

# 數位傳播時代下的社會運動： 真假混雜資訊，當局回應落差， 政府信任

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## 摘 要

本研究目的在檢視新傳播科技環境下的社會運動。藉由理論導出動能結構關係模型，探討洪仲丘案能在短短 28 天驅使網友走上街頭，造成軍法制度變革之原因。透過社會調查法的 604 份有效問卷，分析結果指出，混雜真實與謠言的資訊，對社會運動有顯著的直接影響，其影響力大於有關當局回應的落差，以及對政府的信任。有關當局回應的落差，在混雜真實與謠言的資訊，與社會運動參與之間的關係上，扮演顯著的中介變項角色。研究更進一步發現，服過兵役者要比未服過兵役者，在政府信任到社會運動參與的路徑上有更高的權重，顯示個人服役體驗扮演著重要的調解變項角色。

**關鍵詞：**真假混雜資訊，當局回應落差，政府信任，社會運動，服役體驗

A Social Movement in the Era of Digital Communication :  
Information Mixing Truth and Rumor, Authoritative Response Dissociation, Government Trust

# **A Social Movement in the Era of Digital Communication : Information Mixing Truth and Rumor, Authoritative Response Dissociation, Government Trust**

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to examine the dynamics of social movements in the context of new communication technology triggering a pivotal reform of the military legal system. To figure out what provokes online users to become 300,000 active protesters in just 28 days, this research explores a structural relationship (N = 604) between information mixing truth and rumor, authoritative response dissociation, government trust, and social movement participation. The findings reveal that information mixing truth and rumor plays a more effective and devastating role than do authoritative response dissociation and government trust for social movement participation. Authoritative response dissociation performs an important and significant mediating role between information mixing truth and rumor and social movement participation. Further, respondents who once served in the military have significantly higher weight on the path from government trust to social movement participation than those who did not, indicating the personal experience plays a leading moderating character.

**Keywords :** information mixing truth and rumor, authoritative response dissociation, government trust, social movement, military experience

## **A Social Movement in the Era of Digital Communication : Information Mixing Truth and Rumor, Authoritative Response Dissociation, Government Trust**

Social movements – collective, organized, and non-institutional challenges to authorities, power holders, or cultural beliefs and practices – are a central source of social and political change that are usually sparked by technology (Gerbaudo, 2012; Harlow, 2011). New technology brings about new social movements, also referred to as internetnetworked movements (Carty, 2015; Goodwin & Jasper, 2014). What characterizes these social movements is that protesters can bypass censorship, network minds, create meaning, and contest power in ways never before possible through the Internet and social media networking sites and platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, or Line. With the liberating power of new communication technology, the world has celebrated victories from the Arab Spring to Occupy Wall Street, and to, most recently, the Idle No More movement in Canada (Wood, 2015). Given this, new social movements have been called the “Facebook Revolution” or the “Twitter Revolution,” and protesters were selected as the “Person of the Year in 2011” by Time magazine (Goodwin & Jasper, 2014).

Researchers indicate that the Internet and social media could allow movement actors more cost-effectively to disseminate information, share grievances, mobilize resources, facilitate recruitment, make decisions about collective action, and hold authorities accountable for their responses to protest activities (Carty, 2015; Goodwin & Jasper, 2014; Turner, 2013). But others argue that the introduction of social media in social movements does not simply result in a situation of absolute spontaneity and unrestrained participation (Castells, 2015). The Internet or social media is a sufficient condition, not a necessary one. Like the chemical reaction of combustion, three elements are simultaneously needed to ignite a fire : heat, fuel, and oxygen.

A movement and a protest could fail to reach its final goal even with the assistance of advanced digital technology. The Umbrella Movement of Hong Kong Occupy Central, which in 2014 advocated for electoral reform, is a good example (Chan, 2016; Ortmann, 2015). Despite many factors, such as the political atmosphere, cultural environment, and economic conditions involved, influencing the dynamics of movement; there has been little research to examine the association and interplay of these factors through an integrated framework. Given the lack of empirical studies, to

fill the gap in the current literature is important and worthwhile. Three crucial forces are investigated in this study. Like the heat, fuel, and oxygen, they are : information mixing truth & rumor, authoritative response dissociation, and government trust. Similarly to the model of fire triangles, we conceptualized the social movement triangles that prompt protesters to march onto the streets. Given such, the first research question is raised :

RQ1 : How do information mixing truth and rumor, authoritative response dissociation, and government trust have an effect on social movement participation individually and in total?

### **The Case of Corporal Hung's Death**

The largest mass demonstration in Taiwan's history, termed the White Shirt Movement, which involved 300,000 protestors over a soldier's death, occurred in 2013. This movement brought about not only damage to the government's image, the resignation of the Minister of National Defense (MND), and an apology from Taiwan's President, but also a major reform of the legal system : the abolition of court martial during peacetime. Furthermore, in the long run it more or less influenced the presidential election in 2016 in Taiwan, in which the opposition party won the presidency (Gao, 2016).

Twenty-three-year-old Corporal Hung Chung-Chiu was sent to military detention and ordered to perform strenuous exercise drills as a punishment for violation of regulations. He died on July 4, 2013, only two days before he was scheduled to be discharged from the Army. This news was first posted online by a military medical officer on July 5. After that, information blending speculation quickly circulated on the web. Some local and scattered small rallies and protests occurred. Furthermore, the MND's answers infuriated the public and stirred up their anger against the government. Outraged Taiwanese citizens demanded justice and reforms in the military by engaging in two major mass protests in Taipei, organized by what became known as the Citizen 1985 Movement Association.

The case of Hung's death attracted a great deal of media attention and academic studies. For example, Hu (2014) examined what issues and topics were most discussed on the media, and other researchers explored online rumors circulating on the news based on the meme theory (Chen & Tao, 2015). Findings from previous

studies from Taiwan scholars nurtured this current research a lot, and further stimulate more research questions to find answers.

How could this movement generate a great change on legal system in just 28 days, from the date of the soldier's death to the largest mass demonstration in Taiwan's history? What were the dynamics of this social movement? In addition, researchers suggest that individual experience might influence rumor spreading, organization trust, and protest participation in some conditions (Bhavnania, Findleya, & Kuklinskia, 2009; Carty, 2015; DiFonzo & Bordia, 2007). Therefore, this study wants to further empirically explore what role is played by personal experience, in terms of whether protesters once served in military, by evaluating its moderating effect inside the proposed structural framework. To answer these research questions is the purpose of this study.

### **Information Mixing Truth and Rumor**

In 2013, the World Economic Forum described a “digital wildfire” as a great threat to organization and society, given how it could rapidly spread destructive and uncontrollable misinformation on the Internet and social media (World Economic Forum, 2013). DiFonzo (2013) indicated that “many digital wildfires start as rumors” (p. 135). That Mrs. Hillary Clinton was badly burned in the 2016 presidential election by such a wildfire is an example (Rutenberg, 2016).

Rumors have been the focus of many studies, since they not only can threaten personal reputations, careers, and relationships but can also impose real damage on public officials, institutions, and national security. Nowadays, rumors have become ubiquitous, and threats as well as damages are made even worse by the ever-growing use of new communication technology. Research has discovered that rumors spread quickly and intensively in the context of a personal crisis (e.g., cancer; DiFonzo, Robinson, Suls, & Rini, 2012), natural disasters (e.g., earthquakes; Nicholls & Picou, 2013), intergroup conflict (e.g., wars; Allport & Postman, 1947), and great socio-political events (e.g., presidential elections; Shin, Jian, Driscoll, & Bar, 2016), because rumors function to allow collectives to communicate, find out facts to explain ambiguity, or avoid, prepare for, or cope with damages as well as threats. Featuring great speed and volume, online rumors vigorously circulate on social media through the so-called echo-chamber effect, which highlights the amplifying phenomenon of a

rumor forming as well as the diffusion among social media users (e.g., Garrett, 2011). The recent study in Michigan regarding 2016 US presidential election further reveals such an effect, in which social media users linked to fake news more than professional news (Howard, Bolsover, Kollanyi, Bradshaw, & Neudert, 2017).

Given the lack of direct or personal knowledge about the facts that underlie most of our judgments, people tend to believe and think that where there is smoke, there is fire — or that a rumor would not have spread unless it was at least partly true (Pfeffer, Zorbach, & Carley, 2014). Rumors that blend facts that are partly true and partly untrue have been termed factitious informational blends (FIBs) by Rojecki and Meraz (2016). By examining the development of two comparable claims online during the 2004 US presidential campaign, Rojecki and Meraz suggest that FIBs represents a new form of rumor that arises as a function of politically deliberate attempts to diffuse unverified claims as facts in order to dishonor opposing politicians and parties. Although their concerns focus on politically motivated rumors and partisan polarization, we argue that FIBs are more powerful when it comes to changing the political system beyond party affiliation, because they are more sense-making, feasible, and convincing on account of their obtaining acceptance from a core of truth, around which circle speculations or doubtful information. Furthermore, rumors usually entwine closely with other types of information, which are hard to disentangle from each other, especially in such an information overload environment within a high media convergence era. This phenomenon reflects the words of Mr. Barack Obama, “because in an age where there’s so much active misinformation and its packaged very well and it looks the same when you see it on a Facebook page or you turn on your television”(cited from Rutenberg, 2016). In short, FIBs are more contagious than rumors, which are generally defined by a lack of veracity (Garrett, 2011; Shin et al., 2016).

The dynamics of FIBs seem to bear a striking similarity to this current study, in which a social event quickly accumulates immense momentum, in terms of negative opinion about the military and the government, through the Internet and social media within hours. Therefore, we borrowed the concept of FIB and named it information mixing truth and rumor, though our conception differs from FIB with respect to a couple of characteristics. FIB especially pinpoints politically motivated rumors and president election candidates, but information mixing truth and rumor targets government organizations and subsystems. Second, FIB is “unverifiability” forever

(Rojecki & Meraz, 2016), but information mixing truth and rumor is verifiable later. In this study, the court has the last word through its legal investigation, and this is, to the best of our knowledge, the first analysis and study of rumors to verify what is true and what is false by adjudication. Therefore, we define information mixing truth and rumor as information mixing with partly accurate and partly erroneous statements about the case of a soldier's death in circulation on the Internet and social media at that time, but the partly erroneous statements were verified as falsehoods through the investigation and adjudication by legal systems afterwards.

## **Government Trust**

Trust is a complex interpersonal and organizational construct (Saunders & Thornhill, 2003) that glues together groups, institutions, and society. Without trust, personal relations break apart, groups disband, and the social contract dissolves. Chanley and colleagues (2000) indicate that trust in government in general has two main variants based on a public opinion survey after research using a time series. One is the so-called political trust, which means that citizens value and trust the government and its policy-making in general. Scholars also regard it as a central indicator of the public's underlying feelings and attitudes about their polity (Newton & Norris, 2000). The other one has more to do with organizational or institutional trust, which refers to an issue-oriented perspective whereby citizens have confidence in the government's performance in handling the issue in terms of being efficient, fair, and honest (Chanley, Rudolph, & Rahn, 2000).

DiFonzo and Bordia (2007) demonstrated that high trust in management reduces rumor transmission, and distrust in the organization fuels rumor activity during the time of downsize and layoff in a company. However, Austin and Brumfield(1991) suggest that rumors often influence the public's trust toward an organization, as in the case of the Satanism in shampoo that damaged the trust of consumers and the brand image of Procter & Gamble. Huang (2015) found that rumors decrease citizens' trust in the Chinese government and erode political support of the regime. Although previous studies show that inconsistent and empirical literature is rare, it is hard to deny that "rumors attract attention, evoke emotion, incite involvement, and affect attitudes and actions" (DiFonzo & Bordia, 2007).

Government trust is even more crucial in a society during or after a crisis (e.g.,

Saunders & Thornhill, 2003). The literature on social movements has discovered that distrust towards the government is highly associated with people's discontent and frustration, and it can motivate them to take action regardless of whether the crisis in question is economic, political, or social in its origins (e.g., Castells, 2015; Goodwin & Jasper, 2014). In this study, we define government trust as the public's confidence and attitude toward the government/military to handle the Hung case in the right way. Consequently, we propose the following hypotheses :

- H1** : Information mixing truth and rumor will negatively influence government trust.
- H2** : Information mixing truth and rumor will positively affect social movement participation.
- H3** : Individuals who have a low level of government trust are more likely to participate in a social movement.

### **Authoritative Response Dissociation**

Digital wildfires sparked from rumors are terrible, so the issue of how to extinguish them in the first place is critical. A spokesman's explanations, responses, verifications, corrections, and rebuttals toward rumors orally as well as in writing through press releases are usually the first step to managing a crisis for the government or a business. For example, Takayasu et al. (2015) tracked the diffusion of one rumor and one rumor-correction message from City Hall on Twitter in the aftermath of the significant 2011 earthquake in eastern Japan, and they found that the correction tweet successfully stopped the rumor. They point out that the official announcement or response played a key role in halting the online rumors around the world.

Although the effects of rumor control are mixed, the null effects or negative outcomes are more and more popular, especially with respect to online rumors. One reason is that rumors can resist debunking. Tracking and analyzing a comprehensive collection of political rumors on Twitter during the 2012 US presidential election campaign, Shin et al. (2016) found that Twitter helped rumor spreaders circulate false information but seldom to debunk them, despite the emergence of countervailing information. Their findings echo the results from four experimental tests conducted by Nyhan and Reifler (2010). They indicate that corrections frequently not only fail to reduce false statements but also have a backfire effect, in which corrections actually



reinforce participants' belief in a false claim when they encounter a correction that is inconsistent with their view (Nyhan & Reifler, 2010).

The second reason, we argue, is authoritative response dissociation, which refers to the perceived discrepancy between official responses, corrections, or rebuttals from the MND and an individual's own views on this event. Applying a between-subjects experimental design, Kim et al. (2014) discovered that weak argument messages in the context of corrections and persuasion could provoke negative thoughts and anger on behalf of the public, which they refer to as a boomerang effect. Furthermore, anger can construct a more powerful sub-construct of rejection than negative cognition. Also, Weeks' (2015) experimental study reveals that the emotion of anger will motivate an evaluation of uncorrected misinformation that results in beliefs that are consistent with the supported political party.

Therefore, the concept of authoritative response dissociation is concerned with the perceptual distance between the explanation, response, or correction from the MND on an issue queried by the media and a person's own position on that issue. This perceptual distance, seemingly like a state of opposition between cognitions, could produce feelings of dissonance (Festinger, 1957). From the standpoint of cognitive consistency theories, these conflicting cognitions drive individuals to reduce inconsistency by altering the importance of our cognitions, seeking new information, changing our attitudes, or sometimes directly taking action against the uncomfortable object (Harmon-Jones & Mills, 2000). Like hydropower derived from the energy of falling water, the greater the inconsistency we face, the more agitated we will feel to reduce it. Therefore, two hypotheses are proposed :

**H4** : Information mixing truth and rumor will positively affect the authoritative response dissociation.

**H5** : Individuals who have a high level of authoritative response dissociation are likely to participate in a social movement.

## **Military Experience**

Experience has been a part of studies crossing many disciplines, demonstrating that there is a healthy and broad application of this concept. For example, Carlson (1997) conceptualized experiences as engaging, memorable encounters for those consuming events from a consumer's perspective. Schmitt (1999) posited that

experiences are private, personal events that occur in response to stimulation and that involve the entire being as a result of observing or participating in a marketing event. From a more general and philosophical perspective, Carù and Cova (2003) indicated that experience is gained when what happens is translated into knowledge (common sense), which changes or transforms the individual. Although there are different definitions on experience, researchers almost agree that good and bad experiences influence personal cognition (e.g., advertising, Eighmey, 2003), attitudes (e.g., museum art, Hume, 2011), and behavior (e.g., Starbucks consumption, Schmitt, 1999).

As for men in Taiwan, military experience is an unforgettable memory, blending tears, blood, and smiles, given that conscription required them to serve at least one year in the military before 2015. They gained a deep first-hand experience of living, working, and training in a military context. In this study, military experience is conceptualized as a feedback occurrence based on the outcome and fact of whether or not the individual has served in the military. Given its significance for the government as well as social movement managers, and given the absence of previous empirical evidence to justify the direction of the hypotheses, it is better to ask a research question as follows.

**RQ2** : How does the effect from military experience will differ in each hypothesis?

## **Method**

### ***Measures***

For the sake of a preliminary assessment, an in-depth interview of six movement participants was conducted to determine what contents and questions should be included in the final survey questionnaire to be used. For example, some interviewees indicated that they shared the same experience of being bullied while serving in the military, so that the idea of sergeants being part of a military mafia and being drug dealers was seen as highly possible; others said they were very angry about the military rebuttals to the news about a benefit and an annual pension for Hung's death on duty. Likewise, the reply to a reporter's question concerning whether a "three-star army commander will be punished" was marked as one of high response dissociation. Based on our literature review as well as the results from the exploratory interviews, a standardized, self-administered questionnaire was developed as the formal survey tool

for data collection (see Appendix for measurement items).

### ***Instrument***

Information mixing truth and rumor comprised seven popular statements circulating on the Internet but officially confirmed as completely untrue by the investigation of the civil judiciary court afterwards. For example: “Critical segments of all 16 closed-circuit television recordings that housed Hung in detention were erased by military tampering.” By using a 6-point Likert scale, with “1” equaling completely disbelieve and “6” equaling completely believe, respondents were asked to indicate how much they believed or disbelieved each statement.

Authoritative response dissociation included eight statements selected from a list of 20 claims compiled by the Citizen 1985 Movement Association and based on the 100% agreement signaled by the six protesters during the in-depth interviews, according to their perception gap. For example: “Hung will receive a death benefit and an annual pension for dying in the line of duty.” Respondents, in turn, indicated to what extent they perceived a discrepancy between the official responses from the MND and their individual opinions about each statement using a 5-point Likert scale, with “1” equaling no discrepancy at all and “5” equaling a great deal of discrepancy.

Government trust included four items. Two were developed from the work of Nicholls and Picou (2013) and involved respondents indicating how much they trusted the government/military to do what is right in the Hung case using a 6-point Likert scale, with “1” equaling completely distrust and “6” equaling completely trust. Two items were adopted from the work of Newton and Norris (2000), asking about respondents’ underlying general attitude of trust toward the government/military using the same 6-point Likert scale, with “1” equaling definitely negative and “6” equaling definitely positive. For example: “In general, how much of the degree is your attitude toward the government?”

The scale of social movement participation was developed from the work of Brilliant (2000) and Castells (2015). The respondents pointed out how many times they had engaged in each of four activities with respect to the Hung case — a) volunteered for an activist organization, b) donated money, c) donated materials (food, bottled water, banners, etc.) to an activist organization, d) participated in street activities (protest, rally, demonstration, etc.) — on a scale from zero to five, including over

five.

### ***Participants***

To maximize the inclusion of a diversified pool of targeted protestors, we used a snowball sampling technique to recruit participants through a web-based survey. The invitation to participate in this survey was posted mainly through a couple of online discussion groups. One was the PTT Bulletin Board System ([www.ptt.cc/bbs/index.html](http://www.ptt.cc/bbs/index.html)), which is a terminal-based bulletin board system based in Taiwan. PTT was selected because it is arguably the largest online forum in Taiwan, with more than 1.8 million registered users, and it has over 200,000 boards with a multitude of topics, and more than 45,000 articles and 1 million comments are posted every day. The other is the site of the major movement organization mentioned earlier, the Citizen 1985 Movement Association (<https://zh-tw.facebook.com/pttcitizen1985>). In addition, respondents were asked to further distribute the invitation to friends, relatives, and especially movement participants whom they knew. Respondents who clicked on the questionnaire URL were invited to fill out the questionnaire. During the three-month survey period (from February 1, 2014 to May 1, 2014), 623 responses were received. After respondents indicating they did not know about the Hung case and those with missing data due to the survey responses being incomplete were eliminated, a total of 604 usable questionnaires were generated.

The participant profile indicates that females outnumber males (51.8% vs. 48.2%). The 21–25 age group makes up one fourth (24.9%), followed by the 26–30 (14.9%), 16–20 (13.0%), 31–35 (12.7%), 41–45 (12.5%), and 36–40 (10.3%) age groups. Education is dominated by a college degree (68.8%), and 41.4% had served in the military. As for new media use (e.g., online newspapers, Facebook, Line, Twitter, YouTube), almost 80% of respondents spent at least one hour online every day, reflecting similar results reported by the Taiwan Network Information Center (2015). Of the sample, 80.8% indicated that new media was the main media source from which they received information on the Hung case, compared with 10.2% from traditional TV, 7.7% from a traditional newspaper, and 1.3% from traditional radio. Over 82% of respondents received or shared information about the Hung case online at least one time.

## **Analysis and Results**

The study followed a two-step approach, as recommended by MacCallum (1995). The first step was to assess the initial results for the purpose of developing an acceptable measurement applying exploratory factor analysis (EFA). Afterwards, the second step was to conduct the structural model evaluation and to further test the hypotheses and answer the research question by investigating the causal relationships among the study variables.

### ***Measurement Evaluation***

EFA was performed using an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 and principle components with varimax rotation on items of information mixing truth and rumor ( $M = 4.03$ ,  $SD = 1.28$ ), authoritative response dissociation ( $M = 3.61$ ,  $SD = 0.83$ ), government trust ( $M = 2.37$ ,  $SD = 0.94$ ), and social movement participation ( $M = 3.48$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ ) individually. EFA generated two factors in the construct of information mixing truth and rumor; one was named, according to the context, organization information mixing truth and rumor, with 48.20% variance, and the other was named individual information mixing truth and rumor, with 32.17% variance. Two factors in authoritative response dissociation were discovered : the first is named system dissociation, with 39.15% variance, and the second is professional dissociation, with 31.36% variance. Two factors in government trust emerged : one, with 57.33% variance, named Hung Case trust, and the other named general attitude trust, with 31.84% variance. Also, two factors were generated with respect to social movement participation : the first is resource participation, with 41.91% variance, and the second is street participation, with 38.02% variance.

### ***Reliability and Validity***

In order to examine the internal consistency of the factors, the coefficient omega was used because it is a more appropriate index than Cronbach's alpha to measure the latent variable construct, of which a value above 0.7 was considered to be an indicator of good consistency (Dunn, Baguley, & Brunsten, 2014). Regarding the validity check, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and the average variance extracted (AVE)

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were performed to examine the measurement model, including if items were loaded in the same construct with a value higher than 0.5, and whether constructs can be discriminated from each other well, with a value superior to 0.5 (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2009).

**Table 1.** Descriptive statistics for each item and factor (N=604).

Factor	Item	Loading	Mean	SD	Factor	Item	Loading	Mean	SD
OITR			3.99	1.36	SD			3.76	0.95
(.52) <sup>a</sup>					(.66) <sup>a</sup>				
(.69) <sup>b</sup>	OITR1	.86	4.06	1.56	(.85) <sup>b</sup>	SD1	.85	3.97	1.19
	OITR2	.80	4.42	1.56		SD2	.83	3.54	1.15
	OITR3	.63	3.84	1.43		SD3	.81	3.59	1.08
	OITR4	.55	3.63	1.25		SD4	.75	3.93	1.08
IITR			4.08	1.25	PD			3.48	0.93
(.76) <sup>a</sup>					(.58) <sup>a</sup>				
(.87) <sup>b</sup>	IITR1	.89	3.98	1.40	(.80) <sup>b</sup>	PD1	.87	3.81	1.20
	IITR 2	.88	3.99	1.42		PD2	.82	3.71	1.09
	IITR 3	.84	4.26	1.39		PD3	.74	3.22	1.11
						PD4	.58	3.16	1.10
HCT			2.29	1.10	RP			3.27	0.89
(.83) <sup>a</sup>					(.69) <sup>a</sup>				
(.89) <sup>b</sup>	HCT1	.91	2.24	1.12	(.76) <sup>b</sup>	RP1	.93	3.60	0.97
	HCT2	.91	2.34	1.10		RP2	.89	3.09	0.82
GAT			2.44	0.98		RP3	.65	3.13	0.78
(.73) <sup>a</sup>									
(.72) <sup>b</sup>	GAT1	.95	2.54	1.07	SP		.91	3.68	0.68
	GAT2	.74	2.33	0.89		RP4		3.68	0.68

Note. ( )<sup>a</sup> for the AVE value of each factor; ( )<sup>b</sup> for Omega reliability  $\omega$

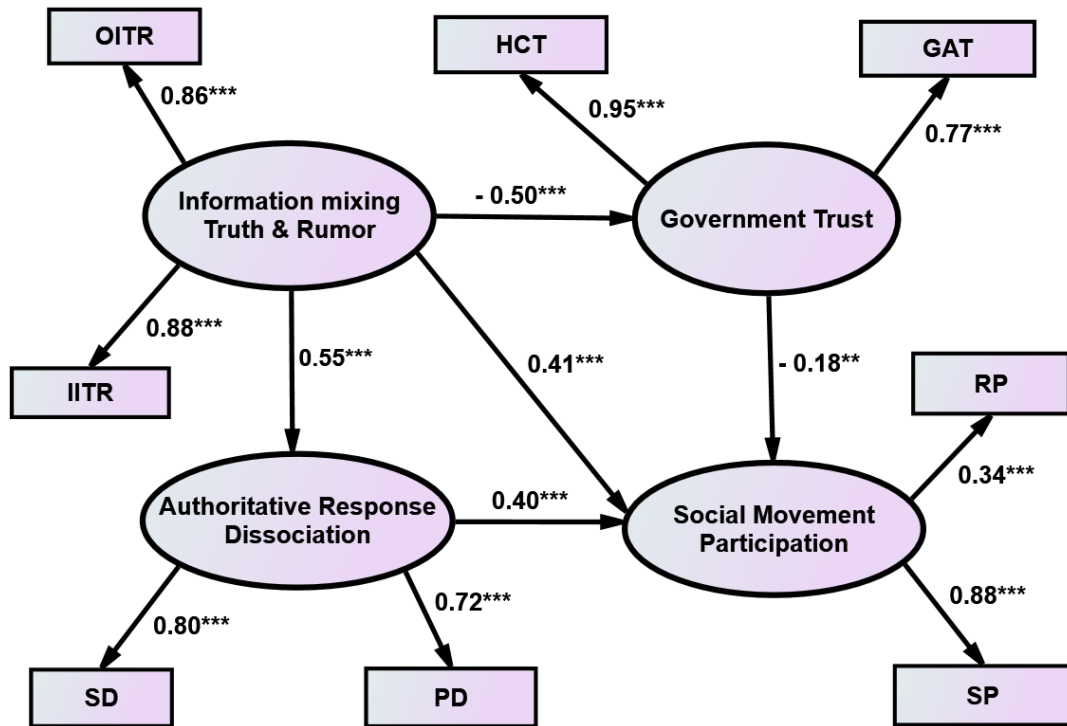
OITR for organization information mixing truth & rumor; IITR for individual information mixing truth & rumor; HCT for Hung case trust; GAT for general attitude trust; SD for system dissociation; PD for professional dissociation; RP for resource participation; SP for street participation

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics, stability, and validity regarding each item and the factorial constructs. The results indicate that the coefficient omega of each construct is above 0.7, and items were loaded in the same construct with an acceptable value, even though the construct of organization information mixing truth and rumor is still on the acceptable omega value of 0.69. Further, AVE values ranged from 0.52 to 0.83, exceeding the recommended threshold of 0.50. In general, each factorial construct is, therefore, reliable and valid.

### ***Hypothesis Testing***

The path analysis of structural equation modeling (SEM) AMOS 8.0 was performed in order to test the hypotheses. First, the overall model fit was examined using goodness-of-fit indices, such as the ratio between the chi-square and the number of degrees of freedom ( $\chi^2/df$ ), the comparative fit index (CFI), the non-normed fit index (NNFI), the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), suggested by researchers (e.g., Bagozzi & Yi, 2012). Figure 1 shows that both CFI (0.96) and NNFI (0.95) were greater than the benchmark of 0.92 individually, the RMSEA (0.08) was equal to the threshold of 0.08, and the SRMR (0.05) was lower than the criterion of 0.07. The  $\chi^2/df$  (6.11) was higher than the yardstick of 5, but it was still within the tolerance range because the sample size was larger than 200 (e.g., Bagozzi & Yi, 2012). In general, the indices demonstrated an adequate fit, which leads to the next step of the hypotheses testing.

As revealed in Figure 1, information mixing truth and rumor had a significant and positive influence on respondents' authoritative response dissociation ( $\beta=0.55$ ,  $t = 8.88$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ) and social movement participation ( $\beta=0.41$ ,  $t = 4.12$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ). In addition, information mixing truth and rumor had a negative and significant impact on respondents' government trust ( $\beta=- 0.50$ ,  $t = - 11.38$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ). Their authoritative response dissociation also influenced their social movement participation significantly and positively ( $\beta=0.40$ ,  $t = 3.59$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ). Furthermore, respondents' government trust had a negative and significant impact on social movement participation ( $\beta=- 0.18$ ,  $t = - 2.87$ ,  $\rho < .01$ ), indicating that a lower degree of government trust prompted more social movement participation. Therefore, the five hypotheses were supported.



**Figure 1.** Structural model. OITR for organization information mixing truth & rumor; IITR for individual information mixing truth & rumor; HCT for Hung case trust; GAT for general attitude trust; SD for system dissociation; PD for professional dissociation; RP for resource participation; SP for street participation.

$X^2 / df = 6.11$ ;  $CFI = 0.96$ ;  $NNFI = 0.95$ ;  $RMSEA = 0.08$ ;  $SRMR = 0.05$ ;  
 \*\*\* $p < .001$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

### Answering the Research Questions

How do information mixing truth and rumor, authoritative response dissociation, and government trust have an effect on social movement participation individually and totally? This question was answered by examining the direct, indirect, and total effects stemming from the methodology of path analysis using path tracing rules.



**Table 2.** Effect between constructs and two social movement participation factors.

		ITR	ARD	GT	SMP
ARD	Direct	0.55 <sup>***</sup>	---	---	---
	Indirect	---	---	---	---
	Total	0.55 <sup>***</sup>	---	---	---
GT	Direct	-0.50 <sup>***</sup>	---	---	---
	Indirect	---	---	---	---
	Total	-0.50 <sup>***</sup>	---	---	---
SMP	Direct	0.41 <sup>***</sup>	0.40 <sup>***</sup>	-0.18 <sup>**</sup>	---
	Indirect	0.31 <sup>***</sup>	---	---	---
	Total	0.72 <sup>***</sup>	0.40 <sup>***</sup>	-0.18 <sup>**</sup>	---
RP	Direct	---	---	---	0.34 <sup>***</sup>
	Indirect	0.19 <sup>**</sup>	0.14 <sup>*</sup>	-0.06 <sup>n.s.</sup>	---
	Total	0.19 <sup>**</sup>	0.14 <sup>*</sup>	-0.06 <sup>n.s.</sup>	0.34 <sup>***</sup>
SP	Direct	---	---	---	0.88 <sup>***</sup>
	Indirect	0.47 <sup>***</sup>	0.35 <sup>***</sup>	-0.16 <sup>**</sup>	---
	Total	0.47 <sup>***</sup>	0.35 <sup>***</sup>	-0.16 <sup>**</sup>	0.88 <sup>***</sup>

Note.\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; n.s.  $p > .05$

ITR for information mixing truth & rumor; ARD for authoritative response dissociation; GT for government trust; SMP for social movement participation; RP for

resource participation; SP for street participation

Table 2 shows, on the construct level, that information mixing truth and rumor exerts both a significant direct ( $\beta=0.41$ ,  $t = 4.12$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ) and indirect influence ( $\beta = 0.31$ ,  $t = 3.31$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ) through authoritative response dissociation, and government trust on social movement participation, resulting in a significant total effect size of the social movement triangles ( $\beta = 0.72$ ,  $t = 12.14$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ). Authoritative response dissociation and government trust also exercise a significant direct influence on social movement participation ( $\beta=0.40$ ,  $t = 3.59$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ;  $\beta=-0.18$ ,  $t = -2.87$ ,  $\rho < .01$ ). However, the influence from the latter is negative, indicating that the lower peoples' trust in the government is, the more they will take part in social movements.

Furthermore, based on the construct level of Figure 1, there are two mediators playing a role in the link between information mixing truth and rumor and social movement participation : one is the authoritative response dissociation and the other is government trust. By calculating the path effect value from information mixing truth and rumor to the social movement participation via authoritative response dissociation ( $0.55 \times 0.40 = 0.22$ ,  $\rho < .01$ ), and from information mixing truth and rumor to the social movement participation via government trust ( $-0.55 \times -0.18 = 0.09$ ,  $\rho > .05$ ), the findings reveal that authoritative response dissociation plays an important and significant mediating role with respect to information mixing truth and rumor.

In terms of the influence on the endogenous observed measured variables, Table 2 demonstrates that street participation ( $\beta=0.47$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ) shares the larger effect compared with resource participation ( $\beta=0.19$ ,  $\rho < .01$ ) from information mixing truth and rumor; on street participation ( $\beta=0.35$ ,  $\rho < .001$ ) and resource participation ( $\beta=0.14$ ,  $\rho < .05$ ) from authoritative response dissociation; on street participation ( $\beta = -0.16$ ,  $\rho < .01$ ), and a negative insignificant effect on resource participation ( $\beta = -0.06$ ,  $\rho > .05$ ) from government trust. In other words, information mixing truth and rumor can significantly predict whether the public took part in both resource and street participation, as can authoritative response dissociation. However, the predictions from government trust were observed only with respect to street participation, not resource participation.

The second research question is : How does the effect from military experience will differ in each hypothesis?

**Table 3.** Differences between military experiences on structural weight.

Structural path	Structural weight		t-value
	yes	no	
Information mixing truth & rumor→ authoritative response dissociation	0.71***	0.40***	2.40*
Information mixing truth & rumor→ government trust	-0.58***	-0.44***	2.91**
Information mixing truth & rumor→ social movement participation	0.66***	0.22**	10.53***
Authoritative response dissociation→ social movement participation	0.21**	0.26***	1.45 <sup>n.s.</sup>
Government trust→ social movement participation	-0.25***	-0.01 <sup>n.s.</sup>	5.21***

Note : \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; n.s.  $p > .05$

The multiple-group analysis AMOS 8.0 was performed in order to find answers. Table 3 highlights a couple of findings. First, it shows that respondents with military experience had significant higher weight than those without military experience, to accelerate the effect from information mixing truth & rumor to authoritative response dissociation ( $t=2.40$ ,  $p < .05$ ), to government trust ( $t=2.91$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and to social movement participation ( $t = 10.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ); from government trust to social movement participation ( $t=5.21$ ,  $p < .001$ ). However, the significant different pattern does not observe in the path from authoritative response dissociation to social movement participation ( $t=1.45$ ,  $p > .05$ ). This means that how to respond and correct misinformation from high-ranking officers is so important that whether or not respondents served in military mattered little. Second, it further reveals that a significant moderating effect only happened on the path from government trust to social movement participation (yes,  $\beta = -0.25$ ,  $p < .001$  vs. no,  $\beta = -0.01$ ,  $p > .05$ ). It means that the original significant influence in the Figure 1 ( $\beta = -0.18$ ,  $t = -2.87$ ,  $p$

< .01) only occurred with respect to respondents who had once served in the military.

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

Based on the case of a soldier's death in Taiwan, the purpose of this study has been to examine the dynamics of social movements. Much like the model of fire triangles, we conceptualized the triangles of social movements that account for the lion's share of the 72% variance. Of the triangles, information mixing truth& rumor plays the most affective and devastating role in social movement participation, driving much more people to join street demonstrations rather than to donate their food, money, and so on ( $\beta=0.47$ ,  $\rho < .001$  vs. $\beta=0.19$ ,  $\rho < .01$ ). The findings further highlight four essentials that are worthwhile to mention. First, the Internet is not simply a tool that makes it easy for rumors to circulate, but also a mill that cooks up a story with only a partial-truth ingredient, which is in line with findings concerning factitious informational blends (FIB) by Rojecki and Meraz (2014). For example, in the current case, it is true that the Army sergeant took Hung to the military hospital for a health and physical exam, but it is a falsehood and a piece of misinformation to say that the Army sergeant bought drinks as a bribe to a nurse the sergeant knew at the military hospital to speed up the health and physical evaluation process, so that Hung could be thrown into the brig as soon as possible. Given the Internet's omnipresence and its hold over the society in Taiwan, information mixing truth & rumor shapes people's judgments, like a popular saying : "While truth is still tying its shoelaces, rumor has already run a whole lap around the world." If false rumors, in the long run, became a true story in the finish line, it will be a disaster for any organization.

Second, research indicates that it can be a challenge to sort fact from fiction on the Internet, especially concerning issues involving the government and politics; therefore, debunking rumors right away is crucial to misinformation management. Rebutting misinformation is important, but it is more important in terms of how to correct or explain them with a sincere, professional and persuasive argument based on the excellent capacity of public conception research, due to authoritative response dissociation, not only as an important mediator for the information mixing truth & rumor. Also, it overwhelms the influence on social movement participation, both with respect to people who once served in military and those who did not. Otherwise, like putting out fire with gasoline, an online backfire triggered by response

dissociation not only provokes people to join the movement with anger, but also make more people put their faith in false rumors. In light of this, the selection and training of high quality spokesmen is critical for government-related institutes.

Third, previous research generally suggests that allocating funds and mobilizing resources is easier than encouraging protesters to march onto the streets or sit in before City Hall for a social movement organization to obtain (e.g., Piven & Cloward, 1991). However, our findings point out a reverse tendency indicating that street participation is more easily prompted than resource participation. The main reason could be the public's irritation is so overwhelming that demonstrations are only way to show their determination, courage, and to show that they are united enough to overcome all the obstacles to demand military reform, especially since the demonstrations are broadcasted via the mass media in the 17th most densely populated country in the world. Another reason could be that the sample over-represents those who are politically active due to the snowball sampling and the site of the major movement organization.

Fourth, the experience of having served in the military does matter; it particularly plays an essential moderator role on the influence from government trust on movement participation. Table 3 highlights that people with a low level of government trust are significantly more likely to participate in a social movement, but this only applies with respect to people who once served in military. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is half supported. DiFonzo (2013) suggested that greater trust dampens negative rumors and enhances the effectiveness of rumor refutations or responses. However, people in Taiwan did not trust the government and the military ( $M = 2.37$ ,  $SD = 0.94$ ) to handle the Hung case fairly and honestly, with a significantly low score against the medium of 3.5 ( $t = -28.19$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The mistrust could result from the bad military experience, and from negative reports in recent years, including accidents during military exercises, publicized accusations of sexual harassment, suicides of soldiers, and officer corruption. In light of this, how to earn back public trust and build up an environment that generates positive experiences in the military is a burning question for the military and the government.

In the end, the results of this study must be evaluated within the context of its limitations. Besides the plausible oversampling, the case relates to Taiwan and the respondents were sampled from Taiwan; therefore, the confirmation of the extent to which these findings can be generalized will require more research on different

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countries, especially since, as DiFonzo (2013) indicates, “rumor research can douse digital wildfires” (p. 135).

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**Appendix.** Measurement items.

Construct	Factor	Item wording	Item label
Information mixing truth & rumor (ITR)	Organization (OITR)	Hung was murdered to protect a dark secret of corruption in the military.	OITR1
		Critical segments of all 16 closed-circuit television (CCTV) recordings that recorded Hung in detention were erased by military tampering.	OITR2
	The Taiwanese government has offered compensation of NT\$100 million (US\$3.34 million) for Hung's death.	OITR3	
	Hung tampered with the document of his physical training assessment.	OITR4	
	Individual ITR (IITR)	Sergeant Fan is illegally selling military equipment and dumping unsold parts into a lake.	IITR1
		Sergeant Fan is the boss of the military mafia and a drug dealer at the Army base.	IITR2
		Sadistic Army sergeants bought drinks as a bribe to a nurse they knew at the military hospital to speed up the health and physical evaluation process so that Hung could be thrown into the brig as soon as possible.	IITR3
Authoritative response dissociation (ARD)	System dissociation (SD)	Key video footage recorded while Hung was in confinement was erased by military personnel to cover up the improper treatment of Hung.	SD1

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		Military infighting between high-ranking generals	SD2
		Hung's military diary was missing.	SD3
		Chief military prosecutor Major General Tsao denied media allegations that Hung had been tortured to death.	SD4
	Professional dissociation (PD)	Military confinement will be abolished.	PD1
		Hung will receive a death benefit and an annual pension for death in the line of duty.	PD2
		Hung will be awarded the Medal of Honor.	PD3
		A three-star Army Commander will be punished.	PD4
Government trust (GT)	Hung case trust (HCT)	To what extent do you think you can trust the military to do what is right in the Hung case?	HCT1
		To what extent do you think you can trust the government to do what is right in the Hung case?	HCT2
	General attitude trust (GAT)	In general, how much of the degree is your attitude toward the government?	GAT1
		In general, how much of the degree is your attitude toward the military?	GAT2
Social movement participation (SMP)	Resource participation (RP)	Donate materials (food, bottled water, banner, etc.) to an activist organization	RP1
		Donate money to an activist organization	RP2

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	Volunteer for an activist organization	RP3
Street participation (SP)	Participate in the street activities (protest, rally, demonstration, etc.)	RP4

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