

ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH ON TAIWAN

# Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-jeou

From the Wild Strawberries to the  
Sunflowers

Edited by  
Dafydd Fell



# Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-jeou

In the spring of 2014, the Sunflower Movement's three-week occupation of the Legislative Yuan brought Taiwan back to international media attention. It was the culmination of a series of social movements that had been growing in strength since 2008 and have become even more salient since the spring of 2014. Social movements in Taiwan have emerged as a powerful new actor that needs to be understood alongside those players that have dominated the literature such as political parties, local factions, Taishang, China and the United States.

This book offers readers an introduction to the development of these social movements in Taiwan by examining a number of important movement case studies that focus on the post-2008 period. The return of the Kuomintang (KMT) to power radically changed the political environment for Taiwan's civil society and so the book considers how social activists responded to this new political opportunity structure. The case chapters are based on extensive fieldwork and are written by authors from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and methodological approaches; in some cases, authors combine being both academics and activists themselves. Together, the chapters focus on a number of core issues, providing the book with four key aims. First, it investigates the roots of the movements and considers how to best explain their emergence. Second, it examines the development trajectories of these movements. Third, it looks at the best way to explain their impact and development patterns, and finally it assesses their overall impact, questioning whether they can be regarded as successes or failures.

Covering a unique range of social movement cases, the book will be of interest to students and researchers interested in Taiwanese society and politics, as well as social movements and civil society.

**Dafydd Fell** is the reader in comparative politics with special reference to Taiwan at the Department of Political and International Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He is also the director of the SOAS Centre of Taiwan Studies.

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In 2005 she published *Environmental Governance in Taiwan: A New Generation of Activists and Stakeholders* with Routledge, which deals with environmental governance mechanisms and actors in Taiwan through a multi-disciplinary research approach.

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been teaching him about ethno-biology and human–animal relations, in addition to sharing their discontent about Taiwan’s legal regime, which criminalizes most hunting activities.

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# Acknowledgements

As a scholar who has mainly written on Taiwan's political parties and electoral politics, the idea of editing a book on social movements requires some explanation. Naturally I had covered social movements when teaching courses on Taiwan's politics. The readings we discussed in class tended to be focused on movements involved in Taiwan's democratic transition and the period immediately after transition in the Lee Teng-hui era. Our reading lists suggested that the literature on the period after the first change of ruling parties in 2000 seemed sparser. Back in 2006 I had co-authored a book chapter on Taiwan's women's movement, but I was the second author and not involved in the primary fieldwork. Thus, despite the fact that I covered social movements in my teaching, as late as mid-2012 this was not yet one of my core research topics.

The importance of social movements became increasingly clear in the period after the second change of ruling parties in 2008. This was highlighted by numerous speakers who came to SOAS, as well as in films we screened, such as Chiang Wei-hua's (江偉華) documentary about the Wild Strawberry Movement, *The Right Thing* (廣場). Reading the writings of Michael Cole and Ho Ming-sho (何明修) and speaking to scholars such as Chiu Kuei-fen (邱貴芬) and Fan Yun (范雲) made it clear me that something transformative was developing in Taiwanese civil society. In late 2012 I attempted to build on my earlier work on Taiwan's small parties by starting a research project on Taiwan's Green Party (GPT) with Peng Yen-wen (彭滄雯) (my co-author in this volume). I am so grateful to my former student Yu Wan-ru (余婉如) for inviting me to bid for a research grant focused on the GPT. Those initial interviews and focus groups with environmental activists linked to the GPT opened a new world for me in my understanding of Taiwanese politics and society.

Thus, almost as soon as I had completed the previous co-edited volume *Migration to and from Taiwan* in late 2013 I began the preparations for the June 2014 conference on Taiwan's social movements after 2008. The Sunflower occupation in March–April 2014 reinforced the timeliness of the conference theme. The conference included a mix of academics working on Taiwan's social movements, social movement activists and scholar activists. We were not able to include the papers of all participants in the current volume but here I would like to thank the following scholars for their paper presentations and contributions to

the conference discussions: Fan Yun, Malte Kaeding, Lorna Kung (龔尤倩), Chang Jung-che (張榮哲), Jeng Hsiao-ta (鄭小塔), Mark Harrison and Chiu Hua-mei (邱花妹). In addition, the papers and discussion benefitted from the contribution of the following discussants: Niki Alford, Chang Bi-yu, Antony Fielding, Nora Fee Kroeger, Liu Lili, Tim Pringle, Stuart Thompson, Tseng Yu-chin and Heidi Wang. I would also like to thank my wonderful colleagues Chang Bi-yu and Jewel Lo (羅寶珠) for their organizational support for this memorable event.

I also need to thank the main funder of this conference and the SOAS Taiwan studies programme, the Taipei Representative Office (TRO) to the United Kingdom. I particularly need to thank Ms Chen Ya-hui for logistical support and to the deputy representative, Ms Hsu Fen-chuan (許芬娟), for hosting the memorable conference dinner. The debates over social movements were as lively over dinner as in the conference.

The process of turning the set of conference papers into an edited volume was quite a challenge. I have to say this was the most challenging volume I have edited so far. A first challenge was the fact that, unlike earlier volumes or special editions, I was the sole editor. None of the participants at the conference volunteered to join my editorial team. A second challenge was the fact that many of the participants were either activists or scholars who were also activists. Therefore, when we held the June conference we had a mix of academic papers and rich activist PowerPoint presentations. Many of the presenters had become so involved in social movements that they did not have time to write their conference papers. In the aftermath of the conference, many also became heavily involved in party politics in the run-up to the 2014 and 2016 elections.

This meant that I had a group of very reliable chapter authors but also some authors who found it very difficult to deliver rounded academic papers due to the pressure of their activist, academic, family and party political lives. In some cases, authors had to withdraw from the project and so I had to try to find alternative chapter authors to ensure that critically important social movements were not neglected. I am so grateful for the way that Rowena Ebsworth, Hsiao Yuan and André Beckershoff joined the project in time so that they were part of the manuscript that went to the external reviewers. I really do not remember how many nagging emails I sent out in my bid to get the first draft of the manuscript ready but I do apologize to those chapter authors who had to put up with my constant nagging. It was a great relief to submit that first manuscript 15 months after the June 2014 conference.

At this point I also need to express my gratitude for the support of my colleagues at Routledge. I first raised the book proposal idea with the Asian studies editorial assistant, Hannah Mack, who joined a number of the June 2014 conference panels. Subsequently after Hannah left Routledge, I worked closely with her replacement, Rebecca Lawrence, through the rest of the project.

In addition to the original chapters, I was delighted to include a chapter by Huang Chang-ling on the feminist movement. Once it was clear that Fan Yun would not be able to contribute a chapter, I had felt that this was a topic sadly



missing in the original manuscript. Huang's chapter is the only piece that had been previously published and I would thus like to express my appreciation to the *Journal of Gender Studies* at Ochanomizu University, Japan, for agreeing to allow us to republish the piece.

I naturally would like to thank the anonymous external reviewers for their constructive and encouraging suggestions for revisions. The revisions process was not straight forward. One major challenge was the fact that so much had happened in the social movement and political scene since our first drafts. In particular, we (largely) made our final revisions and updates during the transition period between the DPP's January 2016 election victories and Tsai's inauguration in May. Last, I would like to thank all my wonderful chapter authors. It has been a pleasure to work with you and you have taught me so much! However, I think I will leave the task of a book on social movements in the Tsai Ing-wen era to others.

Dafydd Fell  
*Upper Caldecote, Bedfordshire*  
July 2016

# 1 Social movements in Taiwan after 2008

## From the strawberries to the sunflowers and beyond

*Dafydd Fell*

From 18 March to 10 April 2014, the Sunflower Movement's occupation of Taiwan's parliament, the Legislative Yuan, brought the country global media attention. The occupation only ended after the Legislative Yuan speaker pledged that parliamentary ratification of the proposed Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) would be put aside until legislation was brought in for reviewing future agreements with China. After a series of economic agreements between Taiwan and China in the aftermath of the Kuomintang (KMT) returning to power in 2008, this was the first time that the process had been stalled. Thus this alliance of student activists and a diverse range of social movements had achieved something that had eluded the main opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and its allies. After years of cross-strait stalemate from 1995–2008, the post-2008 China–Taiwan détente had led some observers to believe that Taiwan was no longer a potential flashpoint to rival the Korean peninsula. However, the Sunflower Movement revealed that many of the fundamental issues in China–Taiwan relations remained unresolved.

The lasting impact of the new era of Taiwanese social movement was made apparent in the 2015 Golden Melody music awards ceremony. Fire Ex's (滅火器) *Island's Sunrise* (島嶼天光), which had been an anthem for the Sunflower Movement, won the award for best song. As the group arrived at the ceremony they unfurled a banner in support of Dapu village, which had been at the centre of a land rights social movement (discussed in this volume by Ketty Chen). The banner read: 'Today Demolish Dapu, Tomorrow Demolish the Government' (今天拆大埔, 明天拆政府).<sup>1</sup> The sensitivity of this award was revealed when coverage of Fire Ex was cut from broadcasts of the ceremony in both China and Singapore. In those two countries' broadcasts no award was given for best song. The importance of social movements was again highlighted in the inaugural ceremony for the new DPP president, Tsai Ing-wen, on 20 May 2016. In addition to Fire Ex performing *Island's Sunrise*, the ceremony included performances by musicians associated with environmental protests movements such as Lin Sheng-hsiang (林生祥) and Panai Kusui (巴奈·庫穗).<sup>2</sup>

The key focal points of academic studies of Taiwan have shifted over time. In the post-war era, when fieldwork in the People's Republic of China (PRC) was impossible for Western scholars, Taiwan represented a surrogate for China.

Taiwan began to be studied in its own right as a result of its economic growth in the 1980s and early 1990s. The next big topic was Taiwan's democratization and democratic consolidation, which featured heavily in the 1990s and into the DPP era (2000–08). From the mid-1990s, cross-strait economic integration and China–Taiwan political tensions became another popular topic for research. As Taiwan's democracy matured, its electoral and party politics have also captured the attention of scholars abroad. Although there have been a number of scholars working on Taiwan's social movements since the lifting of martial law, these movements have been much less studied than the themes mentioned above. The wave of social movements that emerged in the post-2008 period, however, has contributed to a blossoming of interest and research into Taiwanese civil society. At my own university, as soon as the Sunflower occupation ended we found a huge interest among students to write their dissertations on Taiwanese social movements. As I write, in mid-2016, a considerable body of Chinese-language book publications, documentaries and academic journal articles have been released that examine this increasingly important actor in Taiwan. Our volume attempts to give readers a sense of this resurgence in Taiwan's civil society.

The Sunflower Movement was viewed as a shock and a worrying development for Taiwan's democracy by many observers. For some, the fact that the KMT government had won strong majorities in the 2008 and 2012 national elections gave it a mandate to govern as it saw fit. Detractors of the movement condemned it as violent and anti-democratic. Another common theme was that the movement damaged Taiwan's international reputation and prospects for regional economic integration.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, the Sunflower Movement's key source of legitimacy was that it was protecting Taiwan's democracy. In fact, one of the slogans most frequently used during the Sunflower Movement was 'Protect Democracy, Return the CSSTA' (捍衛民主, 退回服貿). From this perspective, Taiwan's party politics were not working and needed to be saved.

The Sunflower Movement did not come from nowhere. As many of the chapters here show, it represented the culmination of social tensions that had been building up since the autumn of 2008, just a few months after the KMT returned to power. Although there was much continuity before and after 2008, we feel that the development trajectory of social movements after the KMT returned to power makes this a useful starting point for our analysis. In the initial stage of post-martial law development, social movements tended to ally with the opposition party, the DPP. They largely welcomed the DPP's rise to national power in 2000. With the DPP holding executive power after 2000, some social movement activists experienced their first taste of government. Some were appointed as government ministers, for instance two figures from the anti-nuclear movement served as environmental ministers under the DPP. Social movement leaders were invited to join a wide array of government advisory committees where they had previously been excluded. Rather than being oppositional to the state, many activists became part of the state or at least financially dependent on the state. However, the relationship between the DPP and social movement activists became increasingly strained as the DPP was seen as giving in to big business.

Increasingly, social movements attempted to regain their autonomy from political parties. In fact, during the DPP era Taiwan's largest social movement protests, the Red Shirt anti-corruption movement in 2006 was starkly different from those of the Lee Teng-hui era. It was closely allied to the KMT and its allied parties and called for the DPP president to resign over corruption allegations. By the end of the DPP era, many of those in social movements had become quite disillusioned with their former ally.

The landslide KMT victories in parliamentary elections in January 2008 and the presidential election in March radically changed the environment for social movements. Activists were no longer welcome in government bodies and they now faced a KMT that took policy positions at odds with most social movements. As we see in the chapters in this volume, it took a highly developmentalist approach to land disputes, pushed ahead with the controversial Fourth Nuclear Power Station and ended the moratorium on death sentences. Although Taiwan had been increasingly economically integrated with China under the DPP, the process was accelerated under the KMT and the closer political relations meant that the China factor became increasingly influential on Taiwanese politics and society. Many of the case studies in our book reveal that fear of China undermining Taiwan's democracy and way of life played a key role in social movement activism. The KMT's election victories between 2005 and 2008 gave it control of most local authorities and all branches of national government, giving it the confidence to ignore protests. Relations between social movements and their former ally, the DPP, were now distant, partly as a result of the experience of DPP rule and the DPP's wish to project an image of a moderate party ready for returning to government. Although the KMT has often tried to argue that the social movements after 2008 were controlled by the DPP, our studies have found that activists harboured deep distrust towards the DPP. In short, the KMT's return to power in 2008 created a radically different environment for Taiwan's civil society.

In this book we attempt to offer a picture of the development and diversity of Taiwanese civil society. We do this by examining a series of social movement case studies in the post-2008 period. The authors contributing to the volume come from a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds and use a range of methodological approaches. Most of the chapters are based on extensive fieldwork and in some cases authors are trying to navigate the delicate balance of being both academics and also activists themselves. Despite the diversity in our approaches and disciplines, we examine the development of Taiwan's social movements by addressing four core themes. First, we consider the root causes leading to the emergence of our social movement cases. Second, we consider the patterns of movement development seen in our cases. Third, we are interested in how to best assess or measure the success of our social movement cases? Last, we consider how we can best explain the pattern of development seen in our cases. Through the detailed case studies of social movements we hope to give the reader a vivid picture of the state of Taiwan's civil society and to dispel some of the common misconceptions about Taiwan's social movements.

## Overview of the book

The book is divided into three sections. We start with seven chapters that consider movement cases that are specific to the Ma Ying-jeou era (2008–16). This we call this section from the Wild Strawberries to the Sunflowers. We start with Michael Cole's chapter, which sets the scene in the field of social activism after the KMT returned to power in 2008. He focuses on how best to explain the variation in social movement impact by comparing the cases of Citizen 1985 and the Black Island Nation Youth Alliance. Cole argues that mobilization size is not necessarily the most important variable in explaining the impact of movements, instead a key source of movement strength was the way it 'challenged the government in the realm of ideas'. The next chapter, by Hsiao Yuan, considers the social movement that is viewed as the pioneer of the era, the Wild Strawberry student movement, which emerged in late 2008 in response to police violence against protests over China–Taiwan talks. It particularly focuses on the impact of new Internet technologies on social movement organization and mobilization. Although the Wild Strawberry Movement failed to achieve its core demands, it would have a long-term impact on the social movement scene through the use of technology and many of its activists moved on to play prominent roles in a range of other social movements discussed in this volume. This is then followed by a chapter by one of the most prolific writers on Taiwan's social movements, Ho Ming-sho, together with Tsai I-lun. This chapter considers two cases of anti-casino movements on offshore islands. The first is from Penghu during the first Ma term and the second is from Mazu during his second term. Ho and Tsai highlight the importance of local political conditions, particularly the strength of local civil society in explaining why the Penghu campaign was more successful. The next two chapters consider two of the key movements in the run-up to the Sunflower Movement. First, Rowena Ebsworth looks at the Anti-Media Monopoly Movement, which challenged the attempt by Want Want's Tsai Eng-meng (蔡衍明) to dominate the Taiwanese media market. This is followed by Ketty Chen's examination of two important land dispute movements, the Huaguang Community in Taipei and Dapu in Miaoli. Both the Chen and Ebsworth chapters feature activists who had their first taste of activism in the Wild Strawberry Movement and would go on to play an even more prominent role in the Sunflower Movement. This section ends with two chapters on the Sunflower Movement itself. First, André Beckershoff discusses the origins, organizational structures and strategies of the Sunflower Movement. This is followed by Hsu Szu-chien's examination of the role of the China factor on creating the anti-CSSTA alliance of civil society organizations.

The next section examines cases from the social movement that has been the most heavily studied in Taiwan, the environmental movement. We start with Simona Grano's examination of the anti-nuclear movement. After briefly sketching the historical evolution of the movement, Grano examines why it was able to grow in momentum and make its critical breakthrough in the second KMT era. The section ends with my chapter with Peng Yen-wen on the development of the

Green Party Taiwan (GPT) after 2008. In many western European cases the Green Party has played a leading role in environmental movements. By contrast, the Green Party has been a late developer in Taiwan.

The third and final section of the book looks at four long-term social movements that emerged prior to the DPP's time in power and have featured quite different development trajectories even after 2008. First, Chiu Yu-bin looks at the challenges faced by the labour union movement, which first emerged in the late martial law era. In this case the movement faced similar challenges before and after the KMT returned to power. While the majority of movements have been oppositional to the KMT, Chinese migrant spouse NGOs, examined in the chapter by Momesso and Cheng, have tended to work more closely with the KMT. Unlike the other movements, it could be argued the Chinese spouse support movement actually benefitted from the KMT's return to power in 2008. In contrast, Scott Simon's chapter on indigenous rights groups argues that this movement is also quite unlike other cases and has its own internal dynamics, which are relatively unaffected by the shifting balance of party politics in Taipei. The final chapter, by Huang Chang-ling, examines a social movement that is often regarded as the most successful, the women's movement. Key ingredients in its successful formula have been its attempt to stay above party politics and its direct engagement with the state to promote its agenda of gender equality. However, Huang shows how this state feminism approach became increasingly challenged under the conservative government after 2008.

### **Movement roots**

The social movements examined in this book feature cases that emerged in the post-2008 period as well as those originating in the late martial era. For instance, labour, indigenous rights and anti-nuclear movements all emerged in the mid- to late 1980s, while the GPT and migrant spouse rights movements first appeared in the mid- and late 1990s, respectively. However, even for the older movements, the KMT's return to power did have a significant effect on their development. One of the most common causes of the social movement emergence or growing activism among existing movements was the combination of the KMT's return to power with the new post-2008 China–Taiwan relationship, or the China factor. For example, for Ebsworth, 'the roots of the Anti-Media Monopoly Movement lie in the convergence of debates over freedom of the press, cross-Strait relations and distrust of Taiwan's political institutions'.

We see this in the chapter on the Wild Strawberries, a movement emerging soon after the KMT's return to power. Although the movement should not be viewed as an anti-China movement, its emergence was closely connected to the resumption of China–Taiwan negotiations in 2008. It emerged as a result of excessive police violence in dealing with protests against the Chinese envoy, Chen Yunlin (陳雲林), and the reluctance of the KMT government to reform the Assembly and Parade Act. Two documentaries that also give a vivid sense of the interplay between the China factor and the new political environment surrounding

the Wild Strawberry Movement are *The Right Thing* (廣場) by Chiang Wei-hua (江偉華) and *Civil Disobedience* (公民不服從) by Chen Yu-ching (陳育青). We see a similar pattern in the anti-casino movement chapter by Ho and Tsai. In this case the China factor is less explicit. Local political support for casinos had been building up in the 2000s but it was not until the KMT returned to power that legislation to allow casinos to be established on the offshore islands was passed. However, the vision of developers is that the offshore island gambling industry will develop on a model similar to Macau and thus their main prospective customers were to be from China. This became a potential target market after Chinese package tours and independent Chinese tourist markets were liberalized after 2008.

The causal link between social movement activism and the China factor under KMT rule became even more powerful in the second Ma term. Cole suggests that both Ma and the Chinese administration led by Xi Jinping (習近平) were attempting to accelerate the process of integration after 2012. As we see in the Ebsworth chapter, the Want Want media empire emerged soon after the KMT returned to power and its openly pro-PRC/CCP editorial line played a key role in motivating the Anti-Media Monopoly Movement activism. Similarly, as we see in the Hsu chapter, the China factor was critical in bringing together the very diverse collection of groups of the alliance of NGOs that formed the Democratic Front against the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (DFACSSTA). However, he also shows how these civil society organizations, with diverse issue concerns and ideological backgrounds, had very different perceptions of the China factor. Hsu distinguishes between the cross-strait, anti-globalization and democracy/human rights contexts that embodied the China factor for these groups and which played a key motivating role in their participation in the build-up to and actual Sunflower Movement. A related movement not covered in our volume concerns revisions to high school curricula. This movement emerged in protest against the attempt by the Ma administration to bring back what it perceived as a new China-centric curriculum. At the height of the movement, protesters were forcibly ejected from a brief occupation of the Ministry of Education.<sup>4</sup> A thread common to these cases is a concern that closer economic and political integration with China threatens to undermine Taiwan's freedom and democracy.

We can also see the China factor in the emergence of a strong migrant spouse rights movement with the high levels of marriage migration from China. However, in this case it was the attempt to impose discriminatory regulations against the Chinese spouses in the DPP era that was critical in the movement's emergence (Tseng *et al.* 2013). In contrast with the other cases, the KMT's return to power created a much more favourable political opportunity structure for this movement. It will be interesting to see how this movement fares now that the DPP has returned to power in 2016.

In some of our cases, though, it was the KMT's economic and development policies that lay at the heart of the movement's renewed activism. For instance, the KMT's much more explicit support for nuclear power and, in particular, the

Fourth Nuclear Power Station benefitted the GPT and anti-nuclear movement. However, these environmental movements were also affected by the shift in public opinion following the Fukushima Dai-ichi nuclear disaster in 2011. The KMT's electoral dominance and control of local and national government gave it the confidence to press ahead with controversial development projects regardless of local opposition and at times also regardless of losing court cases. We see this pattern in the Dapu case, discussed in Ketty Chen's chapter, and also the Miramar resort case in Taitung County.

In a number of our chapter cases, a perception of a return to authoritarian government practices played an important shaping role on activism. Grano, for instance, makes this argument in her chapter on the anti-nuclear movement. The widespread use of excessive police violence and even gangsters against protesters are a feature of this authoritarianism that we see in the land dispute, Wild Strawberry and Sunflower case studies chapters.

A number of contributors attribute the rise of social movement activism to the failures of the main opposition party. Cole, for instance, notes how large DPP protests, even in Ma's second term, such as in January 2013, failed to derail Ma's agenda. We see similar patterns in the environmental movement chapters, whereby disillusionment with the DPP contributed to growing activism. The words of a GPT supporter in the Fell and Peng chapter illustrates this well: 'In fact you can't say the GPT particularly attracts me, but that the other parties hold no attraction at all to me.' Similarly, an interviewee in Hsu's chapter explained how 'After approaching the DPP, they came to understand that the DPP had too many pragmatic considerations and constraints in political operation and was not likely to take prompt and decisive action [in the Legislative Yuan against CSSTA].'

When it comes to the causal variables, the chapters by Scott Simon on indigenous rights groups, Chiu in the labour movement, Huang on the feminist movement and Momesso and Cheng on migrant spouse rights groups reveal some different patterns. While these cases see movements reacting to contemporary issues, long-term causal factors (prior to 2008) have been especially influential. In the latter case, the movement came to prominence as a result of both the sociological impact of large-scale marriage migration from China and South East Asia and, more importantly, the discriminatory policy proposals towards spouses from China by the DPP administration. Huang shows how the feminist movement attempted to maintain its state feminist mode of operation even after the change in ruling parties in 2008. For Chiu, 'the trade union movement after 2008 was deeply conditioned by the mindset of organizing and the strength of national union federations which have been significantly shaped by the legacy of the KMT decades long authoritarian rule'. Simon argues that the indigenous movement simply has much deeper historical roots going back to the Japanese colonial era.



## **Patterns of development**

With such a diversity of social movement case studies, it is not surprising that our chapters display quite distinct patterns of development. The authors also adopt a variety of methods of portraying the ebb and flow of movements. For instance, in the Chiu Yu-bin chapter we can get a sense of development through the decline in union numbers and union members, while in the Fell and Peng chapter development is measured through changing numbers of votes and vote shares for the GPT in elections.

The size of protests is another method commonly used for tracking movement development. For instance, Cole notes how after the first protests against Chen Yunlin's visit in late 2008 the size of protests dropped during the remainder of the first Ma term. Cole contrasts this with a pattern of growing momentum in the second Ma term, not only in the scale of protests but more importantly in the improved strategies and broadened alliances in these movements. Cole and Ketty Chen both talk of a process of cross-pollination and strategic consolidation (of social movements). The idea of a progressively widening alliance is also well illustrated in the two chapters on the Sunflower Movement. For example, Hsu shows how groups that had previously not worked together and were originally wary of each other gradually built up an alliance that culminated in the DFAC-SSTA. Nevertheless, Cole's comparative cases reveal that the importance of the size of mobilization alone should not be focused on in isolation.

The Ho and Tsai chapter on the Penghu anti-casino movement case also gives readers a picture of movement momentum. In this case the anti-casino movement was quite weak compared to the pro-casino local lobby and this was clear in the early non-binding referendums in the DPP era, with clear pro-casino majorities. However, we see how the opposition movement grew rapidly in the build-up to the successful defeat of the referendum proposal. In contrast, the Mazu movement struggled to get off the ground and held its first rally only two months prior to the referendum.

We also have a sense of movement momentum in Grano's chapter. The anti-nuclear movement had hit a low point early in the DPP era after the resumption of construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Station in 2001. Moreover, the movement had been divided as some activists had joined the government. However, we see a quantitative and qualitative increase in the movement after 2008. Grano shows this in the size of protests, but also in the style of anti-nuclear events such as concerts. This process culminated in the growing pressure on the government, which eventually led to the mothballing of the Fourth Nuclear Power Station in April 2014. Similarly, Fell and Peng present a picture of the GPT progressively getting closer to its goal of an electoral breakthrough.

In the case of the Simon, Huang and Momesso and Cheng chapters on the indigenous rights, feminist and migrant spouse rights movements, we see evidence of continued movement momentum from earlier pre-2008 periods. Simon, however, prefers not to talk of movement development but instead focuses on what he calls four movement unfoldings after 2008. These are the shift in focus

from name rectification to livelihood issues, in the rise in the role of non-church movement actors, the greater use of alternative or new media and the attempt to establish autonomy from the mainstream parties by creating a new political party. In the case of the migrant spouse rights movement, we see a continued effort to improve relevant legislation and to remove discrimination.

Naturally movement strength will ebb and flow over time rather than being a linear process. This pattern is well captured in the Beckershoff chapter on the Sunflower Movement and Ebsworth's piece on the Anti-Media Monopoly Movement. Even though the occupation lasted less than a month, Beckershoff reveals how the Sunflower Movement swung between high points (such as the 30 March rally) and low points of crisis as the KMT tried to wait for the movement to collapse from exhaustion and for public opinion to swing away.

The movement that perhaps represents the best example of one that eventually runs out of steam is the Wild Strawberry Movement, discussed in the chapter by Hsiao Yuan. Another way that readers can get a sense of this gradual loss of momentum is the wonderful documentary film by Chiang Wei-hua *The Right Thing*. We can see this not only in the gradual decline in the numbers involved in the Liberty Square occupation but also in the mood of participants. However, even in this case many of these activists went on to join a wide range of subsequent social movements, having learned lessons from the setback. It is quite likely that viewers will see a renewed energy among ex-Wild Strawberry activists in Chiang's forthcoming film *The Mob*, which will look at what happened to them afterwards in the build-up to the Sunflower Movement.

### **Assessing the impact**

During our conference on Taiwanese social movements in the summer of 2014, a question that we constantly came back to was how to best assess the impact of our case studies. Have the movements been successes or failures? All our chapters attempt to answer this question in their own styles. Carter (2007: 164–5) suggests a framework for assessing the types of impact of environmental pressure groups that I will use to summarize some of the key trends in our book. He first distinguishes between internal and external impacts. The key internal impact for Carter refers to the levels of politicization of movement supporters. He then suggests four types of external impacts: (1) Sensitizing impacts, such as changing the public agenda or public opinion; (2) Procedural impacts, such as movement access to decision-making bodies; (3) Structural impacts, such as changes in institutions or alliance structures; and (4) Substantive impacts, such as closing a polluting plant or new legislation. In addition, I will also add a fifth, external impact category of political effect, such as the impact on election results and establishment and strength of movement political parties.

First, we can see a significant effect on the politicization of movement members and supporters in a number of our chapters. The experience of involvement in the series of protests movements is likely to have a lasting effect on the political consciousness and career trajectory of activists in this period. The

closest historical parallel to such an impact on the identity of movement activists is that of the immediate post-martial law era, in particular the Wild Lily Movement of 1990. In our volume we see how the numbers joining social movement activities have progressively increased over the Ma Ying-jeou era and this experience will leave a long-term imprint. As we saw with the Wild Lily Movement, many of the activists of this current period will go on to be opinion leaders in academia, party politics and the cultural realm, as well in a wide range of social movements. Hsu's chapter gives a vivid sense of the politicization of movement supporters. In one case we see how members of the Taiwan Alliance for Advancement of Youth Rights and Welfare, which originally did not have a clear anti-China identity, ended up joining the movement due to concerns about how CSSTA could affect the rights of young Taiwanese in the hair and beauty salon sectors.

### **External impacts**

The chapters in this book reveal that the social movements in the post-2008 period have had a remarkable sensitizing impact by not only placing neglected issues on the public agenda but also influencing public opinion. Moreover, they also managed to make a number of highly technical issues understandable to broader audiences. To use Carmines and Stimson's (1990) terminology, they made a number of hard issues into easy issues. For these writers, easy issues are those that are often symbolic and do not require extensive knowledge to understand, while hard issues tend to be highly technical and require a degree of sophistication to understand.

There are numerous examples where we can see this effect. For instance, the Tapu case, discussed in Ketty Chen's chapter, has effectively placed the topic of land justice firmly on the political agenda. The use of the simple but effective slogan of 'Today Demolish Dapu, Tomorrow Demolish the Government' helped make this local developmental issue into an easily understandable national issue. The issue of nuclear power had become quite marginal after the DPP government's unsuccessful attempt to halt the construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Station in 2000. Moreover, at that point most public opinion supported completing construction of the controversial power station. In the Ma Ying-jeou era the anti-nuclear movement was not only able to bring the issue back on to the public agenda but also contributed to the radical swing in public opinion away from nuclear energy. We see a similar pattern in a number of chapters that look at movements concerned with the risks of economic integration with China. During the first Ma term, public opinion was generally quite supportive of Ma's economic agreements with China and polls suggested that this contributed to his re-election in 2012. In contrast, in cases such as the Anti-Media Monopoly and Sunflower Movement chapters we see how movements were able to raise awareness of the risks of economic integration and contributed to a shift to a much more conservative position on economic ties. One way that we can measure this effect is that, if there had been a referendum in June 2010 on ECFA, it probably

would have won; in contrast, a referendum on CSSTA in mid-2014 would undoubtedly have been defeated. This shift in public opinion on both the anti-nuclear and economic ties with China cases was achieved despite the relatively lukewarm role of the main opposition party, the DPP, as well a limited interest in social movement concerns in the mainstream media. Instead, it was civil society actors who changed what the government had framed as highly technical hard issues into easy issues.

In the two anti-casino cases we also see how public opinion changed. In both cases the local political establishment was firmly behind the casinos and, at least in the Penghu case, we have the earlier non-binding unofficial referendums to show broad support. However, public opinion clearly did swing in both cases, enough to block the casino motion in Penghu and almost enough in Mazu. The fact that the Mazu vote was as close as it was is a genuine achievement for the movement as this county had long been a barren area for the DPP and its allied social movements.

We can see the sensitizing effect of social movements in issue areas on which we were not able to include chapters in this volume. For instance, there has been growing awareness and support for the idea of gay marriage as a result of movement activism. This did feature in the GPT chapter by Fell and Peng, as the party has nominated openly gay candidates and used LGBT appeals in election campaigns. We also see in Huang's chapter how the issue of LGBT rights moved on to the political agenda as draft bills on legalizing same-sex marriage were debated in parliament from 2013. Another important case has been the issue of constitutional revisions, something that had largely fallen off the agenda in the second DPP era but was brought back to life as a consequence of the Sunflower Movement. For instance, key reforms that were placed firmly on the political agenda and that generated significant public support included lowering the threshold for smaller parties to be elected to parliament and also lowering the voting age to 18.

One of the biggest differences between the DPP era and the KMT's return to power has been the reduction in social movement activists' access to decision-making bodies after 2008. This difference is seen in the Grano chapter on the anti-nuclear movement. Under the DPP, activists were selected as environmental ministers and featured heavily on the Nuclear-Free Homeland Committee and Environmental Impact Assessment Review Committee. Such access was lost as soon as the KMT returned to power. As Grano notes, the Nuclear-Free Homeland Committee was closed down. Social movements were largely not viewed as a negotiating partner by the KMT. In fact, neither side trusted each other sufficiently. We see this in the Beckershoff chapter's description of the public dialogue between the Sunflower leaders and Premier Jiang on 22 March 2014 and the fact that there was no meeting with Ma. Even when the DPP tried to act as a go-between such as during Lin I-hsiung's hunger strike over the Fourth Nuclear Power Station, the DPP and KMT chairmen, though in the same room, just talked past each other. However, not all of Taiwan's social movements have stood in opposition to the KMT after 2008. For instance, the feminist NGOs have attempted to maintain their non-partisan style of operation regardless of

which party is in power (Fell and Weng 2006). Even here, as we see in Huang's chapter, Ma attempted to undermine state feminism by bringing in more conservative figures into bodies such as the Commission on Gender Equality Education. In Simon's chapter there is a similar sense that indigenous rights NGOs have tried to stay above party politics. The case in our volume that stands out as most exceptional is of course the migrant spouse movement groups, who have tended to develop closer links with the KMT and actually gained much greater government access after 2008.

Unlike in the DPP era, under the KMT movement activists have had almost no ability to promote the establishment of new government institutions. In contrast, a key feature of the period has been the creation of a starkly different alliance structure. The KMT has tried to paint the rise of social movements as a product of DPP manipulation. It is true that some movements and activists have an ambiguous relationship with the DPP and most are very anti-KMT. However, in many of our cases, such as the GPT and the indigenous rights movement, there is a clear distrust of the DPP and a desire to retain movement autonomy. In a number of our cases there was a clear attempt to keep a distance from the DPP, even where they held similar policy aims. At times NGOs were prepared to cooperate with the DPP but only on an issue-by-issue basis.

The area where we see the greatest alliance effect, though, is between other social movements. In the first Ma term, movements often worked in isolation. However, over time much broader networks of alliances were built up. We get a sense of this growing alliance in the Cole chapter and in even more detail in Hsu's chapter. One way we can see this is by comparing the extensive NGO support networks, which were critical for the Sunflower occupation to be sustained for over three weeks, with the much more limited support for the Wild Strawberries in 2008. These alliances were gradually built up through the accumulated experience of numerous protest movements. For instance, the Dapu and Anti-Media Monopoly Movement cases appear to have been particularly influential in this process of alliance building in the run-up to the Sunflower occupation. As Cole put it,

the Sunflower Movement's greatest success, and that of the many movements that came before it, may be that it has reanimated civic activism and empowered youth in a way that makes it impossible for political institutions to ignore them, as they often did prior to 2012.

Generally, social movements are not successful in achieving substantive impacts, especially when faced with a highly hostile ruling party that enjoyed such strong control over the executive and legislative branches of government. What is especially surprising in the cases examined in this book is the number of substantive successes, though it should be noted that in many cases the successes are partial ones or cases where the final outcome has been postponed.

When it comes to blocking controversial projects, our studies show a mixed picture. In Grano's chapter we see how the Fourth Nuclear Power Station has

been mothballed rather than scrapped. Clearly the KMT would like to resurrect the project and bring the power station into operation. However, it looks unlikely that this will happen in the near future. The idea of a ruling party proposing a fifth nuclear power station is unimaginable and it looks likely that we will see a gradual but accelerated decommissioning of the three existing nuclear power stations. When I have shown the film *Gongliao How are you?* (貢寮你好嗎?) to British anti-nuclear activists they have been impressed with the Taiwanese movement, especially when considering how little resistance there has been in Britain to building a new generation of nuclear power stations. We see a similar mixed picture on the casino projects, where one of the two referendums, in Penghu, was defeated and the other, in Mazu, passed. The outcome is not fully complete in either case. In Mazu, for instance, little progress has been made in actually following through after the referendum passed. In fact, Chinese officials have indicated that they do not approve of the Mazu plan and even indicated that they might cut transport links if the casinos are opened. In Penghu, there is also local renewed political pressure to restart a new casino referendum campaign in 2016.

The Anti-Media Monopoly and Sunflower Movements also show a mixed picture when it comes to substantive effects. In the former case, though the Want Want Group's attempt to take over Next Media and CNS were successfully blocked, draft legislation that would prevent media monopolies has not been successfully passed. Similarly, despite the halting of the CSSTA and the emergence of a number of drafts for cross-strait agreement supervision legislation, nothing has yet made progress in the Legislative Yuan. It will be interesting to see whether the new post-2016 DPP administration is able to pass this legislation. Even after the Sunflower occupation ended, the Ma government still hoped that the CSSTA could be approved and rejected the idea of renegotiation of CSSTA. We see a similar pattern on the key issues being pushed for by groups such as the GPT and other NGO groups, including gay marriage, reducing the voting age, lowering the referendum threshold, lowering the PR threshold for parliamentary seats and revising the Assembly and Parade Act. Although there was greater political support for such legislation and draft bills do now exist, these were unable to make parliamentary progress in the final two years of the second Ma term. Interestingly, the case chapter where we can see the clearest substantive impact in terms of legislation has been the migrant spouse case, where we do see significant improvement in work rights and equalization of time required for receiving citizenship. Now that the DPP holds the presidency and a parliamentary majority after 2016, there are expectations that many of the key reforms demanded by civil society will be addressed. If the Tsai administration fails to deliver, it is likely that large-scale social protests will soon reappear.

We can measure the political effect in a number of ways. A basic starting point is whether the social movement's main opponent performs badly and loses support. Here we can at least see a correlation with the post-2012 rise in activism and the decline in KMT support. Although the first draft of most of the chapters here were written prior to the November 2014 local elections, we can see the

rise in social movements as playing a role in this KMT defeat. One variable has been greater interest in politics from younger voters and as we saw in the second DPP term young voters appear to have again turned against the ruling party in Ma's second term. In addition, though, as social movements attempted to preserve autonomy one method has been the creation or strengthening of parties trying to keep clear of the blue-green divide. We can get a sense of the limits to space for the challenger parties in the Fell and Peng chapter on the GPT. It experienced its best elections to date, coming fifth in the party list vote in 2012 and finally making a breakthrough in winning two local council seats in the November 2014 elections. Another interesting development was that the Labour Party's sole local councillor also won re-election in Hsinchu County in 2014. In the 2016 national elections, most social movements actively engaged in the campaign and contributed to the KMT's worst ever election defeats.

Nevertheless, Taiwan's party and electoral systems offer limited space for smaller challenger parties. For instance, the GPT failed to win national seats in 2012 despite coming fifth in vote share, and the vast majority of social activist candidates in 2014 were unsuccessful. A major challenge is whether to maintain autonomy or work with the DPP. Since 2014 the DPP has actively recruited social movement activists and this was especially visible in the DPP's 2016 parliamentary candidate nomination. The alternative has been to establish new parties. In the aftermath of the Sunflower Movement, the Tree Party, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the New Power Party (NPP) were established to try to capture the votes of those dissatisfied with the mainstream parties. Like the GPT, all these parties can be viewed as being offshoots of civil society. In 2016, although the SDP and GPT have been able to establish an electoral alliance, there was not a grand coalition of civil society groups and this served to dilute the impact of alternative parties. In the aftermath of the GPT's failure to make a breakthrough in 2016, there is a sense of pessimism over its prospects. Although the NPP has entered parliament, it did so in an alliance with the DPP and thus appears to be more like a splinter party than a genuine alternative party. It remains to be seen whether the NPP can avoid the fate of earlier splinter parties and maintain its social movement advocacy now it has entered parliament.

### **Explaining patterns of development**

Given that our chapter authors look at the social movement issue from such distinct disciplinary perspectives, it is not surprising that there is some diversity in terms of how we explain the impact of our cases. A number of our chapters show how movements took advantage of the changing political environment or political opportunity structure to explain their impacts.

One of the most common themes that explain social movement impact in our book has been technological change, in particular the use of the Internet and social media. Hsiao shows the mobilization benefits but also the organizational challenges of the Internet in the Wild Strawberry case. In contrast, as social media use has become more widespread we see a much more positive effect in