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The Institutionalisation of Social Movement Study in Taiwan

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Abstract

This article examines the reciprocal interaction between social movements and the academic research in Taiwan since the 1980s. Scholarly attention to social movements has been a multidisciplinary project to make sense of activism from below as well as to foster progressive changes. This article describes the development of this intellectual concern by identifying its founders and the subsequent participants. Secondly, this paper analyses 134 related journal articles from 1980 to 2014, in both Chinese and English language, in order to understand the emergence and the institutionalisation of this field. This report is concluded with an assessment of the field's strength and weakness.

Keywords

social movements – Taiwan studies – institutionalisation

* Ming-sho Ho is currently writing a book on Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement.

Introduction

The academic interest in Taiwan's social movements emerged in the 1980s when a vibrant and contentious civil society gradually came into being.¹ The termination of martial law in 1987 gave a mighty boost to incipient social movements as street protests became a frequent scene. The consolidation of Taiwan's democracy helped to institutionalise social movements as a permanent feature of the democratised polity as more and more social groups resorted to these channels to demand their rights. The Kuomintang's (國民黨, *guomindang*) comeback in 2008 brought about a resurgence of social movements since the conservative incumbents attempted to roll back the previous reform achievements.² The Sunflower Movement of 2014, in which protestors occupied the national legislature for 24 days to oppose a free trade pact with China, was undoubtedly the climax of the recent wave of social movement (Chen & Huang, 2015; M. Ho, 2015a; Lin & Wu, 2016).

In Taiwan and elsewhere, social movements evolve in a rise-and-fall pattern; however, their vicissitudes appear to be in polar contrast with the tranquil world of academic research, whose 'scholastic reason' emerges as a result of a profound ignorance 'of the economic and social conditions that make it possible', as Pierre Bourdieu (2000: 15) characterises the world of contemporary researchers. One might expect that such detached 'scholastic reason' eventually prevails in the academic studies of social movements in Taiwan so that researchers become more distantly related to their research objects. The more it becomes established as a legitimate subfield in a number of disciplines, the more such isolation will be the case. Yet, this prediction is easily falsified, particularly by the widespread participation and support shown by the community of social movement researchers during the Sunflower Movement, including the teach-ins and other activities during the movement as well as the several workshops, conferences, and exhibitions that took place afterwards.³

This article looks at the reciprocal interaction between social movements and their academic research. The authors will describe the development of

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2 For an overview of the development of Taiwan's social movements, see M. Ho (2010) and Hsiao & Ho (2010).

3 For the reverberations of the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan's sociological community, see Ho (2015b).

social movement study in Taiwan since the 1980s by identifying its founders and the subsequent participants. Then we proceed to analyse the research output, particularly in the form of refereed journal articles, in order to understand the dynamics of this field. Lastly, this report is concluded with an assessment of the field's strength and weakness. This article first discusses individuals and then their works. The sections on the practitioners of social movement study will be devoted to domestic development exclusively, since a narrower scope helps us to understand how the changing circumstances structured this field. As the paper proceeds to the analysis of publications, the observation will be broadened to incorporate the contributions from international scholars. We set the time frame of 1980–2014 in selecting the journal articles that took social movements as their main research topic. Among Chinese-language journals, we chose 12 journals in sociology, communication, political science, anthropology, and cultural studies, all listed in the TSSCI (Taiwan Social Sciences Citation Index) or TCHI-Core (Taiwan Humanities Citation Index) in 2013, certified by the Research Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Ministry of Science and Technology (see Appendix A). As for the English-language journal articles, we used two online databases, the JSTOR (www.jstor.org) and the Thomson Reuter Web of Science (the search methodology is described in Appendix B). In total, we were able to find 84 articles in Chinese and 50 in English.

We understand the exclusive focus on journal articles comes with the risk of neglecting other scholarly publication forms. We share Sullivan and Seiler-Holmer's (2011: 6–7) observation that journal articles in Taiwan studies are more numerous and easier to compare. Nevertheless, our narrative will incorporate monographs, edited volumes, and book chapters where appropriate.

This article uses Sidney Tarrow's definition of social movements as a form of contentious politics that comes with the four elements of collective challenges, common purpose, social solidarity, and sustaining contention (2011: 7–12). We adopt a more rigorous criterion in selection; a qualified article has to pay sufficient attention and give enough length to the phenomenon of social movements, not just an occasional or casual glance. For a more focused discussion, we only select refereed research articles that analyse social movement activities in Taiwan, and exclude those that deal with theoretical issues or social movements outside Taiwan.

So far there have been few reflective works that analyse the research output on Taiwan's social movements. Chang (1994) discussed the contrasting perspectives of civil society, resource mobilisation theory, and new social movement theory in his early works. Shu (2011) looked at 462 domestic master and doctoral dissertations with the conclusion that the field entered a 'blooming period' after 1987 and became 'institutionalised' in 2000. In his

analysis, social movement study was both affected by the internal dynamics of academia, such as the proliferation of graduate institutes, and by external social and political evolution. M. Ho (2011) noted some trends in more recent works in that they gradually shifted from a concern over movement emergence to movement outcome. In addition, more and more scholars paid attention to the gap between Taiwanese experiences and Western theories. Following these insights, this article aims to review the development of this research field more systematically. In addition to literature review, we apply citation analysis to understand the reciprocal relationship among researchers.

The Development of Social Movement Study in Taiwan

Prior to the removal of martial law in 1987, social movements barely existed as a research topic in Taiwan's academia. Nearly all related journal articles were devoted to social movements under Japanese colonialism. The only noticeable exception is a paper by Shih-chung Hsieh (謝世忠) (1987). There was a curious introductory book on social movements written as early as 1974, but the cases mentioned in the book were restricted to historical movements in China, such as the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Boxer Rebellion, and the Republican Revolution (Shu, 2011: 471). The absence of scholarly attention should not come as a surprise since there were only a few social movement incidents before the mid-1980s. Moreover, the repressive political atmosphere did not encourage the exploration of this topic. Put bluntly, it was very difficult to study social movements in the years when the 2–28 Incident remained taboo.

The post-1987 emergence was punctuated by two important events. First, there was a conference on 'Taiwan's New Social Movements' hosted by National Tsing Hua University in February 1988, and the conference papers were published a year later, which kicked off the development of this field (Hsu & Sung, 1989). This edited volume included 11 chapters on contemporary social movements as well as discussions on the theoretical framework. Reflecting the late-1980s atmosphere in which the nascent social movements were often associated with the disruptive 'self-relief (*zili jiuji*)' waves, this book also included chapters on new religions, superstition, the gambling craze, and illegal motorbike racing (*biaoche*). Presenting social movements alongside these social problems hearkened back to 'collective behaviour theory', the dominant paradigm in the 1960s which was effectively replaced by subsequent mobilisation-centred research. Nevertheless, this edited volume established the practice of social movement study as a multidisciplinary investigation, as sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists all contributed to this milestone publication.

In particular, we can identify four leading contributors to the 1989 edited volume as the founders of Taiwan's social movement study: Michael Hsin-Huang Hsiao (蕭新煌), Cheng-kuang Hsu (徐正光), Bih-er Chou (周碧娥), and Mau-kuai Chang (張茂桂). These four—three sociologists and an anthropologist—received PhD degrees between 1979 and 1984, and it is of interest to note that all these founding scholars did not initially research social movements in their earlier academic career. Their subsequent attention was obviously stimulated by the emergence of social protests. In addition to their pioneering works in this field, as well as the advisory work in cultivating a newer generation of social movement researchers, they were also active in a number of emerging NGOs at the time and urged for more public understanding and government toleration of social movements. In brief, Taiwan's founders of social movement study acted as public intellectuals for progressive and democratic change in the tumultuous transitional years of the late 1980s.

The founding of the journal *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* (台灣社會研究季刊, *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan*, hereafter TSSQ) in 1988 by academic and non-academic left-wing intellectuals was another important event. The journal emerged at a time when even well-established discipline-based academic journals struggled to maintain continuous publication. The TSSQ's critical stance quickly made it a popular venue for social movement research, even though its ideological orientation shifted later on. In our account, nearly one-third of Chinese-language journal articles (26 out of 84) on social movements were published in this periodical. In addition, the TSSQ's early issues contained pieces by Jenn-hwan Wang (王振寰), Kang Chao (趙剛), and Shih-jung Hsu (徐世榮), who wrote doctoral dissertations on Taiwan's social movements in the United States. Unlike the founding cohort, they began their academic career as social movement specialists.

In short, social movement studies in Taiwan, just like their research topic, were a product of profound social changes released by the waning of authoritarian rule. Another impetus for this field came with the Wild Lily Movement in 1990. That student-led movement, which kickstarted Taiwan's constitutional reforms and eventually paved the way to democracy, drew a number of student activists to pursue graduate study in social sciences and later identified social movement research as their specialty. Some ex-student activists chose to work in social movement organisations as full-time officers before embarking on their academic careers. Consequently, their personal involvement in movement activism appeared deeper and grassroots-oriented in comparison to the founding generation because they played the role of movement organisers.

According to one strict definition, the so-called 'Wild Lily generation' comprises those former student activists who experienced subsequent profound

changes in identity and career in the wake of movement participation (J. Ho, 2001). Nevertheless, here we adopt a broader perspective by including those who were enrolled in undergraduate or graduate study around 1990 because the Wild Lily Movement was more than a single episode of contention, but rather was made possible by preceding student mobilisation, and continued to generate subsequent reverberations across campuses in the following years. With this criterion, we identify 11 'Wild Lily' researchers in our sample. Two edited volumes in Chinese, *Taiwan's Social Welfare Movements* (Hsiao & Lin, 2000) and *The Era of Social Movements* (M. Ho & Lin, 2011), represented the collective voice of this generation. On a smaller scale, the younger generation also collaborated in two journals' special issues. There were six articles in a 2010 issue on 'Social Movements in Contemporary Taiwan' of *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (vol. 39, no. 3); and seven articles in a 2011 issue on 'Neoliberalism, Social Movements, and the Environment in Taiwan' of *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* (vol. 22, nos. 1 and 2).⁴

Most of the 'Wild Lily' researchers had attended the class by Taiwan's social movement study founders, or pursued graduate study under their supervision. As of 2017, their ages range from early forties to early fifties. Some even maintained their previous movement activism after establishing their position in academia. Reflecting the growing complexity and diversity of Taiwan's social movements, their involvement tends to be more issue-specific. During the Sunflower Movement, when the students of these 'Wild Lily' researchers spearheaded the act of occupying the national legislature, they were also deeply involved in a number of logistic actions.

The brief review above is not intended to be an authoritative list of 'who's who' in the study of Taiwan's social movements but rather a rudimentary sketch to highlight the mutual interaction between movement research and movement activism. It was due to the advent of social movements in the late 1980s that the founding cohort initiated this intellectual project. The rising wave of student activism brought about a new generation of researchers who deepened the subsequent development of this field. Both the founders and the ex-activist researchers remain engaged in their non-academic roles—a particular legacy that reflects the origin of Taiwan's social movement study as a multidisciplinary intellectual project to make sense of activism from below as well as to foster progressive change.

4 Both journals, however, are not listed in the Web of Science, and hence, these 13 articles are not included in our sample.

A Survey of Journal Articles

As explained above, we collected a sample of 134 journal articles (84 in Chinese and 50 in English) devoted to the study of Taiwan’s social movements. This section will analyse the literature from different angles.

1 *The Trend of Journal Article Numbers*

Figure 1 presents the yearly distribution in the 1980–2014 period.

It is clear that article output barely existed prior to political liberalisation in the late 1980s and the concomitant rise of social movements, with the yearly average number of Chinese and English papers at 0.6 in 1980–1986. The 1990s witnessed a more intensified pattern of article production in spite of some annual fluctuation. Institutionalisation refers to a regular pattern of ‘self-activating’, whose continuous production is no longer dependent upon the provision of external resources (Jepperson, 1991: 145). With the indication of a steady production of scholarly works, we can identify the post-2000 plateau as a sign of the maturation of this field. The average combined yearly number of papers grew from 2.5 in the 1987–1999 period to 6.5 in 2000–2014.

The significant growth after 2000 can be attributed to the following factors. First, many ‘Wild Lily’ researchers came of age by finishing doctoral studies and launching their academic career around the turn of the century, thereby providing an influx of newcomers to the field. Second, Taiwan’s higher education leadership began to promote the status of journal articles as the most important form of scholarly publication because they are more easily standardised in evaluating the performance of individual researchers. Since the National

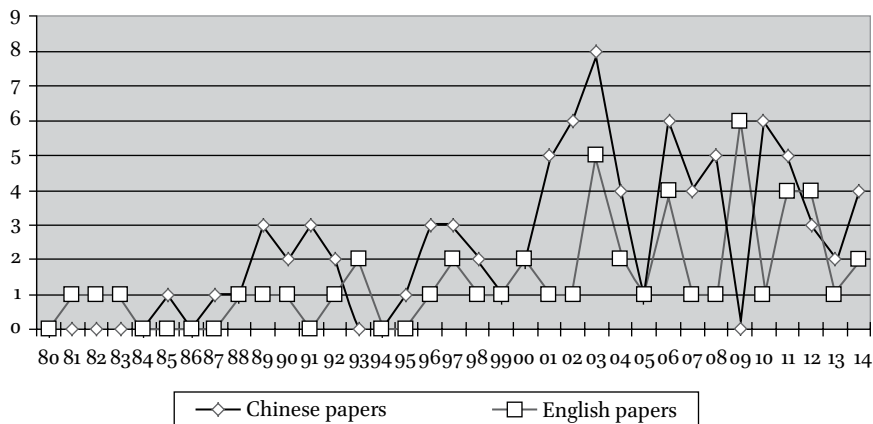


FIGURE 1 *Social movement study journal articles (1980–2014).*

Sciences Council (NSC) launched the list of TSSCI/TCHI journals in 2000, it can be seen as a demarcation year. Consequently, the new entrants to social movement study were encouraged to publish their findings through this channel. It is necessary to point out that Taiwan's academic journals came a long way in becoming institutionalised. The irregular rhythm of publication seemed a common phenomenon in the early years. Take Taiwan's Sociological Association periodical *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology* (台灣社會學刊, *Taiwan shehui xuekan*), (formerly *Chinese Journal of Sociology*) as an example. This journal was launched in 1971, and began its regular annual publication in 1982. Starting in 2000, it produced at least two issues a year.⁵ As a result, our sample is likely to inflate the significance of journal article numbers in the later period.

The policy to privilege journal articles incurred criticism for neglecting other forms of scholarly publication, chiefly book-length monographs. In response, the NSC started to promote book-writing projects in 2005 in an attempt to balance the bias. Nevertheless, these remedial efforts seemed to be not entirely successful. A casual glance reveals that the 'Wild Lily' scholars were as a whole less committed to producing monographs, when compared to the founding generation. It remains an open question whether the tighter format requirements for journal articles bring about a narrowing of the intellectual horizon in this field.

That academic production remained a labour-intensive activity taking up years of training and data collection necessarily resulted in the lack of synchronisation of scholarly writings on social movements and their actual development. Just as Minerva's owl was said to fly only at dusk, scholarly investigation emerged as an afterthought, often after the episode of contentious politics was concluded. The increasing numbers of journal articles after 2000 as well as the peak of production in 2004 took place when social protest had long been in decline. This might also explain the absence of an upward trend in journal articles after 2008 when Taiwan's social movements made a visible bounce-back (Fell, 2017). After all, an institutionalised research field is bound to become more self-sustaining and self-referential, with the unavoidable result that it grows ever more isolated from its research object.

2 *Authorship Analysis*

In order to avoid unnecessary complications, we only analyse the first authors in co-authored pieces. It is not unusual that later academic affiliation and self-identification deviates from the researcher's disciplinary background. Here we define 'discipline' by the researcher's doctoral degree, or the most recent if

⁵ See http://tsa.sinica.edu.tw/publish_01-5.php, retrieved on 5 May 2015.

TABLE 1 *Authorship by Discipline*

Authors' disciplinary background	Number of papers (%)	
	Chinese	English
Sociology	37 (44.0%)	22 (44%)
Political science	13 (15.5%)	16 (32%)
Communication	10 (11.9%)	0 (0%)
Anthropology	5 (6.0%)	2 (4%)
History	5 (6.0%)	0 (0%)
Geography and area studies	4 (4.8%)	2 (4%)
Literature	3 (3.6%)	0 (0%)
Education	2 (2.4%)	2 (4%)
Psychology	2 (2.4%)	0 (0%)
Law	0 (0%)	2 (4%)
Other	3 (3.6%)	4 (8%)
	84 (100%)	50 (100%)

more than one doctoral degree is held. Table 1 shows the distribution by disciplinary background.

Table 1 demonstrates that Taiwan's social movement study retained its multidisciplinary characteristics. Sociologists played a leading, but not hegemonic role in the production of journal articles. Political scientists came in second place, both in Chinese and English language. It is noteworthy that practitioners in different disciplines maintained the practice of bilingual publication.

Since there were only a few international contributors to Taiwan's academic journals, it should not be a surprise that all authors of the 84 articles in Chinese were Taiwanese (64 authors in total). Except four graduate students who were then based in the United States, these authors were affiliated with one of Taiwan's educational or research institutions. The sources for English articles appeared more diversified. Taiwan-based authors took up 26 of the 50 contributions (52%), U.S.-based authors were responsible for 17 pieces (34%) and the other source countries were Australia (8%), Hong Kong (4%), and the United Kingdom (2%). Among the 24 English papers authored by international researchers outside Taiwan, political scientists contributed 13 pieces and

sociologists only seven. It appears that the research tradition of comparative politics encouraged the attention of overseas political scientists to Taiwan's social movements.

3 *Movement Types*

Since social movements come in a great variety and involve different issues, it would be of interest to know the distribution of scholarly attention.

Table 2 shows that environmental, labour, and gender movements are the top three topics for researchers. Our finding is in agreement with Shu's (2011) survey of domestic graduate theses and dissertations. It appears that there has been a tacit consensus on the question of which social movements are perceived to be more 'mainstream'. Their popularity, in part, originates from the fact that these three movements have been perennially active since their emergence, so new developments always offer food for thought for investigators. In contrast, there are movements that have virtually vanished, such as the education reform movement or farmers' movement, and some movements whose activism is intermittent at best, such as student movements.

In the 1980–1999 period, the category 'democratic and political movement' shared number one place with the gender movement, but its ranking dropped to fifth after 2000. Its decline reflected not only the maturation of Taiwan's

TABLE 2 *Journal Articles by Movement Type*

Movement Types	Article numbers (%)		
	Chinese	English	Total
Environmental Movement	17 (20.2%)	10 (20%)	27 (20.1%)
Labour Movement	9 (10.7%)	14 (28%)	23 (17.2%)
Gender Movement (Women's and LGBT)	10 (11.9%)	6 (12%)	16 (11.9%)
Democratic and Political Movement	9 (10.7%)	4 (8%)	13 (9.7%)
Social Movements in the Colonial Era	4 (4.8%)	2 (4%)	6 (4.5%)
Community Movement	4 (4.8%)	2 (4%)	6 (4.5%)
Indigenous Movement	5 (6.0%)	1 (2%)	6 (4.5%)
Student Movement	3 (3.6%)	1 (2%)	4 (3.0%)
Other Movements and Unclassifiable Articles	23 (27.4%)	10 (20%)	34 (24.6%)
	84 (100%)	50 (100%)	134 (100%)

democracy but also the unavoidable exhaustion of a research topic as it entered the end of its lifecycle.

4 *The Research Design*

The question on research design is another important aspect since how a research work is framed largely shapes the conclusions that one is expected to obtain. Here we can classify journal articles as (1) single-case study, (2) multiple-case study, or (3) quantitative study (defined as the use of inferential statistical techniques). The 'case' here can be a movement, an organisation, or an event. Table 3 shows the distribution by this classification.

Single-case study is the most popular choice, accounting for more than sixty percent of all the journal articles, both in Chinese and English. A typical social movement article emerges from the author's intensive involvement in the movement and the data usually comes from participant observation and in-depth interviews.

Among the 34 multiple-case study papers, there are some research attempts to employ a comparative design. It is noteworthy that 24 articles use the method of 'paired comparison' to understand the divergent consequences in two similar cases (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001: 81–84). It is clear the contributors to English papers are more likely to adopt the multiple-case research design (34%) than those who write Chinese papers (20.2%). Moreover, cross-country comparison is a feature commonly seen in these papers. South Korea is the mostly commonly selected case for comparative study, appearing in ten English papers and one Chinese paper. Given the Taiwan and South Korea's similarities in the historical trajectory of Japanese colonialism, democratic

TABLE 3 *Journal Articles by Research Design*

Research Design	Article numbers (%)		
	Chinese	English	Total
Single-case study	54 (64.3%)	31 (62%)	85 (63.4%)
Multiple-case study	17 (20.2%)	17 (34%)	34 (25.4%)
Quantitative study	5 (6.0%)	0 (0%)	5 (3.7%)
Others	8 (9.5%)	2 (4%)	10 (7.5%)
	84 (100%)	50 (100%)	134 (100%)

transition, and the emergence of social protests, this choice is of strategic value methodologically, for example, see Liu (2015).

Only five Chinese papers use statistical methods to analyse government data or questionnaire surveys. There are two reasons to explain the paucity of quantitative articles on social movements. First, there are some practitioners, particularly in anthropology and history, who usually avoid using statistical methods. Second, and more importantly, the relevant data on Taiwan's social movements are scant or extremely difficult to obtain. There is simply no national database of movement NGOs, which makes research on organisational issues virtually impossible. Occasionally there are poll questions on political attitudes and protest participation in some formalised survey, such as the Taiwan Social Change Survey. However, the sampled case number tends to be too small for statistical significance.

5 *The Research Question*

There is a rich variety of questions that one can ask about social movements. Here we focus on one set of emergence/consequence questions only. Social movement researchers may be interested in knowing what causes social movements and why people decide to join a social protest. Alternatively, researchers may want to know the results of these protest activisms, especially whether social movements are able to achieve their professed goals, such as forestalling a developmental project, changing government policies, or shifting societal values. Based on our reading, the 134 papers can be classified as follows (table 4).

We find that questions of emergence and consequence are central to the investigation of Taiwan's social movements. Nearly 65 percent of the papers discuss movement emergence, movement consequence, or both. Dividing

TABLE 4 *Journal Articles by Research Question*

Emergence /Consequence	Article numbers (%)		
	Chinese	English	Total
Emergence only	23 (27.4%)	14 (28%)	37 (27.6%)
Consequence only	19 (22.6%)	14 (28%)	33 (24.6%)
Emergence <i>and</i> consequence	7 (8.3%)	10 (20%)	17 (12.7%)
No discussion	35 (41.7%)	12 (24%)	47 (35.1%)
	84 (100%)	50 (100%)	134 (100%)

these articles into the periods 1980–1999 and 2000–2014, we find an interesting pattern. Only 21.6 percent papers in the earlier phase analyse the movement outcome, but this percentage rose to 43.3 percent in the latter period. The exclusive focus on movement genesis accounted for 45.9 percent of the papers before 2000 and declined to 20.6 percent afterwards. Clearly, the earlier scholarship was more oriented to understanding the sources of social protests since why social movements came into being from the late 1980s had been a vital intellectual concern. Over the years, as Taiwan's democracy was consolidated, and some movements appeared to gain positive policy responses, the research agenda was broadened to include the question of movement impact.

Citation Analysis of Journal Articles

This section discusses the internal relationship among the 134 journal articles. We will first analyse their citation network and then the relationship between Taiwan's social movement study and the international research dominant paradigm.

1 *The Citations*

According to Fligstein and McAdam (2012: 167–168), an emergent field is characterised by the mutual awareness of participants which leads to the adjustment of one's action in the light of the other co-participants. Hence, an institutionalised research field should come with constant dialogues that are best shown in mutual citations. Here, we see our journal articles sample as a closed system and code only those citations that take place within it, but not those that refer to outside works. This methodological rule helps to focus on the interaction among journal article authors at the expense of being incomplete.

Figure 2 visualises the mutual citation networks among Taiwan's social movement researchers. Here we use the 'UCINET 6 for Windows' program to analyse the citations and the graphics are produced by its NetDraw function. By using 2000 as a demarcating year, we find there are 33 researchers who began their publication before 2000 and 84 after. There are only 19 pre-2000 researchers (58%) who formed mutual citation networks, while the number and percentage of the post-2000 researchers are 45 and 54 percent. There are 84 citations for the 84 journal articles in Chinese, and 40 for the 50 journal articles in English. It suffices to say here that the citation networks are underdeveloped and fragmented. Clearly while the field of Taiwan's social movement study has been institutionalised with its steady research output, the internal dialogue remains episodic at best. Surveying Taiwan's sociological fields, Su (2004: 176–177)

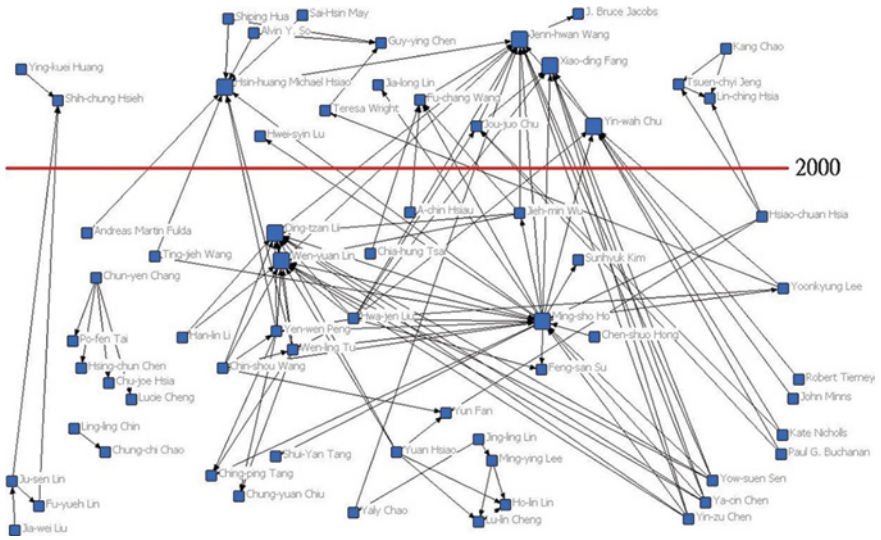


FIGURE 2 *The citation network among social movement researchers.*

noticed a worrying trend of ‘writing alone’. In other words, Taiwanese sociologists tend to follow the English-language literature and pay insufficient attention to the writings of their domestic colleagues. It appears that Taiwan’s social movement researchers are not immune from this malaise.

To better understand how the practice of ‘writing alone’ affects Taiwan’s social movement study, we can further disaggregate the researchers by movement type. Figure 3 presents the situation on environmental movement, labour movement, and gender movement.

It is clear that both environmental movement researchers and labour movement researchers have formed more or less emergent citation networks. However, there remains a visible distinction between these two subfields. There was no pivotal journal article on environmentalism before 2000, while there were some ‘founding’ articles on labour movement from very early on that continued to be cited in subsequent period. In other words, environmental movement study is characterised by a horizontal citation network by the same generation of researchers, whereas, a vertical citation network is present in labour movement study. By contrast, the gender movement study is exceptionally weak in internal references. The reason might have to do with its inherently multidisciplinary characteristics that give rise to a more decentralised pattern. Clearly, the ‘writing alone’ effect is most visible here.

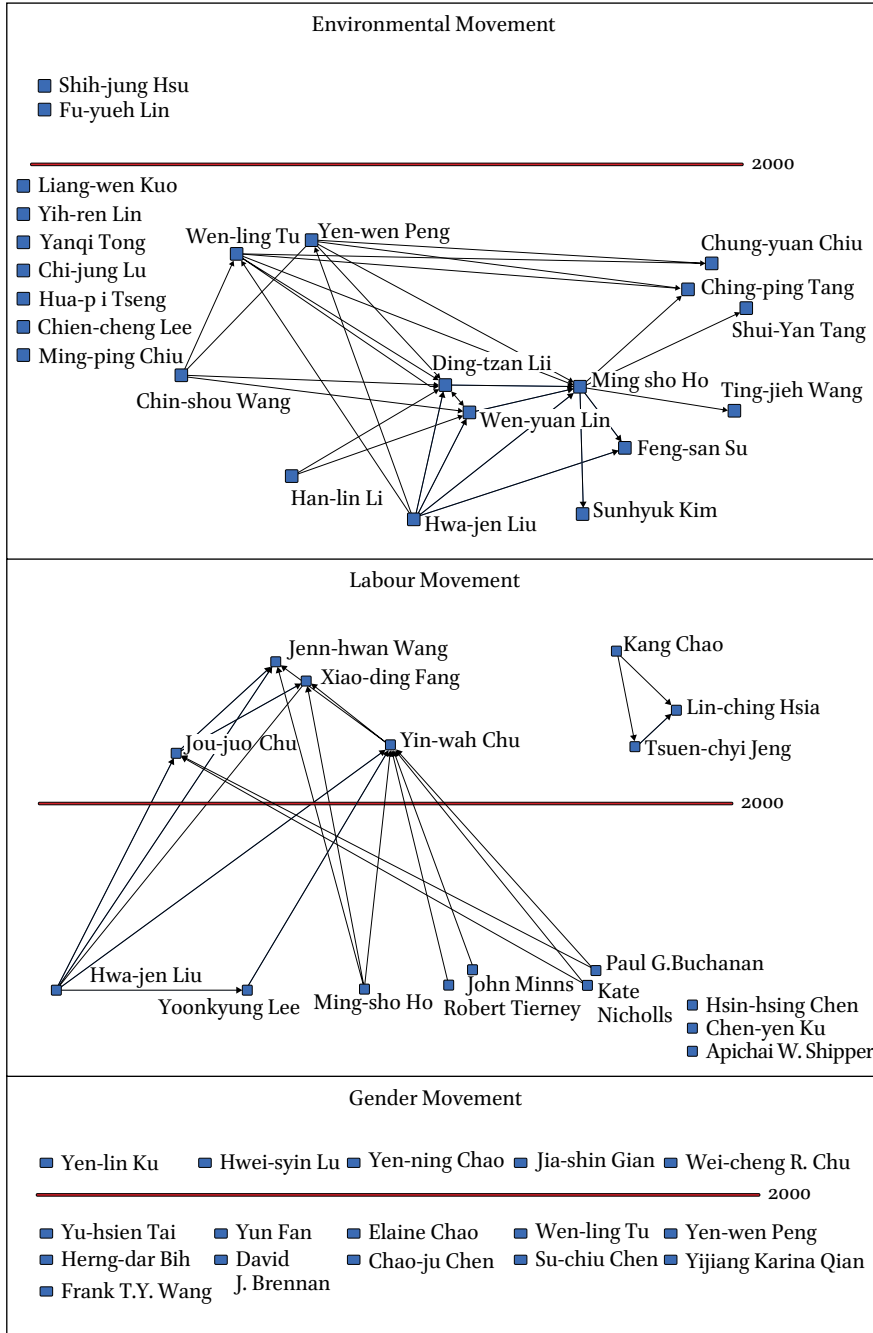


FIGURE 3 The citation networks in environmental, labor and gender movement researchers.

2 *The Relationship with the Dominant Social Movement Study Paradigm*

As Taiwan's social movements evolved from their nascent status to a more institutionalised pattern, there have been great changes in the theoretical orientations of social movement studies in the Anglophone world. The 1980s debate over resource mobilisation theory and new social movement theory has been concluded and what emerged was a synthetic approach to incorporate the previously separated research areas of social movements, revolutions, industrial disputes, nationalism, and ethnic conflicts into a single paradigm of 'contentious politics'. This campaign was led by three preeminent American scholars—Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow, and Doug McAdam—whose collaboration began in a mid-1990s prolegomenon (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 1996), and later evolved into a series of collaborative productions (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 1997, 2001; Tilly & Tarrow, 2007). The three proponents of this research paradigm came from different research backgrounds. Both Tilly and McAdam were trained as sociologists, but the former's historical investigations often involved discussion with historians, while Tarrow was a political scientist. As a result, their collaboration engendered influential results beyond their respective disciplinary boundaries. Moreover, prior to their contentious politics project, the three participants had secured their leading positions in social movement study. Tilly has established his reputation in the study of European revolutions (1976) and theorisation of social movements (1978), whereas McAdam (1982) and Tarrow (1989) were widely known in the 1980s for their studies on the American civil rights movement and the European new left movement respectively.

TABLE 5 *Journal Articles by Reference to the Leading International Scholars*

Period/References	Article numbers (%)		
	Chinese	English	Total
1980–1999			
Citing two or more of the trio	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
No citation of either of the trio	19 (82.6%)	12 (85.7%)	31 (83.8%)
2000–2014			
Citing two or more of the trio	13 (21.3%)	10 (27.8%)	23 (23.7%)
No citation of either of the trio	37 (60.7%)	19 (52.8%)	56 (57.7%)

Therefore, the Tilly–Tarrow–McAdam trio can be a useful reference point to measure the relationship of the research literature on Taiwan’s social movements to the international dominant paradigm. Regardless of whether the authors were actually inspired by the trio or not, more citations of their works indicate a closer relationship. Conversely, the absence of citation means the authors frame their research questions outside the dominant parameters of international scholarship.

Table 5 indicates a similar trend existing in Chinese and English journal publication. Before 2000, 83.8 percent of journal articles do not cite any works by Tilly, Tarrow, or McAdam at all. After 2000, this figure drops to 57.7 percent. As the field of Taiwan’s social movement study grew more mature, it came more under the purview of the international paradigm. This trend is slightly more visible in the English publications as the ‘no citation of either of the trio’ (52.8%) is lower than that for the Chinese papers (60.7%). In spite of the trend of growing international linkage, Taiwan’s social movement study retained its distinctive character, as evidenced by the fact that more than half the papers (57.7%) do not reference any of the trio.

3 *The Salience and Relevance of Social Movement Study*

Finally, we are also interested in assessing the contemporary salience and relevance of study on Taiwan’s social movements. Even though the institutionalisation of this field is an accomplished fact, its relationship with other fields remains an ongoing interaction, and its practitioners must be constantly vigilant to make sure their intellectual intervention and output can live up to the promised goals. There are several ways of looking at these issues. First, table 6 shows the changing share of social movement articles out of all published research articles in the 12 selected Taiwanese journals.

Table 6 indicates a significant expansion of social movement study in Taiwan’s academia. In the recent period, there is one social movement study

TABLE 6 *Percentage Share of Social Movement Study Articles in Chinese*

Years	Social Movement Study Articles	All Published Articles	Percentage
1980–1986	1	535	0.2%
1987–1999	22	1,417	1.6%
2000–2014	61	2,424	2.5%

article for every forty peer-reviewed ones published in the leading journals of various social sciences. In other words, the community of social movement researchers not only grew as an absolute number, but also gained a secure footing in relation to other fields of investigation.

While the observation above confirms the healthy development of social movement study domestically, a look at its international arena reveals a mixed diagnosis. First, let us look at the publication venues by journal type. Broadly speaking, we can divide academic journals into area-study ones and discipline-based ones, which attract different strategies of writing and framing social movement study. Our reading indicates that articles in area-study journals, such as *The China Journal* and *Asian Survey*, tend to raise research questions that are more central to local circumstances and are generally allowed to provide more contextual details. Discipline-based journal articles, on the other hand, often begin as an intellectual intervention into the ongoing theoretical dispute specific to a field of study or a discipline. Papers published in *Comparative Politics* or *Environment and Planning* usually use the data from Taiwan's social movements to address a particular issue, without presenting the case in its entirety. In other words, two journal types represent two research strategies, which can be roughly simplified as the contrast of 'context orientation' and 'theory orientation'.

Our sample of 50 English articles in 1980–2014 are equally distributed, 24 in area-study journals and 26 in discipline-based ones. However, if we divide these papers in two phases, it is clear that 'theory-oriented' articles grow at the expense of 'context-oriented' ones. Articles in discipline-based journals were 35.7 percent in 1980–1999 and 58.3 percent in 2000–2014. There could be many different interpretations for this change. It is possible that international Taiwan experts (who usually contributed to area-study journals) began to lose interest in social movements. Alternatively, researchers of Taiwan's social movements have become more ambitious as they turn more to theorising them, not just contextualising.

Since we use the Web of Science database to sample the articles, its Journal Citation Reports (JCR) service also documents the relative ranking of the journals that have accepted the papers on Taiwan's social movement study, which could offer an approximate measurement of their international visibility. We can thereby assess the relative salience of papers on this topic. Table 7 shows the ranking of those journals that have published Taiwan's social movement study articles. We use the 2012 SSCI edition's five-year average impact factor as the indicator of the standing of the journals.

It is clear that a published article on Taiwan's social movements is usually located in a top 40 percent journal on average, which is generally not bad

TABLE 7 *Ranking of Journals by Type and Period*

	Area-study journal articles	Discipline-based journal articles	Total
Average journal ranking (1980–1999)	27.9%	54.2%	38%
Average journal ranking (2000–2014)	37.6%	34.6%	35.8%

Note: SSCI-listed journals can be listed in different categories of the JCR. This table uses the highest ranking in the case of multiple listing. In addition, there are three articles from journals that are not included in the 2012 SSCI edition and are therefore not included here.

considering that the output is quite limited. Nevertheless, table 7 noticeably demonstrates a decline of ranking in area-study journals as well as a rise in discipline-based journals. The result seems to indicate more concentrated efforts targeting discipline-based journals at the expense of area-study journals. Whether this newer orientation has exerted a negative impact on context-oriented research remains to be seen.

Finally, how influential are the English-language social movement articles? Journal articles that are little read or cited are not likely to have a significant impact. Here we find some worrying trends.

Here we use both SSCI and Google Scholar to measure how frequently these articles are cited (table 8). The SSCI is a closed database which only tallies the

TABLE 8 *Article Citations by Period and Authors*

Articles/Authors	SSCI citation numbers	Google Scholar citation numbers
Average for journal articles (1980–1999)	6.58	21.5
Average for journal articles (2000–2014)	3.09	9.53
Average for articles by Taiwan-based authors	2.88	11.5
Average for articles by international authors	5.23	14.38

Note: The data were accessed on 8 May 2015.

citations by other SSCI-listed journal articles. Hence, Google Scholar citation counts are used here as an alternative measurement. Nevertheless, the pattern revealed by the two systems is identical. Earlier published papers are more cited than recent ones, which is due to their longer availability. That the works by Taiwan-based authors are less cited than those by international authors remains to be explained.

Concluding Remarks and Future Suggestions

This article sought to understand the development of Taiwan's social movement study. We have documented how the emergence of social protests in the late 1980s gave birth to this research field. The field of social movement study originated from the profound social changes accompanying Taiwan's transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Over the years, with the institutionalisation of this field, its practitioners became more professionalised and more oriented toward the dominant international theoretical paradigm, and there emerged a regularised and stable pattern of journal article production.

Social movement study in Taiwan evolved in a similar fashion to ethnicity study and gender study. The ethnic mobilisation among native Taiwanese, Hakka, and indigenous peoples led to the blooming of ethnicity study in 1987–1993. Borrowed from Western scholars, the term 'ethnicity' (族群, *zuqun*) emerged in public discourse (Wang, 2008: 510–512). Likewise, the rise of feminism brought about the transition from 'research on women' to 'research for women' in the late 1980s. The subsequent institutionalisation of research centres and academic periodicals in the 1990s consolidated the field of gender studies in Taiwan (Lan, 2008: 77–80). Although the later development of the three fields differed somewhat, they all originated from the practical and intellectual need to understand the great transformation in the late 1980s.

In our study of the journal articles published between 1980 and 2014, we can reach the following conclusions: (1) Sociologists and political scientists have been the leading participants in this field, with a noticeable contribution from anthropologists, communication researchers, historians, and geographers; (2) The environmental, labour, and gender movements have garnered most researchers' attention since these three movements have been able to maintain their vitality over time; (3) Single-case study was the most popular research design. Cross-country comparison mostly took South Korea as a contrasting case. Quantitative research that used advanced statistical methods remained a little explored area; (4) Questions of movement emergence and consequences were central issues. There was a tendency away from the earlier attention on what

caused movements to the more recent emphasis on what changes movements brought about; (5) Despite the institutionalisation of social movement study by regular research output, mutual citations remain underdeveloped, as most practitioners continue to 'write alone' by paying insufficient attention to their colleagues; (6) Linkages to the dominant international theoretical paradigm became stronger.

There was an unanticipated finding. Since our samples included research articles published in both international journals and those published in Taiwan, we discovered an analogous pattern of development common to the Chinese-language and English-language literature. The first five conclusions are applicable to both. These parallels are more remarkable since we can only identify six researchers that are active in both arenas. In other words, we can speak of Taiwan's social movement study as a common field spanning across two publication realms. Although there appears to be a divide between domestic researchers who wrote exclusively Chinese papers and non-Taiwan-based scholars who did the same with English papers, they shared similar intellectual concerns and often asked related questions. Lastly, over the years, there appears to be a migratory trend from area-study journals to disciplined-based journals in the study on Taiwan's social movements written in English. Whether this signifies a healthy development remains to be seen.

Appendix A: The 12 Chinese-languages Journals

The list of certified TSSCI journals can be seen on the official website (retrieved 5 May 2015 from www.hss.ntu.edu.tw/model.aspx?no=67). We selected one journal in anthropology, five journals in sociology (including three journals in sociology and two journals in communication), three journals in political science, and two in the 'multidisciplinary' category. Understanding that the TSSCI list changes every year, we opted to use the 2013 version. In addition, we added *Thought and Words* (思與言, *si yu yan*), listed in the TCHI-Core, to our surveyed journals because many social movement study papers were published there.

- (1) *Chinese Journal of Communication Research* (中華傳播學刊, *zhong hua chuan bo xue kan*) since 2002.
- (2) *Chinese Political Science Review* (政治學報, *zheng zhi xue bao*) since 1971.
- (3) *Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy* (人文及社會科學集刊, *ren wen ji she hui ke xue ji kan*) since 1988.
- (4) *Mass Communication Research* (新聞學研究, *xin wen xue yan jiu*) since 1967.
- (5) *Router: A Journal of Cultural Studies* (文化研究, *wen hua yan jiu*) since 2005.
- (6) *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* (台灣社會研究季刊, *Taiwan she hui yan jiu ji kan*) since 1988.
- (7) *Taiwan Democracy Quarterly* (臺灣民主季刊, *Taiwan min zhu ji kan*) since 2004.
- (8) *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology* (臺灣人類學刊, *Taiwan ren lei xue kan*) since 2003, formerly *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* (中央研究院民族學研究所集刊, *zhong yang yan jiu yuan min zu xue yan jiu suo ji kan*) since 1956.
- (9) *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology* (臺灣社會學刊, *Taiwan she hui xue kan*) since 1996, formerly *Chinese Journal of Sociology* (中國社會學刊, *zhong guo she hui xue kan*) since 1971.
- (10) *Taiwanese Political Science Review* (台灣政治學刊, *Taiwan zheng zhi xue kan*) since 1996.
- (11) *Taiwanese Sociology* (台灣社會學, *Taiwan she hui xue*) since 2001, formerly *Taiwanese Sociological Review* (台灣社會學研究, *Taiwan she hui xue yan jiu*) since 1997.

- (12) *Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* (思語言：人文與社會科學期刊, *si yu yan: ren wen yu she hui ke xue qi kan*) since 1963.

Table 9 lists the number of social movement study papers published in these 12 journals.

TABLE 9 *Social Movement Study Articles in 12 Chinese-language Journals*

Journal Title	Social Movement Study Articles	Total Articles	Percentage
<i>Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies</i>	26	525	4.95%
<i>Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences</i>	14	920	1.52%
<i>Taiwan Democracy Quarterly</i>	11	261	4.21%
<i>Taiwanese Sociology</i>	8	147	5.44%
<i>Taiwan Journal of Anthropology</i>	5	368	1.36%
<i>Chinese Journal of Communication Research</i>	4	177	2.26%
<i>Taiwanese Journal of Sociology</i>	4	298	1.34%
<i>Chinese Political Science Review</i>	4	322	1.24%
<i>Taiwanese Political Science Review</i>	3	144	2.08%
<i>Mass Communication Research</i>	3	676	0.44%
<i>Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy</i>	2	454	0.44%
<i>Router: A Journal of Cultural Studies</i>	0	84	0%
Total	84	4,376	1.92%

Appendix B: The Search Methodology for English-language Articles

We accessed the JSTOR and Web of Science database via the National Taiwan University library's e-service. In the JSTOR website, we used the ADVANCED SEARCH function, with 'Taiwan' the ITEM TITLE, CAPTION, and ABSTRACT, '1980–2014' as the DATE RANGE, 'articles' as the ITEM TYPE, 'English' as the LANGUAGE, and finally 'Anthropology', 'Asian Studies', 'Communication Studies', 'Labor and Employment Relations', 'Political Science', 'Public Policy & Administration', 'Social Sciences', 'Sociology', and 'Urban Studies' as the DISCIPLINE. Then we picked out those articles which take social movements as their main research topic.

In using the Web of Science, we selected the Social Sciences Citation Index as our main source. We used 'Taiwanese' OR 'Taiwan' as the search word in TITLE and then refined the result with 'article' in DOCUMENT TYPES and 'English' in LANGUAGE. In WEB OF SCIENCE CATEGORY, we chose 'Anthropology', 'Area studies', 'Asian Studies', 'Communication', 'Cultural Studies', 'Environmental Studies', 'Ethnic Studies', 'Political Science', 'Public Administration', 'Social Issues', 'Social Science Interdisciplinary', 'Sociology', 'Urban Studies', and 'Women's Studies.' Finally we manually screened the 1,942 articles from the 14 categories above. The database search was undertaken from 22 April to 1 May 2015.

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