傳播論壇

「連結性行動」的邏輯: 數字媒體和個人化的抗爭性政治*

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摘要

「從阿拉伯之春」(Arab Spring) 到西班牙「憤怒的人群」運動 (Indignados),再到「佔領華爾街」、大規模的、持續性的抗議運動,對數字媒體的使用已經不限於發送和接受訊息。在其中的一些運動形成過程中,正式組建的「紅磚加水泥」的實體組織的參與程度並不高。但其中有一些運動通過使用技術將公眾參與個人化,讓包括遊說團體在內的成熟的正式組織參與到政治運動的進程中。但它們都與我們更

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熟悉的那種傳統的、由正式組織發起的社會運動和倡議行為不同。這篇文章考察了當傳播成為組織結構的重要組成部分時的組織動因。本文認為,要理解大規模的行動網路必須區別兩個具有重要作用的邏輯:我們熟悉的、高度組織化的、形成集體身份/認同的「集體性行動」(collective action)的邏輯,以及我們不太熟知的、建立在媒體網路中共用的個人化內容基礎上的「連結性行動」(connective action)的邏輯。數字媒體的引入並未改變「集體性行動」的核心動因,但卻改變了「連結性行動」的核心動因。在區分上述兩種邏輯的基礎上,本文重點介紹了大規模行動網路的三種理想化類型,這三種類型的運動在當代抗爭性政治中變得越來越重要。

關鍵詞:連結性行動 (connective action)、集體性行動 (collective action)、 抗爭性政治、數字媒體

Communication Forum

The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*

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Abstract

From Arab Spring and Los Indignado in Spain, to Occupy Wall Street (and beyond), large-scale, sustained protests are using digital media in ways that go beyond sending and receiving messages. Some of these formations contain relatively small roles for formal brick and mortar organizations. Others involve well-established advocacy organizations, in hybrid relation with other organizations, using technology that enable personalized public engagement. Both stand in the contrast to the more familiar organizationally managed and brokered action conventionally associated with social movement and issue

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advocacy. This article examines the organizational dynamics that emerge when communication becomes a prominent part of organizational structure. It argues that understanding such variations in large-scale action networks requires distinguishing at least two logics that may be in play: The familiar logic of "collective action" associated with high levels of organizational resources and the formation of collective identities, and the less familiar logic of "connective action" based on personalized content sharing across media networks. In the former, introducing digital media do not change the core dynamics of the action. In the case of the latter, they do. Building on these distinctions, the article presents three ideal types of large-scale action networks that are becoming prominent in the contentious politics of the contemporary era.

Keywords: connective action, collective action, contentious politics, digital media

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