at stake. Everything was quick, and for some individuals it would take a while to process the situation before they decided to take a course of action. Other people were more aware as this debate had been in the making for so long and were ready to take immediate action.

### *3.2 Who Decided to Protest?*

Ming Fong, who is a fourth year undergraduate law student at National Taiwan University (NTU) and very impassioned with his studies and current events recounted his four years of experience in studying law his own views in the severity of government tactics of going outside of the law. He opined procedural justice is very important and no one should be exempt by the established rules set in an institution. Furthermore, people need to demonstrate what they want within the confines of the law. If rules are not followed, then there will be no more relevant law. Subsequently, the government, as lawmakers should be the ones to set the example. He felt so strongly about what had just happened that as soon as he heard there was an organized protest against these tactics used by the government, he decided to go to the site:

“On that day, we heard about the protest from the internet and on Facebook, and that night I went to the Legislative Yuan with my friends. I invited all of my friends to go there and when we got to the Legislative Yuan, everyone was surrounding it trying to help the people inside. When I got there, people were already inside and it was blocked off. During this time, I discussed this issue with my friends and tried to understand why people were inside. After we got the information, we were trying to protect the people inside from the police and prevent them from going inside to take them out.”<sup>14</sup>

Getting to the protest site and gathering other friends also in the law department was easy for him. However, once he got to the site, he felt uneasy whether police reinforcements would eventually come in and take them out, and he feared for his own safety. He found

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with Ming Fong

solace in the fact that many people were there with him sharing the latest information developments. He ended up staying there all night to make sure police would not enter the Legislative Yuan, and after realizing they would not be evicted, safely went home in the morning.

But the government breaking its promises wasn't the only issue that pushed him over the edge. He already had uneasiness in government dealings with China. But once he heard more information regarding the deal after discussing with friends at the site and bringing their knowledge together, he then started to feel that this was the bill that would ultimately bring Taiwan closer to China. He stated his concerns:

“When I was growing up, I learned that I was Taiwanese, not Chinese, so I always felt this way. Chinese people could come to Taiwan for labor [as part of this bill]. In fact, nowadays many Chinese buy land in Hualien and it's very frightening because there are so many Chinese. Their money is held by a group of people and they buy our land or companies, so when this thing happens, Taiwan's system will be controlled by China. When I went to college, NTU is very liberal and they always told us when something is not right, we have to find a way to change it. So, we need to learn new concepts and see which one is the best for Taiwan.”<sup>15</sup>

In terms of economics, Taiwan's services industry accounts for 70% of its GDP, and both civic groups have started to complain about the economic vulnerabilities of getting too dependent on one entity – in this case China. If the barriers are loosened to open the markets to China, it will leave a bigger uncertainty on the Taiwanese economy. If China's economy someday sinks, it will also bring Taiwan down with it. To think that this type of deal will come into fruition will have a lasting impact on the future of Taiwan. In addition, it will be nearly impossible to undo these changes once they are enacted. Furthermore, the Taiwan government's very own Chung Hua Institute estimated that the reform would only bring in a net annual GDP growth between 0.02%-0.03%.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, political issues cannot be ignored either. As China has a centrally controlled government, it could use its leverage to economically harm Taiwan or could essentially influence the democratic institution if it wished to do so.

“China is different from Taiwan in terms of law systems, democracy, and culture and mannerisms are also different. So I think when a big country is [too] close to us, their money or economy controls us

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>16</sup> Rowan, Ian. “Inside Taiwan's Sunflower Movement: Twenty-Four Days in a Student-Occupied Parliament, and the Future of the Region.”



everywhere. We don't want to be controlled by them because we like our society the way it is. There does not need to be a change in government.<sup>17</sup>

Afraid that this could be the future reality, it caused him to frequently go to the protest site and support the occupiers inside of the Legislative Yuan, albeit from the outside. At the site, he wanted to make sure there were enough people to continuously bring in media attention and raise awareness, also making sure that the police would not evict the occupiers. While he was at home, he spread information online and actively worked to convince others to bring them to support the movement and continue raising awareness to the rest of the world. At first he was skeptical about continuously going to the site because the attention was slow. Secondly, for a period protest numbers were not growing very fast, and he didn't know whether or not the police officers would attack them or not. But after a few days, politicians and professors started sending out their assurances that participants will not be punished. 33 out of the 45 professors in the NTU law department signed a petition to the government not to penalize the students who participated.<sup>18</sup> Also, international media attention started picking up their story. He continued revisiting the site over the next few days until the movement ended.

Looking at Ming Fong's motivations to determine to protest, I have gathered several views that seem to give his individual reason to get involved in the Sunflower Movement. The views listed below have been listed because each one is capable of getting one emotionally involved and sparking interest in the Movement as a whole. Each "Yes" represents a positive value, functioning as a reason towards protesting, while a "No" represents a negative that goes against protesting as an end result. "Indifferent" means that the candidate felt unmoved, unsure, or had no opinion about the reason. We can compare this method between each candidate to measure their motivations and end result to protest or not. His results are as follows:

	Has an interest in politics and law	Disagreed with under-the-table operation	Agreed with movement's demands	CSSTA is bad for the future of Taiwan	Believes protesting can accomplish something	Result
<b>Yes</b>	X	X	X	X	X	Protested
<b>Indifferent</b>						
<b>No</b>						

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Ming Fong

<sup>18</sup> Apple Daily News – March 24, 2014 “台大法律學院教授連署 反對武力對付學生”

As we already know from his story that he was influenced by his interest in law and strongly influenced by the KMT's under-the-table operation, here we can see those variables put on the chart. His result of determining to protest was immediate and likely due to these two factors. Later, his views evolved and emotions to get involved were amplified after learning what was behind CSSTA. He then tried to educate others about what he viewed were the dangers of supporting this bill. It is very possible that his initial judgment to protest was assisted by his school environment in the way he has been taught. The fact that he immediately wanted to solve this problem through protest speaks volumes about his background. More analysis of these background motivators, or abeyance structures, will be discussed in Chapter 4.

C.T. Chang is a fourth year undergraduate Mechanical Engineering student. Though he too participated in the Sunflower Movement, it took him a few days before he finally decided to go to the site. When the Legislative Yuan was first occupied, he was immersed with what was happening after checking his social media accounts. Dozens of his friends posted news articles and parts of the bill online. At the time, he did not know anything about CSSTA, but chose to completely ignore it because he did not have any interest in it. As his major suggests, he only tends to read technology news and rarely ever reads political news because it is out of his study. None of his immediate friends asked him to go protesting at this time either. It was until one of his best friends who studies law made one very long post on Facebook that explained the situation that just occurred and whether or not this was good for Taiwan. This caused him to start discussing with friends and watching the news when he had the chance. And he finally learned more about what was happening. He said that the media gave two reasons why people should be protesting: one was CSSTA, and the other was the under-the-table operation that the KMT employed, yet this still didn't convince him to protest.

"It didn't convince me. It was not the first time the government did this. And then I met someone who studied in law and they told me they are protesting not because of CSSTA or under-the-table operations. What the protestors want to stand for is there is a process in law – if the government wants to do something, they need to ask congress and go through the normal procedure, they can't go around it. If they do it once, they will dare to do it again, and there will be no law in Taiwan and no more democracy. Since they didn't do the process that is prescribed by the law, that is the real reason why we should stand up



and say something is wrong, that the government is overstepping its boundaries. This argument is convincing for me.”<sup>19</sup>

So, in his belief, it is not the under-the-table operation in general that we should be angry about, but we should fear how easily it was used. Although most of his friends that he commonly associates with on a daily basis are engineering majors, his best friend who wrote the post that initially got him interested is from a school club he joined his second year that only met on the weekends. This enabled him to meet many other people from various departments with different viewpoints. This club focused on helping children in Hualien, in an area that lacked in resources. He would go there to teach math and find ways to motivate them to continue studying hard. It was a challenge that he originally did not even intend to join, but was looking to join any volunteer activity on the weekends. He ran into their table during a tabling event, and by chance, these are the people that ended up convincing him.

“The friends in the club definitely influenced me. Because most people in this club are from Sociology or Law Departments. In my Department, everyone studies Engineering, so their views are different to those who study Law or Sociology Departments. One of my best friends there studied law and he would normally tell me things. Also, the atmosphere influenced me too because if all of your friends are talking about the importance of this movement, you will start to wonder if this is really important and whether you should understand their way of thinking and why we need to protest.”<sup>20</sup>

Finally, by the time he got involved, it was nearing the end of the movement and he only participated in the large gathering on March 30. After being invited by some of his friends in the club, he now realized his purpose to go because he understood the situation behind the protest. If the protest was longer, or if another protest regarding a similar issue happens again, he would definitely join. If it wasn't for this particular club, he would not have met these people to motivate him, hence he wouldn't have joined the protest. His only other network that gave him exposure to this event was social media, but it did not push him to a certain point as it didn't provide him with any interest. In school, his network of classmates and teachers did not say much about this movement and they went on their daily schedules as normal. As he was not interested in political issues, it seemed there was no push factor to make him go. Though he ended up not participating

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<sup>19</sup> Interview with CT Chang

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

for long, it actively demonstrates a way that someone who would have had absolutely no possibility of participating can be influenced to change their mind and join. By having the influence of friends familiar with the movement, it educated him and motivated him to get involved.

	Has an interest in politics and law	Disagreed with under-the-table operation	Understood what movement wanted	CSSTA is bad for the future of Taiwan	Believed protesting could accomplish something	Result
Yes		X			X	Protested
Indifferent			X	X		
No	X					

In listing his motivations and end result, he did protest, but hesitated to do so until he finally understood what the movement was about. He wanted to be able to personally identify a reason to make him go. His friends indirectly initiated that process by educating him on the issues. But his friends were not the real motivating factor; it was learning in depth the consequences that could happen if people allow the government to continue doing under-the-table operations without being punished. He didn't view the process itself as bad as he was aware it happened before, but thinking that it can happen in the future made him scared, and he felt that protesting in large numbers can show Taiwanese citizens anger against these tactics.

### 3.3 Who decided not to protest?

Some people do not change their minds so easily however, no matter how hard you try. As the threshold model suggests that everyone is an individual with their own preferences,<sup>21</sup> these would be the people who have a very high threshold. Is this a part of an innate characteristic that they will not protest under any circumstance or are they simply not driven enough with the issues at hand to get interested in the act of protesting? While some may fervently not like the act of protesting, it also seems to be likely in the latter statement that if a certain issue directly applies to one person, they can become emotionally involved with it and have the motivation to get urged to do something about it. If the issue is not relevant to them, then they will have no way of becoming

<sup>21</sup> Granovetter, Mark "Threshold Models of Collective Behavior."

emotionally interested. Leo is a first year graduate student at the NTU Department of Law. He did not participate in the Sunflower Movement, in what he claimed is in contrast to the majority of his Law Department classmates. Leo is not against protesting altogether as he has greatly invested his efforts in LGBT clubs and annual protests for marriage equality over the last three years. However, when it comes to the Sunflower Movement, he owes his decision not to get involved to the fact that his general focus in his studies is in Business Law. Therefore, his current focus and coursework is quite different from the general law students at NTU. While he focuses on business numbers and methods to get the Taiwanese economic engines running, his counterparts are working on ways to better human rights and social justice. Because of this reality, this brings them towards having different interests as to what is the most important priority.

“I’m not very interested in politics. I majored in Business Law and I want to work in a financial company as my goal. So, I don’t focus on human rights. I found that another reason is that I live in Penghu, so I don’t care about policies in Taipei or big cities in Taiwan. I just focus on the policies on the islands of Taiwan such as Jinmen, Penghu because we are a minority.”<sup>22</sup>

In terms of business, Taiwan’s current domestic and international economic situation can be quite frightening. It is currently in an economic slump and looking for ways to boost its GDP, but facing a domestic low salary crisis and rising competition from foreign companies. Some fear that there is an impending brain drain as many Taiwanese are starting to move outside of the island to get higher salaries. Thus, they can get paid more appropriately according to their skills. The number of Taiwanese who have moved to China has also increased drastically in recent years as the Chinese economy rises and the amount of opportunities increase. In addition, many Chinese companies are starting to offer better salaries to bring over more Taiwanese. The move may not be difficult for some as they will not come across any language barriers.<sup>23</sup> Another country that is in greater direct competition with Taiwan is South Korea. Both economies are nearly identical with similar industries in steel, technology, and manufacturing. Therefore, they both have large existing exporting and service industries. But in recent years, South Korea has been engaging in free trade deals with many countries, while Taiwan has been starved of free trade due to China’s international pressure. Korea’s

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with Leo

<sup>23</sup> Sui, Cindy. “Why China is Land of Opportunity for Taiwanese.” BBC World News. June 26, 2014.

current international trade coverage has grown to 62.99%, compared to Taiwan's 9.89%.<sup>24</sup> Previously, Taiwan's goods enjoyed a comparative advantage in China with lower tariffs and importation tax rates. After the framework for a free trade deal was signed between China and South Korea last year, tariffs would be gradually reduced between the two countries over the next ten years, which would eventually give a comparative advantage to South Korea. Potential losses from the Taiwanese side during the next ten years from the change is estimated to be NT\$260 billion to NT\$650 billion, unless a cross-strait trade pact is successfully negotiated.<sup>25</sup> Although there are conflicting reports exactly how significant CSSTA will be, he hoped that this bill will be one way to open up the Taiwanese market to more business opportunities.

“In our business perspective, we hope to open the market to China, and Taiwan needs to push the government to open it for business. But my other friends told me that if we open Taiwan for business with China, it will damage some of Taiwan's industries and with that I agree with them. For this agreement, you have to look at who are the business subjects. But I still think opening is better than doing nothing.”<sup>26</sup>

Despite his potential worries of the impact it may have in Taiwan, he stated that CSSTA can be a starting point in negotiating free trade deals with other countries. As with all free trade deal debates, domestic industries can potentially be harmed, but at the same time the market for business is open to new clientele. In addition, prices of goods are cheaper to these customers, creating a potential to boost sales.

	Has an interest in politics and law	Disagreed with under-the-table operation	Understood what movement wanted	CSSTA is bad for the future of Taiwan	Believed protesting could accomplish something	Result
<b>Yes</b>			X		X	
<b>Indifferent</b>		X				
<b>No</b>	X			X		Did not protest

The above chart lists his motivations in the context of the Sunflower Movement. He did believe that the Sunflower Movement could be efficient, but was not concerned about the outcome. Also, as he has been heavily invested in LGBT rights for the last

<sup>24</sup> Chyan, Amy, “China-S. Korea FTA to hurt Taiwan.” The China Post. Nov. 11, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Wright, Tom and Kwanwoo Jun and Mark Magnier “South Korea, China Agree on Outline of Free-Trade Deal.” The Wall Street Journal. Nov. 11, 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

three years, he does believe that people should fight for what they believe in and things can be done. But when asked about the difference in supporting LGBT causes and not the Sunflower Movement, he views it as an obvious injustice and there is a straightforward way to change the law. He also has personal interest and emotionally attached himself in getting involved in these causes over the years. Regarding the Sunflower Movement, the interest factor for him getting involved is lower as he weighed both sides and saw that CSSTA has the ability to be important for Taiwan as well. He also discussed the issues with his friends. Although he sympathized with the views of the students, he was respectfully not concerned about the possible political ramifications the bill would have for Taiwan. Although he did take the same general law courses as his classmates in NTU during his undergraduate years, he always tended to focus on business aspects for his future. He also believes that those courses did have an impact turning him slightly left, but not to the same extent as his other classmates since their focus and future interests are different.

Patrick is a fourth year undergraduate student at National Chengchi University (NCCU) majoring in English, who also did not participate in the protests. Patrick is a Taiwanese citizen who grew up in Thailand. Although he went to international Chinese schools and identifies as Taiwanese, he came to Taiwan unfamiliar with many of the political complexities. As a result, he did not pay attention to news and found it hard to convince himself to get involved. Similar to CT Chang's story, he didn't want to support something he was unsure about. He felt that everything went by too quickly, so he didn't have time to think about participating in the movement. At the time, he only had a general overview that people took over the Legislative Yuan and the government could vote on CSSTA soon if they were to leave, and even though he was shocked, he felt that this issue was nowhere within his power to alter. He originally heard of the protest after noticing people changing their profile pictures on Facebook, and several friends in his department made Facebook groups inviting him to go protest.

“That day I had class, I don't know why but I didn't go with them. They invited me and by bus it would take about 20 to 30 minutes, which would take time out of my day to read and do homework. And I just thought about the effectiveness of the movement, I didn't want to go. I also think because people were kind of in a rush, I didn't understand the situation fully. My friends were just really angry and made posters about independence. And even though I'm an independence supporter, I didn't really know what this was

all about. Now that I look back I learned that it wasn't the main focus. Since I wasn't familiar with the Sunflower Movement, I thought maybe I should wait it out because I really didn't know what I would supporting if I just went there on such a short notice."<sup>27</sup>

He didn't see how he as an individual could change the outcome of the CSSTA stalemate and occupation of the Legislative Yuan by participating out on the streets, attending rallies, and singing songs. Yet, he started to get interested later on and sympathized with the main messages that the protestors later on sent out.

"There were many different types of protestors that had different goals in the beginning. Some had messages about independence, while others were just anti-Chinese and were afraid of an impending Chinese takeover that would control Taiwan's politics and economy. Because not all people believed in the same thing, it was hard to differentiate what the main message was saying and it was a while before a unified message eventually came out."<sup>28</sup>

Organizers of the Sunflower Movement framed a message broadcasting their demands to bring more people together a couple of days after the takeover of the Legislative Yuan. The main demand, which polls suggested was supported by a majority of Taiwanese citizens, called on a review of CSSTA and for the government to legislate a mechanism for future cross-strait agreements. The organizers also called for a public dialogue with President Ma, which many found reasonable given the fact that they were being ignored and this would grant them the ability to have their initial demand recognized.<sup>29</sup> More of the general public started to rally around these causes and more media attention was brought to the protestor's demands. Even though Patrick agreed with these stances that the main focus is that the government cannot make decisions on its own, he still remained not very committed because he learned other elements to the bill and felt that some truths were not being told.

"About the bill, I think it was fair. I think people were angry because they said that people were going to come from China and work here and affect us all. But I think there is another part that says if you are Chinese, you need to have a certain background, education, before you can work here. So I think that

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Patrick

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Rowan, Ian. "Inside Taiwan's Sunflower Movement: Twenty-Four Days in a Student-Occupied Parliament, and the Future of the Region."



part wasn't seen by most people. But the part that concerned the most people was that Chinese people can work here."<sup>30</sup>

As several close friends participated in the protests later on, he remained unmoved as he was never directly asked or encouraged to change his mind and protest. During this time, he was never too busy but decided that he could get more things accomplished by attending class and doing his homework. But not so long after, the movement started to die down and it was soon over. Now he says if all information was given out on the first day and there was enough time to understand everything, he could possibly get involved. But in all, about two weeks isn't enough time to get emotionally attached and feel that something incredibly wrong was being done. Today, he still believes that the protestors were right to object to the government sully democracy. The fact that he didn't make it a priority though can be traced back to the fact that he is not involved in any type of network where someone actively tried to convince him and persuade him, as we have seen with CT Chang. With this type of network absence, there was no real opportunity to fully grasp the way others think.

	Has an interest in politics and law	Disagreed with under-the-table operation	Understood what movement wanted	CSSTA is bad for the future of Taiwan	Believed protesting could accomplish something	Result
Yes		X				
Indifferent	X			X		
No			X		X	Did not protest

His motivations listed above seems to show that he wasn't clear with what the Movement's goals were and didn't see the efficacy of joining the protest as the main reasons for not participating. He also felt that with the limited time, it wasn't clear what information coming out was right or wrong, basically clouting his decision. Although he sympathized with the students and wanted their attention to be brought to the government that its actions are wrong, this ran subordinate to the fact that he didn't find a significance he could bring to the movement. He was also trying to make sense of everything, but the movement suddenly waned and it was over.

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Patrick

## Chapter 4

### WHERE DID PROTEST MOTIVATION COME FROM ANYWAY?

All participants of the Sunflower Movement had their own personal reasons to join. Whether they were disgusted by acts of the government, or did not agree with CSSTA, these direct motivations urged them to get involved; they hoped that they could lend their voice to contribute to change. On the other hand, if people did not get involved, they were not moved by these very same reasons and many protestors found them deplorable. We must then question why there are differences in participation given that both groups were exposed to the same potential motivating drivers. In other words, what personal factors exist that propels or repels a person to protest after learning certain information? This can be explained with abeyance structures. These structures nurture ideas among certain groups of people, all of which can be extended to and learned by individuals.

Protests come in waves where momentum slowly builds, reaching a high point, before waning down. During the quiet points, abeyance structures help to sustain protest ideas, values, and virtues. When high waves of protest begin, individuals with these predisposed thoughts will be more often driven by motivation factors to protest. Therefore, at the onset, these people are ready to be mobilized, while others outside of this structure may sit out and wait for specific reasons more suitable to their terms to protest. Those in abeyance structures can also play a crucial role if they take it among themselves to encourage those outside of the structure to protest. By spreading information to persuade others, this can create a larger turnout with a bigger impact. After the protest dies down, the same ideas are kept, and sustained for future use.

This whole concept is prominent especially among university campuses where students are eager and exposed to new information for the first time outside of a set curriculum. For example, UC Berkeley's coffee shops and farmers markets often display information from homage to past movements, to current day social injustices. These people within these shops are already part of the larger movement and they work to educate others on these issues hoping to encourage others to take a part. These structures are not just endemic to university campuses, but it can be applicable to any type of environment that creates an ideological foundation within people. In terms of the Sunflower Movement, we want to identify what these background environmental factors are that enabled students to become motivated and meet the movement with a positive



reaction. The following three students' accounts became part of abeyance structures all by different means. One student grew up in a structure; and by hearing the same messages time after time, she had already been well established within the structure. The other two students account that they were sucked into abeyance structures after starting university. The three main abeyance structures that affected people's ability to become motivated can be listed as: personal identity, direct networking, and school.

#### *4.1 The Case of Personal Identity*

Sophia is a fourth year French major at NCCU and was highly involved in the Sunflower Movement. During the Sunflower Movement protests, she was an exchange student in France. Despite her long distance from Taiwan, she took the opportunity to network with other Taiwanese in Paris and organize a Manifestation event to raise awareness of what was going on in Taiwan internationally. In addition to assisting to create the event, she also traveled over three hours by train to get to Paris for the Manifestation. Of course, her passions for Taiwan and getting involved in protest did not happen overnight. She had many elements in the making in order for her to take such immediate actions.

Sophia grew up in Taipei with her father being a university history professor. With his schedule, it fortunately worked out for her family that they could get time off and travel. From the time that she was growing up, she was exposed to things outside of Taiwan. Her father would be able to take her to historical places in Europe and educate her on the historical significance of each place. She was able to learn the causes and reasons of important historical events at a young age. This is one reason that contributed to her seeing things from a much different mindset than her classmates. Her family had always aligned with Green politics<sup>31</sup>, which she says gave her a strong sense of identity. With her father being in the position that he was in, he would often lecture her on historical topics, not mentioned in her school textbook. She fondly remembers learning about the 2/28 event<sup>32</sup> from her father at an age that is much too young for most young students to learn about such atrocities. When she was seven years old, she was brought by her father to a 2/28 march, as he wanted to educate her on the negatives of authoritarian government and why democracy is important. They would often visit

<sup>31</sup> Green politics – Affiliated with the DPP or Pro-Taiwan Independence parties

<sup>32</sup> A massacre of local Taiwanese committed by the KMT soon after their arrival to Taiwan

museums and she would be introduced to whatever information was available. When she was twelve years old, she attended several different memorial dedications with her father, such as Cheng Nan Jung (鄭南榕), who was a pro-democracy protestor and publisher of anti-KMT rule in the late 1980's. For Sophia, growing up under this environment had its lasting effects and influenced her political views ever since she was little. All events that she attended with her father focused on either anti-KMT rule or pro-democracy. This influenced her to regard China as an enemy by remembering its past historical record, the same distinction given by her parents. After being educated under this setting, she had grown up to an environment where she completely separated herself from being Chinese, and as a result viewed herself only as Taiwanese. While she admits there are similarities of the two, such as the origin of culture and language, the fact that historically, the KMT came from China to Taiwan to forcefully spread much of this culture is something that she cannot identify with. Her own ancestors spent over nine generations in Taiwan, and as a result, she does not have many feelings regarding China, and especially not any type of entity representing the Chinese government because her roots go back before that. She also usually speaks Taiwanese with her mother and grandparents, who also have a greater affiliation with only Taiwan, and not KMT rule or its governance. Her grandparents, for example, also have negative views of the KMT because they still remember back when they first established governance in Taiwan, everything had to suddenly change, from language to recognition of a new government. Therefore, her whole environment at home while growing up can be seen as a catalyst for causing such a strong rise out of her during the Sunflower Movement's beginnings. She didn't spend much time reacting to the news, but instead immediately took whatever was in her power to try and change CSSTA. According to her, after nearly 70 years since the beginning of KMT rule, the same trend of outside influence from China was continuing to change their way of life.

One of the main political problems in Taiwan is the absence in consensus of national identity. Taiwan's interesting past with colonization: starting with the Qing Dynasty, followed by Japanese occupation, then taken as what was supposed to be a temporary base for the KMT had meant that it was an ever-changing society with no sense of belonging.<sup>33</sup> With the KMT finally controlling Taiwan after WWII, it offset serious changes within Taiwanese society. Besides changing languages, which forcibly changed from Japanese and Taiwanese to Mandarin Chinese, domestic issues also split

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<sup>33</sup> Wachmann, Alan M., "Competing Identities in Taiwan."

society into different ethnic and cultural groups. Along with the KMT's move to Taiwan, over 2 million immigrants came from different parts of China, which changed the political demographics of Taiwan. These immigrants who moved to Taiwan from China along with the KMT are known as *waishengren* (外省人). Naturally, they better identify themselves as Chinese and would normally be more supportive of the KMT government. However, many people in Taiwan were already established here before the KMT and Japanese governance. These *benshengren* (本省人) make up the majority population in Taiwan and today are the predominant ethnicity in Green politics. In reaction to the efforts the KMT enacted to make the local population more Chinese, a Taiwanese cultural identity was invented by *benshengren*. For example, local efforts to preserve the Taiwanese language were enacted when the KMT loosened its grip on language controls. Taiwanese recognize the Chinese origin of their culture, but overtime, with foreign influence playing its part, they have developed a separate identity.<sup>34</sup> This separate identity also causes current political rifts between how many *waishengren* and *benshengren* view themselves. In local Taiwanese politics, many younger people nowadays and pro-Green camps usually view themselves as Taiwanese, but there is still a sizable portion of people who view themselves as Chinese and eventually want to unify with China once the conditions are right. This forms a large social cleavage that is very evident geographically: the south of Taiwan tends to be more green, while the north is usually blue.<sup>35</sup> Even during election campaigns, the northern and southern geographic locations are decidedly one party, but campaigns from both sides try to strategize to win the middle. These realities of how many *benshengren* perceive themselves also poses a threat to eventual unification with China. Internationally, these are the opinions that China does not want. But as for Sophia, who is *benshengren*, fears exactly this. At the beginning of the Sunflower Movement, it was her main concern, not only by what the KMT did, but also that the bill was pushed by China. She felt that her own home would forever change and that her rights and identity would slowly be taken away. That is why she found it necessary to take it upon herself to organize and spread word what was going on in Taiwan, even though she was in France.

As she grew up in Taipei, she felt very isolated compared to that of her classmates because most people aligned with blue politics, and she could never come to agreeing with them. Her family made such an impact on her judgments as to what was right and

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Blue (politics) – KMT and other political parties that center more on eventual unification with China.

wrong, that she had already decided who she supported when she was young. After enrolling at NCCU, her decision was already made, and it gave her an outlet to discuss her true views.

“I think [at NCCU] my opinions were amplified. Before I was pretty much a minority in Elementary or High school. Because in Taipei most of the people are pretty blue and I’m pretty Green so when I was talking about Taiwanese independence they would be like ‘why’ and they would be pretty pro-China. But now at NCCU, since people are more informed and aware of the history, we can have a discussion about it. It’s not always a quick ‘no’ to this type of thinking. After these discussions, I felt I had stronger opinions in my personal beliefs.”<sup>36</sup>

While at NCCU, she never joined any clubs to express her views, but would only discuss current events in Taiwan among friends interested in politics. She felt once she entered NCCU that there were no barriers, which led to her personal opinions becoming stronger. She also found others who shared the same opinions that she did. Because of the environment that she grew up in, she already held strong opinions in regard to how she wanted her future Taiwan to look like. This personal dynamic made her more willing to get involved in protest, if she found any suitable motivation to join. While in France, she initially heard what was going on in Taiwan after friends were posting articles of what had happened. After looking online about CSSTA and what it could possibly do to Taiwan, she immediately jumped to notify Taiwanese people in France and get them together. The bill itself was enough to make her feel that her identity would be threatened, making her motivated to get involved.

#### *4.2 The Case of Direct Networking*

For first year NTU Computer Science graduate student Wei Ming, he learned of his background motivations partly from his identity, but it was mostly realized through his social network in university. His story demonstrates that abeyance structures can be learned and obtained. While growing up, Wei Ming identified himself as underprivileged, not having as many resources as most children did. He grew up in a single family home with one mother. Growing up in a conservative and traditional type of society as Taiwan, he often felt the pressures that society cast on his mother for raising two children on her

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with Sophia

own. From society's perspective, there was hardly any type of assistance that could be offered by the government to help them with their situation. In addition, his mother spent over 20 years working in the same grocery store, but her salary was not enough to make ends meet and provide for Wei Ming and his sister. Yet, his mother would try her best and encourage them to do well in school and pursue higher education. Due to her level of education, she could not do much to assist them with their homework, and she could not financially send them to cram schools to give them a better advantage. Luckily for Wei Ming, he could test well and was able to enter a good high school. From there, he was able to reap the benefits of a good education and successfully test into a good university. While at the university, he primarily focused on his studies of Computer Science for the first two years without joining any particular clubs. He learned many things above his level. In addition to excelling in his studies, he learned how to code programs, and found internships for pay during the summer. He was quite confident he could find a good job after graduation. But something pushed him to do more than just that.

During the beginning of his third year of university, he became interested in joining certain clubs and joined one club tutoring elementary and middle school students around Taipei City. He would only meet once a week and many of the kids were already well on their way to excelling in school. He ended up only doing this for one month as he grew to dislike the methods that the club was using. Every week they would go to a different school around Taipei, so no lasting bond could be established between volunteers and students. Also, the same curriculum was used week after week, so it was becoming mundane. The following month, advertisements for joining clubs were placed on campus and he came across one club called "Kids for Friends." As it was the beginning of the year and they were taking new members, he ended up quitting the other club and joined this one. He didn't intend on quitting his other club so quickly, but as he was growing tired of its repetitiveness, he was optimistic in the fact that the new club could bring them out to rural areas in Hualien during the weekends. Finally, he could build a closer relationship with students and focus on the problems each of them had. These were also students who lacked in resources, so it fulfilled his true wishes to help people who grew up under the same circumstances that he did. These students did not have the same testing skills or drive to do well in school that he did, but he rose up to the challenge to craft each child's path to success. But through joining this club, he was exposed to many new situations and influenced by the thinking of his co-workers. These co-workers were more interested in a holistic approach to improving the bigger within

Taiwanese society, and not just local events within the club. Wei Ming ended up changing his opinions to fit the mold of the club.

Many of the other volunteer workers were largely invested in improving the social and welfare infrastructure in Taiwan and wanted to begin with this type of hands-on experience before trying to work in the real world. He was one of only a few engineers to participate in this club, while many others came from either the Law or Social Work Departments. By meeting these people, he was exposed to different ideas such as politics and current events, which he did not pay attention to at all before. When he initially joined the club, he was unaware of all the problems that he would be facing. Besides kids not being motivated for school, they had issues that could not be resolved at home as well. Children coming hungry and often not being fed nutritious meals were a common problem. Also, he was exposed for the first time where parents were not able to tend to their kids' needs. These kids would stay in a nearby church and be raised by the priests and nuns there. After talking about these issues with other members of the club, it made him realize that in Taiwan, not enough resources are given by the government to help these people. Most of these people had the potential to improve their current situation, but with little attention given to them by the government and mostly relying on volunteers for guidance and assistance, the amount of help they could provide for them only once a week was inevitably futile. There lay a bigger systemic problem in society going unattended. Many of the poorer families faced uphill battles with hardly any government assistance or job insurance measures put in place. Thinking back to when he was a child, he could have only dreamed for this kind of help for his family, but was too young to realize what could be offered. Wei Ming looked for other ways that he could get more involved and help to address the systemic issue besides this one club. At the advice of his friends in the club, he added a second major in Social Work during his third year so he could learn how he could solve these larger societal issues.

One whole year passed when, in his senior year, the Sunflower Movement began. But his reaction was quite different to many others. He did not care too much about the political aspects of what was going on, but his initial reaction after finding out what happened was looking at the CSSTA bill itself to look at each area and judge for himself. He wanted to know how CSSTA would affect jobs and laborers in Taiwan.

“I learned about the Sunflower Movement from messages on Facebook and from friends on Facebook. After I looked online and compared all different ideas of the plan, I decided that I do not back



the bill. I think by majoring in social work it did influence me. After I took many courses in social work, I started to care more about social issues and I found that I am a left-wing person and I want to support laborers and workers. Parts of CSSTA only supports business only and not labor. I think I didn't care about politics or social issues before I second majored in Social Work, but after, I started to look at how some laws affect us."<sup>37</sup>

Wei Ming got involved mostly due to his perceptions how Taiwanese laborers would have greater difficulty finding jobs after its passage. As mentioned that within the bill, laborers from China could work in Taiwan, it would force Taiwanese already in these industries to compete with the Chinese for the same jobs. From a business perspective, it would save money, but hurt domestic workers already located in Taiwan. He claimed that businesses and CSSTA does not care about the workers scraping to get by, and this would only perpetuate the issues already existing in Taiwan. Wei Ming went to the protest site a couple of times and shared articles with his friends on Facebook telling people the impact that CSSTA could have on all Taiwanese industries, not just only laborers. He hoped that this could inspire others to get involved because the issue is closer to Taiwan than many may feel. As there are many service jobs in Taiwan, as a result of its passage, the future could potentially hold less jobs for college graduates, especially if they must compete against Mainland Chinese.

Despite the fact that his primary focus was engineering, his surrounding environment and studies in Social Work influenced his decision to participate in the Sunflower Movement. In conjunction with his background growing up in a financially disadvantaged household, the club "Kids for Friends" allowed him to recognize similarities between himself and the students. Due to this realization, he started to find other ways where he could improve social justice. These courses also made him concerned about Taiwan's future, as job prospects and poverty are rising. He came out against CSSTA to support these reasons. This club structure enabled him to pick up a second major in Social Work and learn additional ways to attempt to make society more equal among different social ladders. He believes if there is additional help through the government and society as a whole, it would be much easier for more people to thrive. He started off not being interested in these issues, but now he could ponder over these problems and try to create credible solutions.

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with Wei Ming



### 4.3 The Case for School

Jason, a fourth year law student at NTU, grew up in a very conservative and traditional household. His parents were both KMT supporters and he too felt the same way growing up as it was all that he knew. It was until he entered university that he was exposed to a different way of thinking. Once he was in university, professors and students established new ideas, and he had to learn how to defend his own way of thinking. After constantly being exposed to more liberal ideas, he learned he could no longer defend his old way of thinking, and he changed opinions. He no longer supported the KMT, started supporting Green candidates and became more involved in protest movements. He solely contributes this switch to his course of study in Law. By the time the Sunflower Movement occurred, he immediately knew he had to get involved.

As Jason grew up in a traditional household, his parents had their own expectations of him that he follow the rules prescribed by society. Basically, he was to stay on the same path that his parents had asked for. He studied hard up until high school and achieved key milestones, which brought his parents much honor. He excelled in violin, aced subjects in school, and tested into one of the best high schools in Taiwan. During high school, he continued to do what was expected of him by studying hard and doing well on tests. He got his first introduction to politics at this time as well. Although he was not enrolled in any courses specifically in government or politics, his teachers would make off-comments that were usually in support of the KMT. Therefore, he started to differentiate between blue and green by associating blue as right and green as wrong. He considered at the time: Blue candidates played by the rules that are set out in society that Taiwan needs to follow, while Green wants to change the entire system – and break rules that have already been established for many years.

“In high school I supported the ROC, as in the KMT. Growing up, my mom and dad didn’t talk about politics, so I heard about the KMT from teachers and from the books and unfortunately, my teachers in high school, middle, elementary all thought like the KMT. I didn’t know about the DDP too much. I didn’t understand why they wanted to make a difference. I thought it was treason that they wanted Taiwan independence and I thought they were a mob. When I went to college, I learned it was totally different from what I thought before.”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Interview with Jason

Jason had continued making his mark, fulfilling his expectations for his parents and society by testing into NTU. At his parents' urging, he took up courses in Law as he hoped for better job prospects after graduation. It would also be a good addition to bring to the family if he could eventually be a lawyer. From the beginning of his first year of his studies, he learned several concepts that attributed to his change of heart. First, were historical events that were hidden from textbooks in high school. Events such as White Terror and 2/28 were episodes of political oppression during KMT rule that he learned more about during university. In his grade school years, he only learned about these periods briefly. Textbooks quickly glossed over these topics and never went into much detail. After this, he started to ponder the KMT government's motives in hiding so much information and started to question his KMT allegiances. Secondly, he was forced to defend his opinions in class. The NTU Law Department environment is free and open to new ideas, however, there was already a prevailing perspective in class that was more left-wing oriented. While students themselves had a high varying degree of opinions, most of them would be primarily concerned about certain issues such as human rights and preserving history.

Near the end of his first year, the class discussed urban renewal, a current political issue at the time. The KMT government wanted to renovate a military veteran area called Hua Guang Community.<sup>39</sup> The renovation would make the land more profitable, but at the same time, displace the veterans already living there and force them to move out. Jason could not find other reasons to support displacing military veterans if it was only for profit. During a class discussion, he spoke against a KMT position arguing that lives should be valued over business interests. He also started to invest his own personal time on this issue. By joining some classmates and engaging in his first protest against government actions, he felt the only way someone could stick up for these underrepresented voices was by speaking out for them. This also marked a change where he recognized these systemic problems could not be rectified by staying in line as a model citizen. He explained how studying law helped with this process:

“When we study law, there's a saying that “the law doesn't protect the person who lets their rights slip.” So if you have the right, but don't use it, then that right is useless. If you don't say anything, the law will not protect you.”

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<sup>39</sup> Hua Guang Community (華光社區) – an housing complex near Chiang Kai-Shek memorial

With this realization that he wants to make things better, he did not hesitate to use his rights to speak out against these government actions. Another reason why he felt so strongly was that his uncle was housed here and his own parents did not want to interfere with the government process. He owes this difference to his education. In his parents' generation everyone was expected to follow rules under martial law. Now that in the current generation, opinions and discussions are more open, people are more encouraged to speak out.

“I got involved because I think it's my duty. Teachers would tell us it's our duty to make our society better. I thought there's many unfair and unjust things in Taiwan society and we must fight for it. In Taiwan we don't fight and dispute often, we just want peace. We usually think about emotions, not rationality, and we want everyone happy. So when the government tries to make some damage or do something bad, people just think that the government is right, they don't think of the victims. They think people deserve to be treated that way.”<sup>40</sup>

Through his studies, he was able to realize the greater underlying problems within society. Despite his studies only being in law, discussions on topics made him well aware of potential harms and he wanted to correct them. He learned that the government isn't always right and society isn't always as stable as it seems. He also learned that in order to correct these wrongs, you must be able to challenge the government. The democratic system puts people in power over their government. For the government not to be able to step over its boundaries, people must use the rights bestowed upon them to get their attention. In other words, people must speak up, so the government can operate through checks, not work as authoritarians. During the Sunflower Movement, this is exactly what his concern was and why he got so involved. He was alarmed over the government overstepping its boundaries and felt that it did not care for the average person's sentiments in Taiwan. He felt he must protest in order to show that many voices did not approve of its actions. School brought him from finding the government as trustworthy to questioning its actions. The NTU Law Department environment made him more aware of human rights issues, and he later prioritized these aspects. The more he learned, the more he found disagreements in the way the current government handles some issues, and this led him to grow weary of supporting them. After a couple years, this distrust led to an evolution in thought for other issues as well.

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<sup>40</sup> Interview with Jason

“In university, I listened to many different people and I compared the KMT and DPP and I thought in the end the DPP, or Green parties are the better choice. We have to care more about our future – to do what is best for Taiwan and make it into a real country. KMT is such a corrupt party because they will hide Taiwan’s history. It is brainwashing to tell people only one side of the story.”<sup>41</sup>

None of his teachers directly told him what he should believe in, but the environment forced him to come up with his own ideas in which he could defend. It was prevalent for most students to make human rights a priority in their opinions, and he later on used this to frame his ideas as well. After several years of students focusing on the same type of issues for so long, it was only natural to begin to express care on this matter. The teachers did hold their own views, but he confesses that they never personally encouraged students to change their views. It was the course style and environment of each class that made them question what is really right or wrong for society. Due to his education in the Law Department, he was able to think in a new way, otherwise he says he would not have been introduced to social movements.

In these three cases, all students ended up participating in the Sunflower Movement not only due to their personal motivations, but also due to their background. Whether it was from their education or personal identity, the situation sparked them to become motivated. By having this strong background, things were already set in place making them immediately willing to protest, and wanting to affect the outcome. In other words, by having this abeyance structure, the dominoes were already in place, which in turn affected their motivations, which then affected the outcome in how involved they became in the Sunflower Movement.

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid

## Chapter 5

### CAUSES AND EFFECTS

The last two chapters demonstrated a person's decision to protest at an individual level. That it is up to the individual to choose if they want to protest, and everyone weighs different factors when deciding to do so or not. By looking at each person's individual case, we have examined two aspects: motivations and abeyance structures. Motivations are direct reasons that compelled these students to get involved in protest. Many of the students disagreed with CSSTA, or disagreed with the government tactics that were done in order to pass it. Because of these reasons, they suddenly felt obligated to get involved and make a difference. On the other hand, for these very same reasons, certain students received a negative reaction moving them against protesting, instead of it encouraging them to protest. These motivations gave them a reason at the exact moment to justify whether to get involved or not. Each individual candidate's background was also explored and it was speculated how this could possibly impact their willingness to become motivated. These abeyance structures consist of an innate thinking process that can be learned. Depending on one's environment how they grew up or were educated, they will have more demands for social justice, making it easier to be displeased by society's conditions. Therefore, if the conditions are right and sparks are flying on the verge of protest, these people will have a larger tendency to become motivated and eventually move towards protest involvement over the long run. This chapter will focus on bringing everything together. Based on the information collected thus far, all candidates can be compared to create an overall picture determining the causal relation between students' background and the actions they took during the Sunflower Movement. All candidates represent students that are stereotypically more prone to protest: leaning to the left side of politics, and supporting green candidates. Yet, they all took a different course of action when it came to how involved they were in the movement. By looking back at their motivations to protest as well as their background, overarching conclusions can be made. Here, we will be able to weigh what motivations are more important than others in protesting and how one's background can make them more inclined to support the movement wholeheartedly.

### 5.1 Motivations and Outcomes

After interviewing all seven candidates, five motivations were determined to have directly impacted their decision whether or not to get involved in the movement. Either, they were interested in politics and news, disagreed with the under-the-table operation, identified with the movement and understood its goals, felt CSSTA was bad for Taiwan, or believed that protesting had to be done in order to be effective and make change. All of these variables are designated with a positive value, so if a candidate identifies with this, it encourages them to have an outcome where they are more involved in the movement. Each of these motivations can also work negatively or have no noticeable difference on their willingness to protest. Motivations are represented by the variable “Y” in the chart below. The negatives hurting their outcome to protest are marked, while a motivation making no noticeable difference is not mentioned. Their outcome, or their involvement in the movement, is marked by the variable “Z.” The range of Z starts with Z1, representing a student with absolutely no involvement and being completely against joining the movement. It ends with Z5, which represents a student actively involved in the movement as well as convincing others to get involved as well. The data for all seven interviewed candidates in terms of motivations and outcomes are listed in the chart below.

Candidate	Motivation	Effect	Definition
			<b>Y1</b> Interested in politics and often reads news
Ming Fong	Y1,Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5	Z5	<b>Y2</b> Disagreed with under-the-table operation
CT Chang	<b>Y1(-)</b> ,Y2,Y5	Z3	<b>Y3</b> Understood what the movement wanted
Leo	<b>Y1(-)</b> ,Y3, <b>Y4(-)</b> ,Y5	Z2	<b>Y4</b> CSSTA is bad for the future of Taiwan
Patrick	<b>Y1(-)</b> ,Y2, <b>Y3(-)</b> , <b>Y5(-)</b>	Z2	<b>Y5</b> Believed protesting could accomplish something
Sophia	Y1,Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5	Z5	
Wei Ming	Y3,Y4,Y5	Z4	<b>Z1</b> Disagreed with protests, against protestors
Jason	Y1,Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5	Z5	<b>Z2</b> Slightly identified with protestors, did not participate
			<b>Z3</b> Took time to understand circumstances then decided to protest
			<b>Z4</b> Participated and spread information to educate others
			<b>Z5</b> Frequently went to site, actively tried to convince others

The motivations chart above is similar to what was represented in Chapter 3, but now it is more complete with all candidates listed along with their respective outcomes. According to the data, we can immediately see that there is a correlation between the positive number of motivations and how far they went in going to protest. Those with more motivations were more willing to get involved in the movement and spread



information to others trying to convince them. Also as expected, those with more negative motivations were less involved in the protest movement altogether. It is also interesting to note that those who were the most invested in the movement (here designated as Z5) had all motivations to protest. Therefore, they truly believed in all aspects of the movement and wanted to change the conditions surrounding CSSTA. While, negative motivations are not seen until we reach the Z3 level of participation, marking that the student took a while to think about the pros and cons of protesting before choosing to do so. The negative motivations also vary widely between each candidate. All students who did not participate all have a negative Y1 variable, meaning that they were not interested in politics or the news surrounding the situation to begin with. We can speculate that if they normally engaged themselves in current events, they could have been more affected by the events going on. As they did not seem to express care about politics, this could be a major reason to them choosing not to get involved. Among the other variables of non-participants, Patrick has two additional negative variables, Y3 and Y5, while Leo has only one, Y4. For Patrick, his reluctance to get involved can be reflected by the fact that he wasn't sure what the movement wanted in Y3, and he also doubted the efficacy he could individually bring by joining, as we can see with Y5. His practicality in decision making ultimately left him able to sympathize with what was happening to the protestors in the event, but he was too late to sort everything out mentally to participate. This end result can also be said for Leo, who also sympathized with protestors but knew he would not join. The difference is that he had an ideological difference with the protesting majority on CSSTA, designated as Y4. Everyone else who participated with at least a Z4 outcome felt very strongly about this as a reason for going out. As Leo believed it would be good from a business perspective, he prioritized this view over the labor viewpoint. He understands both points of view and respects the protestors' point of view, but his ideological difference in this one area prevented him from supporting the movement. Despite his dissimilar view on this key concept, he still partially identified with the wishes of protestors and hoped that everything could be solved in a peaceful manner.

We can further break down all other motivation factors at an individual level and try to weigh the importance of each one. As mentioned previously, all non-participating students were not interested in politics or news, represented by Y1. Furthermore, we can speculate that more exposure to the relevant Sunflower Movement topics could bring more interest, hence involvement. If we look at Y1 overall, only Wei Ming is without



this variable, indicating that there was a period of thinking whether he wanted to protest or not as his interest was not yet settled on the movement. In addition to Y4 playing a strong role in getting people out, we can look at Y2 as another factor that brought non-participants to sympathize with protestors. For Patrick, he would have had only negative associations if it wasn't for this motivation. Similarly with Leo, he would have had more positive associations regarding the efficacy of the protest Movement if it weren't for this measurement. But with these strong motivations for and against the movement, respectively, they moved towards the same outcome. For the Y3 and Y5 variables, these represent weaker variables in pushing one to protest as they are coupled with other factors. For instance, CT Chang is the only person indifferent to the Y3 variable, yet he was encouraged to participate by long discussions with friends by Y2, the stronger variable in comparison to his other positive variable Y5. Using this chart we can further speculate motivations and outcome in the Sunflower Movement by comparing these positive and negative motivation variables.

### *5.2 Abeyance Structures and Motivations*

All seven candidates were also asked the same questions regarding their background to determine if there was a connection between this and their motivations to get involved in protest. As explained in the previous chapter, everyone's background has positive or negative abeyance structures, which could possibly affect how one feels regarding certain motivations towards protesting. These background factors, or abeyance structures, can be a lifestyle that they've grown up in, so they would be more inclined to support protest efforts. The three different factors previously mentioned that have a positive effect towards getting involved as explained in Chapter 4 are as follows: part of protest culture, direct networking such as clubs, and influence through school subjects. An additional abeyance structure of feeling disadvantaged compared to others was also added in. On the other hand, the negative abeyance structures that work towards having negative motivations regarding the protest has been identified as: never protesting before, feeling separate from Taiwanese society, and prioritizing business interests. It should be stressed again that motivations are direct reasons for one to get involved in protest, while abeyance structures is someone's background, so as to give context where certain motivations come from. Both of these variables were compared to demonstrate the causal relation between the two. In the chart below, all abeyance structures are labeled as "X,"

with the negative abeyance structures being marked. Similar to the last chart, motivations are marked as “Y,” and negative motivations are appropriately marked.

	<b>Abeyance Structure</b>	<b>Motivation</b>	
			<b>X1</b> Part of Protest Culture (+)
			<b>X2</b> Direct Networking, Clubs (+)
			<b>X3</b> Influenced by school subjects (+)
Ming Fong	X1,X2,X3	Y1,Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5	<b>X4</b> Often felt disadvantaged growing up
CT Chang	X2,X5(-)	Y1(-),Y2,Y5	<b>X5</b> Never protested before (-)
Leo	X7(-)	Y1(-),Y3,Y4(-),Y5	<b>X6</b> Feels separate from Taiwanese society (-)
Patrick	X5(-),X6(-)	Y1(-),Y2,Y3(-),Y5(-)	<b>X7</b> Prioritizes business interests (-)
Sophia	X1	Y1,Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5	<b>Y1</b> Interested in politics and often reads news
Wei Ming	X2,X4,X5(-)	Y3,Y4,Y5	<b>Y2</b> Disagreed with under-the-table operation
Jason	X1,X2,X3	Y1,Y2,Y3,Y4,Y5	<b>Y3</b> Understood what the movement wanted
			<b>Y4</b> CSSTA is bad for the future of Taiwan
			<b>Y5</b> Believed protesting could accomplish something

As displayed in this chart, abeyance structures are the causes (X), while the motivations now represent the results (Y). By looking at the chart at large, we can observe that those without any negative abeyance structures (negative X variables) and only positives (X variables) have very strong motivations. These would later mean that they would be fixed on getting involved in the Sunflower Movement. It is also interesting to note that Sophia, who was part of the protest culture ever since a child, but did not have any school or club influences was just as motivated to get involved as Jason and Ming Fong. For Jason in particular, he was introduced to new ideas regarding protest through school, and was gradually sucked into the abeyance structure. Even though his history isn't as pronounced as Sophia per se, his motivations to get involved were as steadfast as hers. This leads us to infer that as long as an individual is a part of an abeyance structure, it allows them to develop a deeply conscious motivated mindset. When it comes time to protest, this mindset prevails and they can join without hesitation. For these people there are no negative background factors that prevent them from prioritizing protesting as the best cause of action. As both Leo and Patrick did not get involved in the protest, they only had negative abeyance structures. They were not part of the abeyance culture to begin with, which can explain their lack of interest in joining the movement. Patrick never protested in movements before (X5), which could explain his reservations about joining in movement and how he questioned its effectiveness (Y5). Both CT Chang and Wei Ming never protested before either, however outside forces such as clubs worked to get them motivated and involved (X2). For example, CT Chang did not want to protest originally because he had reservations about protests in general. He was then influenced

by his club where he was able to meet friends from the Law Department. These people were frequently involved in social movements and actively convinced him to support the movement. The same can also be said for Wei Ming, who was more invested in a politically charged club than CT Chang. Here, he became much closer to people with different mindsets and they successfully convinced him to get more involved with his surroundings. This abeyance structure resonated with him in this area so strong that he eventually picked up a second major in Social Work to learn more about how to help people in need. Coupled with his background as someone growing up with a disadvantage (Abeyance structure X4), he felt compelled to do more to help others that are now in his former position.

We can also look at each independent variable and compare this to how it affected their motivation. Those with a variable of X1, meaning that they are already a part of the larger protest movement all have very strong motivations to get involved. If one is normally involved in protest acts, it assumes that they are easily moved by social situations, and believe that action must be taken in order to achieve change. Similarly, we can also see a strong correlation with X3, so that if one became a part of the abeyance structure through their education, they too have very strong motivations in getting involved. As opposed to clubs, these students were not directly recruited in joining the structure; it was instead the school environment where they were inundated with new information about injustices which slowly changed their mind. Therefore, X1 and X3 can be seen as strong variables that usually give people knowledge and strength on all issues enabling them to become motivated. For X4, only Wei Ming came from what he self-identifies as disadvantaged circumstances while growing up. While he didn't feel different at the beginning of university, this realization after a couple years made him much more adamant in fighting for social justice. This also marks a difference in motivational outcome with CT Chang. As their abeyance structures are nearly identical except this one factor, Wei Ming ended up being one level above CT Chang in terms of becoming motivated. Clubs and networking, or X2, pushed people to get motivated around certain issues, however X1 and X3 allows for people to be more well-rounded regarding social movements altogether. As for negative abeyance structures, only Leo had a predisposition to support business interests (X7). This is the primary reason why he could not get motivated to support the movement as it was against CSSTA. Patrick was the only person who represented X6, where because of his background being raised in

Thailand, it is a probable cause for him not being familiar with his surroundings in Taiwan. Therefore he relate to much during the protest.

### *5.3 The Final Effect – Sustaining the Sunflower Movement*

As with all waves of protest, everything goes in a cycle. At first comes the wave of enthusiasm: It is new, controversial, and stimulating to be a part of something that could be historic. Expressing personal dissatisfaction through large group protest also brings relief and attention to these issues that many personally care about as well. During this time, social media, news outlets broadcast daily occurrences because it's fresh in everyone's mind. But soon, the energy runs out as concessions from the higher authority can be slow and many people that are less driven start to grow tired. Soon, people start leaving, and attention from the media is diverted elsewhere. This is what happened during the Sunflower Movement.

When the rare occurrence in Taiwan society of large protests initially broke out, local media reported the occurrence, pictures were shared on social media, and supporters of the protest started to grow. One of its largest points was a rally for democracy held on March 30, where 350,000 demonstrators stood in front of the Presidential office and urged elected officials to listen to the protestors' demands. At the same time, social media continuously allowed the protest to expand. In order for protestors to get their message across, organizers looked for sources of money to fund this endeavor. This was accomplished through crowdfunding. An online campaign was launched to fund a full page advertisement in the New York Times. Within 12 hours, \$6.3 million NT was raised to cover the costs.<sup>42</sup> After this peak of participation was reached, the Movement started to have a slow turndown. While many still supported the movement, the government reaction was slow to respond to the protestors' demands. As a result, over the next week, the crowd grew weary over their strenuous efforts and their size was noticeably reduced. With social media, attention and money came in a sudden burst, but with no quick results. They weren't sure if their efforts were futile. However, the Legislative Yuan still remained occupied and with the government backed in the corner, only a week after the peak on April 6, a sudden announcement was made by KMT Legislative Speaker Wang Jin Pyng. He promised that the CSSTA will continue to be held up and will not be passed

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<sup>42</sup> Cheng, Tracey, "Taiwan's Sunflower Movement: Digital Anatomy of Protest."

until a review was conducted. In addition, a cross-strait regulatory mechanism would be enacted for future agreements.<sup>43</sup> The students agreed to vacate the building on April 10, though many were not satisfied with the outcome. Although the announcement was sudden and many were shocked, the process was at an impasse and the government had to budge. The protestors had a bargaining chip by occupying the Legislative Yuan, and they would not give it up until their demands were met. By meeting halfway, the KMT thought it would be a quick end without tarnishing too much of their reputation and conceding too much. But the protest had already made its imprint on Taiwanese society.

Although the Sunflower Movement only lasted for about three weeks, it renewed political interest with Taiwanese, especially among the younger generation. People were now conscious over what their government was doing. Soon after protests ended, the remaining mobilized activists repositioned their efforts against building Taiwan's fourth nuclear power plant, a KMT project.<sup>44</sup> Also due to the successful ventures of using the internet as a tool, engineers lent their hand in building citizen-initiated websites to check that the government held true to its promise of monitoring future cross-strait agreements. 123.g0v.today is a website that was established hosting an election calendar for citizens to know the dates of important legislation. It also included information for citizens to find their local legislator and pressure them to vote a certain way. As a further check for the government, the Appendectomy Project was also launched, which is an online platform designed to recall legislators that have lost confidence with the public.<sup>45</sup> These ventures were born out of the Sunflower Movement's attempt to bring about transparency. And with each of these, it created a network replete with resources for future protests that participants can have at their disposal. Due to the Sunflower Movement, it left students and the younger generation not only with these additional resources, but more attention was given to politics and the people they were electing. Now Taiwanese students involved in social movements have a much more expanded connection with websites dedicated for their causes, where it is easier to keep the government in check. We can say that these are the seeds of abeyance structures that can be handed to the future generation.

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<sup>43</sup> Rowen, Ian. "Inside Taiwan's Sunflower Movement."

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Lin, I-Fan. "How Technology and Citizen Media Shaped the Sunflower Movement."

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

As we have explored throughout this paper, the Sunflower Movement brought many types of students out together. As the stats showed at the beginning of this paper, students from a diverse number of universities and majors participated in this event. We wanted to explore what motivated so many students to particularly become involved in this movement. We then sought a multi-dimensional approach to pinpoint what the motivating factors were within this movement that directly allowed such a large number of people to get involved. Students from different areas of study and protest involvement outcomes were scouted and questioned. In the end, seven students were interviewed, all of whom could bring an interesting personal story to the table in terms of their involvement. Of these seven students, all of them were exposed to the Sunflower Movement propaganda to join (it was nearly impossible to avoid), and had similar views such as supporting Green candidates, and Taiwanese independence. However, they all had varying levels in terms of how involved they were in the movement. This may mean that most of the opinions expressed by students in this paper are pro-Sunflower Movement, and it may not be an accurate reflection of the student views at-large. But for our purposes, we still yearned to find the causes and effects of motivations. In other words, we seek to answer the question: if certain inputs in one's life are changed, how will this affect the outcome? This technique of research allowed us to understand many separate dynamics surrounding the movement: from participants' education, their personal background, to their knowledge regarding organization of the movement.

The interviews found that the framing message of the movement: a common theme that the government is not heeding to its people's wishes resonated with many people to get involved. To many people, the provisions within the CSSTA bill were not publicly known. Furthermore the fact that it was negotiated behind closed doors, and with the final non-reviewed legislation was shuttled through, it gave an anti-government fervor. And all of these seemed to be strong motivators in getting people out to protest. Although not all students may have felt this way, their voices were likely silenced by their many active classmates. If many of their peers were posting emotional messages on social media despising their own government, they would not object and instead choose to remain silent to avoid being verbal derision. Many students were also in between, not in support or against the movement, who didn't display anti-government fervor, would



normally question whether they should get involved. While many of their classmates were getting involved, it was originally believed that there could be peer pressure. That many students did not know what they were protesting for and only got involved because their friends urged them to. But this is not likely the case. Students for the most part knew why they were or were not getting involved and could identify the motivations that irked them the most, despite many accompanying friends to the site. For students who were against the movement altogether, many were pressured not to speak out their true views. For example, if they supported the government or CSSTA, many would be reluctant to post on Facebook in fear of backlash from their friends and classmates. Many of the students in the middle who were not sure about supporting the movement also did not protest because they wanted to understand the situation fully and find a reason that caused a major concern in their mind. They also doubted the total efficacy the movement would bring. Because of the variations of individuals' motivations, we then wanted to investigate individuals' background and see how this affected their motivation factors. These abeyance structures would either work positively towards motivation or against it.

Through analyzing one's past life experiences in protest or how they were educated, we attempted to understand what stimulates these motivations differently. Through the interview process, everyone shared their own individual story about how their background affected their views. There were four abeyance structures identified which work to make a protestor very expressive with the ideologies during the Sunflower Movement. Some people grew up in protesting or underprivileged families and view themselves as unique, making them very motivated for certain causes. The others were influenced by some aspect of their school – either through clubs or the courses as part of their education. This latter cause seems to be learned later in life and many people go through this change in university. Clubs are a very social experience during university, where you can meet many different types of people. Many join clubs based on their interests, while some want to join just to experience something new. Those from the latter group are usually exposed to new situations and ideologies after joining clubs. From being introduced to this new material, they can begin to look at the world in a new way and start to get involved in other related activities. For education, the school topics and environment is very open-ended. Courses and departments that have a seminar format typically require students to discuss and defend their opinions. These students, many particularly coming from Law, can go through a change if they are susceptible and open to them. Course topics can be about current events, and they are forced to defend a



position. While many opinions will vary in class, there is a pervasive opinion such as protecting human rights and dignity. Certain aspects of law were also taught that convinced some students that they had to play a role to make society better. One concept is using the law to protect your rights. If these rights given to you are not used, then your rights will slip. Teachers may never tell students what to think, but they students are indirectly influenced by course materials and the format of class structure.

In terms of the protest, these abeyance structures and motivation factors had a remarkable impact. First of all, those who exhibited only positive abeyance structures were the most active participants during the movement. They had very strong motivations and participated in many aspects from often going to the site to spreading information convincing others to get involved. Those who have been active in protest movements since they were little were as active as those newly recruited from schools. But those that were recruited through clubs tended to only get motivated on one issue of protest. Those that exhibited negative abeyance structures did not get involved in the protest at all because the feeling surrounding the cause didn't resonate with them. As for motivations and outcomes, those with more positive motivations came out stronger in involvement during the Movement, as expected. In addition, people that participated with the most involvement were mostly motivated by their opposition to CSSTA and the KMT's under-the-table operation. They were worried about the future of democracy in Taiwan. These findings found the hypothesis to be correct, where those with more positive motivating factors and a background inclination to protest ended up having a more heavily invested outcome in the protest movement.

Social media did play an important role in raising awareness, and immediately raising funds in support of the movement, however this itself was seemingly not a major motivation to get involved. If people were not part of the abeyance structure, they participated through more direct networks convincing them to get involved, rather than pictures and videos posted online. It did provide moral support for protestors, but not in terms of bringing more people out to protest. That's why it is very important for protests to be conducted through grassroots efforts go work people on the inside and change their mentality.

From the Sunflower Movement's peak on March 30, it slowly waned before ending suddenly about one week later. Despite the fact that the movement had been losing numbers, there was still a sizeable portion of people remaining when it officially ended on April 10. Due to it ending so suddenly, efforts were later redistributed to other

causes. Besides the large number of student protestors that remained outside of the Presidential Office diverting their attention to the nuclear protests, the internet meanwhile diverted its fundraising attention to ensure government accountability. People also remained dissatisfied with the techniques the KMT did. This had negative consequences for them in the 2014 municipal elections as more people started to grow tired of the two-party system and support third party candidates. The KMT lost nine mayor seats, and president Ma Ying Jeou was forced to resign his chairmanship of the party. The complete fallout from the Sunflower Movement is still ongoing and the future will tell the road that Taiwan will go on politically from here on out. But for now, the seeds have been sowed for abeyance structures, and in the event of a future protest, these resources that have been constructed under this movement will be utilized.

From this paper, we were able to successfully determine the factors that enhance motivations for involvement in the Sunflower Movement. By looking at this through one dimension of motivation, and a separate dimension of their abeyance structures, we created a full picture and reasons for why they became involved. Partially, it is likely to be due to the circumstances that happened right before the Sunflower Movement occurred, and the other part can be likely attributed to their background that allowed them to become emotionally driven and ready to immediately come out prepared to protest. Various types of motivations and abeyance structures were represented in this research, giving multiple different outcomes. Despite not being able to find an interviewee with an outcome completely against the movement, based on the trend, we can assume that one with these conditions possibly only had negative motivations and abeyance structures.

For future research, this would be taken into account if possible, but finding a student with these views, who is outspoken can be a challenge to find. Most of these students are in an environment that is supportive of protests, and for a student to be against this would be against the norm. If the process of interviewing people weren't as time consuming, a larger amount of people could have been questioned. As everyone has their own story, it is an interesting topic to look into if someone wanted to continue this research topic.

Although some activists may not have been satisfied with the outcome of the Sunflower Movement, it had a lasting impact. And final decisions, such as next year's presidential election are still to be decided. The Sunflower Movement brought revitalized strength among young people, and with an energized youth base with voting power to challenge the ruling elites and elderly votes, serious changes in society can be anticipated.

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