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The Appropriation of Traditional Media Contents in Online Contexts:
A South Korean Case Study of an Emerging Social Movement

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Communication

by

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June 2017

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May 2017

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by

Yoori Yang

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ABSTRACT

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by

Yoori Yang

This study examines social media activity on Facebook, Twitter, and Blog during the 2015 South Korean protest movement against state history textbooks. The Thesis seeks to understand motives and implications of appropriation by activists. Appropriation refers to the transference of traditional media content into social media messaging. The findings suggest that there is greater appropriation on social media platforms than the theory of connective action suggests. Activists utilize traditional media content rather than personalized action frames in order to increase responsiveness in the volatile protest environment, be competitive amongst the large and rapid flows of information, and enhance their own credibility and legitimacy.

The study uses a mixed method approach. Content analysis was used to analyze social media data produced between October 4th to November 7th, 2015, the peak of the civil protest against the South Korean government's textbook policy. Data were collected from three social media platforms: Twitter, Facebook and Blog. Twenty-eight in-depth interviews were conducted with activists who participated in the movement against the government. Trend analysis was used to compare changes in public opposition to the textbooks with the

appropriation by activists. The findings suggest that activists appropriated traditional media contents more than their own personally devised original contents. Interviews suggest that a primary force behind the appropriation was activists' motivation to communicate credibility and legitimacy. However, platform type made a difference in how often they appropriated and what contents they used for the appropriation. The results suggest that the *spirit* of each platform, i.e. perceived features, was closely associated with appropriation choices. Content type also was related to the frequency of activists' involvement in appropriation. Activists' prior experiences and familiarity with appropriating the different content types mediated the frequency of appropriation. Trend analysis showed a generally positive relationship between negative public opinion and appropriation activities, most especially for younger activists.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

With the emergence of new media and digital ubiquity, much of collective action research has focused on individualized and personalized action frames that enable massive decentralized and global protest movements (Costanza-Chock, 2011). These movements are grounded in what Bennett and Segerberg (2012) term “the logic of connective action” (see also Bennett, 2012; Bennett & Segerberg, 2011; Bennett, Segerberg, & Walker, 2014; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011). “Connective action” captures the mobility, personalization of messages, and networking abilities enabled by peer-production using digital technologies and digital culture, which empower individuals to engage in new forms of democratic actions and increase their voices (Bimber, Flanagin & Stohl, 2012; Chen, 2014; Earl & Kimport, 2008; Juris, 2005; Qiu, 2008; Qiu, 2014). This is different from the logic of collective action, which suggests that strong organizational identities constitute and coordinate collective movements. Connective action is far more individualized, without being constrained to collective identity framing or requiring organizational resources (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

However, other studies open up to possibilities that not all of the individual productions in connective action online are uniquely personal and original. Some studies suggest that even with the emergence of new digital cultures, the role of more traditionally mainstream mass media in social movements should not be neglected (Lee & Ting, 2015; Theocharis, 2013). Qiu and Loader (2015), for example, suggest that it is important to understand the connection between traditional media and digital media, and that traditional media may become “the cornerstone of new digital formations” (p. 2). As online users bring

contents from traditional media into online discussions, the contents can help create new communicative dynamics that help the users connect with one another. Research has shown, for example, that discussions about traditional radio contents on Twitter by listeners can result in social, cultural and affective capital depending on how the users choose to discuss the contents (Bonini, Caliandro, & Massarelli, 2015).

The underlying question this thesis addresses is whether traditional media contents can play a critical role in the online organizing and influence the dynamics of connective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). The idea of using traditional media contents on personal posts to engage in communicative practices online suggests that individuals still rely on organizational resources – in this case, the contents produced by traditional media outlets – to engage in peer-production. Understanding the usage of traditional media contents in the peer-production and networked practices will help identify a hybrid of the logic of connective action that emphasizes personalized action frames and the logic of collective action that focuses the roles of organizational identities and resources in social movements.

This study explores how traditional media contents and forms were appropriated online in a recent series of massive South Korean collective action which began in 2015. Appropriation refers to the transference of traditional media content into social media messaging. In late 2015, the South Korean government officially announced its intention to publish a single state history textbook to replace all privately published history textbooks in all secondary schools across the country. This decision was seen by many as a threat to the free exchange of ideas and an act of political authoritarianism. It reflected the authorities' attempts to enforce a specific national identity favorable to the government's political

ideologies and goals. Since 2010 and the protests associated with the Arab Spring, digital media have played a large part in international and national movements and changes of regimes throughout the world. By investigating how the activists appropriated traditional media contents in their online movements and activities in South Korea, the study will help shed light on emerging forms of national online protest movements.

Specifically, looking at the South Korean textbook protest movement will help illuminate the role traditional media content plays in a massive online social movement associated with individualized connective action and networking. A focus on appropriation challenges the conception that connective action consists solely of personalized productions that are independent of organizational agency. Rather, a literature review suggests that 1) as activists strive to be responsive in the volatile environment, they may begin to rely on materials already available in the form of previously created content, 2) as activists attempt to be competitive amongst the large and rapid flows of information, they are likely to utilize contents that they believe will increase audience engagement, and 3) greater credibility of message content is often delivered by the appropriated contents' immunity to manipulation and association with expertise. These conclusions suggest three overarching hypotheses and two research questions about the relationship between online activism and the appropriation of traditional media content. The first hypothesis – *H1: (a) Social media posts are more likely to contain appropriated contents than original contents only, but (b) the frequency of appropriation will vary by platform types* – leads to the first research question – *RQ1: How will activists' engagement in appropriation vary by platform types?* The second hypothesis – *H2: The frequency of appropriation will vary across the content types* – leads to the second research question – *RQ2: Why do activists have different content preferences when they*

engage in appropriation? The third hypothesis addresses the relationship between emerging public opinion and appropriation – *H3: The appropriation of traditional media contents will be closely associated with the changes in public opinion.* A review of literature will develop and refine the three hypotheses and two research questions; in Chapter 2, the case and the methods used for the study will be explained; in Chapter 3, the results will be discussed; and in Chapter 4, discussion and future directions for research will be presented.

Literature Review

As suggested in the introduction, despite the fascination with new digital forms, several studies still identify traditional media forms and content as a strategic choice (Lee & Ting, 2015; Theocharis, 2013). A study by Theocharis (2013) for example found that activists participating in Occupation movement used newspaper articles and narratives, tagged as press-releases, as the predominant informative feature on their websites. Lee & Ting (2015) suggest that activists perceive traditional media as information sources that have higher credibility than online media for getting an overview of the public sentiment of the movement. But how such media interact with new digital forms and connective action is still unclear.

Connective Action

Bennett and Segerberg's (2012) study on "connective action" suggests that online participants of contemporary social movements are able to use personalized messages and actions to form concerted action. Digital media are used as organizing agents. In contrast, traditional collective action involves coordinated protest activities by already established

activist groups and is constituted by strong organizational identities. In connective action, personal actions can take the form of crowd-enabled organizing and mass movements under the stitching mechanisms of peer-production. The three stitching mechanisms – production, curation and dynamic integration – help explain how stitching technologies like Twitter can allow broader crowds to connect with each other and form networked organizational movements. Individuals engaged in “production” would create or publicize various kinds of digital resources by posting texts, photos and other contents on their personal social media pages. “Curation” preserves and maintains digital assets through distributing and sharing contents that have been generated in the production process. “Dynamic integration” circulates contents across platforms, for example, by tweeting or retweeting links to other websites (Bennett, Segerberg, & Walker, 2014).

In explaining the stitching mechanisms, Bennett et al. (2014) emphasize personalized messaging as the primary means of resource contribution in connective action, even though they acknowledge that the contributions do not necessarily have to be original. The two main ways of contributing content resources in Twitter, for example, are message texts and links to contents on other platforms. Bennet et al. (2014) found that in the Occupy movement, there was a larger proportion of links to personal contents, such as blogs or Youtube videos, than to links that appropriated traditional legacy news contents.

However, other studies suggest that individuals’ contributions to connective action may consist of a significant amount of appropriated traditional media contents. Some scholars suggest that online users today often engage in forwarding and transmitting messages and materials that are produced by conventional mass media (Lee & Chan, 2015). In a study by Enli and Skogerbo (2013), nearly half of all posts on Facebook and Twitter in

the context of political campaigns contained links, and a large proportion of the links led to traditional media coverage of the candidates' campaigns. They also found that many politicians used social media to post news stories from traditional media and added their personal comments to them.

Appropriation in the Context of Digital Ubiquity

Thus we see that there is research to suggest that in a digitally ubiquitous environment, activists seek to incorporate the content and frames of issues presented by the traditional media news into their personalized posts, thus obscuring the boundaries between connective and collective action. Bimber et al. (2012), for example, suggest that the blurring of boundaries between formal organization and self-organization, and between membership and autonomy weakens the distinction between organizational action frames and individual action frames. Ganesh and Stohl (2013) also suggest that it is difficult to identify and define a single movement frame in a contemporary social movement. Multiple frames and actions, whether organizationally controlled or personalized, can coexist in a chaotic manner. Thus, we can conclude that personalized and organizationally controlled frames can coexist in personal messages, and that individuals may present and modify their personal frames by appropriating organizationally produced frames. In doing this, they may seek to benefit from any desirable organizational property, value or quality unique to traditional media outlets.

The Online Environment

Several studies suggest that the increasingly volatile online environment with large flows of information and messages have also significantly changed how individuals

perceived and what they expected from social media. A study by Ganesh and Stohl (2013) found that protesters in the era of digital ubiquity find it difficult to identify the specific sources to the information they learned in particular online contexts, even just as compared to offline messaging. They argue that in today's media environment, individuals experience digital media as a continuous flow of messages that exists everywhere around them rather than as discrete message sources. The continuous message and information encounter that online users experience today creates a perception that social media is an arena in which information is constantly and instantaneously available. In circumstances where information producers must meet the demands for consistent information flow, they may need to raise the pace at which they contribute to the information pool and to meet their audiences' expectations for constant and prompt availability of information.

The rapid production, dissemination, reception and curation of messages and information online have become ubiquitous components of our daily activities. Zuniga, Garcia-Perdomo and McGregor (2015), for example, report that people perceive the online environment as an efficient context for the provision of resources that supplement and contextualize the knowledge and information they gain offline. They find that people perceive the online environment as an arena of wide ranging news from various sources to turn to for additional information and discussions. Moreover, people no longer solely rely on a particular mainstream or online source for information, but rather prefer to draw from various sources to complete their understanding and make senses of the issues of their interests. Information consumers expect to quickly find and share information online to fulfill their needs.

The fast paced and volatile social media environment puts a great deal of pressure on activists to respond quickly with sufficient amounts of information and persuasive contents that their audiences expect from their online activities. Ghose and Han (2009), based on economic theories explaining people's tendencies to allocate limited resources, argue that online users who experience time constraints develop specific online information sharing activities that are shaped by the amount of time they perceive themselves to have. Because of the rapid speed at which information is distributed and shared among the users, activists are limited in time for presenting themselves as competitive participants and leaders of information sharing online. Lee and Ting (2015) suggest that information consumers' preferences for social media usage for obtaining news and information are mainly shaped by the ease, convenience and fast update on information online. Information producers, therefore, may be pressured to provide information in a manner that meets their audiences' expectations to quickly obtain information. In order to meet such expectations for speed and responsiveness in volatile conditions, online activists would likely engage in the appropriation of traditional media contents. Without having to explain or summarize what an issue is about with their own composition of words, activists can simply share contents like a hyperlink to a news article or images from news coverage to provide context or a basis at which they can formulate their personalized arguments.

Audience Engagement

The increased demands to address online information consumption expectations and trends pose many challenges for engaging audiences. Chaffee and Metzger (2001) suggest that the emergence of contemporary media enables users to take control over content

creation and selection as they facilitate the transmission and retrieval of a large quantity of information. Information consumers often practice control and selectivity over large amounts of information available online based on the consistency between the information and their own beliefs (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009). The features offered by digital technologies, such as the ability to scroll through a massive amount of information at a fast pace or browse the web, allow online users to easily engage in this selective process. Mullainathan and Schleifer (2005) suggest that in the context of political news seeking, news consumers select news based on their political preferences, which in turn motivates news organizations to cater to their viewers. Thus, information-providers must seek effective ways of enhancing the quality and appeal of their posts to make their messages attractive and engaging. Such efforts may involve not only creating original contents, but also appropriating external contents that could lend greater power to their voices.

Credibility

As activists strive to increase the competitiveness of information presentation to their audiences on social media, credibility of the content becomes important. Online users today tend to reduce their uncertainty about the complexity of information available to them by resorting to ratings, opinions or recommendations made by other users or content generators (Flanagin & Metzger, 2013). Flanagin and Metzger (2013) suggest that users tend to seek signals of expertise when seeking information online. Based on signaling theory (Donath, 2007) and the warranting principle (Walther & Parks, 2002), they argue that expertise and credibility can be established by perceived immunity to manipulation – the warranting values. The perceived warranting value of information would help legitimize and

authenticate information online (DeAndrea, 2014). Studies suggest that information consumers tend to evaluate information produced by third parties as having higher levels of warranting values than self-claims, because people are thought to have less direct control over what others say (Walther, Van Der Heide, Kim, Westerman, & Tong, 2008). They suggest that contents from external sources like the traditional media can act as the warranting cues for legitimizing individuals' messages and claims.

While exploring signals of credibility online, Flanagin and Metzger (2013) acknowledge that traditional expert sources should not be overlooked. A large volume of the news contents from professional news outlets, which contain signals of expertise, are widely accessible on social media as individuals actively distribute them for the purpose of information sharing. Traditional media contents carry several traits that carry signals of expertise and signs of credibility. The contents in professional news articles, for example, cannot be altered by any ordinary individual who is not the author or the editor of the article. The news produced by a traditional news media outlet provides the "facts" that are unlikely to be manipulated by ordinary readers, as the legitimacy of the content is confirmed by gatekeepers and professional fact-checkers. Past research suggests that information producers online perceive credibility as crucial when communicating to their audiences (Hajli, Sims, Featherman, & Love, 2015). By engaging in appropriation, activists online may be attempting to add a sign of expertise and legitimacy in their own posts.

Activists also may appropriate traditional media contents to enhance source credibility of their information and messages. Hovland, Janis, and Kelly (1953) identify perceived trustworthiness and expertise as the main criteria that make an audience view a source as credible. Content would be judged more favorably when made by a communicator

of high credibility than by one of low credibility. Jucks and Thon (2017) suggest that by attributing arguments to a particular expert source, online users can validate their trustworthiness and their arguments with higher credibility and strength. On Twitter, for example, perceived credibility of messages can be established by the presence of links to reputable news sources (Castillo, Mendoza, & Poblete, 2013). The reputation that particular sources have as accurate fact-providers may act as a heuristic cue that helps evaluate the credibility of online messages (Metzger, Flanagin, & Medders, 2010). By appropriating traditional media contents that are perceived to be immune to manipulation and are high on source credibility, activists can adopt the perceived credibility of the news outlets and make it their own to become credible information contributors.

The “Spirit of Platform”

While prior research suggests that the appropriation of traditional media contents will be desirable in contemporary social movements due to the need for rapid information consumption, the need for audience engagement and the perceived credibility of traditional media contents that could fulfill those needs, activists may not engage in the appropriation at equal frequency on all social media platforms. Past research suggests that each platform has a specific identity or underlying perceived features that seem to guide the communicative practices of users (Rice, Evans, Pearce, Sivunen, Vitak, & Treem, 2017). Ngai, Tao and Moon (2015) explain the differences in the features and usage of different social media platforms, suggesting that various social media tools are “designed and tailored for different purposes and target groups” (p. 37), and can “yield different results by virtue of their nature, content and characteristics” (p. 38). DeSanctis and Poole (1994) take this notion of

distinctions in the usage of social media technologies further by recognizing the existences of specific usages and identities associated with different platforms. They posit that the “spirit” embedded in technology – “the general intent with regard to values and goals underlying a given set of structural features” (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994, p.126) – can influence the outcomes of technology use. The spirit of technology is “a property of the technology as it is presented to users” (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994, p.126), and people may appropriate a system’s features in a manner “consistent with the spirit and structural feature design” (Desanctis and Poole, 1994, p.130). These studies suggest that perceived features and the embedded spirit of technology of each platform may determine the outcomes in the users’ appropriation of traditional media contents.

Taken together, studies also suggest that appropriated contents can serve multiple purposes within the social media context. Moreover in contexts, such as the South Korean textbook controversy, where the political and protest environment is rapidly changing, credibility of anti-government sources is in question, and there are multiple demands for audience attention. Therefore, appropriated media content from traditional sources may be extremely useful and enable online activists to engage social media users more effectively. While the appropriation may prove useful for activists to present themselves as competitive information providers and persuaders, the extent to which activists will find the appropriation useful and effective may vary by which social media platform they are using. Considering that the embedded identities, or the “spirit” of social media platforms, may vary depending on their properties and features, activists’ engagement in the appropriation activities may differ by the platform types. This leads to the first hypothesis and the first research question.

H1: (a) Social media posts are more likely to contain appropriated content than original contents only, but (b) the frequency of appropriation will vary by platform types.

RQ1: How will activists' engagement in appropriation vary by platform types?

Types of Appropriated Traditional Media Contents

This study will look at four different types of traditional media contents that could potentially be appropriated – hyperlinks, images, mashups and direct references. These four types of appropriated contents may fulfill activists' needs for making speedy responses to the volatile online environment that demands rapid information sharing and consumption. Because all of these four types of contents are readily available in the online database and the online news media outlets, activists are able to use them in a timely manner.

The four content types can be instrumental in effectively engaging the audiences. Sams and Park (2014) suggest that hyperlinks on public web spaces are used for drawing attention to less diffused information that may be potentially noteworthy. Hyperlinks can be used as agents of attraction amongst large flows of information. This suggests that hyperlinks to online news articles may be used to draw attention to news that might otherwise be difficult to access. In addition to sharing the links to the articles, some people may even make direct references to the news articles by taking quotes to emphasize certain information from the news, attracting readers to click on the hyperlinks. Delicath and Deluca (2003) argue that visual images help people make sense of the news, grab public's attention and reach the largest possible audiences, appealing to distracted and disinterested audiences. The use of visual images have long been a common tactic used by advocacy organizations and have become an important part of argumentative practices. In the contemporary media

environment, mashups – a combination of disconnected information taken from multiple different sources and contexts into a coherent meaningful whole – have become an important tool of visualization (Jackson, 2007). The benefits of combined images in the form of mashups can grab audiences’ attention and deliver messages quickly at a glance.

Hyperlinks to news articles online have several characteristics that could be presented as signals of credibility. Ackland, Gibson, Lusoli and Ward (2010) explain that hyperlinks can magnify the significance of a message to other users. Hyperlinks to news articles, for example, can amplify the perceived importance of an issue by linking the readers to a larger amount of information available on a news platform. Himmelboim, Gleave, and Smith (2009) also propose that hyperlinks could be used for source identification. For example, discussion catalysts – those who initiate discussions – on newsgroup websites use URLs to identify the sources of the information they import from traditional news organizations into their message contents. These findings suggest that hyperlinks can be a signal of high source credibility if they are linked to a source with which people have previously established trust.

Variation in Appropriation Type by Effort Expectancy

Literature suggests that different types of traditional media contents may be appropriated at different frequencies, depending upon the perceived effort required for each type of appropriation. Effort expectancy is defined as the degree of ease associated with the use of a system in carrying out an activity (Venkatesh, Morris, Davis, & Davis, 2003). What determines the level of effort expectancy associated with the use of technological devices is the amount of prior experiences and knowledge associated with the similar usage

of the technology. The higher the levels of its perceived effort expectancy, the more likely people are to engage in the same usage of the technology in the future (Oh, Lehto, & Park, 2009). This suggests the possibility that the decisions to appropriate each content type may be determined by the perceived effort expectancy of the appropriation based on prior experiences. The act of appropriation involves using technological features offered by the social media and being familiar with the algorithms offered by the social media platforms that enable the appropriation. Because the skills and experiences that are needed for appropriation may vary by the types of contents shared, the perceived ease of engaging in each type of appropriation based on familiarity and prior experiences may also vary. The differences in prior experiences and in effort expectancy would affect the activists' decisions to engage in each appropriation type with different frequency. Based on the low likelihood that every individual has equal experiences and familiarity with all types of appropriations, the second hypothesis and research question are devised.

H2: The frequency of appropriation will vary across the content types.

RQ2: Why do activists have different content preferences when they engage in appropriation?

Relationship to Public Opinion

Information sharing activities and content production can not only satisfy the users' desires to enhance their knowledge and networking, but can inform the users about the public sentiment and opinion. By pointing to how social media may be reflective of the overall public sentiment, studies suggest there is a close association between social media activities and public opinion. Ceron, Curini, Iacus and Porro (2013) argue that as citizens increasingly express their opinions online, social media analysis may be able to predict

sentiments, such as electoral results, and be used for monitoring public opinion. Because social media have become the means through which people can share their opinions about everyday issues, they are now perceived as rich data sources for public sentiment analysis that are almost as accurate as traditional mass surveys (Bollen, Mao, & Zeng, 2011; Ceron et al., 2013; Kontopoulos, Berberidis, & Dergiades, 2013; Oliveira, Bermejo, & Santos, 2016). In other words the production of posts on social media, including the volume of production and the contents used, are closely related to and can reflect the overall trend in the public opinion.

While past studies suggest that public opinion can be reflected by the contents produced on social media, others suggest that posts produced on social media can affect public opinion by influencing the online users. Lee and Ma (2012) suggest that news contents can have much more impact on civic agenda, public opinion and perception of social reality than other forms of content in social media. In other words, appropriation activities may shape actual public opinion in addition to reflecting it. As individuals express their opinions and positions online by means of appropriating traditional media contents that reflect their views, they may be influencing other users.

Past studies support the argument that there may exist a close positive association between the appropriation activities on social media and public opinion, based on two suggestions: 1) Social media can reflect the public sentiment (Bollen et al., 2011; Ceron et al., 2013; Kontopoulos et al., 2013; Oliveira et al., 2016), and 2) news contents shared on social media can affect the public opinion (Lee & Ma, 2012). In order to explore what this relationship may look like, this study observes whether the trends in the appropriation of traditional media contents positively relate to the trends in the changes observed in public

opinion. Exploring this relationship may help discern what implications connective action has in terms of reflecting and shaping the public opinion. Thus, the third hypothesis is addressed.

H3: The appropriation of traditional media contents will be closely associated with changes in public opinion.

CHAPTER 2

Global Context of the Textbook Case

History Textbooks and Political Socialization

Although secondary school textbooks are primarily known for transferring knowledge to students, studies have suggested that they may have more complex political implications, emphasizing their important roles in political socialization processes. Political socialization refers to a political learning process through which political norms and ideas are transmitted from generation to generation for the purpose of developing citizens who will function well and in conformity within a political society (Sigel, 1965). Niemi and Sobieszek (1977) suggest that most political socialization processes occur at the pre-adult age. The overall effect of political socialization is the stability and survival of an existing political system or regimes (Sigel, 1965). Dostie-Goulet (2009) suggests that educational environment, particularly history classes, contributes to the political socialization process by playing an important role influencing teenage students' political interests. Anyon (1978) also points to how social studies textbooks could be used to socialize students to accept the norms of the society, with politicized interpretations of social events. Palonsky (1987) suggests that in this socialization process, textbooks can deliver to students a single interpretation of issues and events that conforms to and is favorable to the existing political

atmosphere. Overall, it is clear that secondary school textbooks have important implications for how students will form political perceptions and develop their political interests so as to determine their political participation and citizenship as adults.

Textbooks are a tool of political socialization and can be used as an instrument for defining and shaping national identities. Estivalezes (2011) explains that the primary roles of history textbooks in this process are 1) to preserve and selectively transmit memories to students to help form a collective identity, and 2) communicate shared values that constitute citizenship. Thus, it is not surprising that textbook is considered “an instrument of power” (Estivalezes, 2011, p. 48) that is often subject to political and ideological discourse. Construction of curriculum is therefore “increasingly becoming a political affair” (Estivalezes, 2011, p. 47), often at the center of the dispute for defining the political goals of educational programs.

Global Significance of History Textbooks

Various cases in the global context suggest that secondary school textbooks, especially the social sciences and history textbooks, have been an important instrument for reaching political objectives, most especially maintaining the political ideologies held by the authorities in power and promoting a desired national identity. Post-Soviet nations, for example, use history textbooks for developing a strong and new national identity. Post-Soviet Ukraine, for example, uses history textbooks for nation-building politics and defining its national identity (Janmaat, 2004). The primary focus of the newly written textbooks’ historical narratives is to distinguish Ukrainians from the Russians. They justify the independence of the current state by emphasizing Ukrainian language as the foundation and

the identity marker of the nation. The texts also portray the Soviet regime as oppressive. Only one textbook is used per class throughout Ukraine. Similar to the case in Ukraine, Armenia also uses history textbooks to strengthen its post-Soviet independence and new national identity (Zolyan & Zakaryan, 2008). The history textbook in Armenia has therefore been going through a transition from presenting the old historical narrative based on Soviet paradigm to one that is focused on Armenian nation. They portray the Soviet empire in a negative light as an oppressive power, while positively presenting their self-image, primarily describing their struggles for national independence.

Because textbooks are important political instruments, government officials of nations often turn to revising or modifying textbooks in ways that would serve favorably to their political objectives and values. When the conservative Hindu Nationalist government, Bharatiya Janata Party, came into power in India in 2014, they formulated a new Indian education policy based on the recommendations made by Conservative pro-Hindu groups (Gahlot, 2015). The new policy would add religious studies as part of school curriculum and to rewrite every textbook to reflect national pride. Revisions were made to textbooks in India's primary and secondary schools to promote Hindu nationalism, spreading a Hindu nationalistic ideology (Kuronuma, 2016). Scholars criticize the revisions made to the contents of the textbooks, such as the replacement of certain words with Hindi terms and the description of a Hindu myth as a historical fact. They believe that the textbooks are generally distorted to lean towards the right. The textbook controversy in Texas, United States, similarly demonstrates that history textbooks can be customized to meet the political expectations and ideologies held by the state. In the case of Texas, the history textbooks in public high schools teach history that is consistent with conservative political views. Starting

in 2014, as part of the social studies curriculum that promotes capitalism and Republican political philosophies, the Texas Board of Education introduced new textbooks that downplayed slavery and its brutality as the cause of Civil War (Rockmore, 2015; Finger, 2015). The textbooks also distorted history by using language that moderated the treatment of slaves.

As suggested by these multiple cases in the global community, history textbooks are important instruments by which a government in power is able to socialize young students to collectively form or conform to a national identity that will maintain an existing political system and paradigm. Issues regarding the production or revision of history textbooks, therefore, are often at the center of political disputes related to the construction of the national identity. The South Korean state history textbook controversy exemplifies a case in which government authorities attempt to revise the representation of the nation's history to promote a national identity that will help them reach their political goals. The case also shows how citizens respond to the controversy with narratives that promote diversity of interpretations of history by means of a newly emerging form of online social movements. The South Korean case exemplifies the power demonstrated by citizens in their opposition to the authorities' attempts to impose a single view of history and political ideology, enabled by social media that allows for expressing a diversity of perspectives.

The Case

The “History Coup” in South Korea

On October 12th, 2015, the South Korean government officially announced its intentions to replace all privately published history textbooks in all secondary schools across

South Korea with a single state history textbook (Hwang & Jeon, 2015). This rationale for the government's plan was to correct the current privately published history textbooks that it believed were skewed towards the progressive perspectives. In reaction to this decree and the government's subsequent announcement that the state history textbooks would be completed by October, 2016, and be distributed to all secondary schools in the country in March, 2017 (Hwang & Jeon, 2015), a protest movement began. Enraged citizens from all kinds of student organizations, civil society groups, non-profit organizations and political groups came out to the streets to protest and started campaigns online and offline. Many online communities appeared on social network sites to coordinate protests and share information about the issue, and other individuals expressed their rage in their own personal social media pages. At the start of 2016, many protestors also began to take issue with the government's refusal to reveal the authors' names and the contents of the textbook, questioning why it was keeping the writing process rather secretive.

What made this textbook decision controversial was not only that such centralized action went against the principles of democracy by restricting citizens' freedom to learn history from various perspectives, but the decision was tied to previous similar and unpopular actions by a South Korean dictatorship. In February, 1974, the first state history textbook was distributed in South Korea. This occurred directly after President Chung-Hee Park, the current president Geun-Hye Park's father, brought in the Yushin Constitution into South Korea (Kim, 2015). The Yushin enabled him to practice infinite and absolute power over the nation and control over the legislative branch. For the next 37 years, state history textbooks replaced the privately published history textbooks that had been distributed throughout South Korea since 1895 (Kim, 2015). In 2011, the privately published history

textbooks were brought back when President Daejoong Kim's government – the first liberal party to be ruling since 1990 – initiated the change in 2002 (Kim, 2015; Kim, 2010).

The South Korean government's decision to issue a single state history textbook in 2015 was threatening to the citizens for many reasons. First, it raised suspicion that the government wanted to drill into citizens' minds its most favored conservative views to control citizens' political ideologies and restrict their freedom of thinking and expression. The chance was that a government-issued textbook would enable only those authors with a particular ideology to write all the content. In the South Korean context, this was especially troublesome to the citizenry because of the government's relationship to an organization of conservative "New Right" scholars that supported Park. Park and her government often showed approval and support for this organization, and this was made apparent, for example, when President Park appeared at the celebration of the New Right textbook launch in 2008. She noted that this textbook would serve as "the foundation for making Korea's proud history" (Lee, 2015, p. 1). The Chairman of National Institute of Korean History appointed to take charge of issuing the state history textbooks was also known for actively promoting the New Right history textbooks, despite their unpopularity amongst the general public (Lee, 2015). Therefore, when the conservative ruling party announced that it was time to make major changes to the current group of history textbook authors, the popular assumption was that the new group of authors would most likely comprise primarily of the New Right scholars.

Second, having a single source for all textbooks means that the content will be uniform and only parts of the history, that which the ruling party wants to be known, will be represented. Based on the contents in New Right history textbooks, South Korean citizens

predicted that the state history textbook would depict Japanese colonialism and President Chung-Hee Park and President Doo-Hwan Chun's dictatorial regimes from 1961 to 1988 in a positive light (Lee, 2015). History scholars suggested that the New Right textbooks justified Chung-Hee Park's Yushin regime by claiming that the colonialism and pro-Japanese policies were inevitable and necessary for a developing nation like South Korea. The textbooks also claimed that Park's regime contributed greatly to South Korea's modernization and economic development. The 5.16 military coup, led by Chung-Hee Park in 1961, was described as the starting point of modernization and economic revolution, without any mention that over 100 civilian protesters had been massacred on that same day in front of the Blue House (Lee, 2015). The violence at the 5.18 Protest in KwangJu against Chun's dictatorship in 1980 was moderated in description, even though it resulted in 191 deaths and 852 injuries ("5.18 KwangJu Democratization Movement," n.d.). The significance of civic actions and social movements was minimized overall to promote a national identity that was rooted in the rapid economic development with the start of Park's Yushin regime rather than in civilians' movements for national independence (Lee, Han, Lee, Cho, Han, Ahn, Lee, Lee, & Kim, 2016). Thus, it is not surprising that social movement participants termed the mandated adoption of state history textbook "the history-coup" (Choe, 2015), drawing comparison to the coup that signified the start of a long-combated dictatorship, a prolonged oppression on the citizens and the tragedies that followed.

In October, 2015, active opposition to the single textbook decree reached its peak through active marches, organized protests, and social media campaigns to raise public awareness about the history behind South Korea's state history textbooks, the dangers of the

hidden intentions of the government and the rationale for the need for a movement of opposition. To understand how traditional media influenced the social media campaigns, this study will 1) conduct content analyses of social media sites, including Twitter, Facebook and Blog, 2) interview activists regarding their uses of traditional media contents, and 3) look at public opinion polls regarding this controversy to evaluate relationship between activists' engagement in appropriation activities and changes in public opinion.

Methods

Sample

The study utilizes a mixed methods approach. The quantitative data were collected from social media, and the qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews were used for supplementing the quantitative data. A total of 3,790 posts were collected from three social media platforms – Twitter, Facebook and Blog. Specifically, 1,683 Twitter posts, 1,907 Facebook posts and 200 Blog posts were collected. Twenty-eight people from South Korea, who were activist members of organizations that opposed the South Korean state history textbooks or had some kinds of experiences participating in the movement, were interviewed.

Data Collection

The social media data were collected differently by the platform type. Crimson Hexagon is a social media analytics tool that enables researchers to extract public Twitter data over a select period of time and analyze the variations in their trends and sentiments. Using Crimson Hexagon, all Twitter posts in Korean with the keywords – “state

textbooks”(국정교과서), “Korean-history state textbooks” (한국사 국정교과서), “stop state textbooks” (국정화 저지), “oppose state textbooks” (국정화 반대) “oppose state Korean-history textbooks” (한국사 국정교과서 반대), “oppose state history textbooks” (국정교과서 반대) – which were produced between the first week of October, 2015, and the first week of November, 2015 (October 4th – November 7th, 2015) were collected. This period of time was selected because this was when the opposition movement was at its peak before the government confirmed its decision. Of the total of 84,035 Tweets that were extracted, 2% of the posts from each day were randomly sampled (1,683 Total).

Facebook posts, produced over the same period, were collected using NVivo. Because posts produced by personal accounts on Facebook were not accessible, the sample had to be collected from organizational or group pages or public newsfeeds accessible using the researcher’s personal account. The posts were collected from 36 Facebook pages and groups, which included news media pages (52 posts) and public pages of activist groups against the state history textbooks (1,519 posts). A total of 336 posts were collected from the newsfeeds, using the same keywords used for collecting Twitter posts. NVivo captured all the post in a spreadsheet which then could be used to identify the posts by their appropriated or non-appropriated original contents and to identify the appropriated posts by the types of contents used.

The Blog sample was developed by entering the same keywords as those used for Facebook and Twitter into the search engine of South Korea’s most popular portal site, Naver.com. Naver provides a ranked list of blogs based on their relevance to the topic

indicated by the keywords searched. The first 200 Blog posts represented those that showed the most relevance to the topic based on the number of the keywords that appeared. Each Blog was screenshot to be used for analyses.

The researcher identified whether the posts were appropriated from traditional media contents or only contained original contents. Traditional media content was operationalized as content produced by a professional media outlet with formal copyright, such as the news media content, broadcast material, magazine content or radio content. Many of the contents that were appropriated in this sample of posts were from online and offline news media outlets and broadcast news media. Original contents were operationalized as user-generated contents that were originally created by any ordinary online users solely using their original ideas, with no signs of referencing external, professional or traditional media sources.

The posts that appropriated traditional media contents were then identified according to which types of traditional media content it was – hyperlinks, mashups, images and direct references. When more than one type of content was present in the post, the post was coded for each. Thus a single post could have up to four identified traditional content types. Some posts, especially the Blog, had more than one type of content – a total of 3,065 traditional media contents were identified on the three platforms. Table 1 presents an example of each type.

Hyperlinks were operationalized as the URLs to online news articles. Mashups were operationalized as any combination of excerpts of images and words or texts taken from more than one source of traditional media, based on the definition provided by Jackson (2007) – a combination of disconnected information taken from multiple different sources and contexts into a coherent meaningful whole, enabled by digital technologies. An example

of mashups is the “cardnews” put together by the citizens, which is news put into a combination of images and texts usually visible at a single glance. Images are figures, pictures or any other visual contents, taken from a single source of traditional media content. Examples of images include images taken from news articles, image-news or “cardnews” produced by news media outlets, and screenshots of TV broadcast news. Direct references are any references to or use of words/texts/quotations/textual-excerpts from single traditional media content, with no visual aids. Examples of direct references include quotations taken from TV broadcast news media or news articles, and screenshots of texts from news articles.

The sample of interviewees was obtained through snowball-sampling. Interviewees were chosen based on their involvement in the textbook protest movement and their personal engagement in producing online messages regarding the protest either on Facebook, Twitter, or Blog. To begin, the researcher contacted participants of the protest through personal connections and was referred to five people who were involved in the protest and had related experiences online. After the interviews, the researcher was referred to a total of additional eight interviewees. Second, a search of activists groups on Facebook and independent activists among the bloggers, searched through Naver.com, yielded the names of 34 administrators and activists. These individuals were contacted through messaging tool provided on their group or individual pages. A total of 10 (29%) individuals responded and agreed to participate in the interviews. After the interviews, they referred the researcher to five additional interviewees who agreed to participate in the interviews.

The overall sample of 28 interviewees included 22 members of formal or current activist organizations or group pages on Facebook who had experiences posting on their

group pages and independently on their personal accounts. Others were social media users who only had personal experiences actively producing independent posts against this textbook edict. Nineteen interviewees were men and the other nine were women. It is not surprising that there were more men than women. This protest tended to attract a higher educated pool of political activists, including the historians and educators who were graduate-level students pursuing their Master's or Doctoral degrees, secondary school history teachers or university professors. In South Korea, although many women more recently began to pursue higher education, men still constitute the majority of the higher-educated population above college or university level (National Statistical Office, 2008). Indeed, a large proportion of my sample was composed of men pursuing their MA/PhD degrees in history, male history teachers in secondary schools and male history researchers, in addition to male undergraduate students in history or education majors. The majority of the sample was relatively young; half of the sample – 14 interviewees – was in their 20s, eight were in their 30s, and six were in their 40s and above. Even though the entire population in South Korea is now familiar with the usage of most social media platforms, the younger population is more adept at using online social resources and producing social media posts, and is exposed to larger pools of networks. Also, conducting social movements online is a relatively novel idea that started to emerge in the late 2000s with the fast growing popularity of social media, which explains why most of my interviewees who were familiar and comfortable with participating in online social movements were of the younger generation.

The specific interview questions addressed their reasons for participation, why they opposed the South Korean history textbooks, why they were active on social media and what

their motives were behind each type of appropriation. As they were asked about their motives behind appropriating traditional media contents, interviewees were shown examples of some posts they had posted for the movement where they appropriated traditional media contents. See Appendix A for the interview protocol.

Data Analysis

Three types of data analyses were conducted. Basic descriptive measures of frequency of appropriation of traditional media contents were calculated and compared across platforms and types of appropriations. Chi-square tests were then utilized to assess whether the different frequencies in the appropriation were systematic or simply what could be expected by chance. Further chi-square analysis was used to find the significance of the association between the platform types and the frequency of appropriation, as well as between the platform types and the types of appropriated contents. Chi-square analysis was also used to assess the significance of the different frequencies observed between the different types of appropriated contents.

Personal interviews were conducted in Korean and the discourse was transcribed by the researcher and a research assistant, both of whom are native Korean speakers. These interviews were conducted either face-to-face in South Korea or over the phone. The transcribed interviews were then analyzed to uncover 1) their past protests experiences both on or offline, 2) whether they were acting as an individual or a representative of an organized group or formal organization, 3) their reasons for participation, 4) their perception of the controversy and the public's reactions, 5) whether the interviewee has ever

appropriated traditional media content in their social media messaging, and 6) the interviewees' motives for appropriation of different types of contents.

Archival public opinion data were collected for the five-week period, between October 4th and November 7th, 2015. The public opinion poll data were provided by the Realmeter, a public opinion polling agency. The polls were made publicly available by media coverage. The polls, asking citizens whether they supported or opposed the state history textbooks, were conducted weekly over this period. These trends were compared to public opinion about President Park, produced over the same five-week period, to assess whether the trends in the public opposition to the textbooks were direct responses to their opinion about Park's performances.

The association between public opinion trends and traditional media appropriation was assessed by comparing the trend in the frequency of appropriation of contents that portrayed the textbook issue from critical perspectives to the changes in the public opinion polls for or against the state history textbooks over the five-week period. Although the posts in the sample were initially collected with keywords conveying negative sentiments about the textbooks, the researcher went through the sample again to make sure to filter only those that carried negative sentiments. The negative posts with appropriated contents were operationalized as posts that have texts or images that criticized any issues related to the textbooks and those that were produced with the intention of expressing negative views about the textbooks and support for the opposition movement. Many of these posts shared news contents that criticized the flaws of the state history textbooks and covered stories about the growth of the opposition movement, the intensity of the protests or statements made by the government officials who opposed the state history textbooks. Posts that

portrayed non-critical views of the textbooks mostly shared contents that covered stories about the support movement or about endorsements made by government officials or historians.

After the negatively framed posts were identified, the frequency of the production of these posts was then calculated per week over the five weeks. These results were compared to the weekly views of public opinion about the state history textbooks over the same period of time. The public opinion trends were also broken down by age group to observe whether the age of the population had any relationship to the association observed between the appropriation trend and the changes in public opinion.

Table 1

Examples of Social Media Posts on Four Platforms

	Hyperlink	Image	Mashup	Direct Reference
Twitter	<p>교양인문학 시선(국립중앙도서관) (@gylh11) 6 Nov 2015 역사, 문화, 정치, 사회, 경제, 교육, 예술, 과학, 기술, 환경 분야에 관심이 있는 분들에게는 꼭 읽어주세요. #역사 #문화 #정치 #사회 #경제 #교육 #예술 #과학 #기술 #환경</p> <p>정답: 1948년 8월 15일은 건국절로 기념되지 않는다. 대신 8월 29일 건국절로 기념된다.</p> <p>1948년 8월 15일은 건국절로 기념되지 않는다. 대신 8월 29일 건국절로 기념된다.</p>	<p>1974년 쿠사 국정교과서 반대서명 부활드립니다. RT해주세요. RT해주신 분들 중 한 분에게 운상 안경을 드리겠습니다. 꼭 부활드립니다.</p>	<p>1974년 쿠사 국정교과서 반대서명 부활드립니다. RT해주세요. RT해주신 분들 중 한 분에게 운상 안경을 드리겠습니다. 꼭 부활드립니다.</p>	<p>1948년 8월 15일은 건국절로 기념되지 않는다. 대신 8월 29일 건국절로 기념된다.</p> <p>1948년 8월 15일은 건국절로 기념되지 않는다. 대신 8월 29일 건국절로 기념된다.</p>
Facebook	<p>한국사 교과서 국정화를 반대하는 항쟁인 모임 November 5, 2015</p>	<p>한민양세 연구자 내트워크 shared a photo. October 28, 2015</p>	<p>한민양세 연구자 내트워크 shared a photo. October 28, 2015</p>	<p>한국사 교과서 국정화를 반대하는 항쟁인 모임 October 27, 2015</p>

CHAPTER 3

Results

The results are presented in three sections. First, the comparison between the number of posts that appropriated traditional media contents and posts that only contained original contents are presented. These data are used to test the first hypothesis (a). Next, the frequency in the appropriation and the types of contents appropriated are compared across the three platforms – Twitter, Facebook and Blog – to test the first hypothesis (b). The interview data then help answer the first research question to explain the variations in the appropriation across the different platforms. The variations in the trend of appropriation over the five-week period (Oct 4th – Nov 7, 2015) are also examined to further explain the findings for the first research question. The second section presents a comparison of the frequencies of appropriation by their types – hyperlink, image, mashup and direct reference – to test the second hypothesis. Then, the reasons behind the variations observed are identified based on the interviewee testimonies, which help answer the second research question. The third section compares the trend showing the changes in public opinion polls about the state history textbooks and the trends shown in the frequency of appropriation over the five-week period observed in this study. This helps test the third hypothesis.

H1: (a) Social media posts are more likely to contain appropriated content than non-appropriated content, but (b) the frequency of appropriation will vary by platform types.

The first hypothesis (a) is grounded in the idea that activists on social media are more likely to utilize appropriated contents than their original contents only because of their need for 1) speed in responsiveness in the volatile environment, which forces activists to

rely on materials already available, previously created content, 2) greater audience engagement, which compels activists to use attractive contents, and 3) credibility delivered by the contents' expertise and immunity to manipulation. The content analysis of the social media content derived from Crimson Hexagon, NVivo and Naver supports this hypothesis. A chi-square test of goodness-of-fit was performed to determine whether appropriated contents and original contents were equally used. The frequencies of appropriation of traditional media contents and production of original contents were not equal, $\chi^2(1, N = 3790) = 9.13, p < .01$ (see Table 2). Figure 1 and Table 2 visually present this data, showing that the number of posts that included appropriations of traditional media contents (52%) was larger than the number of posts with original contents only (48%).

Differences across the Platforms

The first hypothesis (b) is based on the premise that the differences in the identities and the perceived features of different social media platforms determine the varying outcomes of social media usage. This hypothesis was supported. Although the volume of appropriated contents exceeded the number of original contents overall, differences were observed when each platform was looked at separately. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between appropriation and the platform type. The relation between these variables was significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 3790) = 79.91, p < .001$. Whether activists preferred to appropriate traditional media contents over only producing original contents depended on the platform type they were using (see Table 3). Facebook posts appropriated traditional media contents the least (45%) (see Figure 3), whereas Twitter and Blogs appropriated the contents more often. Specifically, 60% of Twitter posts (see Figure 2)

and 58% of Blogs (see Figure 4) appropriated traditional media contents. A chi-square test of independence was then performed to examine the association between the frequency of appropriating different types of contents and the platform type. The results show that the type of traditional media contents that activists would frequently engage in appropriating was significantly determined by the type of platform they were using, $\chi^2 (8, N = 4867) = 727.65, p < .001$ (see Table 4). The largest portions of Twitter posts and Facebook posts that appropriated traditional media contents were constituted by hyperlinks, 44% and 67% respectively (see Figures 5 and 6). On Blogs, on the other hand, images were appropriated the most frequently (63%) in comparison to other types of contents by far (see Figure 7).

RQ1: How will activists' engagement in appropriation vary by platform types?

The variations in the activists' appropriation of traditional media contents, including the frequency with which they appropriate them and the types of contents they prefer, are contingent upon the "spirit" embedded in each platform. This relationship is the most evident on Facebook. The relatively fewer appropriations of traditional media contents and the larger volume of posts that only have original contents on Facebook are consistent with the underlying values and goals that Facebook embodies. Research suggests that Facebook is often used as a personalized and relatively private space as compared to Twitter. For example in a study of the use of social media in the contexts of political campaigns, Enli & Skogerbo (2013) found that politicians perceived Facebook as the preferred social media platform for personalized marketing that involved private exposure and individual initiatives. Personalized marketing was most often done on Facebook and involved sharing personal updates and pictures. These personal contents attracted considerably more attention from

readers and voters. Various other studies also found that Facebook is mostly perceived to serve social reasons (Madge, Meek, Wellens, & Hooley, 2009), including relational purposes and self-presentation in order to form social connectedness as well as to construct personal identities (Smith, Fischer, & Yongjian, 2012). In the contexts of social movements, activists also identify Facebook as one of the main means of connecting to their core members (Lee & Ting, 2015). Here we find the same dynamic – although all posts across platforms are grounded in users’ intentions to inform and engage the public, on Facebook, activists followed through with the underlying values of self-presentation and personalization embedded in the platform by sharing personalized contents to maintain intimate connections with people in their personal networks.

The interviews suggest that when activists were using the semi-private sphere of Facebook (Enli & Skogerbo, 2013), they were often inclined to use personalized contents, such as the pictures of protests that they took with their own phones and images of flyers or other personal statements that represented their personal or organizational identities and initiatives. One of the interviewees running a Facebook page of her organization believed that her audiences looked at her original posts “as expected,” such as the pictures of her organizations’ protest statements and posters used at the site of the protest. Stating that “people saw the statements we wrote ourselves the most – much more than the articles we shared,” the activist believed that personally devised arguments and statements or any other original contents appeal to their audiences as more interesting than news contents that are appropriated. She believed that this was one of the effective ways of increasing public awareness of what activities her organization was engaged in, enabling her audiences to “know more about [her and her organization’s] stories and activities.” This implied that she

was using Facebook for solidifying her organization's identity and stances on the issue. An independent activist also used Facebook primarily for self-presentation regarding the issue, stating that "Facebook is the only outlet that [he] uses if [he] wants to get [his] message across." He perceived Facebook as the means by which he could "persuade people into sharing [his] views," and as a way of becoming heard by the others. This suggested that Facebook was a personal space that allowed him to deliver his arguments and values to those in his personal networks. Even though Facebook users perceived appropriation of traditional media contents as a common practice, they nevertheless embraced the opportunities offered on Facebook to deliver their personal identities using original contents, keeping consistent with "the spirit" of the platform.

Twitter, on the other hand, is perceived as the more open public sphere (Enli & Skogerbo, 2013), which encourages users to utilize more diverse contents borrowed from traditional media sources to strengthen their voices before their public audiences. One of the conditions that constitutes ideal public sphere online is sincerity on the part of the participants of online activities (Dahlberg, 2001). Thus, the participants need to make sincere efforts and "provide convincing support for their assertions before their positions become accepted by other participants" (Dahlberg, 2001, para. 41). The interviewees, indeed, identified one of the benefits of appropriating traditional media contents as the enhanced credibility of their arguments or the stances they take on their personalized posts. Many interviewees believed that using contents produced by traditional media outlets with already established audience credibility can add power and trustworthiness to their own messages when they were communicating to the public. One activist stated "if we post a review of the problem, no one would read it [...] the most effective alternative we have is to show them

that a credible media outlet covered the problems of the issue.” Another interviewee believed that “it is most likely that information covered by a credible news outlet will seem more meaningful.” They also perceived sharing traditional media contents, especially the hyperlinks to news articles, can be the most optimal way of delivering seemingly objective facts that can demonstrate high level of formality and low manipulation. They enabled activists to communicate to people that “[they] do not compete with manipulation and fabrication.” They often perceived news articles to be serving as the “proofs that backed up [their] claims” or as the legitimate support to their positions and arguments, mostly because of the “name values” and the “authority that news coverage has.” They also referred to journalists as the “experts” or the “professionals” who did a better job of delivering credible facts with sufficient amount of information.

Blogs are used mainly to interact with the audiences to form relationships characterized by intimacy, credibility and loyalty that are difficult to form on other types of social media (Verma, 2014), including the semi-private sphere of Facebook and the public arena of Twitter (Enli & Skogerbo, 2013). According to a study by Verma (2014), Blogs are used for engaging with the audiences or visitors and winning their trust to build loyalty and long-term relationships. In order to maintain their fixed readers to be continuously involved and loyal, it is important that bloggers maintain the quality of their posts by making them attractive and appealing with high quality contents, as well as communicate in a way that is honest and easy to understand (Verma, 2014). A study by Hsu and Lin (2007) supports such relational functions of Blogs by suggesting that bloggers’ motivations for blogging include establishing social relationships and reputations. Many of bloggers’ activities are oriented towards increasing welfare of the others and contributing knowledge to help each other, as

well as establish community identification (Hsu & Lin, 2007). Bloggers may engage in appropriating contents from traditional media to make their writing more engaging, attractive and credible. In this case, appropriation would help maintain readers' interests, the consistency of readers' visits and the resilience of their relationships to the bloggers.

The interviews with the bloggers from my sample show that bloggers choose to appropriate traditional media contents rather than just post their own original work in order to maintain consistent readership and relationships with their audiences. The interviewees described how they think images taken from news media coverage help strengthen their stories by supporting and emphasizing their main messages visually. One interviewee believed that "seeing images help you get an immediate sense of what the topic is about." They also point to the benefits that images have for making their posts more attractive to help engage the audiences with their written work. One of the interviewees believed that images have "visual effects that help the written words become more eye-catching." Without the images, "the words will look too simple and uninteresting to read." They also believed that images taken from news outlets, especially those that already established credibility with the readers, help increase the readers' trust in their written compositions. According to the same interviewee, "people's trust in Hankyureh and Kyunghyang (two largest liberal news outlets) is greater than their trust in us (the bloggers)." Another activist blogger believed that such images "help strengthen or support the stories that the written words want to tell." These responses suggest that bloggers use traditional media contents to keep their activities consistent with the "spirit" embedded in Blogs by trying to establish trust with their audiences and keep their readership with interesting posts, maintaining persistent relationships with the audiences.

The bloggers, however, did not appropriate all kinds of traditional media contents with equal frequency. They selectively appropriated contents that would help best achieve their goal of engaging the audiences and maintaining their loyalty. One of the bloggers perceived his blog as the space where he would present to his regular visitors his own written compositions. He sought to not only simply deliver his personal thoughts but also to establish stronger ties to the readers by means of strongly influencing them with new teachings and insights. One of the bloggers believed that “it was the educators that read [his] Blog posts most of the time.” He wanted them to learn from his compositions “how to discern what’s right or wrong,” suggesting that he wished to establish closer relationships with his readers by gaining their attention and making significant influences on their thoughts.

The interviewee strongly believed that the contents that he appropriated on his Blogs should be those that would supplement and enhance his argument. He did not provide any extra information from external sources which he believed would divert readers’ attentions from his own writing. “People might put too much weight” on these links to external sources, so he “[does not] share other articles very often.” For this reason, he often avoided appropriating hyperlinks to news articles on his blogs, stating that “if [he] posts links [to another article], people might just go there – in that case, they will not read [his] writing.” When he felt that he needed to share a news article with the audiences, he “posted hyperlinks to news articles on [his] Facebook account” instead. On his Blogs, he would mostly share images to visually enhance the comprehension and attractiveness of his compositions. Images “improve visual effects and make it convenient to take in what [he] wrote all at once.” His testimony is consistent with the data: the volume of images

appropriated on Blogs (63%) far exceeds the volume of hyperlinks used (14%) (see Figure 7). Activist bloggers were selective in their use of traditional media contents for the purpose of establishing strong relationships with their readers. Their choices of contents were determined by the relational functions embedded in Blogs.

Differences in the Trends of Appropriated vs. Original Posts

The trends in the appropriation activities over the five-week period were then observed and analyzed. Combined with the interviews, these trends help further explain the significance of credibility found in the previous section. Figure 8 shows that across the sample, the number of posts that appropriate traditional media contents from all three platforms continues to rise throughout the five-week period. However, when comparing posts with original contents only vs. posts with traditional media contents, we find that the number of posts with only the original contents decreases between week four (561 posts) and five (384 posts), while the appropriated contents continue to increase over the same period. This decrease in the posts with only the original contents is mainly the result of the sharp decrease in the original content posts produced on Facebook between weeks four (388 posts) and five (220 posts) (see Figure 9). The decrease in original contents is coupled with the consistent increase in the appropriation of hyperlinks over the five weeks (see Figure 10).

The sudden drop in the volume of Facebook posts with only the original contents in week-five and the consistent increase in the volume of hyperlinks over the five-week period on Facebook are interesting and unexpected (see Figure 9). The interviewees who used Facebook provide potential explanations. One primary reason that they increasingly shared news items on social media was to keep the issue on the agenda and continue to gain

people's attention and support. They suggested that after October, 2015, individual and organizational offline protests started dying down. This provided less opportunity to participate in protest events based on which activists could produce their original contents. There were fewer pictures taken with their phones or hand-written statements. One interviewee explained "this issue started to cool off amongst other newly emerging news," so they had to rely on traditional media sources to appropriate contents that would help them to "keep the issues going" even after October. They thought sharing the news contents on social media would help them bring the issue to the surface again, or to "freshen up the air." Interviewees suggest that consistently sharing news about this was important for notifying people that "this issue was continuing" and for maintaining the public's attention and interests.

Many interviewees referred to traditional media contents as the right information and message form to share during times when the topic was drowning underneath other newly emerging societal issues. Most interviewees suggest that their primary reason behind their reliance on these contents during these times was that they believed traditional media sources could lend credibility that they as individuals lacked. Sources that appeal more favorably to large audiences are those that communicate high credibility based on their perceived trustworthiness and expertise (Hovland et al., 1953). For this reason, many interviewees appropriated hyperlinks to news articles or visual contents from news media outlets that already established credibility with larger audiences. One of the interviewees would often appropriate contents from larger and popular news outlets, believing that "the credibility of the news outlet is important to people when they click on the links" and that "it is difficult not to consider this." He explained that "other smaller news outlets could

probably write better articles than Kyunghyang or Hankook-Ilbo (two well-known liberal news outlets in South Korea) [...] but [he] just [does not] share them much, so [he] feels guilty.” Many others also noted the marks of expertise that these contents carried as the strengths that they as ordinary individuals did not have, such as the “authority” and the “credible name-values” of the news outlets. They viewed news media as expert sources that covered for their weaknesses. One of the interviewees emphasized that news articles are written by “those who have expertise in the field of media and journalism have much more information,” whereas “[he] was only a teacher so [his] knowledge [was] very limited.” Overall the results suggest that the activists’ efforts to keep the issues going and maintain the public’s interest over time, especially in times when they felt that their own contents lacked power and legitimacy, resulted in increased appropriation of traditional media contents.

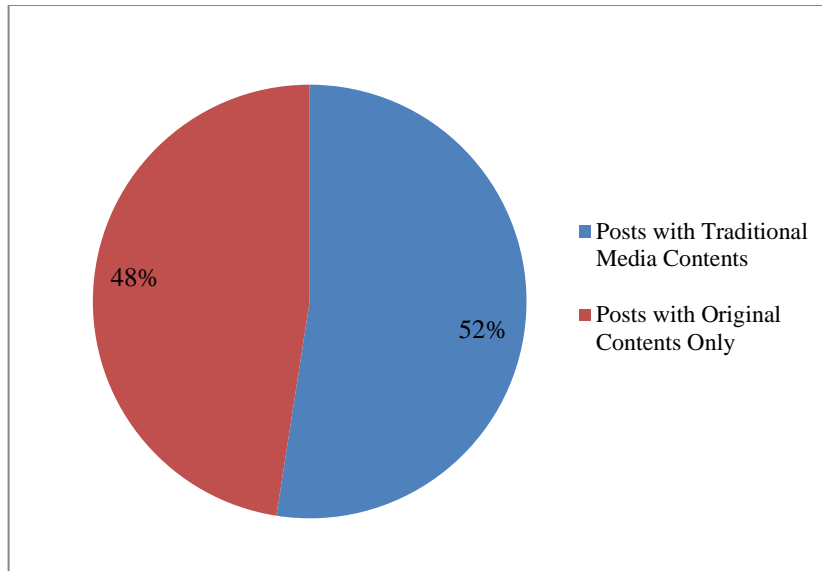


Figure 1. Appropriation vs. non-appropriation on Twitter, Facebook and Blog

Table 2

Number of Posts with Appropriated Contents vs. Only Original Contents

	Observed	Expected
Appropriated	1,988 (52%)	1,895 (50%)
Original	1,802 (48%)	1,895 (50%)
Total	3,790	3,790

Table 3

Number of Posts with Appropriated Contents vs. Only Original Contents by Platform Type

	Facebook	Twitter	Blog	Total
Posts with appropriated contents	863 (45%)	1,008 (60%)	117 (58%)	1,988
Posts with original contents only	1,044 (55%)	675 (40%)	83 (42%)	1,802
Total	1,907	1,683	200	3,790

Table 4

Number of Content Types by Platform Type

		Facebook	Twitter	Blog	Total
Traditional	Hyperlink	671	833	24	1,528
Media	Images	175	342	109	626
Contents	Mashups	28	33	10	71
	Direct	126	683	31	840
	References				
	Total	1,000	1,891	174	3,065
Total Original Contents		1,044	675	83	1,802
Total		2,044	2,566	257	4,867

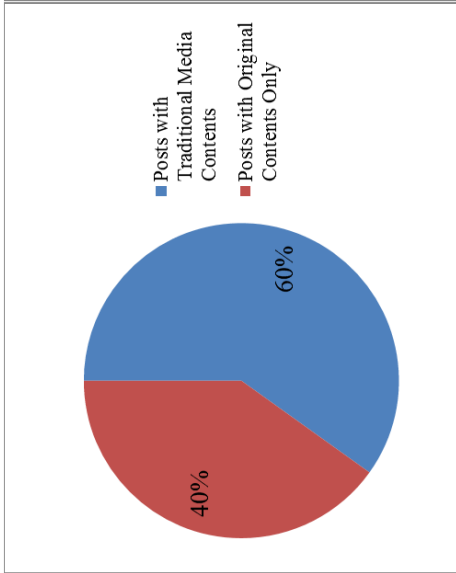


Figure 2. Appropriation on Twitter

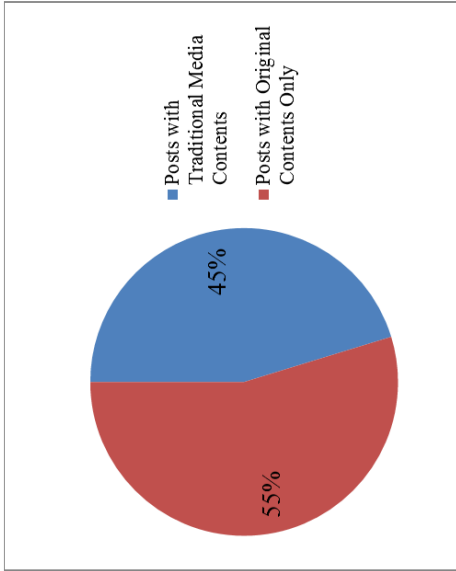


Figure 3. Appropriation on Facebook

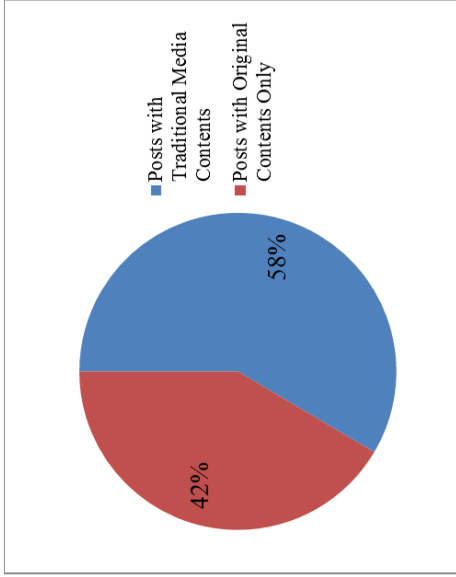


Figure 4. Appropriation on Blogs

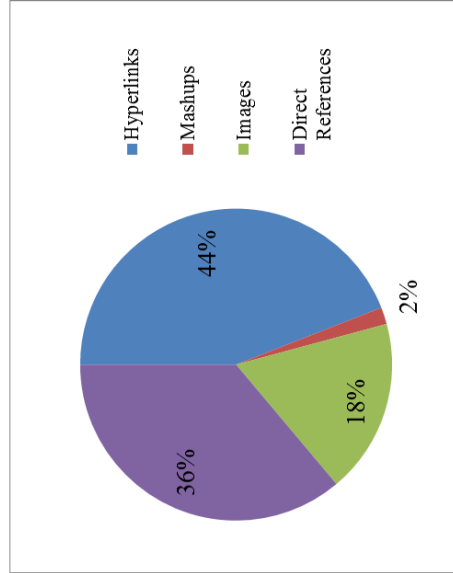


Figure 5. Appropriation types on Twitter

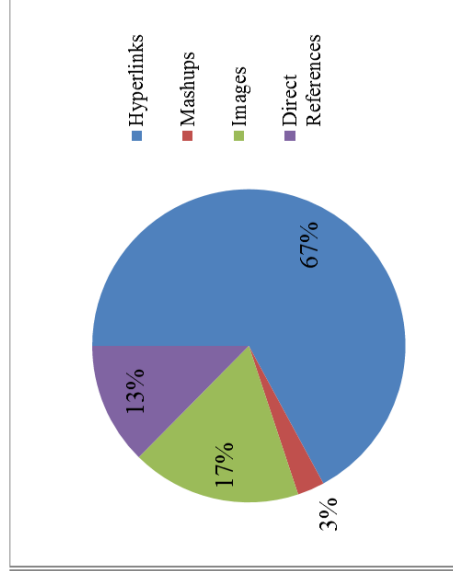


Figure 6. Appropriation types on Facebook

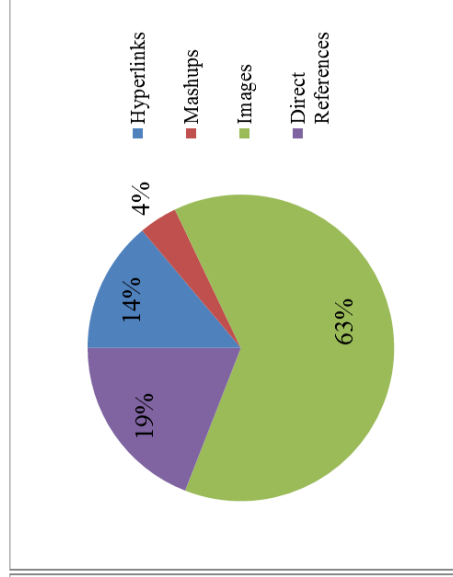


Figure 7. Appropriation types on Blogs

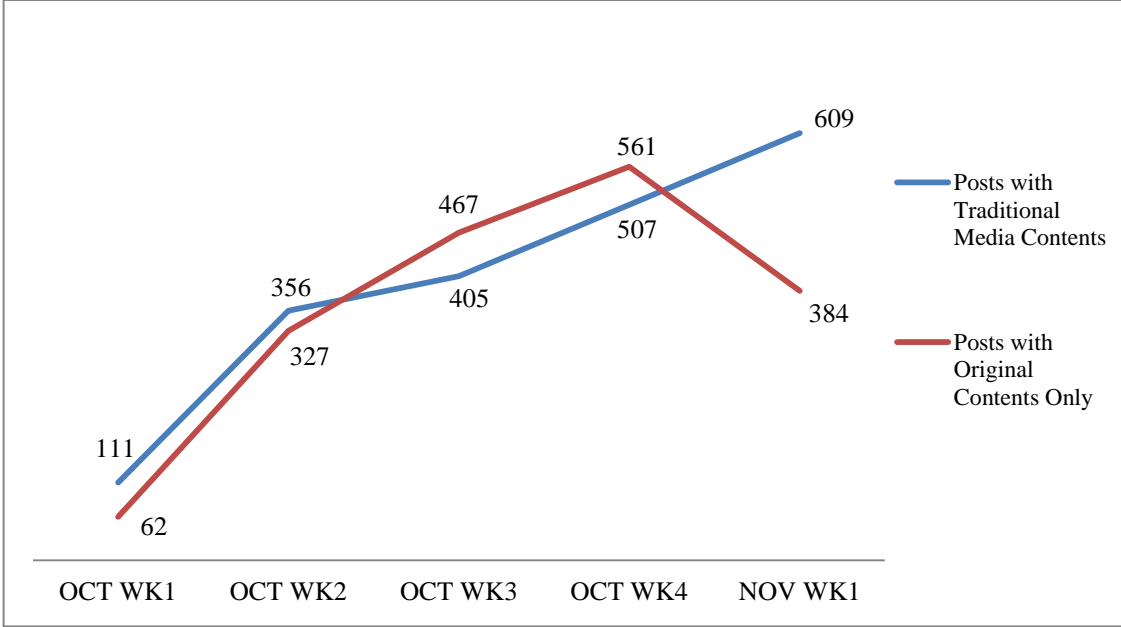


Figure 8. Weekly trend of appropriation on Twitter, Facebook and Blog

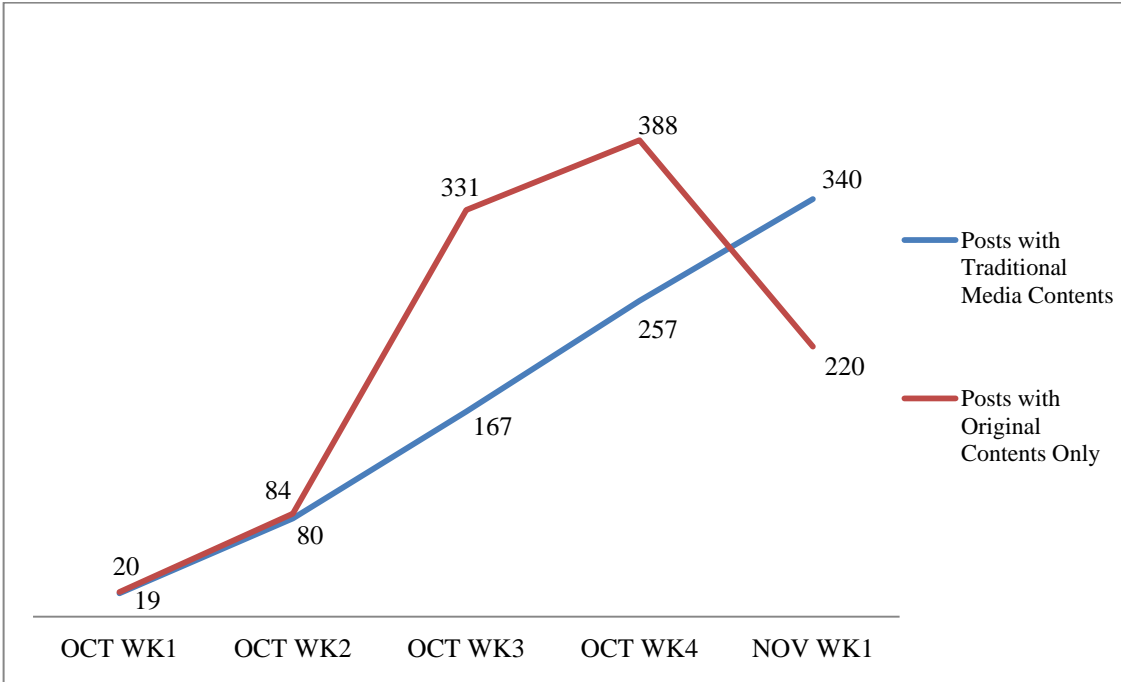


Figure 9. Weekly trend of appropriation on Facebook

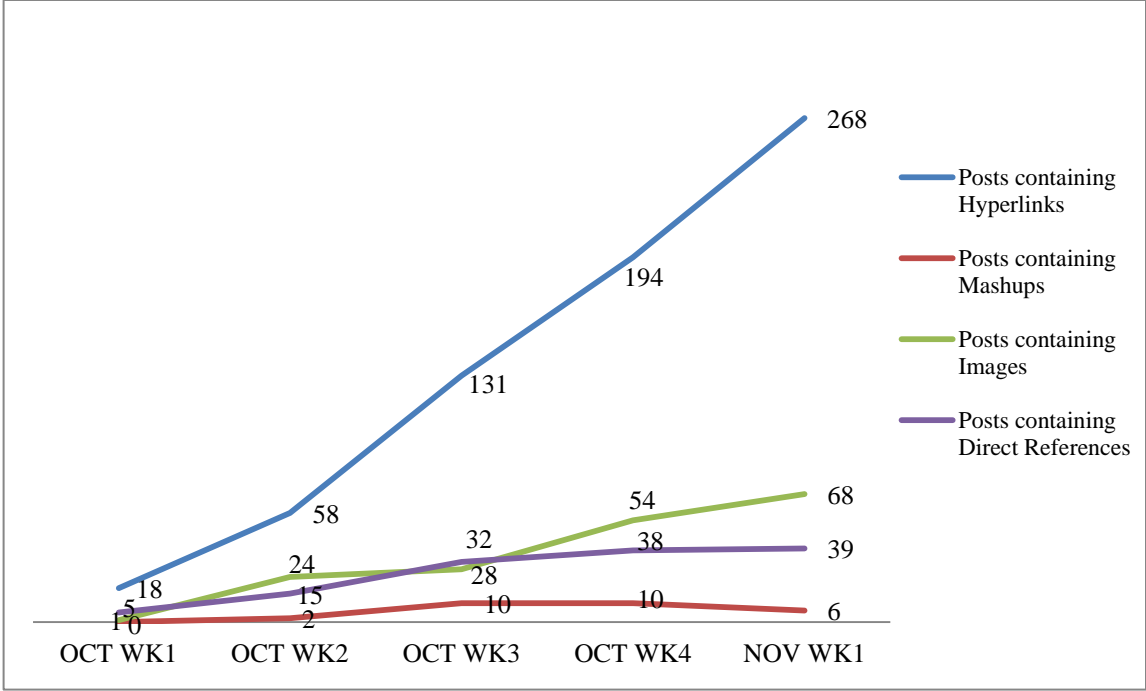


Figure 10. Weekly trend of appropriation on Facebook by content types

H2: The frequency of appropriation will vary across the content types.

The second hypothesis suggested that not all appropriation types would be used equally. This was supported. A chi-square test of goodness-of-fit was performed to determine whether all content types were appropriated at equal frequency. Activists' preferences for the four types of contents – hyperlink, image, mashup and direct reference – were not equal, $\chi^2(3, N = 3065) = 1420.87, p < .001$. Figure 11 shows the different frequencies at which each type of content was appropriated. Hyperlinks were the most commonly appropriated type amongst all traditional media contents used on the three platforms combined (50%), whereas mashups were the least appropriated (2%). Images (21%) and direct references (27%) were appropriated at similar frequency.

RQ2: Why do activists have different content preferences when they engage in appropriation?

Perceived Effort Expectancy by the Types of Appropriated Contents

The second research question helps further the results of the second hypothesis. Most interviewees who were regular Twitter and Facebook users identified hyperlinks as the type of traditional media contents that they often shared, almost as a habitual practice and “nothing extraordinary.” Many of the interviewees referred to their familiarity with appropriating hyperlinks based on prior experiences as a reason that they preferred to appropriate hyperlinks compared to other forms of traditional media contents, especially the mashups. In explaining their familiarity and experiences with appropriating hyperlinks, many of the interviewees described the appropriation of hyperlinks as a prolonged activity that they have been involved in since “long time ago” and still continue to. One interviewee explained that appropriating hyperlinks to news articles was a prolonged content-sharing

practice that he was the most familiar with, especially since it has been “a common content-sharing method used by the journalists on Facebook.” He also referred to his “prior experiences running a Facebook page” as one of the reasons why he continued to appropriate hyperlinks the most, which indicated that he perceived hyperlink appropriation as a common practice among Facebook page administrators. Another interviewee explained that appropriating hyperlinks has become a part of their “culture in which you share good articles and good arguments made by someone,” suggesting that this practice has long been a part of their “daily activities.” The interviews overall suggest that their previous experience and low perceived effort in appropriating hyperlinks lead to high frequency of appropriating hyperlinks.

On the other hand, the interviewees associated mashups with the newly emerging information production trend on social media. One interviewee, who had experiences producing mashups as the lead member of an organization, recalled the late 2015 as the time that mashup news, or “cardnews,” was “rising” as the new trend of news production, and the period when he and his organization just started producing some mashups. Many others also referred to mashups as a “recent trend.” Interviewees suggested, “nowadays, people make statements by making cardnews,” and that “nowadays, everyone does ‘cardnews,’ even the news outlets.” Many of those who recognized the novelty of mashup productions on social media also lacked experiences, knowledge, or skills in producing them. One interviewee perceived the production of mashups as “a lot of work” because he “heard that it is difficult to make with all the designing and stuff.”

Overall, there is a positive association between the level of the activists’ familiarity or experiences with different types of appropriations and the individuals’ intentions to

engage in the appropriation. Activists who had prior experiences with appropriating certain types of traditional media contents perceived the same appropriation activity as requiring less effort, which brought them the confidence that they were personally capable of engaging in the activity. When they hadn't had experience with a specific type of appropriation, they were less likely to engage in those types of activities.

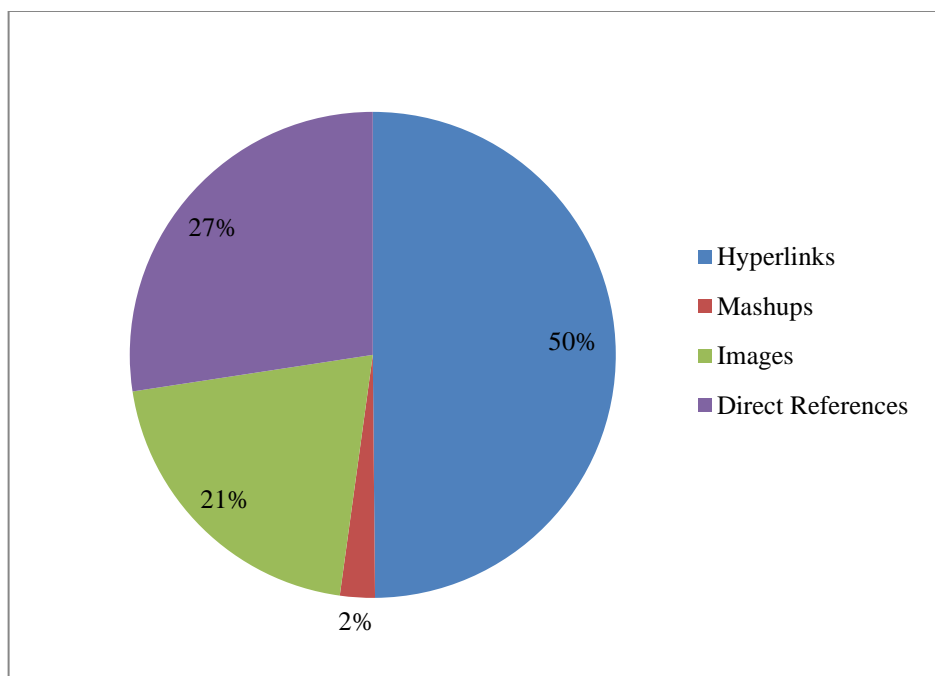


Figure 11. Appropriation by types of contents on Twitter, Facebook and Blogs

H3: The appropriation of traditional media contents will be closely associated with changes in public opinion.

The third hypothesis addresses the notion that public sentiments may be reflected and affected by social media information sharing activities (Ceron et al., 2013; Kontopoulos et al., 2013; Lee & Ma, 2012; Oliveira et al., 2016). This hypothesis was supported, as the trend in the appropriation of traditional media contents that carried negative sentiments against the textbooks showed a continuous increase over the period during which the public oppositions against the state history textbooks also showed a rising trend (see Figures 12 and 13).

Trends of Appropriation Overtime in Relation to Public Opinion Polls

Viewing the increasing trend in the appropriation of traditional media contents in the context of the public opinion changes over the same five weeks, we see that the increase in

the appropriation of traditional media contents that negatively frame the textbooks is positively associated with the increasing public opposition against the state history textbooks (see Figures 12 and 13). Although the public opinion about the state history textbooks was more positive (47.6%) than negative (44.7%) in the second week, in the third week, the opposition polls (52.7%) went far ahead of the positive opinion polls (41.7%). The change observed in the polls between the second and third weeks was of the greatest magnitude in the five-week period. The change was positively associated with the large increase in the number of posts that appropriated negatively framed traditional media contents on all three platforms. A drastic increase in the volume of these posts from the first to the second week by 239 posts preceded the sharp increase in the opposition polls between the second and the third week from 44.7% to 52.7%. This suggested the possibility that the negative posts were related to the changes in public opinion about the textbooks that followed. In the rest of the weeks, the trend in the appropriation of traditional media contents with negative frames about the textbooks continued to increase across platforms. This provided further evidence that the continued public opposition may be significantly related to individuals' involvement in appropriating negatively framed traditional media contents on social media posts. During the same period, posts with contents that were not critical of the textbooks consistently stayed in low numbers over the five weeks.

When the trend in public opinion was broken down by age, however, the data suggested the positive relationship between the appropriation and public opinion did not apply across the entire population. A comparison of polling data between those under and over 50 years indicated that the changes observed in the public opinion polls were driven by the younger population (see Figures 13 and 14). Also, the overall positive public opposition

trend among the younger population of ages below 50 positively related to the increasing trend in the appropriation (see Figures 12 and 14). Such positive associations suggested that the appropriation activities that portray opposition – by means of sharing negative contents or framing appropriated contents in negative ways – were positively associated with public opinion mainly due to the high level of engagement by the younger population. According to Ministry of Science, ICT & Future Planning and Korea Internet & Security Agency, the younger population in their teens (100%), 20s (99.9%), 30s (99.8%) and 40s (99.4%) generally used internet more than the older population in their 50s (94.9%), 60s (74.5%) and 70s and above (25.9%) (Yeon, H., 2017). Social media activities are generally more popular among the younger generations than the older generations. This younger population would likely engage in or become exposed to the appropriation activities on social media to either reflect their opinions or be affected by the appropriated posts.

In order to further explore the validity of the positive relationship between public opinion trend and the appropriation activities, this study compared public opinion trend to another important factor that may have affected the changes observed in the public opinion – the public discontentment about Park’s government. A comparison between the public opposition against the state history textbooks and the opposition against President Park’s performance suggests that the public’s opinion to the textbooks does not positively relate to, or is influenced by, its opinion about Park. For example, while public’s opposition against Park’s performance decreased from the first week to the second week from 49.1% to 47.0%, public opposition against state history textbooks rose from 43.1% to 44.7% (See figure 15). This indicated that, despite the increase in the positive public perceptions of Park, the opposition against the textbooks increased. A similar trend was also observed from the

fourth week to the fifth week, where the opposition against the textbooks increased from 50% to 52.6% despite the decreasing negative views about Park from 50% to 48.3%. Such disproportionate development in public opinion about the textbooks and about Park indicates that the public was not entirely affected by their discontent about the government and its overall performance in forming their perceptions about the state history textbooks.

While the development of public opinion about the state history textbooks positively related to the trend in the appropriation overall, the changes shown from the third week to the fourth week did not show this positive association. The frequency of appropriation increased from the third week to the fourth week (see Figure 12), but public opposition against the textbooks both in the entire population (see Figure 13) and in the younger population (see Figures 14) decreased. Table 3 shows that among the younger population of ages below 50, people in their 20s (-5pts) and 40s (-8pts) most affected this decrease in public opposition. What most affected this temporary break in the positive association between the appropriation and the public opinion among the population of ages below 50 were several actions taken by the government officials between the third and fourth week to increase support for the textbooks, including making mass media appearances.

For example, one significant event that is perceived as the decisive influencer on the decrease of the oppositions was Park's budget speech at the Congress on October 27th, 2015, which was the day before the polling was conducted for the fourth week (Realmeter, 2015). Various outlets of mass media covered her speech, which focused on not only emphasizing the need for teaching history with the state history textbooks, but also the benefits they have on the students by teaching the "correct" history and increasing students' pride in their country. She also counteracted the opposition narratives by assuring that she would never

allow the publication of politically biased textbooks, and urged citizens to cease their involvement in the “chaos” (p. 1) of the opposition movement (Kim, 2015).

The secretary general of the Center for Free Enterprise, Hee-Kyung Chun, also rose as a prominent figure over the several weeks prior to the polling for the fourth week. Chun’s activities consisting of strong speeches and statements that supported the state history textbooks were actively endorsed by the conservative party. One event that may have made a marked influence on public opinion was her mass media appearance in the morning of October 28th, 2015, the day that the polling was conducted. That morning, she made a speech at a forum that was held by the central committee of the conservative party for the purpose of discussing the benefits of the state textbooks (Kim, 2015). A significant amount of news was produced around not only the contents of her speech but also the conservative politicians’ public endorsement of her argument.

In addition to the mass media appearances made by the authorities, a group of scholars, consisting of publically recognized historians and educators who were known to favor conservative views, also made public statements through the press release prior to the polling. One significant example was the joint statement made by 500 scholars and educators on October 19, 2015, through the news media, which was then distributed through online and offline press releases (Kwon, 2015). Such moves taken by the scholars may have created a favorable atmosphere for the authorities for making influential appearances in the mass media.

Several mass media appearances made by the authority figures and those who have some degree of public recognition influenced public opposition and support to the textbooks to shift slightly and reduce their gap over the third and the fourth weeks (see Figure 13).

Although the public opposition trend, in general, positively corresponded with the trend in the appropriation of negatively framed traditional media contents, potentially indicating their positive relationship, mass media effects made by prominent figures or groups seemed to somewhat disrupt this positive relationship. This suggested that although connective action that is facilitated by the appropriation activities has strong associations with public opinion, mass media effects and their strategic usage by publically prominent figures may have stronger influence on the public, even though this influence may be ephemeral.

The interviewees support the positive association between the appropriation of traditional media contents and the changes in public opinion. The activists' continued involvement in the appropriation, especially hyperlinks to news articles on Facebook, in fact was driven by their attempts to increase the public opposition against the state history textbooks. One of the main motives for appropriating traditional media contents was to deliver their personal or organizational positions to the audiences by presenting stories that are framed to support their positions. The activists also believed that traditional media contents can be instrumental for convincing the public to support their critical views and opposition movement by helping to encourage the public to "critically think" about the issue. They believed that providing their audiences with hyperlinks to news articles would be equivalent to providing "the raw materials" that would help people to think about this issue and "decide for themselves why this issue was problematic." They believed that it was a way of delivering the facts or the "truth" that would provide the public the basis with which to form their opposing opinions against the problems underlying this issue. One of the interviewees believed that encouraging critical thinking would help increase support and more participation because it would allow them the room for creative thinking and

discussions about how they will oppose the textbooks together. Interviews suggested that activists became actively engaged in appropriation activities to reflect their opinions and to persuade the others with these posts. These findings provided support for the third hypothesis that there exists a positive relationship between the appropriation and public opinion, in terms of the way appropriated posts reflect and influence the public opinion.

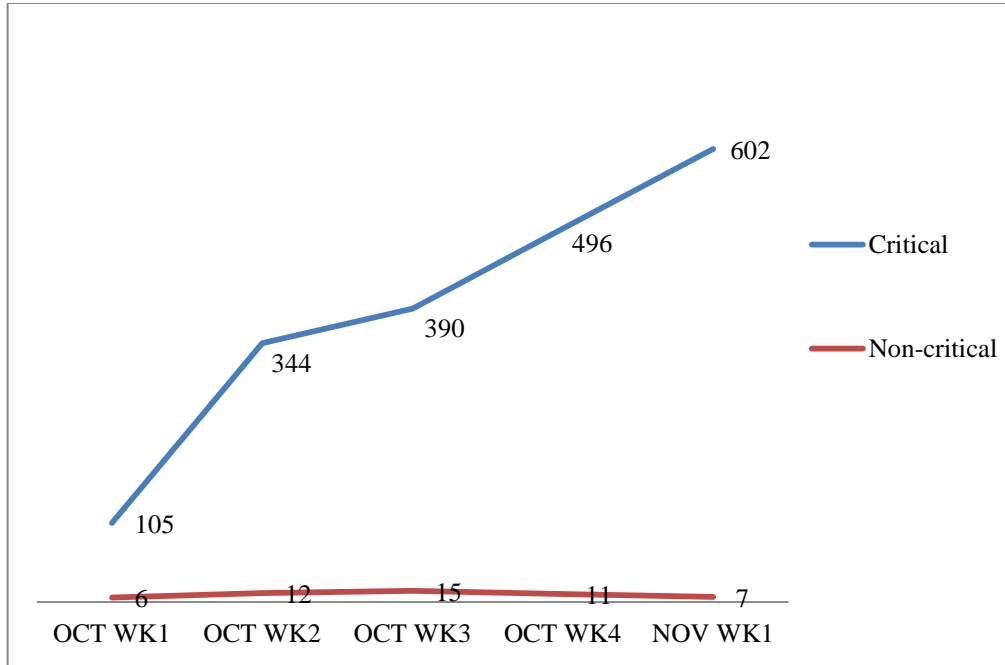


Figure 12. Appropriation of critically vs. non-critically framed traditional media contents

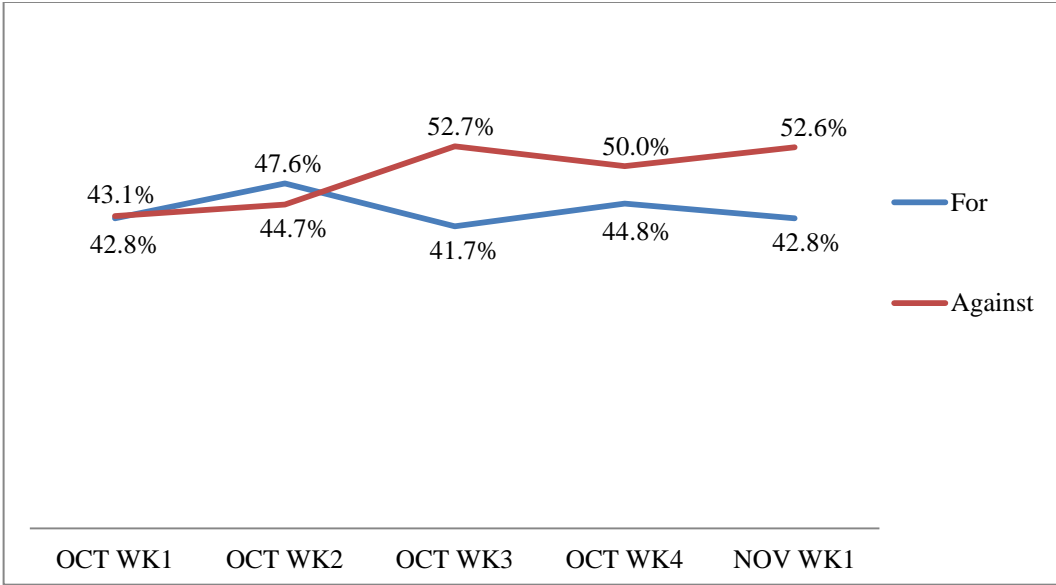


Figure 13. Public opinion for or against state history textbooks

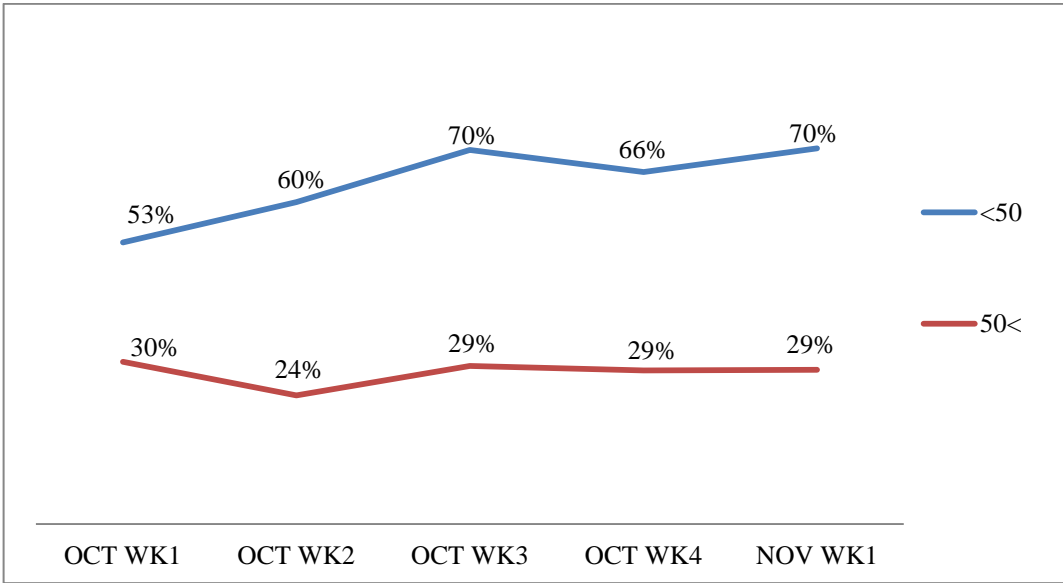


Figure 14. Public opposition against the state history textbooks by age

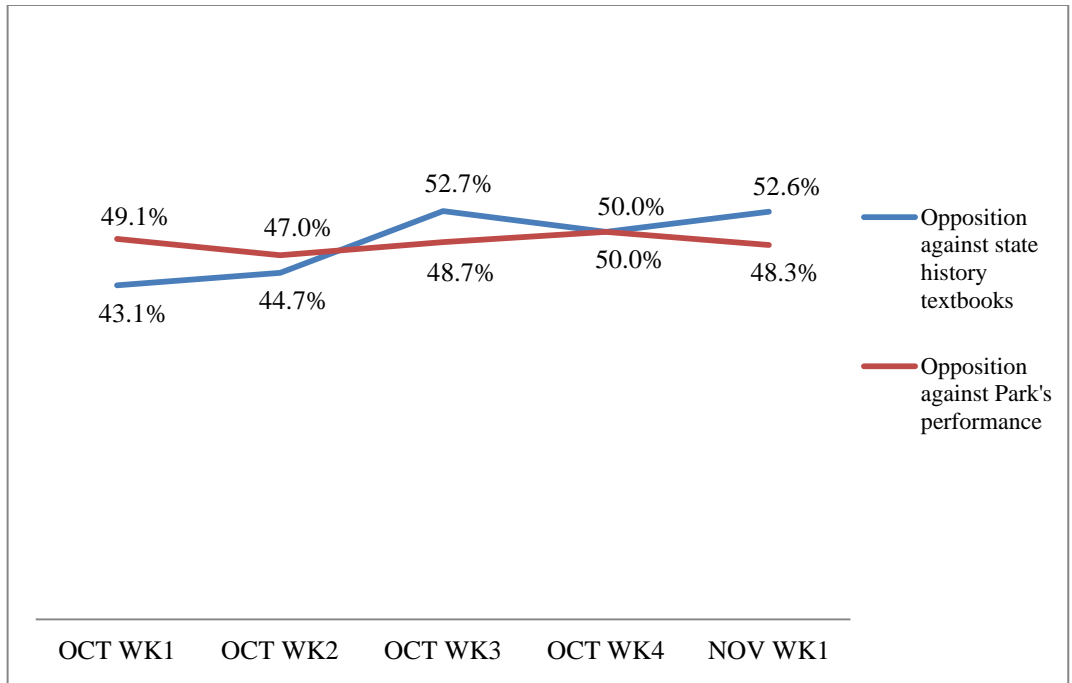


Figure 15. Public opposition to state history textbooks vs. opposition to Park's performance

Table 3

Public Opposition by Age

	20s (%)	30s (%)	40s (%)	50s (%)	60s (%)
OCT WK1	60%	57%	42%	38%	24%
OCT WK2	58%	66%	57%	33%	17%
OCT WK3	78%	65%	67%	38%	22%
OCT WK4	73%	66%	59%	36%	22%
NOV WK1	80%	73%	60%	39%	20%

CHAPTER 4

Discussion and Future Directions

The results of this study supported the first hypothesis, which predicted that a) activists are more likely to appropriate traditional media contents than use original contents only, but b) this frequency would vary by the platform type. The first research question addressed what differences were observed across the different platforms. The findings suggested that on Facebook, activists produced more original and personalized contents than appropriated contents to strengthen their personal identity and self-presentation. Facebook was perceived as a more personalized space used for self-presentation to a bounded audience. But on Twitter, which is more public and open to a greater variety of audiences, activists appropriated more traditional media contents than original contents to lend credibility and support to their messages. Bloggers also shared more appropriated contents than original contents, as they focused on maintaining the audience's loyalty and intimate relationships with the readers. They would select specific contents that they thought would best attract and engage their audiences.

Credibility was an important factor which increased the amount of engagement in appropriation, especially when the activists sought to enhance their voices before their public audiences and appear trustworthy. A comparative trend analysis between appropriation and credibility suggested that activists continuously sought to enhance credibility of their posts by means of appropriation over time. They believed that appropriation helped maintain the audience's attention on this issue while compensating for their lack of resources and personal shortcomings.

The second hypothesis was also confirmed, as the four types of contents were not appropriated equally. Hyperlinks were appropriated the most frequently, whereas the mashups were appropriated the least. Interviews addressed the second research question, suggesting that activists would appropriate hyperlink more often because of their familiarity with it and the perceived ease associated with it. In contrast, their lack of experiences and skills with producing mashups influenced them to perceive more difficulty in appropriating mashups. This resulted in the least frequency of mashup appropriation.

The third hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between the appropriation of traditional media contents and the changes in public opinion. This was supported. The number of posts with the appropriated contents with negative frames increased with the rise in the public opposition against the state history textbooks over the same five-week period. The relationship between public opinion and appropriation was mostly positive, with the exception of the time period in which authority figures of the government or other professional figures made prominent mass media appearances in support of the textbooks. The activists' testimonies showed that they also believed in this positive relationship, as their main purpose of engaging in appropriation was to convince the public to support their views.

Significance of Credibility

By examining the activists' motives behind their appropriation, this study illuminates the significance of credibility as a construct of connective action and its relationship with legitimacy. In order to become competitive in the volatile environment with large information flow, activists appropriate traditional media contents to lend legitimacy to their

voices and establish perceived credibility. This suggests that online peer-producers communicate credibility to one another in the process of establishing connections. They feel greater need to legitimize their messages and posts in times when they feel they lack the resources to create their own original contents and need to enhance their perceived credibility to the others online. They also seek to establish credibility on public platforms to appear trustworthy as compared to other sources of information and news. Communicating credibility also helps strengthen relationships between the producer and the audiences by helping to establish trust and maintain the loyalty of the readers. Credibility and the legitimacy embedded in traditional media contents can help activists strengthen their connectivity with other peer-producers and their audiences, helping them to actively engage in forming connective action.

Implications about the Logic of Collective Action and Connective Action

These findings about the significance of credibility and legitimacy in facilitating connective action have several important implications that fill a gap in the current understanding about connective action. Bennett and Segerberg (2012) put emphasis on personal action frames as having the main communicative role in engaging in connective action, but they do not address how to conceptualize the integration of organizational resources like traditional media contents in personalized posts. Although they explain that the logic of collective action and the logic of connective action can hybridize in organizationally enabled networks, they do not identify how credibility and legitimacy can become parts of hybridization. This study argues that activists are able to integrate the logic

of collective action into connective action when they communicate credibility and achieve legitimacy by using organizationally produced resources like traditional media contents.

Bennett and Segerberg (2012) emphasize collective action is constituted by centralized mobilization characterized by solidarity and relations bounded by trust. Bimber et al. (2012) also identify trust as an important component of collective action in shaping its viability and sustainability. The findings of this study suggest that trust and credibility, which constitute the solidarity of a collective action, can also be used as a means by which activists form bonds with the audiences and with one another in connective action. Activists' establishment of trust and legitimacy with their audiences can encourage their audiences into participation and providing support. Such interactions driven by trust can help establish some sense of solidarity and identification with one another. Communication of trust and legitimacy is essential not only to collective action but also to the process of forming connections among individual users during their networked activities.

Overall, a sign of the hybridization and a weakened distinction between the logics of collective action and connective action (Stohl & Ganesh, 2013) is evident in the way the activists bind their actions under the theme of credibility and legitimacy through appropriation. The logic of collective action puts emphasis on how a movement is formed under a strong organizational identity, often requiring organizational resources (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This dynamic is present in the appropriation activities, as activists communicate credibility to forge an organizationally engendered identity of trustworthiness, using resources provided by professional organizations of media-content production. This enables a non-organizational diffuse set of individuals attain a notion of credibility and legitimacy. By communicating credibility in their individual posts using traditional media

contents, activists collectively engage in forging a credible and legitimate identity that has an organizational basis and quality.

Implications about Differences across Social Media Platforms

The findings further suggest that different platforms have different functions in connective action. The logic of connective action identifies digital media as organizing agents and recognizes that communication technologies change the action dynamics in networks (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This suggests that technologies have important roles in facilitating connective action. The action-network theory specifically recognizes that digital networking mechanisms, such as social media and devices that run them, are potential network agents alongside human actors (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This study helps further this notion of technologies as potential network agents by specifying how their roles as the agents may vary by their functions and embedded identities as perceived by the human actors, especially when it comes to the production of contents. The roles that technologies have in connective action are contingent upon how human actors perceive the functions they offer and the distinct identities associated with different types of technological platforms.

By exploring the differences in the appropriation across the different platform types, the study suggests that the types of information sharing activities the activists are likely to engage in during peer production can be determined by the platform type. The embedded properties of a platform can determine how and by what means individuals would engage in peer production that involves appropriation. Such variations observed by different platforms suggest that platform types may determine the extent to which the logic of connective action

and the logic of collective action hybridize. On a social media platform where peer-producers are exposed to a more bounded audience, such as Facebook, users adhere to the logic of connective action more frequently than to the logic of collective action. Those interacting with bounded audiences are more inclined to produce personalized and original contents than appropriate external organizationally produced contents. However, on platforms that have more open audiences or require enhanced audience loyalty to the message producers, activists seek to establish perceived credibility to enhance the delivery of their messages. On these platforms, peer-producers more frequently integrate the logic of collective action into their engagement in connective action by establishing trust with one another and engaging in a collective communication of credibility with organizational resources.

Implications about Differences across Appropriated Content Types

This study also suggests that familiarity and perceived effort involved in content appropriation matter in connective action when individuals decide whether they will engage in connective action using contents from organizational sources. In order to keep up with the speed at which information is exchanged in the online environment and to manage their own limited time, individuals choose appropriation types with which they have prior experiences. The high level of ease that activists perceive in engaging in appropriating a certain type of content based on prior experiences is likely to increase the frequency of engaging in connective action that involves the same type of appropriation activities. On the other hand, lack of experiences, less familiarity and perceived complexity associated with the appropriation of a particular type of content are likely to result in lower intention of the

activists to engage in the connective action that makes use of traditional media contents. Perceived familiarity and effort associated with traditional media content appropriation can determine the frequency with which individuals become engaged in connective action that uses outsourced, organizationally produced contents as the agents of networking.

Implications about Appropriation and Public Opinion

The analysis of the positive association observed between public opinion and appropriation suggests this relationship may be limited to the younger population, i.e. those below 50 years of age. These findings suggest the need for further studies to look at connective action and appropriation in terms of age and public opinion. Certain types of involvement in connective action may be significant and specific to certain age groups, which may have important implications about the relationship between connective action and public opinion.

The findings also suggest that while this type of connective action is closely related to public opinion, this relationship is weakened by the authorities' strategic moves, including their mass media appearances and usage. Clearly, mainstream media, over which the authorities have much more control than the citizens do, still are highly influential. In times when a population faces a controversy, people utilize several types of media to get information. This study points to the necessity of reviewing a longer period of time to explore a comparison between the trends in the public's engagement in connective action and the activities of the authorities. This could help discern specific contexts or circumstances that are more heavily influenced by social or traditional media outlets.

Further, negatively framed contents about an issue may consistently be appropriated on social media, even when public opinion may not reflect this. This suggests that those with the incentives to criticize the authority might simply be more present online to engage in the appropriation activities than those who display more submissiveness to the authorities. In this case, there was far less competing social media presence of supporters of the new textbooks, as the opposition movement showed greater solidarity. Even as they engage in individualized actions that characterize connective action, they can become bounded into collectivity through a common sense of defiance and resistance towards the authorities with the help of the negatively framed organizational resources they appropriate.

Practical Implications

There are several practical implications of the findings of this study. The hybrid of the logic of collective action and the logic of connective action enabled by social media can allow individual activists to participate in social movements with a collective identity without having to commit to a formal organization. They can instead use personal action frames and expressions that they feel personally comfortable using. Each activist can participate in online movements by communicating credibility using traditional media contents. Formal organizations that are active online should also be aware of this new form of digital movements and encourage their members to adopt individualized action frames and engage in the communication of credibility to form more effective and competitive online strategies.

The implications about differences across social media platforms can also help activists, who are active on the individual or organizational level, to form their movement

strategies accordingly. They can further investigate other properties and functional features of various social media platforms to help best target their supporters, and decide on what kinds of contents would be the most appropriate to share on specific platforms. Also, in order to ensure that their messages will spread across a larger number of online users, activists can selectively use traditional media contents based on their audiences' familiarity and prior experiences with appropriating the contents. Although understanding the significance of the appropriation of traditional media contents is important for engaging in contemporary digital movements, activists should be cognizant of the fact that mass media appearances of authority figures could still have powerful influences on the audiences. They should therefore make strategic plans to address this by consistently monitoring the movements made by the authorities.

The differences across the platforms not only have important implications for the activists but also for the traditional media outlets. Traditional media outlets target their social media audiences and distribute their news contents by forming their own pages or groups on social media platforms. By understanding the underlying properties and values of different social media platforms, traditional media outlets can target specific platforms and social media users so as to increase their viewers or followers.

The appropriation of traditional media contents highlighted in this study is an important means by which individuals can express individualized and personalized messages while integrating the logic of collective action and communicating credibility. With appropriate strategies, activists engaged in this form of connective action on individual or organizational level can find new ways of combating the authority's attempts to restrict diversity of thinking.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study is limited to examining and differentiating only three platforms based on the frequency and types of appropriations on each. Future research needs to explore further how various other types of platforms could be differentiated from one another based on their affordances or their embedded values and how appropriation activities differ. This may help illuminate how connective action may vary by platform types depending on their properties or underlying values.

The study is also limited in specifying the directionality of the positive relationship observed between the appropriation of traditional media contents and the public opinion, as the method used did not test for a causal effect. The data used are insufficient for discerning whether the changes observed in the public opposition trend affected the changes in the appropriation trends observed, or if the appropriation trend had any influence on the public opposition trend. The interviews suggest that their intention behind the appropriation activities was to affect public opinion, but they do not test for whether this causal relationship actually exists or not, or whether the changes observed in the public opposition trend were influenced by this social media activity at all. Also, the public sentiments reflected on social media and appropriation activities may not reflect the actual public opinion. This positive relationship needs further validation to sufficiently explain that the two trends observed are not simply co-occurring. Observing this relationship over a longer period of time may perhaps provide more accurate implications about the relationship.

While this study helps specify several reasons behind appropriating traditional media contents, future studies could further explore how traditional media contents are used in other contexts, and in what circumstances appropriated contents are preferred over original

contents. Also, the study's explanations behind activists' appropriation activities are limited to the views of those who oppose the state history textbooks, and not the supporters. Future studies should examine whether the opposition or supportive stances held by activists make any differences in the reasons behind their engagement in appropriation activities. Also, this study finds that credibility plays an important role in motivating activists to engage in the appropriation activities to form a hybrid of collective and connective action. Future studies of online social movements should explore in greater depth the implications that traditional media and their perceived credibility have in the newly emerging digital movements.

Conclusion

This study observes a case of the South Korean state history textbook controversy over a select period of time to investigate an online movement on social media in which activists actively appropriate traditional media contents. The primary goal of this study was to further advance the theoretical framework of connective action by examining the implications that appropriation has for individuals' engagement in connective action. The study finds that, in the context of the state history textbook controversy in South Korea, activists appropriated traditional media contents more often than they produced original contents with the purpose of enhancing their perceived credibility and legitimacy to their audiences. This finding made an important suggestion that connective action does not solely consist of personalized actions. Connective action can also integrate the logic of collective action by forging a collective goal of communicating credibility and utilizing organizational resources. Also, the extent to which the logic of collective and connective action can hybridize may vary across different social media platform types and the types of

appropriated contents. Although a positive relationship exists between appropriation and public opinion of the younger population, the authorities' mass media appearances may occasionally have greater influence on the public opinion. Such findings emphasize the need for further research on social movements in the digital environment, especially to advance the current conceptualization of connective action. Future investigations should help advance research on online activist movements that would be the most suited for combating authoritative forces that constrain free and diverse thoughts.

Epilogue

This thesis focused on events that occurred 18 months ago in October, 2015. Despite the heated opposition protests throughout October, the state history textbook was formally approved by the government the very next month. On Saturday, November 14, 2015, one of the largest protests in South Korea took place in Seoul, condemning the policies of President Geun-hye Park's administration in relation to labor conditions and education (StarSeoul, 2015; MBN, 2015). Most especially concerning was regarding the planned publishing of mandated history textbooks to glorify the country's previous dictatorships. The number of participants was estimated to be over 100,000. The mass protest was formally named "Uprising of the People." It was led by the "Headquarter for Civilian Protests," composed of 53 civil society groups, labor groups and farmers' organizations. Starting from this point, a series of seven protests took place between November 14, 2015 and February 25, 2017 (StarSeoul, 2015; MBN, 2015). This movement became an iconic protest movement that represented multiple issues related to education, labor, social justice and human rights.

One year later, on Saturday November 12, 2016, the sixth "Uprising of the People" took place, with one other request added to the agenda – the impeachment of President Geun-hye Park. This protest was widespread and prolonged. Hundreds of thousands of angry South Koreans took to the streets and conducted marches every weekend calling for Park's resignation. These protests continued from November, 2016, to February, 2017, and became the largest protests in South Korea's recent history. Addressing a serious presidential scandal, it seemed as if the entire South Korean nation was angry and in shock (DongA-Ilbo, 2016). The scandal centered on the close relationship between President Park and Soon-Sil Choi, her childhood friend and daughter of a cult-leader who had a prolonged

political relationship to Park's family. Park was accused of consulting with Choi for all government-related issues and policy making, abusing authority, corruption and allegations for cult activities. These nationwide protests were successful. Park was impeached by the congress on December 9, 2016, and by the Constitutional Court on March 10, 2017 (BBC, 2017; Yang, 2017).

With Park gone and a new liberal President, President Jae-In Moon, in office, one of the first changes in policy that took place was the history textbook policy. After Park's impeachment and with continued public opposition against the state textbooks, the Ministry of Education decided that the state textbooks would no longer officially replace all secondary school history textbooks. Rather, they would be pilot-tested by having a few select schools use them along with the existing privately published textbooks (Kim, 2017). This decision, however, did not last long. Within two days of the new President's term, President Moon instructed the Ministry to completely abolish the state history textbooks (Choe, 2017).

Observing these momentous events of the textbook issue and the mass protest movement to impeach the President raises several important questions. Were the two protest events related? Were the collective action and social network repertoires carried over from one protest to another? Did the on and offline networks, established during the textbook protest, spill over into the latter protest movement? Exploring these questions in detail is beyond the scope of the Thesis. However, what does seem clear is that the activities, networks and communicative repertoires developed during the textbook protests were strongly associated with subsequent actions.

To begin, the textbook case sparked a massive nationwide movement that created a key opportunity for individuals and organizations with various societal concerns to come together and collaborate in expressing their deep resentment against the government's corruption and undemocratic policies. Up until the textbook controversy, there were multiple protest movements that were separately carried out in smaller scales. The Gwanghwa-moon movement combined all these issues into the "Uprising of the People." In these protests, multiple civil society groups and activist organizations came together to bring each of their social concerns to the table (Koo, Kim, & Kim, 2015). In the mass protest, activists from the labor and agriculture movements addressed problematic working conditions for contractors, mistreatment of laborers, corruption in the hierarchical structures in workplaces, unemployment among the younger population, poverty of laborers and the price drop of rice, utilizing traditional and social media channels and messaging (MBN, 2015; Park, 2016). Activists brought to the unified movement multiple other requests: their demands for the truth behind the disaster of the passenger ferry Sewol, social justice, gender inequality, LGBTQ, environmental issues, criticisms of Chaebol industries, objection to the comfort women agreement with Japan and many more (Park, 2016). The protesters' unified voices clearly set the stage for Park's impeachment, and made it to the next government's agenda as the priority issues to be addressed immediately.

Second, the future President Moon himself participated both online and offline in the opposition to the state history textbooks and the movement for Park's impeachment. Not only did he and his party lead a petition against the state textbooks offline (Kang, 2015), but he was also constantly active on Twitter for expressing his critical views and becoming aware of the public sentiments. His posts from October 10, 2015, for example, critiqued that

“no other OECD countries issue state history textbooks,” and that state textbooks were “only used during the Yushin dictatorship” (SportsSeoulTV, 2015). These posts received thousands of retweets and likes. As the movement changed to focus on removing Park, he used Facebook to call citizens into participation, stating in his post that “citizens will defeat the authority” (SportsKyunghyang, 2016). He also used Facebook as a way of notifying people that he would be joining the mass protest events and that he was in this together with the people. Social media then acted as an important channel through which citizens brought their concerns to political attention, and politicians responded. In both cases traditional media content was appropriated into social media.

The second connection between the two sets of protests is the dynamic legitimization of the concerns against President Park. In the study, perceived credibility is a major driver of the hybridization process of the logic of collective action and the logic of connective action. Interviews suggest that traditional media contents were used to enhance perceived credibility of the online posts. But this does not necessarily mean that appropriation is based on the need for factual-based arguments. Rather, credibility and appropriation are viewed primarily as mechanisms for establishing the legitimacy of the author and the issue. Appropriation signals enhanced trustworthiness and perceived expertise of the producers of the posts and their arguments. In other words, appropriation is an act of legitimacy-seeking and connecting among individuals with an institutionally generated credibility and structures. Research on social media has rarely looked at legitimacy as a construct of networked activities of activists. The results here suggest that legitimization is important for bringing loosely networked activists into mainstream collective action.

Significantly, in the post-protest period, the distinction between activist and participant has become increasingly blurred. The study identifies the interviewees as activists rather than participants of social movements, based on their prolonged involvement in activist activities regarding multiple social and political issues, their pursuit of a goal of bringing changes to the policies and their networks to other activists. However, the fine-line between activist members and non-member participants of social movements in the online context (Bimber et al., 2012) makes it difficult to distinguish activists from participants in this study. Some of those who acted as participants in the first movement against the textbooks may have developed into actively engaged activists through continued involvement in appropriation by the time the movement against Park formed. Those who used to be activists in the movement against the textbooks seem to have become participants at the movement against Park. Social media collapses these categories, and yet we know that there still needs to be leaders of activities that constitute the movements. This study primarily treats appropriation as an activity that helps us identify the activists involved in the opposition movement against the textbooks. Perhaps the appropriation activity could identify the leaders of social movements, and thereby even distinguish activists from the more passively involved participants. The act of finding traditional media contents and appropriating them on social media posts may require more effort and engagement than endorsing and curating posts produced by the others. A provocative future research might ask whether appropriation can differentiate leaders of a movement from participants, and help identify actively involved activists in the online context.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Open-ended questions:

1. When do you use social media?
 - a. Which social media do you use and how often do you use them?
2. For what purposes do you/your organization use social media as part of this movement?
3. To what extent do you think online activities are important for your movement?
4. How do you use social media for your campaigns?
 - a. What do you do to make them persuasive and informative?
5. Who do you think are your audiences?
 - a. What do you hope that they will take from your post(s)?
 - b. Are there any other different audiences that you hope to reach? If so, what attempts have you made?
 - c. Do you think it's important that your campaign reaches a diversity of audiences? Why?
6. I see that this many people are following/have liked your page. What do you think they expect from this page?
7. Is today's campaign different than campaigns you may have been involved in a few years back? How?
8. What roles do traditional media play in your campaigns? How are they different or same as social media?
9. How do you tell if your posts are effective?
 - a. Based on what do you decide if your posts are successful? Are there any particular metrics you use to measure success?
 - b. How does your social media activity influence effectiveness of your movement?

While looking at interviewees' online posts:

1. What do you think you accomplished through this post?
 - a. What was your initial goal to posting this? To what extent did this help you reach that goal?
 - b. What is the main message of this post?
 - c. If you could repost this, how would you improve it?
2. What are some strengths and weaknesses of this post?
3. To what extent do you think these posts are effective?
 - a. Based on the metrics you mentioned, how would you evaluate the success of this post?
4. Why did you choose this specific content (hyperlinks/mashups/images/quotations) to share on your post?
 - a. What media outlets have you referred to and why?
 - b. Why did you think this information was important to share?
5. Have you seen other posts similar to yours?
 - a. What were some good examples of informative and persuasive posts?
6. I see that you have shared so-and-so's post on your own page. Why did you feel that this was important for your followers to see?