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廈門大學

硕士学位论文

网络集体行动的形成机制及话语研究  
——以“帝吧出征FB”为例

Research on the Formation Mechanism and Discourse of  
Network Collective Action —— a Case Study of  
"D8's Expedition to Facebook"

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## 内容摘要

随着互联网技术的快速发展，集体行动逐渐与网络结合，网络集体行动由此生成且形式日趋多样化。西方学界将网络集体行动分为“线上”和“离线”两种类型，西方以“离线”行动居多，中国则以线上的集体表达为主要形式。

作为 2016 年初重要的网络舆情事件，“帝吧出征 FB”无疑是极具影响力的网络集体行动代表。但仔细考察就会发现，这样一种行为的出现并非偶然，不仅可以从帝吧之前的数次民族主义“爆吧”行动中找寻到源头，还能够从两岸关系及组织动员等角度找到其成因。

本研究首先以斯梅尔塞的“价值累加理论”作为基础框架，对“帝吧出征 FB”的形成机制进行考量。其次，将焦点放在“出征”行动发生之后，通过对蔡英文的脸书评论进行内容分析和文本分析，探究其展现的话语诉求及情感倾向。研究发现大陆网民在评论中基本能够遵循组织要求，展现了较为温和理性、有礼有节的态度。同时，评论中充斥着大量色彩浓厚的民族主义叙事，流露出对于台湾问题的复杂情感。

最后，结合上述结果和对两岸民众的访谈，本文发现，在“帝吧出征”这一网络集体行动中，大陆网民的国家认同与关切被极大激发，不仅表达出国家利益不可侵犯的坚定信念，完成了一次戏谑感十足的、狂欢式的政治表达，而且为两岸草根的社群交往指明了可能性。不过这在两岸民间交往中是远远不够的，需要在维护国家底线问题和理性看待两岸媒体事件的基础上，避免示强的话语侵犯，同时建构共同的议题进行交流，才能真正构建良好的话语运行环境，缩小认知和态度上的差异，使两岸对话少一些狂欢感、走向常态化。

**关键词：**网络集体行动；帝吧；民族主义；两岸关系

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## Abstract

With the rapid development of Internet technology, the collective action is gradually combined with Internet therefore network collective action is generated and becoming more and more diversified. Western researchers divide network collective actions into two types: "online" and "offline". People in western countries take more "offline" actions while Chinese tend to take "online" actions during collective expression.

As an important public opinion event in early 2016, D8's expedition is undoubtedly one of the most influential online collective action. But such a behavior is not accidental. A careful study not only can find its source from several earlier "break-the-bar" actions, but also can explore its causes from the organization and mobilization of the action and in broader scenery, cross-strait relations.

Firstly, this article takes Smelser's "value-added theory" as the basic framework to analyze the formation mechanism of "D8's expedition". Secondly, the research, using content analysis and text analysis of Tsai Ing-Wen's Facebook, explores the demands and emotional tendencies of participants in the expedition. The study finds out that the Internet users in mainland China can basically follow the requirements of the organization when posting comments, showing a more moderate and rational, polite and courteous attitude. At the same time, the comments show strong nationalist narrative, revealing their complex feelings towards the Taiwan issue.

Finally, combined with the above results and interviews with people on both sides of the strait, this paper concludes that the collective action not only greatly inspired the expression of the national identity and national concern of mainland internet users who show their firm belief of inviolability of national interests in an humorous way and in the form of grand carnival, but also provide a possible alternative for grassroots community communication across straits. But such an expression is not enough for improving cross-strait communication. On the one hand, we hold the bottom line of our nation and view cross-strait media events rationally, on

the other hand, we should avoid strong words of aggression during dialogue and try to locate issues of common concern to exchange opinions. Only in this way can we build a good discourse operating environment, narrowing the cognitive and attitudinal differences and making cross-strait dialogue less carnival and more normalized.

**Key Words:** network collective action; D8; online nationalism; cross-strait relations

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## 目录

<b>第一章 绪论</b> .....	1
1.1 研究背景.....	1
1.2 研究问题和意义.....	2
1.3 研究思路与研究方法.....	3
<b>第二章 文献回顾</b> .....	5
2.1 网络集体行动.....	5
2.1.1 网络集体行动的概念界定.....	5
2.1.2 网络集体行动的形成机制研究.....	7
2.1.3 网络集体行动的话语研究.....	9
2.2 网络民族主义.....	11
<b>第三章 基于价值累加理论的“出征”机制探析</b> .....	13
3.1 价值累加理论.....	13
3.2 “帝吧出征 FB”的形成机制探析.....	14
3.2.1 社会环境结构诱因：政经、教育等背景影响.....	14
3.2.2 结构性紧张：领土完整受威胁，国家认同遭挑战.....	18
3.2.3 一般化信念：维护祖国统一需要反击.....	20
3.2.4 触发事件：数个事件的累加.....	21
3.2.5 行动的组织动员：明确分工，微博预热宣传.....	23
3.2.6 社会控制的疏忽和失效：法规、道德难约束.....	25
3.3 小结与讨论：“帝吧出征”成为民意表达的突破口.....	27
<b>第四章 内容及文本分析：“帝吧出征 FB”的话语研究</b> .....	29
4.1 文字：“出征”话语的内容及文本分析.....	29
4.1.1 评论议题及情感态度的数量统计.....	30
4.1.2 基于“态度”分类的话语探析.....	32
4.2 贴图：“出征”行动的刷屏利器.....	36
4.3 从“出征”话语看网络集体行动中的民族主义.....	40

4.3.1 话语内容：凸显中华认同与政治认同.....	40
4.3.2 话语形式：互动、多元、狂欢.....	41
4.3.3 话语效果：两岸民众看法不一.....	43
<b>第五章 研究结论与建议.....</b>	<b>46</b>
5.1 主要研究结论.....	46
5.2 建议与思考：超越狂欢，加强对话缩小心理距离.....	48
5.3 研究不足及展望.....	50
<b>参考文献.....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>附录.....</b>	<b>57</b>
附1.....	57
附2：内容分析编码表.....	59
<b>致 谢.....</b>	<b>62</b>

厦门大学博硕士学位论文摘要库

## Content

<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>1.1 Research Background</b> .....	1
<b>1.2 Research Questions and Significance</b> .....	2
<b>1.3 Research Ideas and Research Methods</b> .....	3
<b>Chapter 2 Literature Review</b> .....	5
<b>2.1 Network Collective Action</b> .....	5
2.1.1 Definition of Network Collective Action.....	5
2.1.2 Research on the Formation Mechanism of Network Collective Action .....	7
2.1.3 A Discourse Study of Network Collective Action.....	9
<b>2.2 Online Nationalism</b> .....	11
<b>Chapter 3 Analysis of the "Expedition" Mechanism Based on</b> <b>"Value-Added Theory"</b> .....	13
<b>3.1 Value-Added Theory</b> .....	13
<b>3.2 The Formation Mechanism of D8's expedition to FB</b> .....	14
3.2.1 Causes of Social Environment Structure.....	14
3.2.2 Structural Tension.....	18
3.2.3 General Beliefs of Members.....	19
3.2.4 Trigger Event.....	21
3.2.5 Mobilization of Action.....	23
3.2.6 Neglect and Failure of Social Control.....	25
<b>3.3 Summary and Discussion</b> .....	27

<b>Chapter 4 Content and Text Analysis: Discourse Study</b> .....	29
<b>4.1 Text: the Content and Text Analysis of Expedition Discourse</b> .....	29
4.1.1 Quantitative Statistics on Issues and Attitudes.....	30
4.1.2 Discourse Analysis Based on the Classification of Attitude.....	32
<b>4.2 Pictures: Important Weapon of the Action</b> .....	36
<b>4.3 Nationalism in the Collective Action from the Perspective of Discourse</b> .....	40
4.3.1 Content: Highlighting Chinese Identity and Political Identity.....	40
4.3.2 Forms: Interaction, Diversity, Carnival.....	41
4.3.3 Effect : Different Views .....	43
<b>Chapter 5 Conclusions and Recommendations</b> .....	46
<b>5.1 Main Research Conclusions</b> .....	46
<b>5.2 Suggestions and Considerations</b> .....	48
<b>5.3 Limitations and Prospect</b> .....	50
<b>References</b> .....	52
<b>Appendix</b> .....	57
<b>AppendixI: List of Respondents</b> .....	57
<b>AppendixII: Content Analysis Results, Coding Instructions, etc.</b> .....	59
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	62

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