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#### 得獎專書:

Challenging Beijing's Mandate of Heaven: Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

書名中譯:《挑戰北京的天命:台灣的太陽花運動與香港雨傘運動》

#### 得獎簡評:

本書以百餘位臺灣與香港近年公民運動參與者的經驗、環繞著太陽花運動與兩傘運動為核心、比較中台港之地緣政治下。在地公民社會、尤其是年輕世代,如何結合跨國趨勢與政府互動,以各種行動網絡發展動員策略,挑戰中國勢力內外合謀與進逼的體制趨勢、並影響兩地社會與政治體制發展。本書一方面結合國際的抗爭政治研究脈絡、結合鉅觀地緣政治、中層體制互動與微觀動員與感受的分析,以台港比較案例、對國際理論與社會運動領域既有研究取徑,提出東亞經驗的挑戰與貢獻。另一方面,本研究以兩案例脈絡與當前公民運動的趨勢、挑戰政治學關注的選舉議題與社會學重視的社會動員的學術分工,結合兩地社會脈絡與動態經驗細緻耙梳國際趨勢與社會內部發展間的互動、對於掌握浮現中的新型態社會運動方向,尤其是跨體制交錯、機遇策略與心理狀態方向,提示新研究方向。整體而言、本書不但以當前趨勢挑戰既有學術脈絡並提出洞見,也對當前公民社會如何回應中國的抵抗與趨勢的實務發展有相當啟發。

## 得獎人簡歷:

何明修為國立臺灣大學社會學系教授·先前曾任教於南華大學與國立中山大學。他於 2000 年取得國立臺灣大學的社會學博士·研究領域包括社會運動、勞動社會學與環境議題。何明修曾獲得傅爾布萊特研究獎助(2004)、國科會吳大猷先生紀念獎 (2008)、科技部傑出研究獎 (2015)、哈佛燕京學社訪問學人獎助 (2018)。主要專書著作包括《社會運動概論》(2005)、《綠色民主:台灣環境運動的研究》(2006)、Working Class Formation in Taiwan: Fractured Solidarity in State-Owned Enterprises, 1945-2012 (2014)。目前,何明修擔任《中國季刊》(China Quarterly)、《國際台灣研究期刊》(International Journal of Taiwan Studies)、《台灣社會學》之編輯委員,卡內基基金會公民研究網(Carnegie Foundation for International Peace Civic Research Network)成員、英國諾丁罕大學中國政策中心(Nottingham University China Policy Institute)兼任研究員。

Ming-sho Ho is professor at Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University, and previously he taught in Nanhua University and National Sun Yatsen University. He obtained the doctoral degree from National Taiwan University in 2000, and the research field includes social movements, sociology of labor, and the environmental issues. Ming-sho Ho received Fulbright Grant (2004), National Science Council's Ta-you Wu Memorial Award for Young Scholars (2008), Ministry of Science and Technology's Award for Outstanding Research (2015), and Harvard Yenching Institute Visiting Scholar Grant (2018). His major monograph publication includes *An Introduction to Social Movements* (2005, in Chinese), *Green Democracy: A Study on Taiwan's Environmental Movement* (2006, in Chinese), and *Working Class Formation in Taiwan: Fractured Solidarity* 

in State-Owned Enterprises, 1945-2012 (2014). Currently, Ming-sho Ho served in the editorial board of *China Quarterly* and *Taiwanese Sociology*, and in the associate editorial board of *International Journal of Taiwan Studies*. He is also a member in the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace Civic Research Network and a Non-resident Fellow of Nottingham University China Policy Institute.

#### 得獎著作簡介:

在 2014 年·全球佔領運動浪潮席捲了位於東亞的臺灣與香港。臺灣的太陽花運動反對一項與中國簽訂的自由貿易協議;香港的兩傘運動則是一場爭取政治民主的運動·要求特首選舉能採取真正的普選。兩件受關注的社會運動提供了十分吸引人的成對比較 (paired comparison)。兩場運動都是由學生所主導的大規模公民不服從·挑戰其國內/區內的領導者·因都被認為是太依靠中國。在臺灣與香港·兩地的反對黨與社會運動組織都扮演了協助者角色·但是運動領導權卻仍主要是由學生所掌握。儘管兩場運動起源於不同的議題(貿易自由化與普選權)·運動背後都有相近的經濟不滿、國家認同、青年世代的相對剝奪感,共同促成這兩場前所未有的抗議活動。

在佔領運動結束之後,兩地出現若干相似的後果。兩場運動引發了青年世代的選舉與政治參與。台灣出現了補正公投法、罷免立委、降低投票年齡等後續運動,新浮現的「第三勢力」在後續選舉,都有明顯而亮眼的成績,導致臺灣出現了第三次政黨輪替的歷史變局。在香港,各種「傘後組織」以及鼓吹「自決」與「獨立」的政治勢力成為新興的現象,引發進一步的政府打壓。在接下來,這兩場未預期的抗爭使得北京對台、對港的策略方針有所調整,進一步牽動了區域的地緣政治。

本書的主要特色在於突破社會運動研究的限制,結合鉅觀(中台港之地緣政治)、中程(社會運動與政府之互動)、微觀(佔領過程中的動員策略)之三種視角。本書也採用更充份與完整的研究資料,包括 66 位台灣參與者與 72 位香港參與者的深度訪談,與九年的新聞報導之抗爭事件(protest events)分析。

本書指出,對峙 (standoff) 是一種自成一格 (sui generis) 的情境,其演變軌跡是受到諸多偶然性因素之決定。從開始,香港的運動指揮就受重重阻礙,三個不相連的佔領區同時產生。臺灣的立法院議場被警察包圍,結果反而成為了一種理想的空間安排,核心參與者能夠受到全國關注,不容易受到異議份子的衝擊。在香港,先存在的組織有清楚的指揮管道與成員邊界,反而成為了阻力,阻礙了新領導群的事後建構。臺灣的事先組織薄弱,反而使太陽花運動形成了有效的領導,能以有秩序的方式退場。

本書也指出「臨機應變」的 (improvisation) 概念,其定義是「沒有事先規劃的策略性回應」,以理解佔領運動中特殊的參與方式。這是一種不同於傳統由組織發起的動員 (mobilization),容許更多參與者自己捐獻、參與決策、執行其決定,也因此大型佔領運動才能夠持續。不過,臨機應變是需要有經驗的運動者之臨場判斷,並非每一位運動參與者都能得心應手。

In 2014, the worldwide wave of occupy movements spread to Taiwan and Hong Kong. Taiwan's Sunflower Movement originated from the opposition to a free-trade agreement with China, whereas Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement was at its core a prodemocracy movement that campaigned for genuine suffrage for the territory's top leadership. These two internationally well-attended movements formed a fascinating a pair for comparative studies. Both incidents

involved large-scale student-led civil disobedience that challenged the incumbents that were perceived to be overtly subservient to Beijing. In Taiwan and Hong Kong, opposition parties and social movement organizations played an auxiliary role, and the leadership was firmly in the hand of students. In spite of the difference in triggering issues (trade liberalization and suffrage), both movements shard the similar origins in economic discontent, identity shift, and relative grievance among young people, which contributed to the emergence of these two unprecedented protests.

After the conclusion of occupy protests, there are similar outcomes. Both movements gave rise to further political participation of youth generation. In Taiwan, there were follow-up campaigns for revising the referendum law, legislator re-calls, and the lowering of voting age. The so-called "third force", particularly the New Power Party, scored a fairly decent result in the following elections. The peaceful regime change in 2016 took place, largely as one of its consequence. Hong Kong witnessed the flourishing of many post-Umbrella organizations as well as new groupings advocating for self-determination and independence, which incurred further repression from the government. Two unanticipated protests resulted in a readjustment of Beijing's strategic planning toward Hong Kong and Taiwan, and thereby further affecting the regional geopolitical landscape.

This book attempts to advance the scope of social movement studies by combining the macro-level analysis (geopolitical analysis of Taiwan-Hong Kong-China triangle), meso-level (the interaction between social movements and the governments), and the micro-level (the mobilizing strategy in the occupy

protest). For this end, I have interviewed 66 Taiwanese participants and 72 Hongkonger ones, and I collected data for the protest event analysis over a nine-year span.

To capture of the unique features of two occupy movements, I conceptualized the term "standoff" as a sui generis situation whose trajectory was shaped by a number of contingent factors. From its onset, Hong Kong's movement leadership was severely constrained because of the simultaneous emergence of three non-contiguous occupy zones. By contrast, the fact Taiwan's student leaders inside the legislature were encircled by the policemen, which incidentally became a protection mechanism that shielded the core leadership from the insurgency of dissident factions. In Hong Kong, the pre-existence of strong organizations with the command channels and membership boundary turned out be a liability that prevented the posterior remaking of a decision-making core. Taiwan's pre-occupy weak and rudimentary organizations facilitated the rise of an effective leading circle that was capable of executing an orderly exit.

On the other hand, I also used the term "improvisation", defined as "strategic responses without prior coordination" to make sense of the unusual participation pattern. In clear contrast to the traditional "mobilization" initiated by organizations, improvisation allowed more free play of participants' own contribution and decision-making, and thereby making these largely-scale movements sustainable. Nevertheless, improvisation required the judgement of seasoned activists, which meant that not everyone was equally capable.

### 得獎感言:

社會學家相信‧學術研究也是一種社會行動;研究者需要依賴各種的 社會資源與支持‧才能生產出有價值的知識成果。如果沒有學校系所同事 的鼓勵、科技部人文行遠專書寫作計畫的資助、受訪者的分享、助理們的 協助、家人的諒解與支持‧只憑我自身的力量‧是不可能寫出《挑戰北京 的天命:台灣的太陽花運動與香港兩傘運動》。因為著手研究香港‧我有機 會結緣當地的學界與社運界的朋友‧他們帶領我重新認識那座美麗而迷人 的城市。台灣與香港的過往歷史沒有太多的重疊與交錯;但是可以確定的‧ 由於本書所關注的兩場佔領運動‧兩地未來的命運已經是牢牢地捆綁在一 起了。

社會運動創造歷史,帶來社會變遷;社會學家則是以不同方式來詮釋這種創造歷史的過程。社會運動指認出既存的壓迫、激發參與者的信念、描繪出理想的社會圖像以及通往其境界的路徑圖。社會學家通常無法擔當這些重責大任,再怎麼勉強,也不過只是彆扭與做作。更多時候,社會學家只是在創造歷史的激情已經煙消雲散之後,才開始收集研究資料,紀錄社會變遷的軌跡。或許我們可以引用莎士比亞為了詩人的辯護,書寫比現實更能永保恆久,「大理石碑,帝王紫金陵寢/豈可與永恆宏麗詩韻媲美/然爾於詩中更顯煒光凜凜/比起歲月侵蝕之污穢殘碑」。

滔滔雄辯也無法抹去這個事實:社會學家在創造歷史的時刻是缺席者,而且再怎麼樣紮實與嚴謹的學術著作也無助於自由與公義的社會之到來。在撰寫得獎感言之時,香港警察動用各種致命武器攻擊大學,學生挺身捍衛校園的安全,而不是他們的師長們。我相信,此時此刻的香港教授應該與我一樣,感受到深刻的愧疚感與無力感。沒有大學體制所保障的批判精神與自由思考,就不可能產生出有意義的人文與社會科學著作;但也

是源自於相同的批判精神與自由思考,香港的學生「昂首拒默沉,吶喊聲響透」,掀起一股時代革命的巨大浪潮。

社會運動者在前線浴血苦戰,社會運動研究者則是後方撰寫這些創造歷史的行動。我由衷期待「煲底除罩相見」那天的到來,屆時請容我向手足們深深地一鞠躬,與你們緊緊擁抱。無論是無畏的抗爭行動抑或是批判的知識扣問,背後的動力都是來自於相同的自由渴望;當榮光真正降臨的那一天,那將會是兩種社會行動相互交融的時刻。