

From Elitism to Civilianization: The Mobilization of "Civilian Hero Narratives" in Public Crises

-- The Case of Chongqing Mountain Fire Rescue

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Abstract: Initiating large-scale social mobilization in public crisis management is a unique advantage and an effective means for the state to prevent and resolve major risks, but due to the extreme lack of cases of positive social mobilization in crises, the mechanism of achieving effective social mobilization is not clear, and there is an urgent need for the theoretical and practical communities to summarize empirical experiences of achieving positive social mobilization in crisis management. Based on this, through the empirical analysis of the rescue cases of Chongqing mountain fire, we find that the media's "civilian hero" narrative in crisis management breaks the rigid pattern of "hero deification" and "elite propaganda" in traditional disaster reports, and is based on the "civilian hero" character narrative, "emotional mobilization" narrative theme and "individual presentation" perspective strategy, which is able to construct a public crisis "heroism" faith consensus, social mobilization resonance and common action. The media's "civilian hero" narrative has become a precise fulcrum for prying the lever of social mobilization, providing a new path for modern social crisis management.

Keywords: Civilian Heroes; Media Narratives; Crisis Management; Social Mobilization; Chongqing Mountain Fire.

1. Introductory

National governance and social development "to continuously improve the social governance system, and improve the social governance system of common governance and sharing", the construction of the social governance system not only needs to be built and shared "in normal times", "in times of crisis" is also particularly critical. At present, launching large-scale social mobilization in public crisis management is China's unique advantage and effective means of preventing and resolving major risks, which has become a consensus in the academic community. However, due to the lack of positive crisis social mobilization cases, the mechanism of effective social mobilization is not clear, and how to achieve effective social mobilization in public crisis management is still a major issue to be responded and explored, and there is an urgent need to summarize more empirical experience. Relying on the rapid development of modern information technology, social media is gradually opening up a new and unprecedented path to achieve effective mobilization of large-scale groups; at the same time, it also puts forward new challenges and requirements for the modernization of the national governance system and governance capacity. Based on its functions of disseminating facts, guiding public opinion, building consensus and relieving anxiety, media mobilization should be able to promote public consensus and forge and strengthen spiritual power in the process of crisis management when dealing with threatening situations such as major public crises, The media's textbook "civilian hero narrative mobilization" in the Chongqing fire crisis in China supports this possibility, and provides valuable experience and useful reference for social mobilization in public crisis management.

2. Literature Review and Problem Formulation

On the basis of combing through the existing literature, it is found that academics have carried out comprehensive and in-depth investigations on social mobilization in the context of public crises in terms of its functional positioning, characterization and implementation path. Existing research generally reveals that social mobilization has a significant positive effect on enhancing government effectiveness in public crisis management. In the face of major public crises and challenges, a country's ability to effectively respond to the challenges and get rid of the crisis depends not only on the country's economic situation, resource situation and population quality, but also on whether it has a complete social mobilization mechanism [1]. Social mobilization and crisis governance are naturally linked, and in a state of crisis, only through extensive social mobilization can the government gather social resources, maintain social stability, and avoid social panic [2]. When exploring the characteristics of social mobilization, related studies show that mobilized governance presents its unique characteristics compared with conventional governance models. And it is summarized as four aspects: trespassing, purposefulness, moderation and participation [3], or from the practice of movement governance in China, three performance characteristics of social mobilization are summed up: firstly, it tends to call off the traditional sectional mode of operation for the time being; secondly, it often adopts the form of fanfare and comprehensive mobilization; and thirdly, the whole process of mobilization is often accompanied by severe punishments to carry out the will of the central government [4]. When exploring the specific implementation of social mobilization, relevant studies show that its organizational mode is gradually showing a diversified evolution. For example, from the

perspective of the leading force of social mobilization, the mobilization mode is divided into two types: top-down "mobilization to society" and bottom-up "mobilization by society" [5]. And from the perspective of the means of social mobilization, the mobilization mode is divided into media mobilization, competition mobilization and participation mobilization, etc. [6].

Meanwhile, scholars have given a lot of insights on how to achieve social mobilization in public crisis management from the theoretical contingency level. For example, from the perspective of strengthening the construction of legal system, it is proposed that the scope and object, means and methods of mobilization should be regulated by law, the cooperative mechanism between the government and the public should be established, the public's participation in the process of crisis management should be expanded, the participation capacity of the public should be strengthened and the institutionalization of citizen participation should be strengthened [7]. Or from the perspective of enhancing the government's social mobilization capacity, it is believed that the government should correctly use social forces to provide a useful supplement to social mobilization by establishing a sound crisis management mechanism and emergency regulations, deepening the reform of the supporting system, strengthening the prediction of and research on crises, and reinforcing international cooperation [8]. Other scholars have discussed the role and function of the media in contributing to social mobilization in public crisis management from the perspective of strengthening media construction, arguing that in the management of emergencies, such as natural disaster relief, the media plays an important role as an information communicator and "opinion leader" between the government and the public, and that it is an indispensable and important force in helping the government to mitigate crises, mobilize society, and guide public opinion [9].

In summary, the existing literature has carried out a series of discussions around the theme of social mobilization in public crises, but most of these existing studies are based on theoretical assumptions, contingent level of exploration and research, and there is a lack of empirical research on the actual. At the same time, the academic community generally believes that the media plays an important role in social mobilization for public crisis management: when dealing with threatening situations in major public crises, media mobilization has the functions of judging facts, cohesion of consensus, public opinion monitoring and relief of anxiety, which promotes close unity of the public in spirit and unprecedented cohesion of consensus, and casts the inner spiritual power for crisis management [10], but how is the spiritual power of this kind of media mobilization created? What is the internal logic of this effect? Due to the lack of positive cases, the mechanism of media social mobilization in public crisis management is still vague, in other words, how does the media effectively achieve positive social mobilization in public crisis management? This is the research question of this paper.

3. Theoretical Foundations and Research Hypotheses

(1) Narrative Theory

Narrative theory is a theoretical framework for exploring narrative structures, modes of narration and their roles, also known as "story theory" or "narratology". It is used to study the composition of narratives, the ways in which they are

communicated, and the meanings, beliefs, and values conveyed by the content of storytelling. It has a wide range of application value in many fields such as literary criticism, film studies, cultural studies, etc. It provides a set of systematic theories and methods for interpreting and analyzing narrative works, which helps us to understand the artistic charm and significance of narrative works in a deeper way. The core content of narrative theory contains four dimensions, namely, narrative structure, narrative elements, story strategy and story impact. Its specific analyzing dimensions are unfolded as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Dimensions of Narrative Theory Analysis

Narrative Structure	Narrative Element	Storytelling Strategy	Story Impact
Plot	Theme	Perspective	Contagion
Characters	Conflict	Technique	Compelling
Space	Path	Style	Empathy

(2) The value of media narrative mobilization

Media narrative in public crisis can trigger emotional resonance by storytelling, strengthen the effect of information by narrative technique, and construct social value association by continuous narrative strategy, which is not only an important carrier of information transmission and public opinion guidance, but also an important promoter of public participation and social co-governance, and it can provide strong support and guarantee for effective response to public crisis. Specifically, the value of media narrative mobilization in crisis events is concentrated in the following four points.

First, public opinion guidance. As a key means of guiding and shaping public opinion, media narratives can guide the public to pay attention to and understand the nature and impact of crisis events, promote the establishment of a rational and positive public opinion atmosphere, help mobilize the attention and participation of all sectors of society, and trigger the public's emotional resonance and social concern by reporting and explaining the events and consequences of public crises, prompting all sectors of the community to actively participate in the crisis response and rescue work. Secondly, early warning. Through the timely release of crisis information and warning signals, to help the public recognize and prevent potential risks, stimulate the public's vigilance and enthusiasm for crisis response. Media narrative mobilization can improve the public's knowledge and understanding of the crisis, enhance the public's risk perception and crisis response ability, reduce information asymmetry and panic, and help the public to remain calm and rational in the crisis and make correct actions and decisions. In addition, public participation. Media narrative not only provides the public with channels and opportunities to participate in crisis management, but also promotes concerted action and social co-management of all sectors, realizing effective interaction and cooperation between the public and the government and professional organizations. It can promote information sharing and collaboration between the government and all walks of life, promote the formation of a society-wide crisis management model in which the government, the media, the public and social organizations jointly participate, achieve timely transmission of information

and effective allocation of resources, and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of crisis response. Finally, public education. As an important public education platform, it helps to transmit crisis response knowledge and skills to the public, improve public emergency preparedness and response capacity, and enhance the overall response capacity of society. At the same time, media narrative mobilization helps to shape public opinion and the spirit of society, guide the public to form common values and codes of conduct, and cultivate social solidarity and a sense of responsibility and mission to fight crises together, so as to form the synergy and cooperation to deal with crises in the whole society.

(3) The dilemma of media narrative mobilization

However, in practice, not all media narratives are able to achieve positive social mobilization, in fact, the Chongqing fire rescue this kind of successful and effective crisis management social mobilization is very few. Compared to the positive effect of mobilization in the media narratives of the Chongqing fire, the traditional media public crisis narratives have significant defects of "high politicization", "only elitism", and "holistic suppression of individuality".

1) "High politicization" and "elitism"

Prof. Wang Zhong once made a pithy comment on traditional disaster news reports: "Disasters are not news, disaster relief is news [11]." In traditional public crisis situations, media narratives often take propaganda and education as the core starting point, and their narrative reports show a mechanized tendency - centering on the themes of "the warmth of the socialist family" and "the leader's wisdom and excellence". This narrative mode, which tends to praise successful disaster relief operations as the triumphant song of "revolutionary heroism" over disaster, is in fact constructing a politicized and elitist reporting paradigm, i.e., "the government urgently allocates resources to fight against the disaster + the people in the disaster area show their resilience to fight against it + the heroes' heroic efforts to fight against the disaster with remarkable results". However, on reflection, this phenomenon may have deviated from the essence of the disaster, weakening the presentation of the real situation of the victims and the profound analysis of the far-reaching impact of the disaster, and lacking the temperature of humanistic concern. Solidified media narrative situation, on the one hand, in the narrative process, there is a tendency to over-describe the typical heroes and elite representatives, the portrayal of heroes often strive to achieve perfection, and even go so far as to deify them, resulting in the revolutionary spirit of human beings being elevated to the degree of omnipotence. On the other hand, the fragmentation of the disaster picture and the lack of crisis warning significance. Highly elitist media narratives lead to public crisis information is bound to a single closed, one-sided reproduction of the state, ignoring the critical situation of the people, ignoring the disaster victims of the masses of the difficult state of survival at the same time, but also make it difficult for the audience to construct a full range of the "disaster picture", the meaning of the public crisis itself and the significance of the suffering of the community and its warning role is also difficult to show.

2) "Collective presentation" suppresses "individuality"

Traditional media narratives of public crises also suppress human individuality to a certain extent. Practical reports show an excessive focus on the "official" and the "whole", with disaster victims being presented in a "collective" form and individual characters being extremely marginalized. Crisis

narratives from a holistic perspective tend to adopt a "collective presentation" approach to emphasize and render the spirit and power of the collective, which often leads to a formatting of the content and detracts from the focus on ordinary individuals. As a result, the report lacks deep concern for the individual and the display of human warmth. The existence of the individual as a "people" - the individual - appears to be missing. Rousseau believed that "man" in fact has two dimensions: one is the totality, which is expressed in sociality and group, emphasizing the interconnection and dependence between people, as well as the position and role of the individual in the social group; the other is the individuality, which emphasizes the uniqueness, independence, and self-worth of each person, and pays attention to the individual's thoughts, feelings and experiences [12]. Together, these two dimensions constitute the fullness of the human person, and their harmonious coexistence is not a natural process. When too much emphasis is placed on the collective nature of the people, the individual dimension of uniqueness is easily overlooked and becomes suppressed. Obviously, the media audience as an individual full of personality dimension, collective presentation is often difficult to benchmark the individual audience, it is not difficult to understand why the individual to the collective picture of the disaster to reflect a certain state of paralysis. The psychological mapping of "public crisis can only rely on the government as a 'crutch', and it is difficult for individuals to take action" will further hinder the participation of individuals in the field of crisis management.

(4) Research hypothesis

In summary, based on the literature review and reality check, it is found that the existence of media mobilization in the process of modern public crisis management is the norm and is considered to be of great value, but the fact is that not all media mobilization can achieve effective social mobilization. What kind of media mobilization can achieve positive social mobilization? Does the success of media mobilization in public crises depend on their positive narrative strategies? Taking narrative theory into account, we hypothesize that the media's social mobilization in public crises relies on its narrative strategy, which, specifically, is expressed as a "civilian hero narrative". In the following section, this hypothesis will be demonstrated in the context of a typical case of positive media social mobilization, namely, the rescue of the mountain fire in Chongqing.

4. All Hands-on Deck: Chongqing Mountain Fire Rescue

In the summer of 2022, China's Yangtze River Basin experienced its worst sustained drought since 1961. Chongqing faced extreme heat in several areas, with temperatures rising to 40°C, and faced severe environmental challenges: 66 rivers were cut off, 25 reservoirs dried up, and 2,138 electromechanical wells did not produce enough water. Since August 17, due to the extreme heat and other complex factors, Chongqing has experienced a series of hill fires in a short period of time. In the following ten days, the mountain fire disaster successively attacked Beibei, Nanchuan, Jiangjin, Dazu, Tongliang, Banan, Bishan, Kaizhou, Changshou and other areas. The Chongqing mountain fire rescue mission is exceptionally difficult, facing many challenges: First, the extreme heat caused by the poor rescue environment. The highest temperature in the area reached 42 °C, the edge of the

fire temperature soared to 60 °C, coupled with a short window to fight the fire, the temperature rises in the afternoon, the wind increases, forest fire behavior has become unpredictable, the fire is very easy to reignite after extinguished, which poses a serious threat to the safety of the fire fighters. Secondly, drought has led to a lack of water sources around the fires, which has a serious impact on the water supply for firefighting and helicopter water extraction operations. Thirdly, the summer is dry, and the vegetation has a low ignition point and spreads quickly. Beibei, for example, the mountain fire once spread burning Jinyunshan main mountain range. Fourth, the rugged and complex terrain is not conducive to the transportation of materials. Chongqing, also known as the "mountain city", the terrain is steep, the valley flat dam area of only 2%. Many of the fire is located in the top of the mountain, part of the slope of nearly 70 degrees, the vehicle is difficult to cross the narrow steep terrain transportation supplies. Finally, the relief effort faces complex challenges such as lack of power and the challenge of the spread of public health events.

In the midst of such a dangerous public crisis, the rescue of the mountain fires in Chongqing achieved remarkable results: all the fires were extinguished within 10 days, with no casualties or major property damage! This achievement is particularly valuable when compared with the loss of life and property caused by the California fires in the United States in 2020 and the Australian fires in 2019: the California fires burned an area of more than 12,500 square kilometers, resulting in 12 deaths and more than 3,900 buildings burned; the Australian fires lasted six months, with an area of 17.1 million hectares, and more than 3,000 houses burned, resulting in the deaths of eight firefighters, including a firefighter burned down, killing at least 33 people, including eight firefighters. Why is it that Chongqing mountain fire rescue was able to achieve zero casualties and no losses in similar mountain fire crises, while the mountain fire crises in the other countries mentioned above unfortunately caused significant loss of life and property? This is closely related to the efficient social mobilization of the Chongqing mountain fire rescue "all on the battlefield". Kunming Forest Fire Brigade member Zhang Ruikun said in an interview with the Global Times: "Over the years, I have experienced many 'fires', but like Chongqing, the whole people on the battlefield, so dedicated to the first line of firefighters to provide logistical support for the scene I still encountered for the first time [13]." Yunnan fire has also responded: the first fire there is ice cream to eat, the first time to ride a motorcycle on the mountain to fight the fire, the first time to see so many volunteers According to reports, the crisis, 90% of the motorcycles in Beibei District are involved in the rescue of the Jinyun Mountain fire.

Crisis management requires the pooling of multiple forces and the adoption of a participatory social mobilization strategy. Participatory mobilization is like a "link" and "catalyst" for social resources gathering, which can strongly promote the participation of a wide range of social sectors, so as to build a pattern of participation of multiple subjects in crisis response, and provide a continuous and stable social potential for the final resolution of public crisis. Chongqing mountain fire rescue to achieve a public crisis social mobilization of the positive effect of the will of the city, and so all the people on the social mobilization is how to achieve? Can such a successful and efficient social mobilization

experience in public crisis be replicated? Through the analysis of mainstream media reports on the Chongqing fire rescue, it is found that the significant positive effect of this social mobilization relies on the unique narrative strategy of the media in its crisis management - the "civilian hero" narrative.

5. The "Civilian Hero" Narrative: Lessons Learned from Media Crisis Mobilization

(1) Narrative Structure: "Civilian Hero" Character Narrative

"Characters are the main carriers of meaning in a narrative [14]", regardless of the narrative style, the characters in the narrative are crucial. The moral character and personality traits of the protagonist of the narrative characters often have a directional influence on the overall tendency of the narrative. Analyzing the composition of the main force in the rescue of the Chongqing hill fire, it is found that the backbone of the rescue of the Chongqing hill fire are ordinary people, and the protagonists of the media narrative of the rescue of the hill fire are ordinary people from all walks of life.

August 23, Xinhua News Agency microblogging client released a report titled "Chongqing children riding motorcycle hard core delivery of fire supplies", due to the steep mountains, rescue supplies difficult to transport, a number of boys heard of motorcycle to help, the news quickly on the microblogging hot search. People's Daily, Brightnet and other media have also "mountain city riders", "motorcycle teenagers" and other titles reported the Chongqing mountain fire rescue "motorcycle army", Long Mazi and other riders! Longmazi and other riders quickly became popular on the Internet, becoming representative figures of "civilian heroes". China Youth Daily published "three times to fight the fire" Chongqing children "found, is a college student! An article, the report publicized the college student Yu Qiu Peng three times to Fuling, Nanchuan fire, digging isolation zone, carrying supplies, praised as a model for young people. The first eye news released a short video, a female restaurant owner for the first line of fire fighting to provide 2600 love boxed lunch and overbearing shouting "meat more loaded, soybean less loaded", a time the whole net favorable comments like a tidal wave. In the Tencent video and B station and other platforms, still circulating a 15-second-long short video. In the picture, a 10-year-old boy, is holding a bag of garbage with their height, sweaty from Jinyun Mountain fire barrier difficult to carry down. Although the body is small, but vividly interpreted "since ancient times, the hero out of the youth" spirit. Not only that, Hualong.com also reported that a 95-year-old grandmother in Bishan District, Wang Mingfang, who stayed up late at night and insisted on making congee for fire fighters, was deeply moved by her deeds. In these specific media narratives, the protagonists are motorcycle riders, restaurant owners, students, young children, the elderly and so on (as shown in Table 2); they span all age groups, are ordinary people from all walks of life, ordinary but able to go to the crisis of the mountain fire, and strive to participate in the rescue of the mountain fire, and become the protagonists of the "heroes' narrative". They became the protagonists of the "hero narrative", which manifests the "heroic spirit" of "greatness comes from the ordinary, heroes come from the people" in the media narrative.

Table 2. Narrative structure: "civilian hero" character narratives

Character	"Civilian hero" stories	Reporting platforms	Timing
motorcyclist	Chongqing waifs ride motorcycles hardcore to deliver firefighting supplies	Xinhua News Agency official microblog	August 23
a private firm (PRC usage)	Restaurant owner provides 2,600 boxed lunches for firefighters on the front lines	First Eye News	August 23
university student	Traveled to Fuling and Nanchuan three times to participate in firefighting operations to fight fires, dig isolation zones, carry materials, etc.	China Youth Daily, a Beijing-based newspaper	August 22
violence	The young boy who went up the hill to clean up the garbage from the firefighting	Tencent video, b-station, etc.	August 27
elderly people	A 95-year-old grandmother in Bishan, Chongqing, made congee for fire fighters late at night.	Hualong Network	August 27

In this fire crisis, those civilian heroes who demonstrated extraordinary courage in the ordinary, as the outstanding representatives of the general public actively participating in the fire-fighting action, deeply touched the heartstrings of domestic and foreign netizens, stirred up a wide and deep emotional resonance, and achieved remarkable results in the communication of empathy. The reporting paradigm of "civilian heroes" closely connects the public and shapes a social community of emotional resonance. The civilian and grassroots tendency of social media mobilization essentially plays the role of "neutralization", balancing and reconciling the authoritative, procedural and institutionalized mechanisms of political mobilization. It is the character narrative of "civilian heroes" that awakens the "heroic nature" of the audience in the face of crisis, highlights the mass hero concept of "heroes come from the people", and profoundly reflects the "heroic nature" of the people at the bottom of the society in the face of crisis. It deeply embodies the spontaneity and self-help consciousness of the grassroots in the face of crisis, and fully demonstrates the people's sense of responsibility and fearlessness in the face of challenges.

(2) Narrative Elements: "Emotional Mobilization" Narrative Theme

"The intentions contained in a narrative may immediately make us think that they are an attempt to replicate reality [15]", narrative as a main way of telling facts and expressing ideas, conveying some kind of intention to the audience, often following a logical main line when describing objective events, determining the main tone of the whole narrative. The media's narrative coverage of the Chongqing hill fires also had an obvious tone, which was the narrative theme of "emotional mobilization".

Out of the consideration of individual survival risk and property safety, the observation of the vulnerability of social order and production life, the desire for scientific knowledge and the need for emergency measures, along with the stimulation of humanitarianism and social responsibility, the public often inevitably pays high and extensive attention to sudden natural disasters and other public crises. The media, as the main bridge connecting the crisis event itself and the social audience, will greatly construct and portray the public's understanding of the crisis event. In the reporting process of this mountain fire incident, social media platforms have skillfully integrated multiple factors, such as the heroism of rescue, the selflessness of dedication, the responsibility, the power of unity and sincere emotions, into the public's empathetic mechanism with the help of contextualization, and stimulated a wide range of social resonance. At the same time, the media platform also carefully shaped the two typical

images of "fire-fighting heroes" and "retrograde people", so that the deeds of "civilian heroes" are like a lighthouse shining into the public's field of vision in the darkness of the night, so that the recipients of information can be informed through a series of real and true stories of heroes. Through a series of real and highly contagious rescue scenes, information receivers can deeply perceive the severity of the disaster and the hardship of rescue. This not only provides the public with a window to understand the actual situation of the disaster, but also inadvertently paves a warm road for the concept of "mutual help and coexistence" in the public's psychological cognition, laying a solid emotional cornerstone.

Emotional mobilization is the backbone and soul pillar of collective action, and is regarded as the foundation and beginning of collective action. Compassion is the most simple moral driving force of human beings [16], and the sincerity, simplicity, selflessness, dedication and heroic spirit shown by the groups of "civilian heroes" on the front line of rescue greatly stimulate the public's inner compassion. With the emergence of a large number of disaster relief scenarios on social media platforms, the public from different time and space can experience the emotional resonance, forming a kind of "overcome the difficulties of the time, in times of trouble together" empathy.

"Longmazi was so tired of fighting the fire that he vomited and had to pour water on his body to cool down", "Rescuers were so tired of fighting the fire that their hands were trembling when they drank oral liquid", "Disaster movies are about running away but Chongqing people are running towards the mountain fire", "We won't go home until the mountain fire is extinguished", and other emotionally mobilizing narrative reports containing "suffering" (as shown in Table 3), which promote the rapid dissemination of the "empathy" factor on social media platforms. The rapid spread of the "empathy" factor on social media platforms has realized a shift in the effect of emotional communication, from sympathy for specific "suffering" to a broader "emotional resonance", which ultimately stimulates the public's emotional positivity and contributes to the "national mobilization". In addition, social media platforms, as a digital communication channel, provide the public with instant, convenient and extensive ways to express their emotions. Through social media platforms, individuals can express their emotions through words, pictures, videos and other forms, and share their inner feelings and emotional experiences with others, thus establishing connections and empathy. This form of emotional expression not only enhances social exchanges and communication, but also promotes emotional resonance and emotional support, strengthens social cohesion and a

sense of belonging, ensures the continuation and communication of public emotions, further consolidates empathic scenarios, expands the effects of empathic

communication, and ultimately creates an active mobilization of "all people on the battlefield".

Table 3. Narrative elements: "Emotional mobilization" narrative theme

Emotional Mobilization Narrative Report	emotional element	Reporting platforms	timing
"Rescuers so tired from fighting fires that their hands shake while drinking oral fluids."	courageous	First Eye News	August 22
"Volunteer contacts are overloaded with phone calls, and they can't answer the phone enough."	dedication	First Eye News	August 23
"Rescuers had to use duct tape to hold gauze on their feet because their feet were covered in blisters from the fire."	courageous	First Eye News	August 24
"If we don't go, who will? Chongqing is our home."	take upon oneself	CCTV news etc	August 25
"You don't go home until the mountain fire is out."	take upon oneself	Netease News, etc.	August 25
"I can't see your face, but I can see a brave heart."	courageous	CCTV News	August 27
Class of gym students patrols mountain overnight, carries supplies during mountain fires	dedication	China News Service website	August 27
"Pocky Long was so tired from the fire that he vomited and had to pour water over his body to cool it down."	courageous	Hualong.com, Netease News, etc.	August 28
"Disaster movies are about running away but Chongqing people are running toward the mountain fire."	take upon oneself	Microblogging Hot Search	August 28

(3) Narrative Strategy: "Individual Presentation" Perspective Strategy

The Chongqing mountain fire rescue media crisis narrative to "humane reporting" perspective, breaking the traditional "official-oriented reporting" paradigm, and breaking the "hero deification" and "elite propaganda" existing framework, prompting the human light behind the crisis to be fully explored and presented to the public to provide a more realistic and in-depth crisis narrative. Taking the content of media reports on the Chongqing fire incident on China's "Shake" platform as an example: in terms of video characters, the largest number of short videos featured volunteers and citizens as ordinary individuals, accounting for 55% of the total; followed by fire fighters, accounting for 11%, and traditional elite groups, represented by armed police officers and soldiers (3%) and government officials (<1%), were also featured in the videos.) as the traditional elite groups represented by a very small number of short videos [17]. This suggests that, unlike the "elite propaganda" in traditional crisis reporting, the reporting of ordinary individuals in the Chongqing hill fire incident is most likely to generate audience empathy, and that ordinary heroes in public crises can tap into the glory of human nature, which is more likely to generate and obtain the value recognition of social mobilization and collective action.

"Narrative is a kind of evaluation [18]", evaluation implies cognition, cognition implies value selection, narrative with obvious ideological tendency, in the process of telling and depicting will highlight the corresponding values, only on the basis of a certain cognition of the event can be narrative and evaluation. The media crisis coverage of the Chongqing mountain fire rescue triggered the public's emotional resonance through the contrasting narrative effect on the ordinary individuals reported, which can be summarized in three aspects of the contrasting effect.

First is the age contrast. Most motorcyclists have young or even tender faces, and their brightly colored or even flamboyant clothing often fails to disguise their age. In the eyes of their families, they were children yesterday, still in the

warm embrace of the family laughing and growing up; and today, has already raised their arms, riding an iron horse, with a full-blooded rush to the fire, showing amazing courage and commitment. Furthermore, it is a stark contrast in image. For a long time, whenever night falls, the city streets roar past the off-road motorcycle often become a target, suffered criticism and accusations. However, these off-road motorcycles have been transformed into the protagonists of the retrograde rescue scene, no longer the "street bullies" in people's eyes, but carrying riders who are fearless and dedicated to their lives, shuttling through the jungle fires under the firelight and thick smoke. The image of the volunteers has likewise undergone a remarkable reversal. On a normal day, they may be just a comfortable and cozy shuttle in the corner of the city, is the inconspicuous "rake ears", working and living in obscurity. But when the disaster came, they did not hesitate to throw away the usual quiet years, transformed into a fearless meet the fire against the current of the civilian heroes: they put on protective clothing, helmets, pick up the rescue tools, resolutely rushed to the front line of the danger. Takeaway rider Long Jie, a young man who has had a rough life, his mother left home and his father died early, but he has never given up his love of life and dedication. In order to participate in rescue operations, he even went so far as to borrow gas money from his friends just to be able to ride his motorcycle to transport fire-fighting materials and send a warmth and hope to the people affected by the disaster. Motorcyclist Wen Chong, with long sleeves to cover his crippled left arm, relying on the strength of his right arm, driving a self-modified motorcycle, determined to join the rescue operation, physical limitations did not stop him from fearlessly moving forward to take on the cause of the rescue of the persistence. Regardless of economic conditions or physical condition, they may not be the ideal candidate for rescue, but in times of crisis, they do not hesitate to step forward, with their own practical actions to explain what is a true hero.

As research has shown, empathy is more likely to occur between individuals with similar identities [19]. Civilian heroes have the characteristics of similarity, authenticity, and

living for the audience. At the same time, their heroic behavior in the rescue of the mountain fire, showing bravery, commitment, dedication and other excellent national spirit and good character, so that the deep-seated glory of human nature and the national community consciousness is unearthed and awakened, and the chain of empathy-consensus-concerted behavior is The chain of empathy - consensus - common behavior is opened. The media's narrative coverage of civilian heroes is the catalyst for this chain, which is conducive to the formation of emotional appeal, stimulate the emotional resonance of the audience, generate collective consensus, and ultimately prompt the public to take concerted action.

(4) Impact of stories: "Heroism" resonates and is shared

In the process of recounting the heroic deeds of the retrograde walkers, social media have shown the narrative potential beyond the emotional realm, shaping a public "spiritual belief" in a higher dimension, and creating actions from the belief. Modern media narrative "through digital interactive technology, the reader is directly involved in the creation of the text, supplementing, rewriting and renewing the text, thus blurring the subject and object of the narrative, reconfiguring the connection between the narrator, the reader and the text, and establishing a co-temporal connection between the narrator and the reader [20]". The media narrative of the Chongqing Mountain fire rescue incident is not a one-way narrative of a single media, but a narrative jointly constructed by a wide range of people's groups in the media discussions and interactions, which is the most effective way to highlight and show the voices of the people, and it also represents the mainstream cognition of the general public. The symbol of "civilian hero", as a concrete representation of "role model pioneer", has fully demonstrated its significant and constructive role in persuading and guiding the public to participate in practical actions, highlighting the core value of "civilian hero" in social mobilization, and further revealing the deeper mechanism of its role model power to promote public action and participation.

In the case of social mobilization for the "Chongqing Hill

Fire" crisis, the effective narrative interaction between media reports and communication audiences jointly shaped a consensus of belief in "heroism". At the same time, by grasping the characteristics of information dissemination on different social media platforms, a mechanism of action demonstration and inspiration with "heroic role models" as the core was constructed, which promoted in-depth and extensive social mobilization. Take the short video "I'm just taking a break, I'll be fine in a minute" released by Chongqing Daily on August 23rd as an example, on the 24th of August alone, the video gained 8,446,000+ readers and 34,000+ comments, triggering the general public to sign up for the volunteer team through the media narrative of motorcycle volunteers who rushed forward to help with the disaster. In the interactive session of the topic on the microblogging platform, the fearless spirit of going against the grain shown by the volunteers also deeply touched and inspired the majority of the netizen community. Media topics such as "For the sake of this city, we have to stand out", "Teenage heroes in the fire in Chongqing" and "Volunteer contacts' phone numbers are full, and they answer the phone until their hands are weak" have rushed to the top of the hot search engines again and again. Relying on diversified media narratives and covering different platforms, genres and perspectives, media and public opinion platforms represented by CCTV News, Xinhua News Agency, and People's Daily have frequently released the article "Sichuan and Chongqing People Have Some Heroic Spirit in Them!" "Why does Chongqing's heroic spirit resonate so strongly?" "Victory! Lights shine on the Great Firewall forged by Chongqing's sons and daughters with their bodies, Chinese people have some hot blood in their bodies!" Media reports with the theme of "heroes" (as shown in Table 4) have ensured the continuity of the public's empathy for the rescue in the court of public opinion and in the complex environment of massive information, the mobilization pattern of "Spiritual Leadership" and "All for One" can be jointly constructed, and further promotes the co-construction and strengthening of the spiritual belief of "heroism".

Table 4. Story influence: "Heroism" spirituality construction

Heroes Theme Report	Reporting platforms	Timing
"Sichuan and Chongqing people have some heroism in them!"	People's Daily (PRC newspaper)	August 25
"Why Chongqing's Heroic Spirit Resonates So Strongly?"	Global Times (newspaper)	August 26
"Victory! Lights illuminate the Great Firewall forged by the bodies of Chongqing's sons and daughters. The Chinese have some hot blood in their bodies!"	Central Committee of the Communist Youth League	August 26
"Heroic Soldiers and Heroic People Running in Both Directions"	CCTV News	August 29

The "civilian hero narrative" is not only an expression of the idea of heroes, but also a confirmation of a community's collective experience, memory, cognition and identity. In the face of public crises with a high degree of emotional resonance, such as major sudden-onset natural disasters, the traditional boundaries between the government and the public, the mainstream media and the mass media tend to blur, and the media narrative plays a unique role, becoming an effective bridge to converge positive common values and build consensus among a wide range of diverse groups. More critically, the "civilian hero narrative" strategy has precisely played the role of a fulcrum for the lever of social mobilization, demonstrating its unique value in promoting social mobilization.

6. Conclusion

When a major natural disaster occurs, it is often difficult to respond effectively by relying solely on the organizational strength of the Government, and it is difficult for a single agency to meet the multifaceted needs of crisis management with its organizational structure and resource allocation. The modernization of the national governance system and governance capacity requires that the social mobilization mechanism also responds to the changing environment of the times, taking social media and other factors into account. Through the case study of the Chongqing mountain fire rescue incident, we summarize the experience of the media's "civilian hero narrative" strategy to promote the realization of

positive social mobilization. The media's "civilian hero" narrative mobilization in public crisis management breaks the rigid reporting framework of "hero deification" and "elite propaganda", and is based on the "civilian hero" character narrative, the narrative theme of "emotional mobilization" and the perspective strategy of "individual presentation", it can promote the construction of the spirit of "heroism" and realize the positive social mobilization under crisis management. All in all, in the face of various sudden and emergency public crisis events, the narrative strategy of "civilian heroes" adopted by media mobilization can effectively balance the authoritative, procedural and institutionalized characteristics of political mobilization, and become a precise point of focus for prying the lever of social mobilization, which can provide a powerful support for the realization of efficient social mobilization in crisis management.

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