

線上做組織的可能？

菲律賓社運青年的數位實作與游移之身

賴奕諭

美國夏威夷大學馬諾阿分校
人類學研究所博士候選人

綜觀菲律賓近代政治情勢發展，通訊和傳播媒體一直是不容忽視的社會運動媒介。然而，即便廣播與手機分別在1986年與2001年兩次人民力量革命扮演相當關鍵的角色，組織工作者卻對日漸成為菲國人民日常的社群媒體抱持著保留的態度，認為數位行動主義（digital activism）並未能真正取代傳統的組織動員型態，甚至主張社群媒體已經遭到國家暴力滲透，是人們散佈假消息與抹黑社運人士的重要途徑之一。本文從新冠肺炎疫情期間菲律賓社運青年串連菲國本土與海外離散社群的組織動員行動為出發點，藉由線上與線下行動共同交織而成的數位民族誌，觀察他們鑲嵌於菲律賓歷史及政治脈絡之中的數位實作，並釐清他們對數位行動有所遲疑的緣由。而當人類學家同這些社運青年不斷於線上／線下、本土／海外之間游移之際，本文嘗試透過人與數位裝置及虛擬網絡所構築而成的關係網絡，指出數位行動主義所帶來的後人類政治（posthuman politics）視角。一方面，藉由釐清數位媒介、社群媒體與菲律賓人共同創造出來的社群性條件，以及人們基於該條件而發展出來的行動策略，本文強調數位民族誌的研究除了需要將線上、線下行動視為一個整體，更必須關切到人們選擇在社群媒體現身與隱身的邏輯與差別。另一方面，在藉由數位行動主義理解國家或社會的運作時，本文也主張不應忽略那些不斷穿梭於國界之間，或是原本不見得被視為一份子的（非人）參與者，它們都是能夠帶著研究者更進一步地理解不斷變遷中的政治定義與形式的重要基礎。

關鍵詞：數位行動主義，社群媒體，離散，後人類政治，菲律賓

Exploring Online Organizing Possibilities:

Digital Practices among Filipino Youth and Their Moving-in-between Bodies

Yi-yu Lai

*Department of Anthropology
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
Ph.D. Candidate*

Taking a comprehensive view of recent political developments in the Philippines, it is evident that communication and mass media played a crucial role in facilitating and shaping social movements. However, despite the pivotal roles played by radio and mobile phones during the People Power Revolutions of 1986 and 2001, grassroots organizers have maintained a cautious stance towards the increasing ubiquity of social media in the everyday lives of Filipinos. They argue that digital activism has not truly replaced traditional forms of grassroots mobilization. Furthermore, they assert that social media platforms have been infiltrated by state-sponsored violence, serving as a substantial channel for the dissemination of disinformation and the vilification of activists. This paper presents a digital ethnography that explores the interplay of digital practices among Filipino youth activists during the COVID-19 pandemic. It focuses on their collective mobilization efforts, which facilitated connections between local and diasporic communities, within the historical and political context of the Philippines. The primary objective of this research is to elucidate the underlying reasons for their hesitancy towards embracing digital activism, given its evident potential. The study's approach extends to exploring the shifting boundaries between online and offline realms, as well as the dynamic interplay between local and global dynamics. Within this context, this paper attempts to present a posthuman political perspective that has arisen in response to the impact of digital practices and activism. It highlights the possibility of a significant change in the field of political

participation, which goes beyond traditional human-centered politics. Additionally, it seeks to offer the new horizons that political anthropologists can explore through the study of digital ethnography, which involves the examination of the intricate relationships formed between humans, digital devices, and virtual networks.

This research sheds lights on the conditions created by digital devices, social media, and the collaborative efforts of the Filipino people. The aforementioned conditions have given rise to distinct action strategies that reflect the contemporary digital practices and activism within and beyond the Philippines. The study underscores that digital ethnography, as a research methodology, should view online and offline actions as integrated components, so that researchers are able to understand the logic and distinctions behind individuals' choices to manifest or conceal themselves within social media. On the other hand, this paper emphasizes the need to acknowledge and analyze the roles of non-human entities and individuals who continually traverse national boundaries. These actors, who might not be traditionally considered as participants in the broader socio-political landscape, nevertheless wield significant influence within the context of digital activism. This expanded perspective underscores the complexities of the digital age, where non-human agents, such as algorithms and automated bots, can shape and manipulate public discourse, further emphasizing the need for a holistic understanding of contemporary political dynamics. In conclusion, this paper presents a multi-faceted exploration of the contemporary political landscape in the Philippines, focusing on the evolving role of digital activism, its relationship with traditional grassroots mobilization, and the impact of state-sponsored disinformation. It underscores the transformative potential of digital ethnography in unraveling the complex interplay between digital and physical realms and the dynamics of posthuman politics. This comprehensive analysis seeks to contribute to the broader discourse on the intersection of technology, society, and political activism in the digital age.

Keywords: digital activism, social media, diaspora, posthuman politics, Philippines
