

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

「運動者、生命傳記與運動組織：台灣社會運動與政治變遷，1980s-1990s」專書寫作計畫
研究成果報告(精簡版)

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執行單位：國立臺灣大學社會學系暨研究所

計畫主持人：范雲

計畫參與人員：助理教授-主持人(含共同主持人)：范雲

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行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫

成果報告

『運動者、生命傳記與運動組織：台灣社會運動與政治變遷，1980s-1990s』專書
寫作計畫』

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計畫編號：95-2412-H-002-010

執行期間：95年8月1日至95年7月31日

執行單位：台灣大學社會系

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一、計畫緣起

個人在國科會經費贊助其間，基本是依照以下的計畫修改這本論文，以下分別敘述這本書稿的可能貢獻以及修改的主要內容：

I. Purpose, Argument and Contribution of the Book

We lack a good theory of how different forms of activism articulate with different aspects of political opportunity structure. This study makes a case for focusing on activists and their relationship with a changing political environment in order to understand the trajectories of three social movements in democratizing Taiwan. In particular, this research focus on why the labor movement and environmental movements became less partisan while the women's movement became more partisan during Taiwan's transition.

This study offers welcome attention to activists and their decisions in a literature that still shows signs of its origins in structural sociology. In this research, I focus on causal mechanisms and variation in a manner that helps the study avoid the tautological trap of finding an "improving" political opportunity structure (POS) wherever a social movement is flourishing.

The study has gathered extensive data on 147 activists' demographic background, and parts of his/her discussion extend work McAdam has done on the "biographical" aspects of contention. In short, this study asks how certain tactics are chosen, not only how a repertoire of contention comes to have the shape it does. Most notably, this research has studied three separate movements in some depth.

II. Outline of the Book

Chapter One:

Introduction –In this chapter, I briefly discuss the “utility functions” of participation in social movements. In the original draft, the discussion of “endogeneity” and “finding out how values and cultures are formed” may leave some readers from a different tradition with a feeling that their pockets are in the process of being picked. Therefore, I had revised it and clarified exactly what is being said here and whether it is controversial. This chapter also hypothesize that changing activists’ profiles affect the ideology of a movement.

Chapter 2 About the Activists

1) The beginning of this chapter is the place to deal with McAdam’s newer work on biographical availability and the biographical consequences of contention, along with a number of other scholars who have dealt with this topic. Part 2 of Jasper’s 1997 book, on “Biography, Culture and Willingness” is also be useful here. I also talk about McAdam on the biographical consequences of activism and many others since. I also talk about what is similar and what is different in Taiwan.

Chapter 3 About the Labor Movement

This is a solid empirical chapter which shows that class consciousness followed participation in the labor movement instead of preceding it. Following it, I discuss it has a true “ideological transformation” taken place or has there just been a fragmentation of a movement made up of many forces which joined together for a common cause and then split along predictable lines when some degree of success was achieved? Besides, new entrants matter, but so do successes and failures in the previous time period. When certain political goals are achieved, it’s not surprising

that some activists (new or old) will move on to economic goals.

Chapter 4 About the Environmental Movement

This is another solid empirical discussion, this time of the evolution of the environmental movement. I revised the original draft following: 1) More efforts could be made to link this discussion of the move from collective action to electoral politics to similar phenomena elsewhere. Does this reduce the influence of environmental interests, perhaps as we saw in the US, with the end of street protests in the civil rights movement? Does it merely suggest a change in strategy by one wing of a movement, such as we've seen in Green Party politics? Should we really be surprised that democratization has brought this movement more opportunities to pursue its interests in the electoral arena? I make a full-fledged comparison of the three movements here, much more explicit comparison of the sort assayed here.

Chapter 5 About the Women's Movement

A particularly lively discussion of the twists and turns in the Taiwanese women's movement – this should be the best narrative in the study. However, I am planning to revise the original manuscript following: 1) This chapter begins by claiming that the previous two chapters have discussed a transition from partisan to non-partisan politics in two movements. Yes, but only in passing, and only alongside many other issues. The notions of “partisan” and “nonpartisan” need to be defined more precisely and these chapters need to be honed to hit this point hard. 2) so far, I had already did a good job comparing the different demographic profiles of activists in the three movements, but less well in connecting these profiles to different tactics, organizational choices etc. One might suggest that factors like “entry-time” just can't carry as much weight as this chapter originally would like (i.e.

that a one-variable explanation of so many different outcomes inevitably is not satisfying). Beyond evidence, here I pay a little more attention to disconfirming the many other hypotheses others have put forward.

Conclusion – The first half of this chapter is a discussion of the role social movements played in Taiwan's democratization (in particular the creation of interest group politics and civil society), but here I further hammer the comparison of the three movements home because now the three movements are lumped together and treated as one. The summary of the manuscript tries to take readers much beyond the summaries at the end of each chapter and the points raised in the Introduction. The question (concerning why different social movements have different interactions with the political opportunity structure) became the most intriguing one theoretically, and the book's attention to activists is well-placed and sufficiently-argued in this concluding chapter.

二、計畫成果評量

本計畫已經完成主要的修改部分，目前已送交Routledge Publisher進行第一階段的外審。感謝國科會一年計畫的協助，個人得以有時間與過去未曾閱讀的文獻進行更深入的對話。由於與出版社接觸的過程比原來預期的更為龐雜，目前進度略微落後，期望在未來半年內能取得合作契約，進入出版審查的第二階段。