# **Bleached Emotion:**

A Post-emotional Analysis on Meme Culture

in The 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight



Xiaoya Zhou Master Thesis New Media and Digital Culture Utrecht University

Supervisor: dr. René Glas

Second Reader: dr. Imar de Vries

17 Jan 2020



# **Table of Contents**

Abstract	1
1. Introduction	2
2. Post-emotionalism: The Lens of Understanding Memes	6
2.1. How Media Led to Post-emotionalism	6
2.2. From Post-emotionalism to The Phatic New Media	7
2.3. Meme, the Emotion-driven Participatory Media Artifact	10
3. Examining the Meme Fight: Methodology	12
3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis	12
3.2. Corpus Selection	17
4. Analysis	20
4.1. Asian Geopolitics Behind The Meme Fight: A Context	21
4.2. Common Features of the Memetic Content in the Meme Fight	23
4.3. In Relation to the Emotion Expressed and Bleached by Memes	28
5. Conclusion and Discussion	33
References	35
Appendix	39

# Abstract

In 2016, a massive Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight(the Meme Fight) burst between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, resulting in a tension that still exists today. At the then-moment, over 4000 mainland netizens gathered together voluntarily online and used memes to flood more than 10 pro-Taiwan independence Facebook pages in order to protest for their Anti-Taiwan Independence political value. This thesis combined the perspectives of post-emotionalism, the phatic new media, and studies on meme culture and online civic participation as a theoretical framework to understand the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight. To understand the Meme Fight is attached with the essence of understanding it as a practice of online civic participation at a larger scale of China-Taiwan geopolitical context. Within such a context, the author suggests that Internet memes expressed not only the political values but also many underlying emotions during the Meme Fight, while the collision of emotions led to the segementing and polarization of social groups who held different standpoints on whether Taiwan is or should be independent. Moreover, as expressions of emotions, the memes also bleahed the emotions by removing them from the expressions. Eventually, the emotions are actually absent in the Meme Fight.

**Keyword:** China-Taiwan conflict, the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight, post-emotionalism, meme culture, onlince civic participation

# 1. Introduction

In 2016, a massive Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight(the Meme Fight) burst between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, resulting in a tension that still exists today. Over 4000 mainland netizens gathered together voluntarily online and planned out how to use memes to flood more than 10 pro-Taiwan independence Facebook pages as a protest (Huang, 2016 January). The collective memes attack started at 7pm, China time, 20 January 2016. Within eight hours, nearly 40,000 anti-Taiwan independence memes were commented under the latest Facebook post of pro-Taiwan independence politician Tsai Ing-Wen's (Sonnad, 2016 January).<sup>1</sup> I was 19 years old when all these happened. On that specific day, at that specific moment, suddenly all the social media platforms surrounding me were occupied by the Meme Fight. Nobody was sharing life on WeChat or Weibo any more. Only the memes with strong one-China emotions were everywhere. The memes were produced, replicated, discussed and recycled. Yet the attached emotions were eventually bleached in this process. People didn't care about the emotions any longer, while keeping using memes as expressions of emotions. Hence, the emotions were bleached. The Meme Fight made me realize the giant participatory power of new media and intrigued me to study new media and digital culture. Recalling the Meme Fight now, I believe that the Internet memes back then, as strong expressions of emotions, have been utilized to protect their political values of anti-Taiwan independence by the Chinese mainland netizens.

First coined by the evolutionist Richard Dawkins in 1976, memes are units in human cultural transmission (2016, 245-260). Internet memes are nowadays commonly and increasingly used in online communication. As media scholar Limor Shifman stated, the Internet has turned the spread of memes into a highly visible practice as the term has become an integral part of the netizen vernacular, which left Internet memes as some ambiguous and vague concepts that are hard to define (2013, 362). A feasible approach of defining Internet memes is to look into its features. In this aspect, digital humanities scholar Pettman concluded proliferation as an essential feature of Internet memes (2019, 26).

Proliferation, as Pettman introduced, is hugely an instance of contagion and strong emotion in a modern context, where the medium of emotion is often its own message (2019, 26). In my opinions, the Meme Fight was driven by conflicting emotions concerning the Taiwanese independence, and the memes were actually the messages of such emotions. Judging expressions of emotions instead of information thus led to totally different understandings of the movement. While supporters proudly identified the Meme Fight as "a self-organized cultural communication" to close the cognitive gap, many others saw it as a painful reflection of nationalism dominating the ideology of the Chinese millennial generation (Huang, 2016 January). Both positive and negative emotions were expressed in response to expressions of the anti-Taiwan independence emotion, while the original anti-Taiwan independence belief actually disappeared in presence of these response since the giant Meme Fight squad has split up. The Internet, as Pettman stated, can be viewed as a planetary proliferation chamber, or global meme machine here, communicating micro- and macro-enthusiasms on a scale and speed never seen before and canceling earlier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is detailed descriptions and interpretations of what has happened during the Meme Fight in the section 2 of chapter 3, along with the explanations on the corpus selection of this research.

enthusiasms in the process (2019, 26). In other words, while the memes kept going, the underlying emotions slowly lost meaning. All the once-expressed emotions are eventually bleached, as I would call it, by the memes this way. Understanding memes from emotions, hence, should be an inspiring perspective to read meme culture.

Post-emotionalism, a theoretical framework come up by Mestrovic to understand media artifact, therefore offers a feasible approach to look into memes related to emotions (1997, 3-4). As is framed by Mestrovic, Post-emotionalism believes that emotions have been collectively consumed as information product ever since the traditional mass media era began. It has been discussed above that Internet memes nowadays are actually expressions of emotions. Entering the new media generation, media technology has evolved to a level where every single person can easily start a YouTube channel or Tik Tok Vlog. Cronin and Cocker have pointed out that he increasing exposure and changing medium form encouraged the online emotional behaviors like fandom consumption today (2019, 281). Taking inspirations from post-emotionalism, this research explore the actual process of bleaching the underlying emotions in the spread of Internet memes.

Besides Post-emotionalism, the concept of civic participation becomes the other kernel of this study. Civic participation is inevitably essential in human social activities. Aristotle once wrote,

Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. And he who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above humanity, or below it; he is the 'Tribeless, lawless, hearthless one,' whom Homera denounces—the outcast who is a lover of war; he may be compared to a bird which flies alone (1885, 4).

Here, Aristotle pointed out the fact that humans are by nature political animals, as Miller explained, because nature has equipped humans with speech the expression of oneself, and by swapping speeches a man can therefore participate in open discussions as a civilian (2017). In this way, Internet memes may offer researchers solid promises to dive into online civic participation as a part of digital culture today and these promises are rooted in the memetic nature of reflecting social phenomenon, as is pointed out by Shifman:

...memes may best be understood as cultural information that passes along from person to person, yet gradually scales into a shared social phenomenon. Although they spread on a micro basis, memes' impact is on the macro: They shape the mindsets, forms of behavior, and actions of social groups (2013, 364-365).

While memes are now commonly consumed as a way of self-expression, studying the Meme Fight from an online civic participation perspective also offers insights to understand meme culture further. Further demonstration and discussion on Internet memes, post-emotionalism and the complete theoretical framework of this research can be found in the following chapter 2.

The Meme Fight, as a practice of online civic participation, is hugely linked to the geopolitics between China and Taiwan, which have been an ongoing essential topic in the regional studies of Asia. Thus the Meme fight also attracted attention from the academic world. In the spectrum of media studies, Yang et al. focused on the opposite nature between the spread of pro-PRC message and the violation of Chinese Internet

Firewall, while the Meme Fight is seen as online activism (2017, 1). Zhang studied the memes as patterns of Internet subculture, thus the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight becomes a sub-cultural carnival of netizens instead of political engagement (2016, 126-127). So far there has not been studies which seek to understand the Meme Fight as an attempt of civil participation while memes are analyzed as the participatory mediated tool to express emotion. This research therefore offers a new perspective for diving into the Meme Fight.

In order to study meme culture from the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight, I have come to the following research question:

How were the Internet memes used as expressions of emotions in the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight?

To answer the research question above, this research situates itself in the realm of Critical Discourse Analysis(CDA). CDA, coined by van Dijk, is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (2005, 351). By applying CDA, the Internet memes are not only analyzed as online discourses surrounding the Meme Fight, but also studied in the stance between the Meme Fight and its outer context of geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan. In-depth explanations on methodology of this research will be explained in chapter 3.

To answer the main research question, I will look at sub-questions below:

• How did the Meme Fight relate to the geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan?

As is discussed above, the Meme Fight is not only a social phenomenon of modern digital culture but also a practice of online civic participation in relation to Asian geopolitics. To answer this question also enhances the underlying social and political relevance of this research. By looking into the Meme Fight along with its social and political context, this research answers this sub-question through discourse analysis. The analysis of this research starts out with sketching out the geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, situating the Meme Fight in its realm.

• What types of memes were used in the Meme Fight, and what features in relation to emotions do they present?

To study the meme culture, it is needed that the memes but not any other things are studied. This question guarantees that I studied the exact targeted objects. To answer this question, this research comes up with a typology of memetic content and conclusions on shared memetic features through discursive analysis. As is revealed by Shifman, the definition of Internet memes has fallen into a dilemma; thus, approaching Internet memes via their memetic features has offered an explicit and feasible way to handle this (2013, 362). <sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Further elaborations on how this research develops its own methods to locate the memetic features can be found in chapter 2 section 3, where researches on Internet memes and their memetic features have been discussed as a part of the theoretical framework.

• What emotions did the memes in the Meme Fight express and bleach, and how did the expressions of these emotions contribute to the proliferation of memes in the Meme Fight?

Pettman(2019, p. 27) has pointed out the canceling, or the bleaching, of emotions boosts the proliferation of Internet memes. The expressed and bleached emotion therefore points to the birth, duplicate and spread of memes. Proliferation is not only the key of Internet memes going viral, but also the process of how Internet memes are used. This question thus directs towards what exactly happened in the Meme Fight from the perspective of emotion. To demonstrate the answer, this research conducts in-depth analysis based on the concluded memetic features from the previous sub-question. Due to the geopolitical meaning of the Meme Fight as an online civic participation practice, the analysis concerning the underlying emotions from the Meme Fight also offers a return back to the geopolitical relevance of this event by demonstrating the widening of communication and ideology gap between the participants from both sides through understanding the conflicting emotions and their expressions.

Each of these questions above is derived from a different layer of inquiry, which ultimately adds up to the brand new understanding of the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight: it is not only a widespread of specific memes with purpose, but also a sociocultural phenomenon where online civic participation is not driven by rational thinking any more. What is beneath the memes is the strong one-China emotion, by which the memes also connected netizens, yet even such an emotion was bleached as a part of the memes' proliferation. Ultimately, this study does not just focus on analyzing the Meme Fight conclusively, but aims at discovering how memes culture can influence online civic participation today by expressing and bleaching emotion.

# 2. Post-emotionalism: The Lens of Understanding Memes

In this chapter, my aim is to provide a theoretical framework to suit my research into Internet memes as expressions of emotion, which ultimately bleach the carried emotion as a result of the proliferation of Internet memes.

To establish such a framework, this chapter uses the first two sections to introduce the notion of post-emotionalism, conclude key theories and findings of post-emotionalism, and discuss the issues and possibilities which can be addressed by post-emotionalism in a new media context. Addressing the social differences resulted by the development of media technologies, this research therefore tries to take on post-emotionalism theories to understand memes as media artifacts while recognizing the roles of individual citizens in this a new media age. The final section of this chapter emphasizes the link between memes and post-emotionalism by defining memes as the emotion-driven participatory media artefact. Through this way, this chapter offers this research academic lens to understand memes.

#### 2.1. How Media Led to Post-emotionalism

First coined in his book *Post-emotional Society*, sociology and media scholar Mestrovic believes our society today has become a place where the dead, abstracted emotions are recycled by the traditional mass media industry in a neo-Orwellian, mechanical, and petrified manner via intellect constructs (1997, 14). Mestrovic stated that the improved media technology and industry has turned the information consumption to be ubiquitous today, while the emotions should be seen as the consumed information products as well (1997, 25-26). According to Mestrovic, there is industrial logic and collective rationality behind the triggering of emotions and feeding on sensationalism from media (1997, 26).

To elaborate his theory, Mestrovic used the media construct of the term "date rape" as one of his examples (1997, 26). Every time we hear the term "date rape", stated by Mestrovic, we mostly start to picture a scene in which an innocent weak female is physically and mentally abused by a brutal male in their date, when the fact is that actually the victim of a date rape can also be a "him" (1997, 26). Similar cases are found by Boyle in the framing of sexual violence as a feminist issue in press reporting, where male victims of rape and sexual assault were mostly silenced or ignored while they actually exist in national statistics (2019, 101-126).

Such an outcome, according to Mestrovic, is rooted in the recycling of our fury against rapists and our empathy for female victims - media attached them to the term "date rape" to create the term's political and emotional connotation (1997, 26). In this way our sentiments triggered by the term "date rape" are all artificial and manipulative, as is written by Mestrovic, they are all

based on the subjective interpretation of the alleged victimizer's motive and on the synthetic construction of their victimhood status as based on membership in a specific group deemed to be a victim (1997, 26).

Similar recycling of emotion can be seen in Internet memes as well. Breuer and Johnston studied US-China political affairs memes and found that storytelling which emotionally resonates is the key to the widespread of memes, while such a resonance or emotional connotation is actually framed by the meme users (2019, 433). Panger

concluded that Internet content going viral is hugely and positively linked to its emotional arousal that is constructed by the content generators (2017, 16). In the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight, it was also the emotional construct between the one-China belief and memes that triggered netizens.

This recycling of emotion, however, doesn't revive the emotion, instead it bleaches the emotion. According to Mestrovic, post-emotionalism makes people not only relate, but also get tired of emotions easily, which makes the emotion ultimately dissolve in modern information consumption (1997, 27). In other word, we truly relate to the emotion no longer, yet we still consume the messages of it actively. In this regard, the canceling of the one-China belief in the end of the Meme Fight becomes understandable.

#### 2.2. From Post-emotionalism to The Phatic New Media

On the basis of Mestrovic's post-emotionalism, fellow studies have been focusing on who should be responsible for contemporary post-emotionalism. Carrette figured out that not only the media but also the state, government and religion take responsibility in recycling emotions (2004, 271), while Rodger accused the Information and Communication Technology(ICT) of bleaching human emotions (2003, 403).

What deserves to be noticed here is that there is always an absolute "suspect" at a collective level who takes on the role of media toying with human emotions, while there is also this correspondent absolute "victim" who can only be the audience or the information receiver in all the academic imaginary scenes. Such a dualism, also mentioned in Mestrovic's analysis, may be originated from the social structure of traditional mass media age, where the audience could only receive messages from the media (1997, 13). Entering the digital era, we individuals however take on both these two roles now. Just as the commercial slogan of Instagram - "capture and share the world moments" - has implied, we can now speak out whatever we want online almost without any limitations. Web 2.0 has opened the participatory society, pointed out by Milner, and meme the newly emerged media artifact therefore carries political meanings inevitably (2012, 4). Everyone is the media, meanwhile everyone is the audience. Such a change can be seen in the Meme Fight as well: firstly the mainland netizens posted Anti-Taiwan independence memes, then the Taiwanese netizens fought back by producing and posting Anti-China memes. Here, there is no such an agency like the press or TV stations in the traditional mass media era. Instead, every individual participant took on the roles of both media and audience, which makes the process of online emotion consumption today different from what is described in post-emotionalism theories.

Noticing the changes, I argue that emotion in the humanities manifesto has evolved from post-emotionalism to the phatic new media stage. Miller demonstrated the increasing significance of phatic communication in new media area as a result of the social contexts which mainly focus on individualization and network sociality nowadays (2008, 387). The technological developments today, as Miller mentioned, have associated human societies with pervasive communication and the notion of connected presence, which also helps online media culture become dominated by phatic communications (2008, 388). The phatic new media reflects the structure of Internet communication. Reckoning the nature of the Internet as not only a type of technology but also a socio-technical system comprised of human actors, regulations,

social norms and social structures, Benski and Fisher argued that networks have entailed increasing connectedness among individual nodes and therefore enhanced the presence and embodiment of emotions online (2013, 1-16). In order words, the phatic new media points out that our online communication is becoming more and more emotional, having almost purely social(networking) and not informational or dialogic intents. This indicates the reasons why memes, the media artefact with more emotional expression than informational function, were chosen in the Meme Fight.

Similar to Mestrovic's belief in the mass media manipulatively consuming emotions, the phatic new media is seemingly concerning on how new media function on shaping human emotions in levels of micro, meso and macro. However, at the same time, different from Mestrovic's post-emotionalism in which the mass media is taken as an anthropopathic actor in consideration of social structure, the phatic new media tend to regard new media as a tool or a platform that is being commonly used by human actors nowadays. Based on the ideas above, Serrano-Puche conclude that technology not only arouses emotions in users and serves as a channel for the expression of affection, but also influences the way in which this affection is modulated, played out and displayed (2015, 2). Such a configuration eventually has consequences on the construct of identity of a person. The impact of new media technologies changing the existence and meaning of human emotions is basically an undeniable fact, while the exact influences or consequences from the phatic new media remain discovery.

Many scholars and researchers share the belief that the phatic new media, especially social media like Facebook and Twitter, have the tendency to cause online emotional polarization issues, which also sparks the answer to how and why memes as expressions of emotion were used in the Meme Fight. Papacharissi once argued that the fragmentation of Internet users makes people only rely on only what fits in their own spectrum, therefore the Internet promotes group polarization and ruins the imaginative online democracy:

Cheap, fast, and convenient access to more information does not necessarily render all citizens more informed, or more willing to participate in political discussion. Greater participation in political discussion helps, but does not ensure a healthier democracy. New technologies facilitate greater, but not necessarily more diverse, participation in political discussion since they are still only available to a small fraction of the population. In addition, our diverse and heterogeneous cultural backgrounds make it difficult to recreate a unified public sphere, on or offline (2002, 21).

Dahlgren shared similar views by stating online civic participation such as open political discussion actually worsens the development of online democracy because people only follow what they want in the Internet (2005, 147-162). Chen and Xu examined the group polarization in the Chinese internet and found that more the netizens that share political views via social media, lower the probability that they will accept new opinions (2017, 217-240). Yet opposite conclusions also exist. Contrary to the stereotype on the guilt of the phatic new media in driving people irrational, Panger found out that social media is not whipping people into a frenzy on average, but rather, is predominantly calming based on a robust result from both Facebook and Twitter (2017, 2). How the emotions in the Meme Fight were shaped is focused by this research in scope of post-emotionalism and the phatic new media.

It is noticeable here that the Meme Fight as a research object is understood as a practice of online civic participation which was hugely driven by the anti-Taiwan independence emotions, while post-emotionalism and the phatic new media offer a feasible research approach. Civic participation, concluded by Delli, refers to individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern, including many forms from individual voluntarism to organizational involvement to electoral participation (Delli, n.d.). As Nah and Yamamoto described, civic participation in a board sense contains not only conventional participation like voting and signing petition for candidates but also a diverse array of civic activities such as protesting (2019, 29). With the rise of social media as alternative journalism, pointed out by Chang, media production is linked to civic participatory activities in this modern age (2005, 925). Specific examples of online civic participation include participating in online forum (Dahlberg, 2001), sharing self-expression content on social or political issues (Kahne, Lee & Feezell, 2012, 3; Nah and Yamamoto, 2019, 29). In this regard, submitting memes to express oneself on a specific political purpose indicates online civic participation today.

With the rise of Taiwanese identity politics, Taiwanese independence has become a sensitively high-profile topic between the mainland and Taiwan. While negative emotions get accumulated, opinions from both sides are becoming more and more radical. In January 2016, a crisis of China-Taiwan relation has been started by the Taiwanese girl idol Chow Tzu-yu, who waved a flag of the ROC on a South Korean TV show and self-identified as a Taiwanese instead of a Chinese. The polarized emotions suddenly reached an explosion point, which led to the Meme Fight.

The Meme Fight, as a collective voluntary movement, was planned and designed by the mainland netizens to protect their public values of regarding Taiwan as an indispensable part of China. According to the report from the Wall Street Journal, the voluntary organizers behind this movement were from Di Ba, also known as Liyi Ba, which is an online community with more than 20 million members, according to Baidu – a figure that rivals Taiwan's 23 million population (Huang, 2016 January). The participants became more and more and many were from outside of Di Ba during the movement due to the spreading of the Meme Fight among all social media. In a form of virtual communication and meme culture, the Meme Fight is a kind of online civic participation of netizens.

#### 2.3. Meme, the Emotion-driven Participatory Media Artifact

Academic findings offered by post-emotionalsim and the phatic new media have equipped this research with lens to look into the Meme Fight from a perspective of understanding the underlying emotions which were converyed by the memes during such an event. I also discussed and demonstrated that the Meme Fight itself should be understood as not only a new media phenomenon but also an online civic participation practice where netizens engaged to express and protest their own political values. The Meme Fight was such a showcase for the conflicting political values and emotions concerning the Taiwanese independence, where the basic units that consisted of this showcase were the Internet memes applied by the Meme Fight participants. In order to dive into the research of the Meme Fight, it is therefore innevitable to look into the notion of the Internet meme. In this research, I argue that Internet memes are the emotion-driven participatory media artifact.

Prior to the Internet, the word "meme" has been in culture evolutionary imagination for long. In 1976, the evolutionary biologist Dawkins argued that evolution happens on not only the biological level but also the cultural level, therefore a unit functioning in cultural transmission analogous to gene, which Dawkins named as "meme", must exist in human society (2016, 245-260). Meme in general is thus actually a sociocultural phenomenon concerning human society and culture evolution. Internet memes should hence be understood as objective and distinct social phenomena according to Knobel and Lankshear (2007, 201; 2018, 3).

Entering the Internet era, online world has developed its own pop culture, as well as meme the unit of sociocultural transmission. Stated by Ryan M. Milner, memes in the new media context should also be seen as amateur media artifacts, which netizens keep replicating, remixing and recirculating in an extreme way to participate in communication happening online (2012, 10-11). Internet memes are nowadays commonly and increasingly used in online communication. As media scholar Limor Shifman stated, the Internet has turned the spread of memes into a highly visible practice as the term has become an integral part of the netizen vernacular, which left Internet memes as some ambiguous and vague concepts that are hard to define (2013, 362). A feasible approach of defining Internet memes is to look into its features. Shifman has charted up a communication-orientated typology of three memetic dimensions: content, form and stance (2016, 366-368). Yet, what Shifman's three dimensions have offered is more like a method for analyzing an Internet meme after it is already confirmed to be a meme. Addressed by Bristow, the Internet memes commonly go on to court and contort definition with a teasing attitude and explicit or implicit orientations, while the forms of them vary in myriad ways (2019, 17-23). In this regard, while Milner's statement arguably touches the core of Internet memes, it is barely possible to define Internet memes in an accurate and detailed way due to their diverse and continually changing forms.

Yet the features of memes are conclude-able. In his definition, Dawkins mentioned memes' fidelity, fecundity and susceptibility, and longevity: fidelity is the characteristic that enables a meme to be readily copied and passed from mind to mind relatively intact, which can take many forms such as text, pattern or idea; fecundity and susceptibility is the rate at which the meme is copied or spread; longevity refers to the life length of a meme (2016, 245-260). Such a conclusion of memetic features still apply to Internet memes today and has been applied by researchers such as Knobel and Lankshear in demonstrating Internet memes.

Besides all these features above, addressed by Shifman, deep down in memes is economic, social and cultural logic of participation (2011, 191-201). Such a logic is actually rooted in the Internet: not only that we now use social platforms to express ourselves via multimedia a lot, but also we produce loads of date to feed the Internet daily from streaming. As is stated by Milner, we are now in a participatory age supported by new media (2012, 19-20).

Arguably, I believe this participatory logic of memes is aroused by the expressed emotion. As is concluded by Serrano-Puche, technology not only awakens emotions in users but also serves as a channel for the expression of affection which responds to the emotions (2015, 2). Emotions here are the deep drive for Internet users to create online content, and to react to these emotions which are expressed by the online content, users generate new online content to show affection. In this regard, online engagement is being built, while the starting point of such a participation is the emotional drive of posting. As a type of online content, the participatory logic behind Internet memes also fits in this conclusion.

Pettman interpreted the life circle of a meme as a proliferation, which is hugely an instance of contagion and emotion in a modern context where the medium of emotion is often its own message (2019, 25–30). In conclusion, the spread of memes is often driven by emotion instead of information. The meme, therefore, is unavoidably the media artefact of emotion in nature.

In this regard, the memetic features shall be understood from the perspective of emotions here. While fidelity points to the key factors how the emotion is expressed by memes, fecundity and susceptibility, and longevity together imply how strong the expressed emotion is and how long it takes to bleach such an emotion in memes. By analyzing the memetic features, it is feasible to understand how memes express emotion and how emotion contribute to memes' proliferation.

Now that I have discussed the key concepts and theoretical framework in this chapter, the question is how to turn all the pre-researches above into actual designs and practices of methodology. In the following chapter, the research methods will therefore be explained.

# 3. Examining the Meme Fight: Methodology

In this chapter, I will introduce the research methods in this study. This research has taken main inspirations from Critical Discourse Analysis(CDA). Besides the inspiring insights from CDA, this research situates itself in Content Analysis, which is a method developed by Knobel and Lankshear in their Internet meme analysis (2007, 199; 2018, 1). As a discursive analysis approach, Content Analysis shares lots of common features with the traditional CDA approach in analyzing discourses critically, which makes it feasible for this research to combine the inspirations taken from both. Focusing on the content of memes from the Meme Fight, the discursive analysis practices here fit in the approach of Content Analysis well, while CDA sparks this research to have a critical look in to the Meme Fight.

Starting with a brief intro, the first section of this chapter explains how CDA fits in the research on memes as expressions of emotion in the Meme Fight. Later, the first section focuses on the sparks inspired by Content Analysis, and offered an example of the actual methodology practice in this research. Inspired by both CDA and Content Analysis, this research develops its own methodology. Ultimately, at the second and final section of this chapter, it is explained the corpus selection of this study and how it is related to the Meme Fight.

## 3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis

Methodologically, this research situates itself in critical discourse analysis(CDA). Critical discourse analysis(CDA), coined by van Dijk, is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (2005, 351). Based on these notions, this study came up with three different levels of understanding the Meme Fight as culture, artifact and the connection between the previous two.

Understanding the Meme Fight as culture refers to studying it as a sociocultural phenomenon with its unique context. In a CDA-inspired research, the object has already been placed within a cultural, social and political spectrum which should be firstly examined and studied by the researcher, hence background analysis is inevitable. Inspired by the CDA notion of context, to understand the Meme Fight, it is also unavoidable for a researcher to look at the socio-political culture and geopolitics behind the event. Such a background intro offers this study a scope to understand the Meme Fight as a sociocultural phenomenon.

Understanding the Meme Fight as artifact refers to studying it as a media artefact. Here this research looks into the discourses, narratives and language structures within the Meme Fight, instead of the context surrounding it. Emphasized by Fairclough in CDA discussions, ideology exists in not only the social background but also the language structures and discoursal practice (2013, 54-67). This discursive approach of understanding emotions can also be observed in post-emotionalism, in which Mestrovic conducted his studies on media discourses from then-highlights including O.J.Simpson cases and came up with the notion (1997, 38-39). In this study, on the basis of Mestrovic's approach, I believe the existence of emotions is similar to such an existence of ideology in and out of discourses, and should be applied as an

essential element in analyzing the Meme Fight. The discourses reflect the ideology, hegemony, sociocultural changes, and human emotions.

As I will show, an observed outcome is that a huge part of the Meme Fight content is highly overlapped as the participants were mainly just copying and pasting the Internet memes that they created. To capture a better image of discourses from the Meme Fight, this research therefore uses a typology to generalize the overlapped memes. Meanwhile, after being generalized into the typology, these memes well and explicitly reflect how their users situate themselves in this online civic participation politically and emotionally, which will be further discussed in the analytical chapter. Following is an example meme. One of the widespread memes shown in Figure 1 below is actually the Eight Honors and Disgraces<sup>3</sup> which was officially published by the Chinese government in 2003, as explained by Bandurski (2007 July).



#### Figure 1.

A screenshot of the overlapped memetic discourses used in the 2016 Meme Fight from the Facebook page of Liberty Times, a Taiwanese media who was flushed during the event. (自由時報-Posts, 2016 January 21st)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Eight Honors and Disgraces" are translated as follows: "Loving the Mother Country is honorable, harming the Mother Country is disgraceful; Serving the People is honorable, neglecting the People is disgraceful; Upholding science is honorable, blindness and ignorance are disgraceful; Hard work is honorable, idleness disgraceful; Unity and cooperation are honorable, using others for profit is disgraceful; Honesty and keeping one's word are honorable, seeing personal gain and forgetting justice is disgraceful; Respecting laws and regulations is honorable, disobeying laws and regulations is disgraceful; Suffering for the struggle is honorable, conceit and lasciviousness are disgraceful" (Bandurski, 2007). These are also the translations for the top and below comments in Figure 1, while the middle one is a poetry praising the CPC's stage success on the Chinese civil war from Mao Zedong.

Eventually, understanding the Meme Fight as connection between culture and artifact refers to combining the previous two parts of analysis and then studying further into the ideology structures beneath the event. As I discussed before, in this study, the existence of ideology should be understood as the existence of emotion. CDA insights provide researchers with a lens to look at the connections between the corpus as an artefact and the sociocultural context surrounding it, which is important to help this study to locate itself within the context of Chinese and Taiwanese geopolitics and the meme studies concerning meme the media artefact. Moreover, in this way, this research gets to understand both the memetic expressions of emotions and the changing status of these underlying emotions.

Following is an example of how to put the discussions above into use. Looking into the discourses as artifacts in Figure 1, such an application of governmental discourses in the memetic discourses of the Meme Fight implies the recognition of this government-emphasized ethical standards from the mainland netizens. Taking sociocultural context out of the discourses into analysis, it is found that this adaptation from governmental discourses to online public discourses happened almost unconsciously - there wasn't any rational explanation on why the Eight Honors and Disgraces were picked; the mainland organizers of the Meme Fight reportedly believed these core values represent the good spirits of China and may help promote the good image of the mainland while closing the communication gap, while the opponents captured the smell of the mainland millennial sinking into polarized nationalism (Huang, 2016 January). By combing the two above, this recognition of the government-claimed goodness can be conclusively understood to be more of an emotional intimacy of Chinese the mainland government's political stand, in which a consistent and complete set of ethical logic that convinces the opponents is actually lacking.

Besides CDA, Content Analysis as a type of discourse analysis mainly sparked the methodological practice of this research. Developed by Knobel and Lankshear, Content Analysis is a discursive analytical method in understanding, concluding and categorizing Internet memes' essential features (2007, 199; 2018, 1). Different from the majority of meme studies, Knobel and Lankshear did not concentrate on what a meme is or isn't, instead they invested in figuring out key characteristics of successful online memes as they claimed (2007, 206; 2018, 7). In this way, Knobel and Lankshear offer this research a feasible approach to discursively analyzing Internet memes<sup>4</sup> shown in Appendix 2 (2007, 207; 2018, 8). Moreover, the outcomes of Knobel an Lankshear's study provide this research with a hypothesis that humour and intertextuality may contribute to the memes bleaching the expressed emotions in the Meme Fight:

Analysis of the contextual or social "systems" of the memes in this study also suggested three distinct patterns of characteristics that we think are likely to contribute directly to each meme's fecundity in particular. These include:

•Some element of humour, ranging from the quirky and offbeat, to potty humour, to the bizarrely funny, to parodies, through to the acerbically ironic, and/or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On the basis of Knobel and Lankshear's approach, this research has developed its own prompt questions for online memes discursive analysis to fit in the research objectives. See the following pages in this chapter, for more information.

•A rich kind of intertextuality, such as wry cross-references to different everyday and popular culture events, icons or phenomena, and/or

•Anomalous juxtapositions, usually of images. (2007, 209; 2018, 10)

Whether such a hypothesis will turn out to be true or not remains further digging-in from this research. But these outcomes offers important insights for this research to look into the actual memetic discoursal practices during the Meme Fight.

Table 1. Prompt questions for discursively analyzing memes from the Meme Fight

Referential or ideational system	The focus is on the meaning of memes.		
	• How do I interpret the content of the meme?		
	• How is this content related to the Meme Fight?		
	• What does this meme mean or signify for people in the		
	Meme Fight? How do I know?		
Contextual or interpersonal system	The focus is on the social relations.		
	• Where does this meme "stand" with respect to the		
	relationship it implies or invokes between people in the		
	Meme Fight? What tells me this?		
	• What does this meme tell us about the Meme Fight		
	within which this meme proves to be contagious and		
	replicable?		
	• What does this meme seem to assume about knowledge		
	and truth within the Meme Fight?		
Ideological or worldview system	The focus is on the values, beliefs and worldviews.		
	• What deeper or larger themes, ideas, positions are		
	conveyed by this meme?		
	• What do these themes, ideas and positions tell us about		
	different social groups in the Meme Fight?		
	• What do these memes tell us about the world, or a		
	particular version of the world?		
Sensational or passionate system	The focus is on the emotions.		
	• What kind of emotion is expressed by this meme? How		
	do I know?		
	• How does the emotion relate to the Meme Fight and its		
	conveyed values, beliefs and worldviews?		
	• What responses does this meme receive in the Meme		
	Fight, and what emotion do this responses carry? How		
	do I know?		

As we can see, above is the prompt questions for discursively analyzing memes from the Meme Fight. An actual example of how this table was used during the research can be found in Appendix 1. These questions are categorized into four systems and the design of these systems roots from the three analytical dimensions of CDA: the artefact, the context and the relations between these two. The previous three systems are mainly taken from Knobel and Lankshear's system<sup>5</sup> with slight changes. For example, in the referential and ideational system, Knobel and Lankshear asked "What idea or information is conveyed by the meme? How do we know?", and here I changed this question into "How doI interpret the content of the meme?". By changing the question, I focused more on discribing the content of the meme first instead of directly going for the underlying meaning of the meme. Such a change is based on the characteristic of my corpus in this research: as a regional event, the Meme Fight and its involved memes are tightly bonded with the Chinese and Taiwanese contexts. To understand them, it is therefore inevitable to look into the content first. While Knobel and Lankshear offered a good framework for memes researchers, this research does want to investigate the memes with a perspective of emotions. This study objective has inspired the fourth sensational or passionate system. Below, I would like to explain the four systems further.

The first system, referential or ideational system concentrates on analyzing memes as the artefact. As is listed in the table above, referential or ideational system focuses on the meaning of the memes. In this system, the Internet memes are analyzed from the dimensions of forms, features and underlying information which contributes to understand not only the memes but also the context surrounding the memes.

The second system, contextual or interpersonal system, then moves to focus on the surrounding context on the basis of the previous referential or ideational system. In this system, I look at the relations influenced by the memes among the participants of the Meme Fight. Contextual or interpersonal system therefore points to the people behind the memes and the memetic influences that they received. Based on the Meme Fight's geopolitical background, I believe these relations can be interpreted as the ideological recognition and conflicts between netizens from the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, which leads to the third ideological or worldview system.

Ideological or worldview system bases on understanding the Meme Fight as an actual practice of online civic participation in the geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan. In this system, I analyze the larger political identity conflict behind the Meme Fight, which adds up to the analysis for the context dimension in this study.

While deep down in the Meme Fight are ideological issues, these issues were expressed through memes in an emotional way, as I have discussed above. In this regard, emotions actually took on the role of connecting memes and their geopolitical background. Exploring emotions thus offers a way to look into the relations between the artefact and the context in this research. To understand this process, it is therefore inevitable to look into the Meme Fight from a perspective of emotions, which leads to sensational or passionate system. Sensational or passionate system analyzes not only the emotions which were expressed by the memes but also the relevance between these emotions and the ideologies. Hence, it captures the process of memes consuming, recycling, bleaching emotions in the Meme Fight, and explores its internal forces which push the process forward.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The entire table which Knobel and Lanshear have come up with can be seen in the appendix.

#### 3.2. Corpus Selection

In order to analyze meme culture in the online civic participation of the Meme Fight, this research decides to focus on the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight and demarcate the specific body of research in it. The research will look at memes from the five Facebook pages who were mainly attacked during the Meme Fight, which are the Facebook pages of Taiwanese Politician Tsai Ing-Wen, Taiwanese celebrity Chow Tzu-yu, Taiwan media outlets Apple Daily and Liberty Times as well as the British Broadcasting Corporation(BBC).

What deserves to elaborate is that the memes here actually refers to all the memetic content which were identified by the Meme Fight participants as memes. Such a selection is based on the theoretical framework, where it is emphasized that Internet memes vary in forms including texts, images and even videos, along with the Meme Fight itself. While the majority of online memes are made of images and texts which continuously upgrade during the spreading, much memetic content from the Meme Fight was only texts that went viral but hardly changed during their widespread. Interestingly, all the repeated content that were used to flush the Facebook pages were claimed to be memes in the Meme Fight by the participants.

This selection of corpus is based on the Meme Fight, in which the Chinese mainland netizens mainly attacked the Facebook pages of Taiwanese Politician Tsai Ing-Wen, Taiwanese celebrity Chow Tzu-yu, Taiwan media outlets Apple Daily and Liberty Times as well as BBC. Back in 2016, the starting point of the Meme Fight was at the scandal where the Taiwanese celebrity Chow Tzu-yu waved a ROC flag on a South Korean TV show, which the Chinese mainland netizens considered as a behavior of supporting Taiwan as an independent country and organized a massive boycott against Chow and her label JYB entertainment in the mainland market; as a result, Chow recorded an apology video in which she read a letter to show supports of Anti-Taiwan Independence on January 15, 2016 (Website "hacked" over Taiwan flag row, 2016 January). During the scandal, Chow was portrayed as a symbol of Taiwanese civic pride by Taiwanese media including Apple Daily and Liberty Times, who also described Chow's apology video as a humiliation for not only herself but also Taiwan.

蘋果新聞網
 2016年1月16日・
 ○

「我是台灣人,我挺周子瑜!」#認同請分享 跟著 #蘋果日報 一起 #挺子瑜 ♀ ♀ http://goo.gl/Uf4OLM

跟著 蘋果日報 一起上傳 #StandByYu 的推文到twitter、Instagram, 聲援周子瑜,讓世界看到我們的力量 CCC #請分享

【#特選話題】子瑜憔悴道歉 台灣心疼力挺 http://goo.gl/QDwZRW

○ ● 蘋果日報的twitter由此去 https://twitter.com/tw\_nextmedia Figure 2. Apple Daily started #StandByYu on Facebook, portraying Chow Tzu-yu as a symbol of the island's civic pride (蘋果新聞網 -Posts, 2016 January 16th)

#TWICE #周子瑜 #JYP #쯔위 #TzuYu #黃安 TWICE TWICE::周子 Tzuyu台灣應援首站 TWICE 周子瑜Tzuyu쯔위 #tagboard



何韻詩(左)日前聲援銅鑼灣書店負責人李波失蹤事件。(翻攝自臉書)

Meanwhile, in January 2016, Taiwan was holding its presidential election, during which Taiwanese politician and Taiwanese independence supporter Tsai Ing-Wen successfully entered the finale. On January 16, 2016, which is the day after Chow apologized publicly, then-candidate Tsai won the election and became the current Taiwan president. According to BBC, Tsai specifically mentioned Chow's apology and claimed it as a bully against an innocent Taiwan girl waving her motherland's flag in her inaugural address (A tale of two Taiwanese women, 2016 January).

In its following report focusing on Chow's apology video on January 18, 2016, BBC described Chow's scandal as below:

To many, she says, it(Chow's apology video) was a reminder of their biggest peeve - that Taiwan, which they consider a sovereign country, is not recognised as one officially and is denied membership in the United Nations as well as in many international groups (Website "hacked" over Taiwan flag row, 2016 January).

Chow's scandal, Tsai's victory in the 2016 Taiwan president election, and the rising identity politics when it comes to the independence of Taiwan as a country, all these things mixed together and triggered the Chinese mainland netizens to start the Meme Fight. Besides, all these public discourses mentioned above were also seen as explicitly or implicitly pro-Taiwan independence and anti-China sovereignty by the Chinese mainland netizens, which made the Facebook pages of Taiwanese Politician Tsai Ing-Wen, Taiwanese celebrity Chow Tzu-yu, Taiwan media outlets Apple Daily and Liberty Times as well as BBC become major targets in the Meme Fight.

As is mentioned in the first paragraph of chapter 1, the Meme Fight officially started at 7pm, China time, 20 January, 2016. This research selected the memetic content from the target Facebook pages which was posted by the Chinese mainland netizens after this specific time. Reportedly, the heat of the Meme Fight continued to the next day, which was 21 January, 2016 (Huang, 2016 January). Therefore, this study has set the corpus time frame to be from 7pm, 20 January, 2016 to 12pm, 21 January, 2016, China time. By doing this, it is feasible to capture an adequate representative image of the Meme Fight by collecting the posts and attached comments from the Facebook pages of Taiwanese Politician Tsai Ing-Wen, Taiwanese celebrity Chow Tzu-yu, Taiwan media outlets Apple Daily and Liberty Times as well as BBC from January 20, 2016 to January 21, 2016. Within this specific time and target frame, discourses of the Meme Fight will be analyzed to establish an adequate representation of this vast online event.

Ultimately, the corpus contains 37 Facebook posts and 322186 attached comments in total, which offers 56 different memes for this research to analyze discursively. What is noticeable here is that the majority of the memes are from the Chinese mainland netizens, which I call the mainland memes, while the minority are from Taiwanese netizens, which I call the Taiwanese memes. The complete corpus sources and a summary of all the collected memes can be seen in the appendix.

Now that the research methods and the corpus are both settled, follows this chapter is the actual analytical practices from this study. In the next chapter, the analysis from this research is introduced.

# 4. Analysis

I have so far asserted that Internet memes are used as expressions of emotions while the expressed emotions drive the memes to spread during the proliferation of Internet memes in my theoretical framework. Such a binary relation between the memes and their underlying emotions is tightly bounded with the participatory nature of memes as media artefact. In analyzing the Meme Fight as an online civic participation practice, the relation between Internet memes and their expressed emotions offers me a perspective to dive into the Meme Fight and look for the answers for my research questions.

Through analyzing the Meme Fight with the theoretical framework and research methods above, this chapter delivers my answers to my sub-questions from chapter 1. To offer readers more information, I put the analysis from the background studies for the Meme Fight in section 1 on purpose, which also gives hints to answer the sub-question "How did the Meme Fight relate to the geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan?".

In the second section of this chapter, I looked into the actual Internet memes which were vastly used during the Meme Fight. Due to the word limit, it is impossible to put the entire analysis for all the memes that I collected in this part. Instead, examples from the memetic content which I consider as typical and representative are shown in the demonstration. On the basis of the analysis, I concluded one typology and three major common features from the analyzed memes in the Meme Fight, answering the sub-question "What types of memes were used in the Meme Fight, and what features in relation to emotions do they present?". Moreover, this section also discusses the relation between the concluded common features and the expressed emotions, which offers insights for the third section.

The third section focuses on the emotions beneath the memetic content. Based on the analysis from the second section, it is revealed that what drove the memes to go viral during the Meme Fight is the national confidence from both the Chinese mainlanders and Taiwanese. Such a confidence not only contributed to the widespread of Internet memes, but also got bleached in the end of the memes' proliferation. The third section concludes and explains the life circle of emotions expressed by Internet memes, which responsively points to the sub-question "What emotions did the memes in the Meme Fight express and bleach? How did the expressions of emotions contribute to the proliferation of memes in the Meme Fight?".

Each sub-questions derived from a layer of the main research question, as is mentioned in introduction. By combining all my answers for the sub-questions, the answer for the main research question is accomplished in a conclusive way.

### 4.1. Asian Geopolitics Behind The Meme Fight: A Context

As a religious event, the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight(the Meme Fight) is tightly linked to the geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan. Situating itself in CDA, it is inevitable for this research to study the larger context of the Meme Fight within a historical and sociocultural background. Based on the background studies from both contextual or interpersonal system and ideological or worldview system of the prompt questions, this section therefore offers a general introduction to the research outcomes on the Meme Fight and its geopolitics behind.

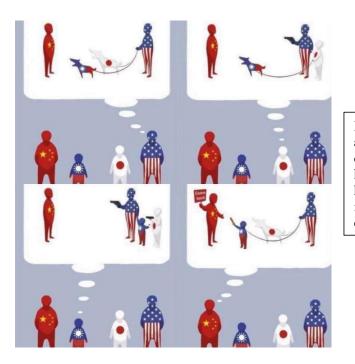


Figure 4. Asian geopolitics according to Chinese internet users during the Meme Fight. (Source: https://qz.com/598812/an-army-of-c hinese-trolls-has-jumped-the-great-f irewall-to-attack-taiwanese-indepen dence-on-facebook/)

Tensions between the Chinese Mainland and Taiwan have been an ongoing issue in South China Sea. Taiwan the island off the Chinese southern coast has been claiming itself as Republic of China(ROC) an independent country, while the People's Republic of China(PRC) or the Chinese mainland has always seen Taiwan as one of its provinces, a territory with its own democratically elected government. Such a sovereignty dispute results from the messy history mixed with invasion, occupation, colonization, refuge and intermarriage behind Taiwan.

First annexed by imperial China in the late 1600s, Taiwan was ceded to Japan by imperial China in accordance with a war treaty in 1895. The sovereignty of Taiwan was returned to ROC in 1945 as World War 2 came to an end. Originally ROC was the Chinese government for decades. In 1949 ROC lost the civil war to Communist Party of China, and its then-leaders fled to Taiwan. Since then, Taiwan has become the final land of ROC. ROC kept its seat in United Nation(UN) before 1971, when the PRC won the position to represent China for the first time (Albert, n.d.).

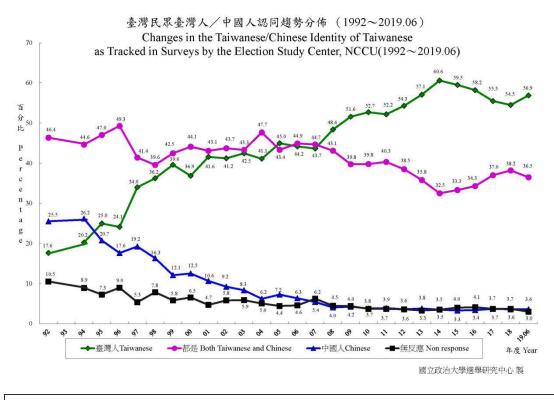


Figure 5. Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2019.06)

Such a complex historical background makes Taiwan a state of ambiguity, who itself may also find it difficult to locate its own identity. In recent years, Taiwan has been tied to the Chinese mainland economically in a thrived way. Yet political frictions still shadow the relationship. Taiwanese identity politics has risen after Tsai Ing-Wen won the 2016 president election. Tsai rejected the one-China consensus established between the mainland and Taiwan in 1992 and claimed the independence of Taiwan positively, which levels up the tensions. According to a survey conducted by National Chengchi University, almost 55% of current Taiwanese residents regarded themselves as exclusively Taiwanese (Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU, 2019 Junly 1). Over a century of separation has led to the huge gap in geopolitical values between the mainland and Taiwan. The Meme Fight can be seen as a refelction on this geopolitical value gap. To protect the political values of Taiwan as a part of China, the mainland netizens started the Meme Fight which turns out to be an online civic participation practice.

#### 4.2. Common Features of the Memetic Content in the Meme Fight

In this research, I looked into many memetic content during this research and saw in total 56 different memes whose content ranges from a vast spectrum including texts of classic and modern Chinese literature, and images of political and entertainment industry celebrities. As is mentioned in corpus selection section in chapter 3, the memes here actually refers to all the memetic content which were identified by the Meme Fight participants as memes. While the memetic content was being vastly used and identified as memes in the Meme Fight, they also took on the role of emotion-driven participatory media during this practice of online civic participation. In this regard, they are categorized as Internet memes from the Meme Fight.

In the prompt questions for discursively analyzing the memes from the Meme Figh<sup>6</sup>t, I came up with a question "How do I interpret the content of the meme?" in the referential or ideational system. This question is aimed to understand the content of the meme in a descriptive way. By answering the question, I tried to learn about the memes from the surface content. As I have noticed from the answers for such a question, all these memes can be concluded into different themes, yet these themes seems to be too random to conclude into any feature-based categorization system.

While the theme range of the analyzed Internet memes is quite vast and random, the different forms taken on by the memes can be concluded into three basic types: text, image and a mixture of the previous two. To capture a better understanding of the analyzed Internet memes, I then put the concluded themes into the form-based categorization and generated the following typology of memetic content in the Meme Fight.

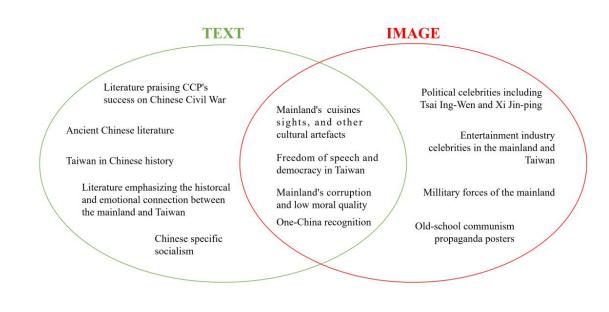


Figure 6. A typology of memetic content in the Meme Fight

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Details can be seen in Table 1 on page 16.

As can be observed, the text-only memes applied literary, historical and even governmental diplomatic materials, and the image-only memes mainly utilized some straightforward political visual symbols such as Chinese and Taiwanese government leaders, mainland military forces and propaganda posters. While the theme selection of memetic content from participants in the Meme Fight still seems to be quite irrelevant from each other, the memes themes and their actual content featured something commonly. As is observed from both the content and the typology, the memes are all very political, culture-oriented and communication-dysfunctional. I will explain these three common features below.

Based on the analytical outcomes of the ideological or worldview system in understanding memes, from ancient Chinese literature to entertainment industry celebrities in the mainland and Taiwan, the memetic content all carries strong ideological meaning from the users, which becomes the political feature of the memes from the Meme Fight. The political side of these memes is not difficult to understand. As is discussed in the theoretical framework, the Meme Fight itself should be seen as an online civic participation practice. As the tool used in this practice, the memes are naturally assigned with political meanings. Moreover, such a political feature is combined with high recognition of each own political values. The drive to convince from the recognition makes the political feature emotional. Such an emotion also provide the netizens with the drive of memetic proliferation. The strong one-China recognition became a part of this national confidence from the Chinese mainland netizens. An example presented earlier in chapter 4 is the memetic adaptation of the governmental official discourses from the Chinese mainland netizens, which is actually driven by a collective unconscious recognition of these official diplomatic discourses. Reverse approach of turning emotionally recognized objects into political symbols also exists in the Meme Fight. For example, the memes<sup>7</sup> that show the mainland's commonly admired treats and sights were stamped with a political symbol of Anti-Taiwan Independence<sup>8</sup> in the Meme Fight, which is shown in Figure 7.



Figure 7. The meme of Shanghai specialty pan-fried pork bun from the Meme Fight. The stamp at the top left says: Anti-Taiwan Independence Stamp From Di Ba(the netizen group that started the Meme Fight). The middle sentence says: treat you to pan-fried pork bun.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> As is mentioned in corpus selection section in chapter 3, the memes here actually refers to all the memetic content which were identified by the Meme Fight participants as memes. While the memetic content was being vastly used and identified as memes in the Meme Fight, they also took on the role of emotion-driven participatory media during this practice of online civic participation. In this regard, they are categorized as Internet memes from the Meme Fight.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Though here I used the word "stamp", actually the real-life stamping procedure doesn't really exist. Such a stamped effect was made and edited in software like Adobe Photoshop, since all the memes here were digital. It is interesting that these netizens who claimed themselves as volunteers put in so much effort to make the memes look like something official and authoritative.

While all the memes are political, they also turn out to be culture-oriented in the analysis from the contextual or interpersonal system for understanding memes. Themes like ancient Chinese literature, Taiwan in Chinese history, and mainland cuisine and sights are attached with explicit cultural meanings. Meanwhile, in some other themes such as political celebrities from both sides and Taiwanese democracy and freedom of speech, culture-orientation of the memes is shown in the relation between the content and its outer context. While the mainland netizens used lots of cultural content like cuisines and landscapes to generate their memes and express their political stand in a roundabout way, the Taiwanese applied much more straightforward and politics-related content as their memetic responses. An example of the Taiwanese responses is Figure 8, a Taiwanese meme claiming that family of mainland high officials all immigrated to western countries. Discussing or talking about high officials' family is always a taboo in the Chinese mainland society, making the speaker to be the disrespectful and unfaithful reactionary among all. For the mainlanders, the relevant information is also not transparent and impossible to confirm. Such a difference in content generating is a result of the different political culture between the two regions: the Chinese mainland is famous for its closure and censorship on politic-relevant topics, and Taiwan is much opener and more willing to actual politic discussions.9



Figure 8. A Taiwanese meme claiming that family of mainland high officials including Xi Jin-ping's brother, sister and daughter all immigrated to western countries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> While this is considered a politically cultural difference here, netizens in the Meme Fight did realize such a difference and used it to generate quite a lot of memetic content as well. For example, the Taiwanese memetic discourses of its civic pride on allowing the mainland netizens to express themselves under Taiwanese Facebook pages, and usually the mainland netizens replied with a statement describing this civic pride to be fake and vain.

Besides, the cultural orientation also implies the same emotions taken by netizens, which are both differently expressed nationalistic pride. The mainlanders were proud of their diverse and longevous culture and the Taiwanese took pride in their democratic political system. The *political* side of the memetic content in the Meme Fight reflects the underlying starting drive, as is discussed earlier. The *cultural* orientation of memes, instead, shows that the expressed emotion extended the proliferation of minor memes to the production of massive memetic content in this "expression-response", as I'd love to call it, spreading process, which also led to the the following communication-dysfunctional feature of memes. Explanations and examples are discussed as follow.

The last but not least, all the analyzed memes which went viral in the Meme Fight are communication-dysfunctional, which is concluede by me and will be explained in the following, contrary to the claimed purpose of cultural communication between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan from Di Ba the voluntary organizers. In the contextual or interpersonal system for discursively analyzing the memes, there is one question asking "what does this meme seem to assume about knowledge and truth within the Meme Fight?"<sup>10</sup>. All the answers for this question point to the existing recognition which the memes assume their audience to already have, while the memes also aim to achieve the same recognition.

Take Figure 7 and 8 as examples. The assumed fact in the Chinese mainland cuisine meme is that its audience all agreed on the charm of the featured food which is actually a metaphor for the Chinese culture, while most Taiwanese have never been to the mainland or tasted these food. This assumed existing recognition for Chinese food culture thus falls into vain. The communication effects hugely depend on the audience in this case. Similarly, the Taiwanese meme claiming Chinese high officials' family are all immigrants assumes its audience to all agree on this information as a solid fact, which points to the transparency and public distrust issue in the mainland governmental system. As is discussed above, the Chinese mainland netizens have no way to confirm the information and naturally dislike to talk about politics in a straightforward way. The assumed existing recognition hence can never win over its target audience. In this regard, both these two memes can be described as communication-dysfunctional. Though the Meme Fight is named after a fight by its participants, in this reagrd it is no longer a fight anymore in the level of memes. The fight part of this event was actually in the conflicts of underlying emotions, which is also implied in the following concluded expression circle.

The analysis from the sensational or passionate system for discursively analyzing the memes shows the communication-dysfunctional feature by looking into the responses which the analyzed memes received. An one-directional expression circle of the memetic content is concluded from the analysis. The discussions risen by the memes kept themselves at the surface level of identifying Taiwan as independent or not, rather than heading to the rational and controversial topic of Taiwan's independence justice. Actually, if looking into the discourses, no valid dialogue is formed. Most of time, just like what is shown in Figure 9, the meme rose the conversation, and the conversation immediately fell into a process of insulting and posting hate-speeches. Ultimately these hate-speeches became the new materials for new memes. To describe such a process conclusively, I name after it as the expression circle of "memes-insults-memes". In this way, the memes only acted as self-expression within

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Details can be seen in Table 1 on page 16.

the Meme Fight, and communication as the essential goal of this online civic participation is no longer functional.

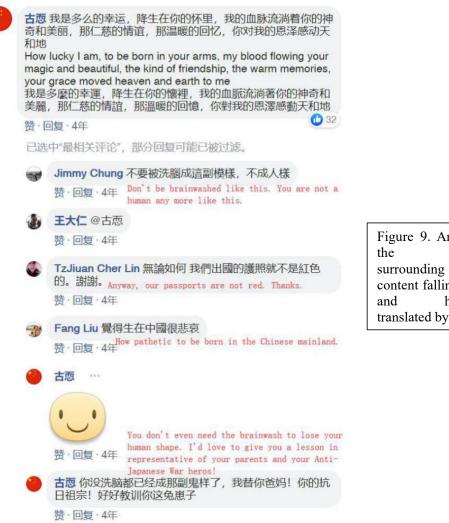


Figure 9. An example of the conservation surrounding the memetic content falling into insults and hate-speeches, translated by me.

Concluded from a perspective of emotions in the memetic sensational or passionate system, such a communication-dysfunctional feature as well as the explanatory expression circle of "memes-insults-memes" also implies the emotional drive behind the Meme Fight. With the assumed existing recognition, the memes urged the audience to choose and express their own political and emotional stand in the Meme Fight as soon and clear as possible. Those who already had this recognition started to defense the underlying meaning of the meme instantly. But to those who didn't share the recognition, the procedure of discussing, thinking, reflecting, concluding and compromising was skipped due to such an urgency. Facing the aggressive memes and their defenses, they took on more aggressive insults and turned insults into memes as responses. In this regard, emotions did unite similar people and set different groups apart, and this separation of social groups was already decided by different assumed existing recognition. Emotions erased the possibility of reaching out to a compromise, and polarized different voices.

### 4.3. In Relation to the Emotion Expressed and Bleached by Memes

As is discussed in the previous section, it is clear that emotions which mainly consist of national confidence lie beneath the birth and proliferation of memes in the Meme Fight. Emotions influenced the function of Internet memes, while at the same time, the memes not only expressed but also bleached the emotions as well. By using the word "bleached" here, I argue that the expressed emotions in the Meme Fight eventually all became meaningless. Here, the emotions can be simply understood as the emotions of anti-Taiwan idependence and pro-China from the mainlanders, as well as the emotions of pro-Taiwan independence and anti-China from the Taiwanese.

Firstly, the emotions were expressed through the forms of online memes. Looking into the memes as discourses surrounding the topic of Taiwanese independence as a country, high recognition as well as admiration of each own political values or the conflicting beliefs on whether or not Taiwan is a part of China, and sociocultural origins can be observed everywhere in text and image. Using the mainland cuisines memes as an example, the bright and colorful pictures interpreting the items indicate an admiration and pride from the mainland netizens, and the digital anti-Taiwan independence stamp shows that this positive emotion is strong enough to let people use them as a representative of the national image. Moreover, the formula sentence in the middle of the pictures which says "treats you to (the name of the presented dish)" reveals a confident and teasing attitude that believes these dishes won't disappoint you and they are nowhere to be found except for China thus, most importantly, you should share this recognition and identify yourself as a part of this appealing culture.



Figure 10. The meme of Chinese specialties in the Meme Fight. The stamp at the bottom right says: Anti-Taiwan Independence Stamp From Di Ba(the netizen group that started the Meme Fight). The middle sentence says: treat you to ...

Similar persuasion logic is shown in the texts memes which consist of ancient Chinese literature classics as well. Take the Guan Ju meme as an example. Guan Ju, which means the crying ospreys in ancient Chinese, is one of the best known poetry in Chinese literature.<sup>11</sup>

關睢		
朝代:先秦		
作者:佚名		
關關雎鳩,在河之洲。 參差莕菜,左右流之。 求之不得,寤寐思服。 參差莕菜,左右采之。 參差莕菜,左右芼之。	窈窕淑女, 悠哉悠哉,	君子好逑。 寤寐求之。 輾轉反側。 琴瑟友之。 鐘鼓樂之。

Figure 11. The Guan Ju meme. The first line says Guan Ju, and the following two lines say the time of the poem is from the early Qin Dynasty(221BC - 206BC) and the author is unknown. Translation of the poem's body can be seen below.

During the Meme Fight, the mainland netizens directly applied the entire short poem as one of the memes to flush the Facebook pages without any explanation or adaptation<sup>12</sup>. On the one hand, such an application shows the netizens' high confidence and recognition in their cultural origins again; on the other hand, such an emotion established a logic that says "you need to agree on your Chinese origin with the mainland because the mainland culture is magnificent". In terms of my personal experience, culture is always seen as a kernel in patriotism in the Chinese mainland from child education to governmental discourses. As a result, the admiration of the

<sup>11</sup> The translation of the poem Guan Ju is here: Merrily the ospreys cry,On the islet in the stream.Gentle and graceful is the girl,A fit wife for the gentleman.

Short and long the floating water plants, Left and right you may pluck them. Gentle and graceful is the girl, Awake he longs for her and in his dreams.

When the courtship has failed, Awake he thinks of her and in his dreams. Filled with sorrowful thoughts, He tosses about unable to sleep.

Short and long the floating water plants, Left and right you may gather them. Gentle and graceful is the girl, He'd like to wed her, the *qin* and *se*\* playing.

Short and long the floating water plants, Left and right you may collect them. Gentle and graceful is the girl, He'd like to marry her, bells and drums beating.

\*the *qin* and *se* refer to two traditional Chinese musical instruments, rather like the zither; the former has seven strings and the latter twenty-five strings.

<sup>12</sup> Again, as is mentioned in corpus selection section in chapter 3, the memes here actually refers to all the memetic content which were identified by the Meme Fight participants as memes.

Chinese culture usually adds up to ones' self-recognition as a proud Chinese citizen. In this regard, this emotion brought more self-satisfaction than communication.

Similarly, the Taiwanese developed their own recognition-based logic to deny the mainland netizens, which roots in their high recognition of the local democracy. Interestingly, to present such a recognition, Taiwanese chose to emphasize their strong distrust of the dictatorship in the Chinese mainland, humiliating and demonizing the mainland, while the defence and explanation of the Taiwanese democracy being better is lacking.<sup>13</sup> Take Figure 12 as an example. The two memes shown in Figure 12 present a mocking alteration of the Chinese national flag. While the first meme uses five characters which mean corruption, greed, lust, ransack and plunder to replace the stars, the second one just simply applies the shape of excrement as the alternative. This alteration is obviously based on the Taiwanese common distrust for the mainland. Using them as memes therefore carries the purpose of seeking a recognition for this distrust. Originally and officially, the national flag is a symbol for the establishment of the Chinese government and the stars on the Chinese flag metaphorize the unity of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC). Arguably, besides the re-affirming of the intextuality, these memes also carry an emotion to shock the mainland audience away externally because this humiliation takes an obivious and deliberate hatred. For a normal Chinese, all these underlying emotions make it hard to relate to the Taiwanese creators in terms of this recognition.



Figure 12. The two memes above are the humiliations on the Chinese national flag, and the one on the bottom is the actual Chinese national flag. The first one uses five characters which mean corruption, greed, lust, ransack and plunder.

While Di Ba the organizer of the Meme Fight has attached the memes with meanings

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Such a choice of discourses may be a result of the mainland's economics growing and winning over the Taiwanese economics back then in 2016.

of pushing forward the cultural communication and closing the gap between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese, it has been shown in the previous section that the analyzed memes as well as their received responses and risen conversations were actually quite communication-dysfunctional. The lack of rational and effective communication in the memes along with the surrounding discussions on social media, more or less contributed to the second stage of emotions after being expressed in online memes from the Meme Fight, which I call the recycling of the emotions. Such a stage of emotions is shown in the answers for the question in the sensational or passionate system for discursively analyzing the memes "what responses does this meme receive in the Meme Fight, and what emotion do this responses carry? How do I know?"<sup>14</sup>, where both the agreed and disagreed emotions from replies turn out to be flat and extreme, and the only meaning of these responses becomes to choose a stand in this rivalry. In this regard, the expressed emotions gradually lost all their meanings, which I describe as being *bleached*, and only the rivalry of these emotions left and made sense.

As discussed earlier, the expressed emotions set groups apart and polarized different views, making people skip the procedure of discussing, thinking, reflecting, concluding and maybe compromising. Identically, what has been set apart were not only people holding different political value, but also emotions that exist in different social groups here. For example, the mainland netizens who are confident in their own culture united together, and so did this confidence; the Taiwanese who trust in local democratic system gathered together, and the trust got together along with its owners too. Within these groups, different emotions expressed and aroused by the memes were recycled from one to another. Under the memetic comments of the selected Facebook pages, it is common to see that the other mainland netizens answered to the mainland memes and showed agreement, or the other Taiwanese agreed on the Taiwanese memes. The same emotion got passed from memes to their audience within the group on basis of similar political views, and pushed some audience to be creators of new memes. The emotions were hereby recycled by Internet memes.

It is interesting and noticeable that the gathering and recycling of the expressed emotions did not contribute to the sublimation of the emotions, instead, online memes bleached the emotions in the Meme Fight ultimately. The emotions of whether or not to justify anti- or pro-Taiwan independence did not matter any longer. The only meaningful thing was just the rivalry between the tweo sides which was created by the emotional conflicts. Following the timeline, the memes changed to be more aggressive and furious along with the expanding of the Meme Fight. At the early stage of the Meme Fight, most memes more or less carried some information or meanings such as cultural showcases and democratic benefits explanations which point to the national confidence of the memes users; with time went by, the memetic content all gradually fell into just the insults and hate-speeches against opponents. People stopped talking about culture or politics, and started to throw words like idiots and perverts to opponents without any reason instead Taking the entertainment industry celebrity meme and the political leaders meme shown in Figure 13 and 14 as examples, they only give a mocking impression and an attached insult sentence, while the other information that points to the original national confidence is mainly lost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Details can be seen in Table 1 on page 16.



Figure 13. The meme of the Chinese mainland entertainment and K-pop celebrity Huang Zi-tao, which was commonly used and promoted within the mainland netizens near the end of the Meme Fight. The characters under "Made in China" says: "Your IQ is just this much". Huang as a pop star has no clear relevance to the geopolitics between the mainland and Taiwan. He was chosen for his extravagant facial expressions. While the little Chinese national flag and "Made in China" symbol still identify the meme's political stand, this meme carries more insults and mocks.



Figure 14. The Taiwanese meme of Xi Jin-ping, the current Chinese president. The sentence in the picture says: "all my netizens troops are idiots". While the meme conveys a strong and aggressive humiliation, neither of the recognition of Taiwanese democracy or the distrust on Chinese dictatorship can be read within this meme.

As is observed from the sensational or passionate system for analyzing memes discursively, the emotions of national recognition and confidence which appeared to be the underlying starting drive of the Meme Fight, which are the anti-Taiwan independence emotions, were bleached by the memetic insults and lost its meanings here. Conclusively saying, the changing of the memetic content based on a timeline shows a process of the emotions being expressed, recycled and bleached along with the happening of the Meme Fight. Due to the communication-dysfunction of the memes, the fight in the Meme Fight should actually refer to the emotions collisions among different social groups, yet the emotions gradually became absent in these collisions since insults became the majority. Both the anti- and pro-Taiwan independence emotions were all bleached from cores to backgrounds of the Meme Fight in this regard.

As has been discussed in the theoretical framework of this research, the Meme Fight is understood as a practice of online civic participation here, while Internet memes as the emotion-driven participatory media supported netizens to join in. The segmentation resulted from the bleaching of emotions therefore links to the viewpoints from Papacharissi: cheap, fast, and convenient access to more information does not necessarily render all citizens more willing to participate in political discussion, and in fact our diverse and heterogeneous backgrounds make it difficult to achieve healthier democracy (2002, 21). Slightly different from the claim of Papacharissi, in the Meme Fight, the emotions did encourage participants to join in political discussions, only in a way of using memes. However, the different emotions as well as the different contexts origins which the emotions point to segmented the netizens, resulting in the dysfunctional communication during the Meme Fight.

# 5. Conclusion and Discussion

In short, this research analyzed the 2016 Anti-Taiwan Independence Meme Fight through a perspective of understanding the memes as expressions of emotions. As a result, the research found that the expressed emotions of national confidence gathered the netizens, started the Meme Fight, set groups apart and pushed voices to be polarized at the early stage of the Meme Fight, however, with time went by, online memes, which are seen as expressions of emotions here, bleached the emotions themselves ultimately.

As expressions of emotions, the collected memes share similar features in the Meme Fight. There features can be concluded by the following three words: political, culture-orientated, and communication-dysfunctional. While the previous two features indicate the emotionally national confidence from both sides of the Meme Fight, the latter feature is more like a consequence of online memes expressing emotions. Emotions here helped generate the dysfunctional communication circulation "memes-insults-memes", which urged people to choose and express their own stand in this political event as soon and clear as possible. The procedure of discussing, thinking, reflecting, concluding and maybe compromising in political communication is skipped due to the urgency. In this regard, emotions did unite similar people and set different groups apart, but such a result was already decided by different political values even before the Meme Fight. Emotions erased the possibility of compromising and polarized different voices.

Interestingly, not only the memes were expressing the emotions in the Meme Fight, but also the emotions were eventually bleached by the memes. The participants in the Meme Fight used memes to express each own nationalistic recognition and pride. During the segementation of different social groups, the strong emotions of national confidence got recycled from netizens to netizens. Ultimately, along with the expanding collisions among different social groups, these emotions were bleached as they ended up absent in the memes of Meme Fight. Such an intriguing phenomenon may be inspiration for fellow researchers to understand the process of proliferation in the modern meme culture.

Group polarization has been seen in the observation and analysis of the Meme Fight. Such an outcome can be understood to prove the early prediction in online civic participation domain from Papacharissi that the Internet may contribute to segementing the participants of online discussions based on their specif backgrounds instead of promoting the democracy that we are looking forward to (2002, 9-27).

Personally and arguably, I believe that an important and huge factor contributing to the online segregation and group polarization, which was not mentioned by Papacharassi in his arguments, is the emotions of online participants. Shown in this research, while different backgrounds can result in different standpoints in an online public discussion, it is actually the aroused emotions that push people into choosing a side. Then the along emotional collisions bring insults and hatespeeches into rational talks, removing the possibilities of healthy communication and expanding the communication gap. I also believe that the choice of using Internet memes as a way of protesting online can arguably be seen as a reflection of this emotional arousal from online civic participation practices. To prove this point may require more studies on practical cases of online civic engagement nowadays. Still such a result of how emotional arousals and collisions functioning in online segregation and group polarization may be helpful for fellow researchers to figure out possibilities of better online civic participation in the future.

The research outcomes also further the post-emotionalism debate in a new media context. During the research, it is discouvered that emotions were expressed through Internet memes by the participants, who were also the Facebook users from the Chinese mainland and Taiwan. In the original post-emotionalism theoreis, Mestrovic addressed that it is the media who should be responsible for the recycling and bleaching of emotions, which is supposed to be understood within the traditional mass media context where the audience are not able to gather and communicate with each other (1997, 3-4). Shown in the outcomes of my research on the Meme Fight from a post-emotional perspective, in the new media context today, social media like Facebook act as platforms where the manipulation of emotions is happening. Contrary to the old belief of Mestrovic, the media themselves are no longer the ones that subjectively trigger, recycle and wash off human emotions on commercial purposes. Actually, the audience or the new media users like the participants of the Meme Fight are acting as the agency which actually switches on, gathers, recycles and bleaches the emotions nowadays.

My observation of the Meme Fight suggests that new media not only give its audience the power to express themselves in their chosen forms, but also deliver opportunities for its audience to gather together on basis of shared values and emotions. Memes as expressions of emotions here contributed to realize such a process of gathering, segementing and going-extreme among different online social groups. To further the post-emotional debate in a modern context, it is therefore essential to emphasize the agency of the audience in manipulating human emotions online.

Additionally, I would like to talk about what may deserves further research. During the discursive analysis, it is noticeable that the Chinese mainland netizens applied lot of governmental discourses in generating memes. While this voluntary adaptation of official propaganda is pretty intriguing, I wasn't able to venture into it specifically due to the limitations of this research. Future researchers may put this under the scope of relevant studies.

Eventually, I would like to emphasize the benefits of my research approach in understanding the Meme Fight, which has equppied this research with unique perspectives of understanding emotions. For a long time aroused and polarized emotions have been seen as outcomes of new media technology. By using emotions as telescopes to study online content like Internet memes, this study actually proved that the expressed emotions are more than just outcomes - they also refelct the underlying structure of online activities including online civic participation nowadays.

## References

- A tale of two Taiwanese women. (2016, January 18). *BBC News*. <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35340530</u>
- Albert, E. (n.d.). *China-Taiwan Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved January 20, 2020, from <u>https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-taiwan-relations</u>
- Aristotle., & Jowett, B. (Trans). (1885). *The Politics of Aristotle* (pp. 4). Oxford, England, UK: Clarendon.
- Bandurski, D. (2007, July 5). Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces 八荣八耻. *China Media Project*. <u>http://chinamediaproject.org/2007/07/05/eight-honors-and-eight-disgraces-%e5%</u> 85%ab%e8%8d%a3%e5%85%ab%e8%80%bb/
- Benski, T., & Fisher, E. (2013). Introduction: Investigating Emotions and the Internet. In *Internet and Emotions*(1st ed, pp. 1-16). Abingdon-on-Thames, England, UK: Routledge.
- Boyle, K. (2019). Men in the #MeToo Era. In K. Boyle (Ed.), #MeToo, Weinstein and Feminism (pp. 101–126). Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28243-1\_5
- Breuer, A., & Johnston, A. I. (2019). Memes, narratives and the emergent US–China security dilemma. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *32*(4), 429–455. https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2019.1622083
- Bristow, D. (2019). Introduction. In Brown, A., & Bristow, D. (Eds.), *Post memes: Seizing the memes of production* (1st ed, pp. 17-23). Santa Barbara, California, United States: Punctum Books.
- Carrette, J. R. (2004). Religion and Mestrovic's postemotional society: The manufacturing of religious emotion. *Religion*, *34*(4), 271–289. <u>https://doi.org/10.1016/j.religion.2004.09.007</u>
- Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU. (2019, July 1). Election Study Centre National Chengchi University. Retrieved January 20, 2020, from <u>https://esc.nccu.edu.tw/course/news.php?Sn=166</u>
- Chang, W. (2005). Online civic participation, and political empowerment: Online media and public opinion formation in Korea. *Media, Culture & Society*, 27(6), 925–935. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443705057680</u>
- Chen, F., Xu, D. (2017). Comments and Links: Group Political Polarization in Social Networking Sites: An Explanation Based on Micro Behaviors. *Chinese Journal of Sociology(in Chinese Version)*, 37(4): 217-240. <u>http://html.rhhz.net/society/html/20170408.htm</u>

- Cronin, J., & Cocker, H. L. (2019). Managing collective effervescence: 'Zomsumption' and postemotional fandom. *Marketing Theory*, *19*(3), 281–299. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593118787589</u>
- Dahlgren, P. (2005). The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation. *Political Communication*, *22*(2), 147–162. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600590933160</u>
- Dahlberg, L. (2006). Computer-Mediated Communication and The Public Sphere: A Critical Analysis. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 7(1). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2001.tb00137.x
- Dawkins, R. (2016). *The Selfish Gene: 40th Anniversary edition* (pp. 245-260). Oxford, England, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Delli, M. (n.d.). *Civic Engagement*. APA.org. American Psychological Association. Retrieved January 19, 2020, from <u>https://www.apa.org/education/undergrad/civic-engagement</u>
- Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language. Abingdon-on-Thames, England, UK: Routledge. <u>https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315834368</u>
- Grossman, L. (2006, December 25). You—Yes, You—Are TIME's Person of the Year. *Time*. http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1570810,00.html
- Huang, M. (2016, January 21). Chinese Netizens Flood Tsai Ing-Wen's Facebook Page With Anti-Taiwan Independence Posts—China Real Time Report—WSJ [News]. Chinese Netizens Flood Tsai Ing-Wen's Facebook Page With Anti-Taiwan Independence Posts - China Real Time Report - WSJ. <u>https://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2016/01/21/chinese-netizens-flood-tsai-ing-w</u> ens-facebook-page-with-anti-taiwan-independence-posts/
- Knobel, M., & Lankshear, C. (2007). Online memes, affinities, and cultural production. In *A New Literacies Sampler* (pp. 199–227). New York, New York, United States: Peter Lang.
- Knobel, M., & Lankshear, C. (2018). Online memes, affinities and cultural production (2018 update to our 2007 chapter) To appear as: Knobel, M. and Lankshear, C. (forthcoming). Memes online, afinidades e produção cultural (2007 2018). In Chagas, Viktor (ed.). Estudos sobre Memes: história, política e novas experiências de letramento. 2019. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.34717.77280
- Mestrovic, S. (1997). *Postemotional Society*. Thousand Oaks, California, United States: SAGE Publications. <u>http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=1024024</u>

- Miller, F. (2017). Aristotle's Political Theory. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2017). Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University. <u>https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/aristotle-politics/</u>
- Miller, V. (2008). New Media, Networking and Phatic Culture. *Convergence*, *14*(4), 387–400. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856508094659</u>
- Milner, R. (2012). The World Made Meme: Discourse And Identity In Participatory Media. [PhD Thesis in Communication Studies]. Lawrence, Kansas, United States: University of Kansas.
- Nah, S., & Yamamoto, M. (2019). Communication and Citizenship Revisited: Theorizing Communication and Citizen Journalism Practice as Civic Participation. *Communication Theory*, 29(1), 24–45. <u>https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/qty019</u>
- Panger, G. T. (2017). Emotion in Social Media [PhD Thesis in Information Management and System]. Berkeley, California, United States:University of California, Berkeley. <u>https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1h97773d</u>
- Papacharissi, Z. (2002). The Virtual Sphere. The Internet as a Public Sphere. *New Media and Society*, 4, 9–27. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/14614440222226244</u>
- Pettman, D. (2019). Memetic Desire: Twenty Theses on Posthumanism, Political Affect, and Proliferation. In Brown, A., & Bristow, D. (Eds.), *Post memes: Seizing the memes of production* (1st ed, pp. 25–30). Santa Barbara, California, United States: Punctum Books.
- Rodger, J. J. (2003). Social Solidarity, Welfare and Post-Emotionalism. *Journal of Social Policy*, *32*(3), 403–421. <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279403007050</u>
- Serrano-Puche, J. (Javier). (2015). Emotions and Digital Technologies: Mapping the Field of Research in Media Studies. *MEDIA@LSE Working Paper Series*, 33. <u>http://dadun.unav.edu/handle/10171/39702</u>
- Shifman, L. (2012). An anatomy of a YouTube meme. *New Media & Society*, *14*(2), 187–203. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444811412160</u>
- Shifman, L. (2013). Memes in a Digital World: Reconciling with a Conceptual Troublemaker. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *18*(3), 362–377. <u>https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12013</u>
- Sonnad, N. (2016, January 21). An army of Chinese trolls has jumped the Great Firewall to attack Taiwanese independence on Facebook. Quartz. https://qz.com/598812/an-army-of-chinese-trolls-has-jumped-the-great-firewall-t o-attack-taiwanese-independence-on-facebook/
- Sullivan, J. (2014). Democracy in the age of negativity, abundance, and hybridity. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 10(2), 165-182.

- van Dijk, T. A. (2005). Critical Discourse Analysis. In Tannen, D., Hamilton, H. E., & Schiffrin, D. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (1st ed, pp. 351-370). Hoboken, New Jersey, United States: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Website "hacked" over Taiwan flag row. (2016, January 19). *BBC News*. <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35349688</u>
- Yang, S., Chen, P.-Y., Shih, P. C., Bardzell, J., & Bardzell, S. (2017). Cross-Strait Frenemies: Chinese Netizens VPN in to Facebook Taiwan. *Proceedings of the* ACM on Human-Computer Interaction, 1(CSCW), 1–22. <u>https://doi.org/10.1145/3134750</u>
- *蘋果新聞網-Posts*. (2016, January 16). Retrieved May 6, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154104558587069/
- 自由時報-Posts. (2016, January 21). Retrieved February 14, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/995003937251939
- 周子瑜遭人格斬首 何韻詩:委屈求存值得嗎?. (2016, January 16). 自由娛樂. Retrieved May 6, 2020, from <u>https://ent.ltn.com.tw/news/breakingnews/1574067</u>
- 张宁. (2016). 消解作为抵抗:"表情包大战"的青年亚文化解析. 现代传播(中国传 媒大学学报), 38(09), 126–131.

## Appendix

Appendix 1. An example of how the prompt question system was used in this research

The analyzed meme:



Referential or ideational system The focus is on the meaning of memes.

• How do I know?How do I interpret the content of the meme?

This meme features the Shanghai specialty pan-fried pork bun. The stamp at the top left says: Anti-Taiwan Independence Stamp From Di Ba(the netizen group that started the Meme Fight). The middle sentence says: treat you to pan-fried pork bun. I know by reading the meme.

• How is this content related to the Meme Fight?

This meme was used in the Meme Fight by mainland netizens to showcase the Chinese cuisine culture. As was claimed by Di Ba, the online community that organized the Meme Fight, the movement was "a self-organized cultural communication" to close the cognitive gap. Considering the fact that the Meme Fight takes on online civic participation meanings, this cultural showcase was attached with underlying political motives of seeking national identification from the Taiwanese audience.

 What does this meme mean or signify for people in the Meme Fight? How do I know?

The bright colors indicate an admiration and pride from the meme creators mainland netizens. The sentence in the middle of the picture which says "treats you to pan fried pork bun" reveals this confidence in a teasing attitude. The digital anti-Taiwan independence stamp upgrades the confidence to national identification and political recognition of the Chinese mainland netizens in the Meme Fight. I know by analyzing the content of this meme. The focus is on the social relations.

• Where does this meme "stand" with respect to the relationship it implies or invokes between people in the Meme Fight? What tells me this?

As has been observed in referential or ideational system, this meme signified as national identification and political recognition of the mainland netizens. In this way, this meme rivaled with the Taiwanese participants in the Meme Fight who identified themselves as Taiwanese instead of Chinese. Taiwanese responded with the questioning of the food safety with relevant mainland scandals. This meme stands by the mainland side in the political identification conflicts between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan.

The analyzed meme:



Contextual or interpersonal system • What does this meme tell us about the Meme Fight within which this meme proves to be contagious and replicable?

The mainland netizens commonly used culture as the cover of expressing their political stands in the Meme Fight, while most of time this cover only appealed to those who are from this cultural background. In the Meme Fight, this meme was contagious and replicable only within the mainland side.

What does this meme seem to assume about knowledge and truth within the Meme Fight?

This meme assumes the participants within the Meme Fight to share the same admiration of the featured specialty and its cultural background before they even see this image interpreting the item. In other words, the recognition which the meme is seeking from a cultural dimension should have already been built before the spreading of this meme. Based on many analysis from contextual or interpersonal system, such a persuasive logic commonly exists in the mainland memes during the Meme Fight. The analyzed meme:



Ideological or worldview system The focus is on the values, beliefs and worldviews.

• What deeper or larger themes, ideas, positions are conveyed by this meme?

As has been discussed in the previous two system, this meme implies the national identification and political recognition of the mainland netizens in a culture-oriented way. The larger ideology behind the meme can thus be concluded as the mainland public values of Taiwan as as indispensable part of China, which was also the main standpoint of the mainland participants from the Meme Fight.

What do these themes, ideas and positions tell us about different social groups in the Meme Fight?

The underlying national identification and political recognition behind this meme points to not only the relevant political identification conflicts behind the Meme Fight, but also the two rival social groups within these conflicts. The ones are the mainland netizens holding the belief that Taiwanese should identify themselves as a part of China, and the others are the Taiwanese who are now in the middle of their own identification politics and becomes more and more convinced that Taiwan needs to find its own way as an independent existence. The larger underlying issue behind this meme is actually the geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan.

What do these memes tell us about the world, or a particular version of the world?

This meme tells us about the geopolitics between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan in the current world. Moreover, this geopolitical issue is not limited in the narrow politics but also extended in sociocultural forms, which led to the Meme Fight. The focus is on the emotions.

• What kind of emotion is expressed by this meme? How do I know?

The emotions behind this meme is the admiration of the featured cuisine, while the digital stamp showcases the emotion of anti-Taiwan independence. The bright colors indicate the admiration. The sentence in the middle of the picture emphasizes this confidence in a teasing way. The digital anti-Taiwan independence stamp eventually the confidence national upgrades to identification and political recognition of the Chinese mainland netizens in the Meme Fight. I know by analyzing the content of this meme.

How does the emotion relate to the Meme Fight and its conveyed values, beliefs and worldviews?

The expressed emotion in the meme supports the conveyed value of anti-Taiwan independence for the mainland netizens. The emotion started the meme by pushing the participant to create the meme and put it into the Meme Fight. The other participants who got appealed by the meme began replicating and even updating it.

• What responses does this meme receive in the Meme Fight, and what emotion do this responses carry? How do I know?

While the mainlanders admired and supported it, Taiwanese rejected it negatively. Ultimately the emotion also contributes to the meme being contagious and viral. Moreover, the emotion also triggered the rival emotion from the Taiwanese netizens, adding up to their Chinese identity rejection, as is shown in its received responses. Arguably, this emotion may result in the expanding of the cognitive communication gap between the two sides. I know through analyzing the comments and responses surrounding this meme in the corpus.

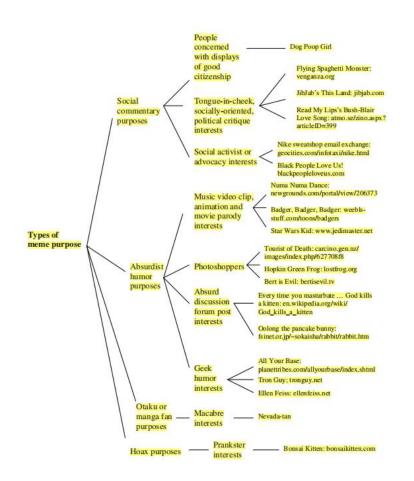
The analyzed meme:

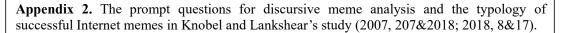


Sensational or passionate system

D	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	C	1.	• 1	1 .	. 1.	
Prompt q	liestions	or	discurs	IVe V	analvzi	ing only	ne memes
rompee	acouonon	LO1	anocuro	ivery	anary	ing onn	ne memes

Referential or ideational system	The focus is on the meaning of a meme:
Contextual or interpersonal system	<ul> <li>What idea or information is being conveyed by this meme? How do we know?</li> <li>How is this idea or information being conveyed?</li> <li>What does this meme mean or signify (within this space, for certain people, at this particular point in time)? How do we know?</li> <li>The focus is on social relations:</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Where does this meme "stand" with respect to the relationship it implies or invokes between people readily infected by this meme? What tells us this?</li> <li>What does this meme tell us about the kinds of contexts within which this meme proves to be contagious and replicable?</li> <li>What does this meme seem to assume about knowledge and truth within this particular context?</li> </ul>
Ideological or worldview system	<ul> <li>The focus is on values, beliefs and worldviews:</li> <li>What deeper or larger themes, ideas, positions are conveyed by this meme?</li> <li>What do these themes, ideas and positions tell us about different social groups?</li> <li>What do these memes tell us about the world, or a particular version of the world?</li> </ul>





Facebook	Post_T	i Post_URLs	Comm_N
Pages	me	TOST_CILLS	um
蘋果新聞網 @appledaily.tw		6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154115599407069	698
	16/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154104558587069	56000
	20/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154114868732069	587
	21/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154117470412069	2228
	21/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154119096747069	3156
	20/01/201	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154115475482069	1153
	21/01/201	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154118288752069	620
	17/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154106966047069	189
	21/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=10154118134527069	249
	17/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154106264122069	3451
	16/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154103182032069	2620
	21/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154118716807069	319
	20/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=10154114958067069	602
	20/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/appledaily.tw/posts/10154115499212069	1478
自由時報 @m.ltn.tw	21/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/994944303924569	1350
	21/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/995434030542263	2849
	21/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/995486957203637	1949
	20/01/2010	6 https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/994534930632173	3887
	20/01/201	6 https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/994487400636926	2693

## Appendix 3. Sources of the corpus in this research

Number	51	i otar Comments Funder	522100
Total Posts	37	Total Comments Number	322186
BBC News @bbcnews	19/01/2016	6 https://www.facebook.com/bbcnews/posts/10153333934422217	3072
	19/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/TwicetzuyuJYP/photos/a.866446810084303/109586758380 8890/?type=3	15
Twice-周子瑜 Tzuyu @twicetzyuJYF		https://www.facebook.com/TwicetzuyuJYP/posts/1094074987321483	13
	22/01/2016	6 https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/posts/10153134893261065	9891
	21/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/posts/10153132993121065	32000
	21/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/posts/10153132757971065	17000
	16/01/2016	6 https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/posts/10153124157281065	12000
	23/02/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/posts/10153136655101065	11000
	16/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/photos/a.390960786064/10153123962676065/?t ype=3	13000
	20/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/posts/10153129416971065	27000
	16/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/photos/a.440233736064/10153124172986065/?t ype=3	23000
	16/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/photos/a.390960786064/10153123401276065/?type=3	24000
@tsaiingwen	18/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=10153125886396065	27000
蔡英文 Tsai Ing-wen	21/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/tsaiingwen/photos/a.390960786064/10153130863236065/?type=3&theater	34000
	20/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/994215227330810	356
	21/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/995480973870902	681
	21/01/2016	https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/995623737189959	1128
	18/01/2016	6 https://www.facebook.com/m.ltn.tw/posts/993129234106076	952

Number	Meme	Content Description
1	<ul> <li>国李中国大陆坚决反对以任何人,任何形式的"台独"活动。秉承 "九二共识",反对"台独"的政治基础是关键,以维护台湾海峡两 岸的大陆和台湾的和平与稳定之间的关系的和平发展。1992年11 月,大陆的协会海峡两岸与台湾的海峡交流基金会关系达成了共 识,即每两个组织的以口头方式表述"海峡两岸双方均坚持一个 中国的原则。</li> <li>赞·回复·4年</li> </ul>	1992 One-China recognition between the Chinese Communism Party and Taiwanese Kuoming Tang
2	日本國至高無上的言論自由	The Great Gatsby congrats the mainland "perverts" to have the holy freedom of speeches from Taiwan as an independent contry
3	<image/> <image/>	Mocking on the Taiwanese using phrases such as "hit me if you can", "your IQ is just this much", and "come on losers", with aggressive faces of K-pop star Huang Zitao from the Chinese mainland

## Appendix 4. A list of the collected memes in this research

	"China	has
<b>王朋</b> 中国人一直很友好,尤其是对台湾和香港。 Chinesen sind immer sehr freundlich, besonders zu HK und	always	been
Taiwan.	friendly	to
中国目前经济发展良好,武力强大,科技领先。	Taiwan	and
Die Wirtschaft, militärischen Stärke und High-Tech Chinas haben sich rapid entwickelt.	Hong	Kong"
我们爱那些对中国友好的人。	emotiona	.1
我们爱那些支持一个中国的人。	discourse	es in
Wir lieben alle, die freundlich zu China sind. Wir lieben alle, die ein China unterstützt haben.	both	Chinese
	and Gern	nan
对于那些支持台独、破坏两岸友好的人,也不介意给点颜色看 看。		
Wir kämpfen gegen alle, die es unterstützen, Taiwan zu einem Land zu machen.		
Wir kämpfen gegen alle, die es versuchen. Beziehungen		

谢谢,中国只有一个。 Vielen Dank. Es gibt nur ein China.

zwischen China und Taiwan zu zerstören.

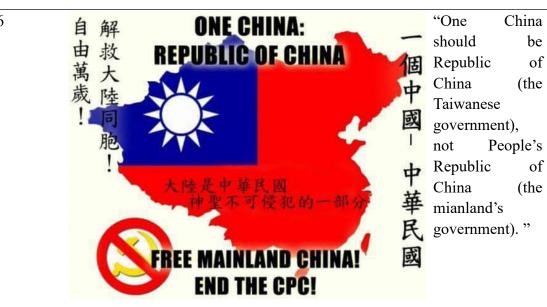
Mocking on the national flag of People's Republic of China (the government of the Chinese mainland)



6

5

4





Landscapes from the Chinese mainland



Cusines from Chinese the mainland, with like "treat you to (the the



attached discouse name of featured cuisine)"

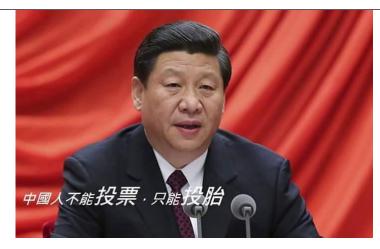


7



兄弟抽根烟





Xi Jinping giving a speech, with the subtitle saying "the mainlanders cannot vote, they can only seek for a next life"

10

11

9



Xi Jinping smiling, with the subtitle saying "all my netizens troops are idiots"

\*this meme is considered different from no.10 because no.10 reveals the fact on political system difference between the two sides, while this one only contains humiliation

Picutures of Xi Jinping with subtitles mocking on Taiwanese: the left one says "take the slaps of communism", the right one "king's says contempt"





14	<b>孔强《</b> 七子之歌.台湾》 我们是东海捧出的珍珠一串, 琉球是我的群弟,我就是台湾。 我胸中还氤氲着郑氏的英魂, 精忠的赤血点染了我的家传。 母亲,酷炎的夏日要晒死我了, 赐我个号令,我还能背城一战。 母亲!我要回来,母亲!	"Qi Zi Zhi Ge - Tai Wan", originally a poem/song of Taiwan returning to China created in 1925
15	✔ Huang He《七律 长征》红军不怕远征难,万水千山只等闲。 五岭逶迤腾细浪,乌蒙磅礴走泥丸。金沙水拍云崖暖,大渡桥 横铁索寒。更喜岷山千里雪,三军过后尽开颜。——毛泽东	"Qi lv - Chang Zheng", originally a poem praising the brave sprits of the Chinese troops during the World War Two from Mao Zedong
16	<ul> <li>除飞让我们更加紧密地团结在以习近平同志为总书记的党中央周围,深入学习习近平总书记系列重要讲话精神,满怀信心地前进,脚踏实地地前进,坚韧不拔地前进,意气风发地前进,为全面建成小康社会,为实现"两个一百年"的奋斗目标,为实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦,为把我国建设成为富强民主文明和谐的社会主义现代化强国,为了一个中国,而万众一心、努力奋斗!</li> <li>赞·回复·4年</li> </ul>	Xi Jinping's presidential speech, which mentions and emphasizes the one-China belief in the Chinese mainland
17	台湾 部票 就可證 明	Old stamp with Republic of China's map (the shape of Taiwan island) on it, which is used as an evidence of Taiwan not being a part of China for long

项彬小时候, 乡愁是一枚小小的邮票, 我在这头, 母亲在那头。 乡愁 余光中 乡愁 余光中 长大后, 乡愁是一张窄窄的船票, 我在这头, 新娘在那头。 后来啊, 乡愁是一方矮矮的坟墓, 我在外头, 母亲在里头。 而现在, 乡愁是一湾浅浅的海峡, 我在这头, 大陆在那头。

1000

"Xiang Chou", originally а poem portraying the homesick of the old Chinese mainlands who escaped to Taiwan due to the Chinese Communism Party's victory in the civil war, which was written by Yu Guangzhong in 1972

20

**陈孝正**五星红旗迎风飘扬, 胜利歌声多么响亮; 歌唱我们亲爱的祖国, 从今走向繁荣富强. 歌唱我们亲爱的祖国, 从今走向繁荣富强.

越过高山,越过平原, 跨过奔腾的黄河长江; 宽广美丽的土地, 是我们亲爱的家乡, 英雄的人民站起来了! 我们团结友爱坚强如钢.

五星红旗迎风飘扬, 胜利歌声多么响亮; 歌唱我们亲爱的祖国, 从今走向繁荣富强. 歌唱我们亲爱的祖国, 从今走向繁荣富强

我们勤劳,我们勇敢, 独立自由是我们的理想; 我们战胜了多少苦难, 才得到今天的解放! 我们爱和平,我们爱家乡, 谁敢侵犯我们就叫他死亡!

五星红旗迎风飘扬, 胜利歌声多么响亮, 歌唱我们亲爱的祖国, 从今走向繁荣富强. 歌唱我们亲爱的祖国, 从今走向繁荣富强! "Ode to the Motherland", originally a famous patriotic song of People's Republic of China which was created in 1950

23

21	<b>栾司琦</b> 以热爱祖国为荣 以危害祖国为耻 以服务人民为荣 以背离人民为耻 以崇尚科学为荣 以愚昧无知为耻 以辛勤劳动为荣 以好逸恶劳为耻 以团结互助为荣 以损人利己为耻 以诚实守信为荣 以见利忘义为耻 以遵纪守法为荣 以违法乱纪为耻	Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces, which was officially published by the Chinese government in 2003	
22	<ul> <li>關雎</li> <li>朝代:先秦</li> <li>作者:佚名</li> <li>關關雎鳩,在河之洲。窈窕淑女,君子好逑。</li> <li>參差莕菜,左右流之。窈窕淑女,寤寐求之。</li> <li>求之不得,寤寐思服。悠哉悠哉,輾轉反側。</li> <li>參差莕菜,左右采之。窈窕淑女,琴瑟友之。</li> <li>參差莕菜,左右芼之。窈窕淑女,鐘鼓樂之。</li> </ul>	"Guan Ju", originally an ancient Chinese poem portraying the mood of a male in love when he thinks of his dream female	



military The performance show on TV from the Chinese mainland



~	
	Λ
_	т

周志阳 我是中国人 ---凤飞飞---沉默不是懦弱 忍耐不是麻木 儒家的传统思想 带领我们的脚步 八年艰苦的奋斗 证实我艰毅的民族 不到最后的关头 决不轻言战斗 忍无可忍的时候 我会挺身而出 同胞受苦河山待复 我会牢牢记住 我不管生在哪里 我是中国人 不论死在何处 誓做中国魂 music..... 忍无可忍的时候 我会挺身而出 同胞受苦河山待复

我会牢牢记住 我不管生在哪里 我是中国人 不论死在何处 誓做中国魂 ---end--- "Wo Shi Zhong Guo Ren", the title means "I Chinese", am orginally а patriotic song which was published in 1982 in the Chinese mainland

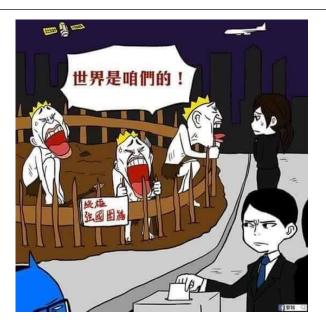




Taiwanese news repot on Taiwanese tourists left human excrement in a Korean hotel romm and checked out, which was used to mock on the Taiwanese during the Meme Fight

28	<ul> <li>Scot Sandy 台湾是中国不可分割的一部分,台湾永远属于中国。 Taiwan is an inalienable part of China, Taiwan belongs to China.</li> <li>赞·回复·4年</li> </ul>	"Taiwan is an inalienable part of China. Taiwan belongs to China" in both Chinese and English
29	<b>黄麒羽</b> 你开始愤懑, 你开始不满, 你高举 着小旗子, 高喊, 我是台湾国。可是你还 记得, 是谁给你的这个名字吗? 那年崇祯 皇帝指着你, "在那儿建立台湾省, 以后 你就叫台湾。"你还记得, 什么时候你失 而复得的吗? 那年, 郑成功拼死守护你, 他说, 你是中国不可分割的领土。	Converstational discourses on Taiwanese history as a part of China
30	Yang Wohayer 台灣藝人:我不是中國人。 大陸網友:可惡!抵制他! 台灣網友:好野蠻惡霸的中共!怎麼可以 因為一個人的國家認同就欺負他? 羅志祥:我們都是中國人。 台灣網友:滾回中國、支那人、中國豬、 幹、死好、道歉啦、抵制你! 蔡英文:「我會努力,讓我的國民,沒有 一個人必須為他們的認同道歉。」 蔡英文上台,救不了未來的周子瑜,卻只 會製造更多羅志祥。	Discourses claiming the Taiwanese are using double standards: the Taiwanese believed the Chinese were narrow-minded while the Chinese boycotted against who supports Taiwanese independence, but when a Taiwanese celebrity claims he is Chinese the Taiwanese boycotted against him as well





Taiwanese cartoonish illustration mocking on the strong-China attitude from the mainland netizens during the Meme Fight as the attitude of claiming the whole earth to be Chinese

Taiwanese comic of people different from contries saying "I am from (the name of the country)": only when Taiwanese says "I am Taiwanese" there are always people jumping out and shaming the on Taiwanese, to which the Taiwanese public are getting tired of

32



33	<ul> <li>刘芳 我们此次是帝吧网友经过自发组织后的文化交流活动,目的是为了拉进两岸网友的在思想及认知上距离。我们本次活动本着有理、有据、有节,求实、求是、求和谐的文明活动方式,通过展示我国丰富的美食,展现我们大陆同胞的热情好客,其次通过大陆美丽风景的展示,让台湾同胞欣赏到这不曾领略的大陆风情,我们所做的一切都是为了拉进彼此心的距离,我们拒绝任何分裂两岸的行动,台湾是中国不可分裂的一部分,希望我们在迈出了这一步后,能够获得大家的认同,让更多的人参与到两岸同胞间的文化交流,今天我们全体帝吧网友所取得的成绩对于祖国是微不足道的,但是伟大的中国需要我们每个人的努力,加油,共勉,!!!</li> <li>李目天 帝吧下鄉 愛傳八方!此生無悔入華夏,來生願在中華家。傳播中國的飲食文化以及高科技更好的與台灣同胞進行交流做中國文化的傳播者。歡迎回家!</li> <li>D8 is coming, spread love to the world! No regret in this life into China, the next life is willing to. Spread China's diet culture and the high technology and better communicate with Taiwan compatriots to do the communication of Chinese culture. Welcome home!</li> </ul>	Discourses claiming the Meme Fight is a cultural communication activity organized by Di Ba (also known as D8, because the Chinese pronounciation of D8 is the same as Di Ba)
34	<ul> <li>● 何承風,中國大陸的朋友們~我們熱烈歡迎你們來到這個言論自由 的國度,你們也只有在這裡可以暢所欲言了,回去中國之後可不能 亂說話拉,好好享受這個自由吧!!這就是台灣與中國的差別阿~</li> <li>赞·回复·4年</li> </ul>	Discourses that welcomes the mainland netizens to the outside world of the Chinese Internet Great Wall, emphasizing that the mainlanders can enjoy the freedom of speeches from Taiwan on Facebook
35	<ul> <li>莫斯泽 我们是五月的花海,</li> <li>用青春拥抱时代;</li> <li>我们是初升的太阳,</li> <li>用生命点燃未来。</li> <li>"五四"的火炬,</li> <li>唤起了民族的觉醒。</li> <li>壮丽的事业,</li> <li>激励着我们继往开来。</li> <li>光荣啊,中国共青团,</li> <li>光荣啊,中国共青团,</li> <li>母亲用共产主义为我们命名,</li> <li>我们开创新的世界。</li> </ul>	"Guang Rong A! Zhong Guo Gong Qing Tuan", the official song of the Communist Youth League of China, originally published in 1987

Mocking on the 許凱斌 民主大法好, 全民被洗脑。用爱能打电, 选票能管饱。占 新加納(民工/(私), 主民版), 加拿起了起, 起票能冒起。口 领立法院, 冷气不太好。民主有福利, 摸奶少不了。大肠活女 王, 十万就能搞。选举是大事, 其他算个鸟。几个烂苹果, 不知 哪个好。民主有干爹, 美日来指导。做了看门狗, 骨头自己早。 Taiwanese democracy, 台湾是宝岛,宇宙蛙最屌。 claiming it as a 1 3 带·问复·4年 low-efficient meaningless system which contracted Taiwan to be enslaved by US and Japan even in the modern days 37 The namelist of 承认台湾是中华人民共和国一部分的欧洲国家有: countries whose 英国、法国、德国、意大利、俄罗斯、奥地利、白俄 罗斯、比利时、西班牙、瑞典、瑞士、波斯尼亚和黑塞哥 government 维那、保加利亚、克罗地亚、捷克、丹麦、爱沙尼亚、芬 兰、希腊、匈牙利、冰岛、爱尔兰、拉脱维亚、列支敦士 have recognized 登、立陶宛、卢森堡、马其顿、马耳他、摩尔多瓦、摩纳 Taiwan as a part 哥、荷兰、挪威、波兰、葡萄牙、罗马尼亚、圣马力诺、 China of 塞尔维亚、斯洛伐克、斯洛文尼亚、阿尔巴尼亚、安道 尔、乌克兰。 diplomatically 承认台湾是中华人民共和国一部分的美洲国家有: 美国、加拿大、巴西、安提瓜和巴布达、阿根廷、巴 哈马、巴巴多斯、玻利维亚、智利、哥伦比亚、古巴、多 米尼克、厄瓜多尔、格林纳达、圭亚那、牙买加、墨西 哥、秘鲁、圣卢西亚、苏里南、特立尼达和多巴哥、乌拉 圭、委内瑞拉

承认台湾是中华人民共和国一部分的亚洲国家有:

日本、韩国、印度、新加坡、阿富汗、亚美尼亚、阿 塞拜疆、巴林、孟加拉国、文莱、柬埔寨、塞浦路斯、朝 鲜、东帝汶、格鲁吉亚、印度尼西亚、伊朗、伊拉克、以 色列、约旦、哈萨克斯坦、科威特、吉尔吉斯斯坦、老 拉、黎巴嫩、马来西亚、马尔代夫、蒙古、缅甸、尼泊 尔、阿曼、巴基斯坦、巴勒斯坦、菲律宾、卡塔尔、沙特 阿拉伯、斯里兰卡、叙利亚、塔吉瓦斯坦、泰国、土耳 其、土库曼斯坦、阿拉伯联合酋长国、乌兹别克斯坦、越 南、也门。

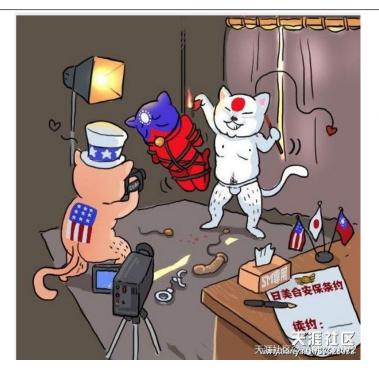
承认台湾是中华人民共和国一部分的大洋洲 太平洋岛 屿国家有:

澳大利亚、新西兰、库克群岛、斐济、密克罗尼西 亚、巴布亚新几内亚、萨摩亚、汤加、瓦努阿图。

承认台湾是中华人民共和国一部分的非洲国家有:

阿尔及利亚、安哥拉、贝宁、博茨瓦纳、布隆迪、喀 麦隆、佛得角、中非、科摩罗、刚果(金)、刚果 (布)、科特迪瓦、吉布提、埃及、赤道几内亚、厄立特 里亚、埃塞俄比亚、加蓬、加纳、几内亚、几内亚比绍、 肯尼亚、莱索托、利比里亚、利比亚、马达加斯加、马里 毛里塔尼亚、毛里求斯、摩洛哥、莫桑比克、纳米 比亚、尼日尔、尼日利亚、卢旺达、塞内加尔、塞舌尔、 塞拉利昂、索马里、南非、苏丹、坦桑尼亚、多哥、突尼 斯、乌干达、赞比亚、津巴布韦。

38	Sang To 據聞原來打呢堆敏感字,但地VPN就會自動斷線:	The	list	of
	法輪功 法輪大法 赤匪 六四天安門 柴玲 天安門六四 中國民主黨	censo	ored v	vords
	政治局常委内幕	in th	ne Ch	inese
	習近平傻B 趙紫揚 北大學生 民主 台灣獨立 西藏獨立 内蒙獨立 三民主義統一中國	main	land v	vhich
	李錄 王丹 中國六四真相 封從德 陳破空 中國之春 曹長青 liberty	are b	elieve	to be
	韓東方 陳一諮 嚴家其 方勵之 何清漣 唯色 丁子霖 馮正虎 高智晟 1989 譚作人	able 1	to caus	se the
	freedom 陳西	Chine	ese	
	中華民國總統選舉 賊民 大紀元時報 北京之春 達賴喇嘛 人權國際 北國之春	main	land	
	雪山獅子旗 新疆獨立 色情 六日民運 胡耀邦 魏京生 走私 獨裁 賭	netize	ens to	lose
		their	VPNs	once
	六合彩 九評共產黨 林昶佐 封從德 時代力量 一黨專政	there		thaga
	democracy 民主化 周勇軍	they	see	tnese
	天安門事件 學潮 吾爾開希 學運 王有才 擋坦克 劉曉波 憤怒的僧侶 共匪 西藏流亡	word	S	
	習包子 青天白日旗 姜維平 盤古樂隊 陳破空 司徒華 反攻大陸 自			
	由之門八九運動			



Chinese The mainland cartoonish illustrations portraying Taiwan that clains itself to be the independent Republic of China to be enslaved by US and Japan with the signing of Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States and Japan

・       *	The Chinese national flag attached with bopomofo symbols or the mandarin phonetic symbols that says "we are the Chinese dogs and we cannot understand the bopomofo because we are Chinese dogs", with a prank sentence in Chinese which claims the bopomofo as the anti-Taiwan independence messages
张以德 烧鹅,汉族特色菜肴,属粤菜系,是广州传统的烧烤肉 食,烧鹅源于烧鸭。鹅以中、小个的清远黑棕鹅为优,去翼、 脚、内脏的整鹅,吹气,涂五香料,缝肚,滚水烫皮,过冷水, 糖水匀皮,晾风而后腌制,最后挂在烤炉里或明火上转动烤成, 斩件上碟,便可进食。烧鹅色泽金红,味美可口。广州市面上烧 鹅店铺众多,最为有名的是长堤"裕记烧鹅饭店"的烧鹅和黄埔区 长洲岛上的"深井烧鹅"。	The introduction to famous Chinese food specialties from the mainland
Rachel Lee 蒸竿羔儿、蒸糯煤、蒸鹿尾尾儿、烧花带、烧油等、烧油等、烧子糖、炉薯、水干、蜜菜、脂肉、松花、小肚儿、酱肉、香肠、什锦酥鱼儿、糯菜口、鱼子糕、红米和鸭子、罐儿野菜、罐儿白薯鸡、香门、鱼子糕、红米和鸭子、罐儿、香油、小菜、菜、银鱼、清蒸给什些、达等服鱼、试验检鱼、试验检鱼、烧水香、炒香、香、瓜、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香、香	The list of the Chinese food specialties from the mainland

<b>臧首成</b> Wang er xiao was only 12 years old when he set up Japan Intruders and die because of it. Liu hu nan join in Children Bridage when she only 10 and died in 15 during fighting with Japan Intruders. 王二小12岁就因为把日本鬼子带进游击队的埋伏圈而牺牲,刘胡 兰10岁加入儿童团,15岁和敌人作斗争而死去。	The story and lessons of Wang Xiaoer, who is an imaginary teenage war
That is the price for peace and freedom. That is pround of China. 这就是我们中华儿女为了自由和和平做出的牺牲。这才是我们骄 傲的中华儿女。	hearo during the World War Two
We were educate as Taiwan and China is brother, we are family. 我们从小被教育成台湾人民是我们的同胞,我们是一家人。	
But now I know some of you was been educate as Tai Wan is a country, China is very poor. Some of you do not like us. 现在我才知道一部门台湾人民被教育成台湾是一个国家,中国很穷,你们有的人并不喜欢我们。	
The truth is China is protect you from Amercian and Japan, that is why they can not touch you, so they do something under table. 事情的真相是中国一直在保护台湾,这样美国和日本才不敢动你 们,所以他们就背地里做一些勾当。	
We want you Back. That is whey 1992 consensue comes out, 我们希望你们回到祖国母亲的怀抱,所以才有了92共识。	
Chinese is always friendly. Espeasialy we treat Taiwan, HK. 中国人一直很友好,尤其是对台湾和香港。	
China has good economic, strong power, great hi-tech, 中国目前经济发展良好,武力强大,科技领先。	
We love people who love China, we love people who support there is one China. 我们爱哪些对中国友好的人,我们爱那些支持一个中国的人。	
We will do what we can do to who is supporting Taiwan is a country and do bad things of our realation.	
对于那些支持台独,破坏两岸友好的人,也不介意给点颜色看 看。	

44

Thank you, there is only one China.谢谢, 中国只有一个。

Fei Faye 陶华碧老干妈牌油制辣椒是贵州

地区汉族传统风味食品之一。几十年来, 一直沿用传统工艺精心酿造,具有优雅细腻,香辣突出,回味悠长等特点。是居家 必备,馈赠条友之良品。

1984年, 陶华碧女士凭借自己独特的炒制 技术,推出了别具风味的佐餐调料,令广

大顾客大饱口福,津津乐道。1996年批量 生产后在全国迅速成为销售热点。老干妈

是国内生产及销售量最大的辣椒制品生产

在大多数国外购物网站上老干妈都直

企业, 主要生产风味豆豉、风味鸡油辣 椒、香辣菜、风味腐乳等20余个系列产

接译成"Lao GanMa",也有译成"The

godmother"。 2012年7月,美国奢侈品电商Gilt 把老干

妈奉为尊贵调味品,限时抢购价11.95美 元两瓶(约7.74英镑,折合约79.1人民币 元)。美国"老士妈"绝对算的上是"来自中

品。

国的进口奢侈品"。

Introduction to Lao Ganma or The Godmother (translated name), which is a spicy Chinese mainland sauce that gets popular in US after being exported

46

**李百万**二、中华人民共和国政府和大韩民国政府同意根据《联合 国宪章》原则,在相互尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干 涉内政、平等互利、和平共处原则的基础上发展持久的睦邻合作 关系。三、大韩民国政府承认中华人民共和国政府为中国的唯一 合法政府,并尊重中方只有一个中国、台湾是中国的一部分之立 场。 Emphasiss on the one-China recognition in the Charter of the United Nations

Promoting on communism with Soviet Union slogans and memetic elements



47



The Chinese mainland made meme of Tsai Ing-Wen, with a subtitle saying "Generate the power with me using the love"

48



Picture of Tsai Ing-Wen with a subtitle saying "believe it or not, I will strangle you"

49	谭笑 我是中國貴州人,我代表家人以及家鄉人,真誠熱情邀請全部台灣骨肉同胞到我的家鄉做客。這裡的美景美食还有好客的人民肯定會讓你留戀往返。這裡是我家,也是你家。 2 ♥ I am a Chinese. I come from Guizhou Province. On behalf of my family and my hometown, I warmly and sincerely invite all Taiwan compatriots to visit my homeland. All the beautiful scenery, amazing cuisine and hospitable people will give you an unforgettable trip. Here is my home, but also your home. 2 ♥ <b>E天土</b> 大家好,我是陕西人,我给大家介绍家乡美食, 羊肉泡 馍,它是陕西名吃。羊羹就是用羊肉烹制的羹汤,制作方法:先 将优质的羊肉洗切干净,煮时加葱、姜、花椒、八角、茴香、桂 皮等佐料煮烂,汤汁备用。馍,是一种白面烤饼,吃时将其掰碎 成黄豆般大小放入碗内,然后交厨师在碗里放一定量的熟肉、原 汤,并配以葱沫、白菜丝、料酒、粉丝、盐、味精等调料,做出 来真是味道鲜美。	Discourses that welcome Taiwanese people to go visit the mainland and feel back home
50	◆明翰在这给各位当向导。其实呢,facebook是很不适合洗的,洗了一般人是看不到的,顶多就是在留言下洗几句,但通常那东西也是没人看的。搞不好人家粉丝团还逼你要先按赞才能留言,那反而给对方平白无故赚广告费了。 PTT也不能洗,首先系统上大家就不熟悉,再者那里门坎高很难进去。所以我推荐大家去多个网站,分別叫做thisav,5278,xvideo,FC2,这些网站几乎是全台湾最大的论坛了,里头也是满满的單身台独份子,我建议大家转移攻击目标,到那里去。	"Facebook is not the best battle frontier for you guys, thus I sincerely suggest these web sites to you" Discourses trying to transfer the netizens to the other sites, which are mainly porn sites like xvideo and thisav
51	正式工作的工作中国。 正式工作中国人民大學教授周孝正: 4. 化門國家是四荒八無(四荒):荒唐、荒誕、荒蕪、荒謬 八無):無知、無能、無情、無義(無道、無德、無恥、無額): 新廣傳/SHARE	A former Chinese mainland professors saying the mainland is absurd and lack of essential morality and ethics



Old Chinese propaganda illustration saying "we must put the red flags all over Taiwan"

53

54

52



的诚挚眷念。

The ultra iron fist of Sun Zhongshan, who is believed as the pioneer of Chinese the revolunitions in modern Chinese history, who led important the establishment of Republic of China after the death of the Chinese empire

praising

受教育,台湾是祖国的宝岛,青山绿水,人杰地灵。可是台湾人 introduction to 民却被无良的媒体和不实的教育灌输着大陆是片充斥着野蛮不 公, 没有自由的土地。一样的语言一样的文明, 本是同根生相煎 何太急? 统一之后, 你们能够改变经济寸步难行的局面随着祖国 飞速发展, 不仅能够一人一票还有一票否决权, 人民解放军可以 保卫台湾你们不用再花巨资去买美日的破铜烂铁。希望有去有识 Mount Ali, which is the main mountain 的台湾青年能够摒弃对祖国大陆的偏见,为了台湾的未来切身思 Taiwan of 考。统一不仅仅是数十亿华人的殷切期待,更是五千年华夏文明 island; this introduction also emphasizes the wishes on the mainland forces military "liberating"

Α

Taiwan soon

臧柳升 阿里山的姑娘美如画,阿里山的少年壮如山"。我从小接

