Summer 8-12-2020

# SEALDs: A Quantitative Content Analysis of #DontTrashYourVote on Twitter

Viviek Patel

*SEALDs: A Quantitative Content Analysis of #DontTrashYourVote on Twitter*


By Viviek Patel




A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for completion of the Bachelor of Arts
Degree for International Studies
Croft Institute for International Studies
Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College
The University of Mississippi



Oxford, Mississippi

August 2020




Approved By:


_____

Advisor: Dr. James Thomas


_____

Reader: Dr. Gang Guo


_____

Reader: Dr. Seung Cheol Lee

# Acknowledgements

This thesis combined many of my passions into a project and has finally been completed. I would like to thank Dr. James Thomas for the support, guidance, and mentorship he provided throughout the thesis process as well as my whole undergraduate career. His patience and understanding has allowed me to transform this thesis from a vague idea into a project I can be proud of. I would also like to thank Dr. Seung Cheol Lee for being one of my readers and reasons I sculpted my thesis around SEALDs. Through his course in my sophomore year, I figured out exactly what my thesis would revolve around. I would also like to thank Dr. Gang Guo for being one of my readers and providing feedback on my thesis. This research was possible because of the education provided by the Sally Mcdonnell Barksdale Honors College and Croft Institute for International Studies at the University of Mississippi. I would like to next thank Cellas Hayes, my best friend, for continuously motivating me to complete this project even when life got tough. I would also like to thank Akshaya Vijayasankar for motivating me and helping me input some of my data. I wish to extend a special thanks to all my teachers and coaches at Murrah High School. You all built the foundation for me to succeed at the University of Mississippi and I would not be here without any of you. Lastly and most importantly, I would like to thank my mother, Savita Patel. Since I was born, you have emphasized the importance of an education. You have been an inspiration, role model, and the strongest Womxn figure in my life. Soon, I will have a Bachelor's of Arts degree because of your support and sacrifices.

# Abstract

Public relations research has slowly integrated with the study of advocacy organizations, but little research has integrated this and social movements. Using the pyramid model of mobilization-driven relationship-building social media based advocacy, this study employed a quantitative content analysis to examine the prevalence of previously identified communicative functions in social media messages by SEALDs. Unlike previous research on advocacy and health organizations, action messages were the most common. This study also investigated the influence of message type on audience engagement through retweets. The results indicate that information tweets had the most retweets. This study also analyzed how social movements recruit new participants and deepen engagement within the movement.

.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# Introduction

The advancement of technology has altered how people communicate, interact, and connect with each other. The emergence and development of the internet, and subsequently its technology (i.e. social media) has changed the structure of communication as spatial and temporal barriers have altered. Social networking sites like Twitter, Facebook, etc. have transformed how social movements, organizations, and groups share information, organize activities, and mobilize support (Segerberg & Bennett 2011; DeLuca & Brunner 2017). Social networking sites have become spaces where movements are born and can be catalyzed beyond the internet, becoming a resource through which education can take place and a space where mobilization can begin (e.g. MeToo movement, BlackLivesMatter, Arab Spring).

Political apathy amongst youth has been a growing concern within Japanese society. College-aged youth participate in politics significantly less than older generations because older generations were socialized to participate in politics (Hirano 2012). Moreover, the 1960s and 1970 riots in Japan created the social stigma of activism being dangerous and caused universities to severely limit student activism on their campuses (Hammond 2020). In 2014, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe began pushing a bill to reinterpret Article 9 of the Japanese constitution which outlaws war as the means to settle international disputes (Yellen 2014). The reinterpretation was perceived by the public as undermining the Japanese constitution, also known as the peace constitution (Kim 2017). In response, three Japanese college students formed a student activist group called SEALDs, who worked against Prime Minister Abe's action and attempted to increase youth engagement in politics (Slater, O'Day, Uno, Kindstrand & Takano 2015). The founding members of SEALDs noticed that other social movements such as the anti-nuke

movement lacked youth appeal because adult-led movements did not focus on youth. SEALDs wanted to normalize youth engagement in politics, thus they attracted youth through music, pop-culture, fashion, and social networking sites (Falch & Hammond 2020). One way in which SEALDs attracted youth was through their social media platforms. They constantly updated and sent out information on demonstrations, events, and elections to ensure youth were not only interactive on social media but would also attend SEALDs' activities (Hammond 2020). Their last initiative, #DontTrashYourVote, was focused on the 2016 Upper House elections where they urged youth to vote out the ruling party, the Liberal Democratic Party. SEALDs coordinated various events with all opposition parties in order to achieve this goal. Although their goal to vote out LDP failed, they garnered much attention from media outlets, politicians, academia, and the general public.

Previous research has analyzed advocacy organizations' use of public relations messages on social media (Lovejoy & Saxton 2012; Saxton & Waters, Lin, & Saxton, 2016); however, few research has investigated how social movements use different types of messages to garner engagement online (Enderington & Lee 2018). Even though social movements utilize similar strategies online to that of advocacy organizations, social movements have unique factors that differentiate them from advocacy organizations. For example, advocacy organizations fall into the category of interests groups which are institutionalized as they have access to political elites and political power. In contrast, social movements do not have direct access to those political channels (Christiansen 2009). The difference between advocacy groups and social movements could suggest differences in the type of messages that social movements employ and warrants more investigation. The structure, evolution, and context of SEALDs suggests communicative

differences between this activist group and previously studied advocacy organizations. Specifically, this research examines the message types used on Twitter by SEALDs for their #DontTrashYourVote initiative. This research asks three questions. **First**, what are the most common types of messages utilized by SEALDs on Twitter for their #DontTrashYourVote campaign? **Second**, which message type caused the most audience engagement in terms of retweets? **Third**, how do social movements use social media to attract new participants, and to what extent does their use of social media deepen participants' engagement within the movement and its activities?

Adopting the resource mobilization theory, the pyramid model of social media-based advocacy created by Guo and Saxton (2014), and coding scheme developed Lovejoy and Saxton (2012), this research uses a quantitative content analysis of #DontTrashYourVote to examine the influence the type of message had on user engagement and how social media serves to recruit participants and deepen engagement within movements. This research also serves to integrate public relations, advocacy, and social movement literature in the context of Japanese political participation.

**Thesis Overview:**

This thesis contains five sections. Chapter One introduces the student activist group SEALDs and discusses their formation, their tactics, and the focus of this study. Chapter Two is a literature review that provides literature of social movements, social media, public relation, advocacy, and activism, which will lead to the theoretical framework for this study and present my research questions and hypothesis. Chapter Three contains research methodology. Chapter

Four contains the results. Chapter Five concludes the research with a discussion of the results and limitations of the study.

# Chapter 1: Understanding SEALDs

**Politically Apathetic Youth**

Scholars noticed that there has been a decline of political engagement by youth in America (Delli 2000; Putnam 2000; Wilkins, 2000). Surveys found that youth were less politically engaged as they were less interested in politics and less likely to keep up with the news (Delli 2000). Many scholars have argued that youth political engagement is not declining; instead, youth have shifted the way they engage in politics as exemplified through the "engaged citizenship" model through protests, social media, and other forms of nontraditional politics (Schlozman, Verba, & Brady 2010). These researchers were predominantly focused on youth engagement of politics in the United States.

In Japan, youth apathy towards politics has become a growing concern.There was a downward trend in political participation from the 1970s to 2010. Studies show that there has been a decrease in election turnout (Arai 2014; Jou & Endo 2017), a decrease in contacting politicians or bureaucrats (Hirano 2012), and a decrease in those who have joined demonstrations (Hirano 2012). Jou and Endo (2017) suggest that this low participation is not a legacy of the authoritarian culture that continued in the early postwar decades. Instead, Hirano illuminates the fact that the elderly today were socialized in a period to continue to be active participants in politics, as opposed to their children and grandchildren. He highlights that the age groups that were most active in civic movements who were in their 30s in the 1970s and 70s in 2010 have been the most active in politics today. This evidence shows that Japanese youth are less involved in all types of participatory modes of politics which stands in stark contrast to other advanced democracies that have seen a decline in voter turnout, but an increase of youth engagement in a

diverse range of political activities (Dalton 2016). This problem stems from the Japanese

education system and the stigma behind being politically active. According to a poll by Asahi

Shimbun in April 2016, 62 percent of youths aged 18 and 19 said they either do not or rarely talk

about politics in the classroom. (Mie &Osaki 2016). The lack of political discussion in the

classroom is one of the roadblocks that cause Japanese students to be uninterested in politics.

The Japanese youth from 18 to 20 year olds who did not vote in the upper house election in 2015

cited a lack of interest as the reason for not voting, at 40.3% (Uebayashi 2017). Japanese

classrooms do not hold political debates to educate and discuss a variety of social and political

issues; instead, teachers must be cautious of violating legislation, requiring schools to be

politically neutral. Article 14 of the Basic Education Act dictates schools to "refrain from

political education or other political activities for or against any specific party." Consequently,

"that means many teachers impose self-censorship, discussing only the nuts and bolts of political

system, and steer well clear of the LDP[1]'s thorny draft constitution" (Mie & Osaki 2016).

Additionally, Japanese universities have restricted student activism, proving to be unwelcoming

spaces to cultivate student political engagement (Hammond 2020). This is a result from violent

clashes between the police and students in the 1960s and early 1970s which caused universities

to impose strict rules on students promoting political issues and participating in campus student

activism (Andrews 2012). Moreover, the use of social media by politicians during elections

became legal in 2013 and has had little influence on elections (Willnat & Aw 2014). But, in

2015, the rise of SEALDs in various demonstrations across Japan showed a different image of

youth in politics. Many scholars have discussed the influence SEALDs has had on youth's

---

[1] Liberal Democracy Party

perception and want to participate in Japanese politics (e.g. Slater et al 2015; Kingston 2015; Joo 2018).

**What is SEALDs?**

SEALDs[2] stands for Student Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy. It was a student-led activist group in Tokyo, Japan formed on May 3, 2015 and it disbanded on August 15, 2016. SEALDs was created in response to a number of controversial policies enacted by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and his political party, the Liberal Democractic Party. Specifically, the core members of SEALDs were outraged by Prime Minister Abe's unconstitutional reinterpretation of Article 9 of Japan's constitution, which outlawed war as a means of settling disputes in Japan (See Appendix). SEALDs led numerous demonstrations, campaigns, and events to increase youth involvement in politics while also opposing Prime Minister Abe and the LDP.

On August 30, 2015, SEALDs organized one of the largest demonstrations, between 100,000 and 300,000 people, in Japan since the 1960s by surrounding the National Diet Building in Tokyo to protest against the reinterpretation of Article 9 (Broadbent 2015; Kingston 2019). Young people throughout Japan became exposed to SEALDs through Twitter and LINE, which allowed them to expand to other regions within Japan. SEALDs established themselves in Tohoku, Ryukyu, Tokai, Nagoya, Okinawa, and Kansai regions of Japan (Kamikubo 2019). SEALDs main goal was to normalize political engagement and activism by youth in Japan.

---

[2] Pronounced "Shields"

**Zengakuren**

To understand SEALDs, we must understand the history of Japanese youth movements in the twentieth century. Notably, Zengakuren has had an impact on Japanese society and activism in the twenty-first century. Due to the Zengakuren-led violent protests in the 1960s and 1970, youth activism and youth engagement in politics in Japan has declined (Falch & Hammond 2020). Under the supervision of the leftist political party Japan Communist Party or JCP, Zengakuren was founded in 1948. Zengakuren opposed militarism and wanted to protect Japanese pacifism. It was known for its involvement in a variety of national and international issues such as the "Red Purge" in the early 1950s, the Mutual Security Act, rearmament of Japan, the revision of the Mutual Security Act, the Vietnam War, among many other issues. This section focuses particularly on demonstrations against the revision of the Mutual Security Act and the anti-war protests.

1951 marked the year that Japan and the US signed the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, which allowed the United States to take military action in order to keep peace in East Asia and exert its military power to resolve domestic disputes in Japan. The protests in response to this treaty are called the Anpo Demonstrations. Even though there were demonstrations held against the original signing of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, it was not until the 1959-1960 student-led protests against Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi's revision of this treaty that they became well-known around the world(Kamikubo 2019). Zengakuren and other opposing groups claimed that a revision would increase Japan's risk of being involved in war. (Andrews 2016); therefore, Zengakuren worked with the Socialist Party and other groups to coordinate massive protests to stop the revision. There were roughly 300,000 demonstrators that

came. Demonstrators collided with riot police at the front gate of the National Diet where the police crushed a student from the University of Tokyo. In response, students began participating in riotous acts such as burning police vehicles and throwing rocks. Consequently, 400 students were injured, 200 students were arrested, and 300 police officers were also injured (Dowsey 1970). This demonstration was ignored by the Prime Minister and he pushed the revision through the Diet. Even though Zengakuren did not prevent the revision of the security treaty, they did force the Prime Minister and his cabinet to resign as the Prime Minister was held responsible for the riot.

Another violent demonstration occurred in October 1968 when Zengakuren members and peace organization members staged a massive, nationwide "International Anti-War Unified Action Day" demonstration to mark an incident where an armored car killed a University of Kyoto student and to protest against the war in Vietnam. Fuse (1969) highlight it as "one of Japan's worst crises" because "a fierce battle took place between students and riot police in downtown Tokyo." 6,000 students along with 8000 members of other organizations rallied in 18 prefectures at 30 different places and they were later joined by 800,000 workers in 600 Japanese towns. Fuse (1969) explains that "anti-war demonstrators captured a major Tokyo railway station at Shinjuku, set it afire, staged massive demonstrations at the Japanese Defense Department and the Self-Defense Force Headquarters. The police finally brought the situation under control after the government invoked the Anti-Subversive Activities Control Act" These, along with various other riots led by Zengakuren, led the Japanese and United States government to enact laws that would crack down on these violent protests by targeting Zengakuren (Hasegawa 2019).

Understanding Zengakuren's past actions is important as it has shaped how SEALDs have conducted their demonstrations and how they must ensure that they are not even remotely perceived as radical or dangerous. Because of this perception, Japanese universities have restricted student activism efforts by "beautifying" campuses through banning of political signboards and evicting specific long-established students groups (Hammond 2020). Because of this social stigmas, among other issues, no demonstration in Japan has reached this magnitude of support until the rise of SEALDs. SEALDs has worked against this stigma by holding peaceful demonstrations and using tactics that attract a younger Japanese audience, who would otherwise not be interested in politics.

**Before SEALDs**

SEALDs' core members came from a group called SASPL or Students Against Secret Protection Law who formed in 2014 and disbanded shortly after. The original members of SASPL were three college students 奥田愛基(Okuda Aki), 牛田悦正 (Ushida Yoshimasa) and 本間信和 (Honma Nobukazu). They were against the Secret Protection Law proposed by Prime Minister Abe, which allows the government to consider defense and other sensitive information "special secrets" that can be hidden from the public, prompting the three students to form SASPL. The core members felt that movements that were going on in Japan such as anti-nuke groups and anti-discrimination movements lacked appeal towards youth (Slater et. al 2015). These social movements lacked appeal in their online media presence —social media, webpages, and blogs— and in their style of demonstrations, which were seen as "old-fashioned or out of date" (Slater et. al 2015). Moreover, because these movements are adult-dominated activist

spaces, they may be intentionally or unintentionally dismissive of youth's concern (O'Donoghue & Strobel 2007). Because of these problems, members of SASPL thought of more interactive and appealing methods to connect youth to politics through their organizational activities, demonstrations, social media presence (Hammond 2020). Once the State Secrecy Act was passed, their objective failed so in December 2014 the group disbanded. SASPL is important to introduce as the core members of this group created SEALDs, which provides insight on how SEALDs tactics were guided by the experience of organizing through SASPL.

**Political Context of SEALDs Formation**

In July 2015, youth in Japan were in the streets of Tokyo protesting Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's initiatives to reinterpret Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and to pass the State Secrecy Act. Activists, academics, and youth gathered to protect the values of pacifism in Japan. Despite the large turnout, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was able to reinterpret Article 9 of the Japanese constitution, which outlaws the engagement in war as a means to settle international disputes. The reinterpretation gives the Japanese Self Defense Force (JSDF) the right of "collective self defense," which allows the JSDF to engage in military action if an ally were to be attacked (Richter 2016). Given Japan's pacifist stance since the end of World War II, the reinterpretation has been seen as Japan slowly regaining its military. The reinterpretation of Article 9 has been ridiculed as unconstitutional and undemocratic for three reasons: tyrannical use of executive power, lack of transparency of passing the reinterpretation, and lack of support from Japanese citizens (Kim 2017).

First, Prime Minister Abe abused his executive power to reinterpret Article 9 of the constitution. In the Japanese government, the Supreme Court deferred the responsibility of constitutional and legislative reinterpretation to the Cabinet Legislation Bureau (CLB). The Prime Minister has the power to fire and dictate the Director- General of the CLB. Prime Minister Abe abused this power by removing the Director-General Tsuneyuki Yamamoto, who did not support the reinterpretation, and then nominated Yusuke Yokobatake who aligned with Prime Minister Abe's plan  (Kim 2017). The CLB rendered the decision to reinterpret Article 9 to broaden what constituted as Self-Defense, which permitted Prime Minister Abe to push for his bill of "Collective Self-Defense."

Second, the CLB lacked transparency through the redefining process of the constitution. The CLB does not have any record of internal discussions about the revisions to Article 9, which has made it difficult for the public to understand the CLB's decision (Kim 2017). A survey found that 85% of respondents believed that the government had not provided a clear explanation about the right to collective self-defense (Matake, 2015). Thus, the lack of transparency of the reinterpretation decision and the details of the reinterpretation has been criticized as undermining democracy.

Third, the reinterpretation was not backed by Japanese citizens. Most polls taken from 2013 to 2015 proved that Japanese citizens were against the reinterpretation of Article 9. Before CLB announced its decision to reinterpret, an opinion poll conducted by *Asahi* newspaper found that 63% of Japanese citizens were against the reinterpretation ("Keeping the Peace" 2014). Moreover, when the legislation was moving from the lower house to the upper house, SEALDs was able to organize a large protest around the National Diet where 100,000 to 300,000

people participated (Broadbent 2015; Kingston 2019). SEALDs formation was strategic as it was a direct response to the unconstitutional methods of passing the reinterpretation bill.

**SEALDs Tactics**

Based on literature of SEALDs (Joo 2018; Kingston 2015; O'Day 2015; Slater et al. 2015), SEALDs utilized concert-like demonstrations, hip-hop, social media, fashion, and other cultural forms appealing to youth to physically connect them to politics. Demonstrations played an important function in political socialization as one engages their "five senses" (Slater et. al 2015). Through the different aspects of the demonstrations (hip-hop beats, rap, and call-and response), one can participate in the political activities and one can see how people feel about the issues which creates a feeling of unity or 団結感 (danketsukan). Call-and-response chants are another way SEALDs engross Japanese youth. Here are three examples:

- I say 'Abe'! You say 'Yamero![3]' Abe! Yamero! x3

- I say 'sensou'[4] You say 'hantai'[5]! Sensou! Hantai! x3

- Tell me what democracy looks like! This is what democracy looks like!

Demonstrations provided face-to-face interactions which permit participants to visualize themselves as part of the movement and hence creating and reinforcing solidarity (Casquete 2006). Throughout the group's existence, Hip-hop was also a tool for SEALDs as they created two hip-hop music videos to inform youth of their cause. Hip-hop was also part of

---

[3] Translation: Quit
[4] Translation: War
[5] Translation: We are against it

#DontTrashYourVote concerts where SEALDs members conduct call-and-response chats in between acts.

SEALDs tactics differ from Japanese social movements before it in five specific ways. First, despite being vague, SEALDs upholds the platform of peace and democracy where Prime Minister Abe was curated as the embodiment of facism. Through a vague platform of "promoting peace and democracy," SEALDs does not back any political party or organization; instead, SEALDs represents Japanese people and the urge to become political participants (Joo 2018). This tactic is different from previous movements in Japan as most movements have been policy directed movements. Having a broad platform enabled SEALDs to work against various issues and work with other movements domestically. Second, SEALDs consciously undertake peaceful activities to normalize demonstrations, make them appealing to youth and destigmatize the notion that youth-led demonstrations are dangerous. Third, all of SEALDs tactics incorporate some form of youth culture. Social media, demonstrations, fashion, graphics, English, hip-hop music videos, concerts, and other popular forms of this culture (Allison 2009) are purposefully entangled with political messages to sustain interest in politics. Joo (2018) explains, "The success of SEALDs was derived from the connection to fashion, design, hipster culture, which were their way of connecting to the contemporary youth." She describes that the entanglement of youth culture and politics increases relevancy:

> Young protestors actively utilize the methods of youth cultures and connected with their
> peers and the public utilizing the familiar language…. youth culture. Many forms of
> youth culture, such as fan activism, idol culture, hip-hop, and fashion, were incorporated

as the repertories of activism and translated into the language of social movement, thereby increasing the relevance of contention to youngsters.

Fourth, as opposed to previous movements, SEALDs has the underlying goal to increase youth engagement in politics; therefore, they held a campaign to increase voter turnout called #DontTrashYourVote. Fifth, unlike the Zengakuren and anti-nuke movement in Japan, social media was central to SEALDs motives as it served as a resource to share information, recruit, and mobilize participants. Social media was the primary resource to organize demonstrations and mobilize supporters; therefore, SEALDs employs posts on social media that target youth as they incorporate political messages with youth culture, such as fashion, graphics, hip-hop and other reporteries that students will find appealing (Kingston 2015). Social networking sites give youth the power to reach a wider audience without confining them to a narrow network of student organizations, allowing activism beyond the campus (Joo 2018).

In contemporary Japan, SEALDs challenged the negative stereotypes that youth are politically apathetic. In reality, students needed a space to use their political voices because university campuses in Japan have been dismissive since 1960s protests. SEALDs created space for youth to utilize their political voice in concerts, protests, demonstrations, and social media. Scholarly literature about SEALDs use of social media acknowledges how social media plays a crucial role in its activities; however, they all lack in-depth analysis of their use of social media (Joo 2018; Kingston 2015; O'Day 2015; Slater et al. 2015). SEALDs relied on social media to spread information about issues in Japan and its events, build an online community through messages, and promote actions that their following can take; therefore, I have a unique interest in SEALDs use of social media in the #DontTrashYourVote initiative.

**#DontTrashYourVote**

This research has particular interest in the #DontTrashYourVote campaign. #DontTrashYourVote is a specific initiative coordinated by SEALDs to increase youth voter turnout in the July 10th, 2016 Upper House elections and vote out the Liberal Democractic Party, which it failed to do (Maffeo 2017). SEALDs expanded #DontTrashYourVote from a simple hashtag on Twitter to concerts, demonstrations, a fashion line, blog posts, and a social media account under the same name (Gingold 2017). SEALDs' #DontTrashYourVote initiative had much publicity on news outlets and social media, but there has been no study of how SEALDs utilized social media for the purpose of #DontTrashYourVote. In the end, SEALDs movement was unable to gain enough momentum in the elections to bring about change of political power (Joo 2018). Based on the election turnouts, SEALDs also did not have a significant impact on voter turnout in the 2016 Upper House elections (Hammond 2020), but through #DontTrashYourVote, SEALDs was able to unite opposition parties at demonstrations and bring about more interest in politics by youth (Kikuchi 2016). Additionally, SEALDs attracted thousands of youth to their events leading up to the Upper House elections (Joo 2018), thus #DontTrashYourVote, despite its failure to increase voter turnout, did have massive participation offline, so studying their social media use can reveal SEALDs how they used social media.

This initiative was SEALDs last major effort to foster social change in Japan by encouraging people to vote. Because SEALDs' platform is vague and they work with various movements, groups, and issues, employing a full-scale analysis of all of SEALDs' tweets would not be feasible, especially given the limitations placed by Twitter such as a limit on the number

of tweets a database can collect.  Therefore, #DontTrashYourVote narrows the scope of the

research to a specific timeframe with a specific purpose and it enables this research to pull a

sample size that could reflect the message types that SEALDs employed outside this initiative.

Therefore, by studying tweets by SEALDs in conjunction with #DontTrashYourVote, this

research can examine the type of tweets SEALDs used most often and which types of tweets

provoked the most audience engagement through retweets.

# CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

A central theoretical task of this research is to establish a framework through which to study the intersection of social movements and the types of public relations messages used on social media to influence online engagement.

**Social Media Definition**

In order to study how social media is used within a social movement, I must define social media. Social media can be condensed into two parts: social and media. The "social" part refers to the interaction between people by which they share and receive information. The "media" part is the instrument of communication such as the internet, television, and radio. (Nations 2017). By placing these two terms together, social media can be defined as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010). The decreasing costs for online data storage and the rapid diffusion of Web 2.0 functionalities made it possible to offer internet users access to a variety of spaces allowing for user-generated content to be created (Obar and Wildman 2015). Hence, social media has become accessible to anyone with an internet connection and a device that has internet access capabilities.

Social media services exploded into a social phenomena and a business. The first social media site was created in 1997 was called Six Degrees, but was shut down in 2001. Since then, numerous social networking sites have been created and its size as a business and popular use has significantly grown. Social media services such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Whatsapp are popular services the world. In Japan, Line, Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook are

the most used social network sites. Facebook was founded in 2004 and since then has become one of the most popular web and mobile communication platform. As of April 2020, Facebook has 2.5 billion users, making it the most popular social network site in the world. Twitter is a platform launched in 2006 which enables users to post "tweets" or posts in 140 character or less. Twitter has 386 million active users as of April 2020. Other social media sites such as Instagram and Whatsapp have 1 billion and 2 billion active users, respectively (Clement 2020). In Japan, Line (80 million users) is the most used social networking site followed by Twitter (45 million users). While Line's core purpose is messaging, Twitter is a microblogging system allowing user's outside one's social network to potentially see and engage in the post, which is discussed in more detail in a later section.

**Social Movements and Twitter**

Twitter is a microblogging platform where users can post messages, or tweets, within 140-character limit. Twitter allows users to subscribe to other users by "following" them, share messages from other accounts to their own page by "retweeting" them, and post tweets to their own pages. The retweet functions permits users to share content easily and efficiently, and gives the post the potential to widen its audience.

Twitter is a popular social media site in Japan as it is the second most used social network site in Japan with over 45 million monthly active users (Clement 2020). Because of the unique features on Twitter, it has become a useful and effective resource in social movements (Conway, Kenski, & Wang, 2015) as it has catalyzed the growth of many social movements such as as #MeToo movement (Li, Turki, Izaguirre, Demahy, Gage 2020) and Ni Una Menos

movement (Belotti, Comunello, & Corradi 2020). Moreover, among activists, it builds

"transparency, privacy, security, and interpersonal trust" (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Twitter is

a highly effective tool for spreading information, which prompts activists instantaneous actions

that then drive quick mobilization (Hermida, Lewis, Zamith 2014). By retweeting, one is able to

take information from one network and present it to their own network, which serves as an

important mechanism to mobilize.

Even though previous research on social movements on social media has

examined retweets as audience engagement based on message type (Edrington & Lee 2018), they

failed to explain the purpose of studying retweets within a social movement and what it entails.

Mercera and Levy (2019)  describe retweets as a "proprietary diffusion metric as well as a use

practice, a cultural interpretation of social platform functionalities by its users." Therefore, as

previous studies have suggested, retweeting is a vital mechanism for spreading information,

which disperses tweets beyond their initial reach (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan 2010). Even though the

reason for retweeting varies for an individual at different times (Macskassy & Michelson, 2011),

as a use practice, retweeting signifies the retweeter as a listener who is participating in the

dissemination of the information and ideas experienced on Twitter, thus increasing the tweets

exposure with in its network (Meraz & Papacharissi 2013). By retweeting, one promotes ideas

and information within its social network, which fosters social learning and subsequently social

validation of that information. According to Mercea and Levy (2019), "network theory has

distinctively approached social learning as a diffusion process. From this perspective, social

learning entails embracing an innovation (e.g., a new belief or behavior) provided one gains

information from her network that testifies to the suitability of the innovation for the individual."

Suitably, the more information is shared, the more likely social learning is transpired and hence corroborated by the connections within one's group or network (Messing & Westwood, 2014). As information is shared, social learning takes place, which is then validated by the sharing of that information within one's network. Social validation is critical in social movement because it facilities goal attainment within networks such as participating in collective action (Westaby 2012). Therefore, this research explains audience engagement as retweeting as it can be viewed as an activity to diffuse information, contribute to a pool of shared knowledge, and socially validate the sources of the knowledge. When a user retweets, they are engaging in and contributing to the previously mentioned activities within a social movement's social media, so audience engagement will be used to explain retweeting. Investigating retweets in relation to message type can reveal what information SEALDs and its users want to spread and validate. To summarize, retweeting is a useful proxy for understanding audience engagement within a movement because retweeting promotes information, fosters social learning, and provides social validation of that information.

**Social Movements**

Initially, social movement scholarship conceptualized psychological factors such as fear, panic, and grievances as the main cause of collective behavior (Blumer, 1951; Smelser, 1962). Even though these factors contribute to collective behavior, this conceptualization does not account for the conditions in which discontent is transformed into mobilization and is sustainable. Instead, this conception of collective behavior seems to explain short-lived acts such as protests. Brown (2017) argues that protests "are violent or non-violent collective actions, of a

political nature, occurring outside formal participatory mechanisms within local governance structures, as a means of enforcing claims or political rights." A protest can be an act within a larger social movement or it can be a sole act/event. In order to understand and study social movements, it is pertinent to define them to differentiate them from isolated events, social trends, and simple groups. In *The Concept of Social Movements*, Diani (1992) argues that there is a clear distinction between social movements and "related concepts such as interest groups, political parties, protest events, and coalitions." To be classified as a social movement, six criteria must be met. A social movement is "organized, uninstitutionalized, large in scope, promotes or opposes changes in societal norms and values, encounters opposition in moral struggle, and relies primarily on persuasion to bring about or resist change" (Stewart, Smith, Denton 2012). The aforementioned groups/ events do not meet all of these conditions; therefore, they cannot be considered a social movement. For example, a political party or interest group are political entities that have access to political power and political elites (Christiansen 2009); accordingly, they are institutionalized and can not be classified as social movements. To further distinguish these related concepts, Tilly and Wood (2013) explain three elements from which social movements are created: "a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities; employment of combinations...of political actions...; and participants' concerted public representations of WUNC: worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies." Based on these elements, the key difference between a protest and a social movement is sustainability, as the actions and objectives of the movement continue even after the act of protest is over.

In the 1960s and 1970s, social movements erupted across the world. Collective behavior theories were inadequate in explaining how these new types of social movements operated without central leaders (McCarthy & Zald 1977). McCarthy and Zald developed the resource mobilization theory (RMT) which argues that resources are crucial for a social movement's formation and success. Organizations and/or movement entrepreneurs must mobilize resources, which form the basis for the actions that are taken. The discontent that is transformed into mobilization is based on the material and/or nonmaterial resources available to the group. Mobilization occurs when "social movements are able to organize discontent, reduce the costs of action, utilize and create solidarity networks, share incentives among members, and achieve external consensus" (Porta and Diani 2006). The resources that are available explain the choices made by a movement and the resulting consequence that collective action will have on the social and political system (Edwards and McCarthy 2004). Therefore, when individuals in a society have grievances about a specific issue, they may mobilize necessary resources and then use them to take action to alleviate those grievances.

Synthesizing their past work on resource mobilization theory, Edwards and McCarthy (2004) break down the resources into a fivefold typology. The resources are material, moral, cultural, human, and social organizational. Material resources are physical resources such as money, physical supplies, and locations that are critical for a movement to run. Moral resources include solidarity, legitimacy, and support for the movement's goal among members. These resources originate outside of a social movement such as celebrity endorsement. For example, when American actress Alyssa Milano posted on Twitter, "If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote 'Me too' as a status, we might give people a sense of the

magnitude of the problem." Cultural resources include specialized knowledge, activist experience, and organizational templates. Movement members with prior experience and knowledge of the goals, the cause, and the potential benefits are able to use this resource to expand the movement. Human resources are the labor required to conduct the activities of the movement. Finally, social-organizational resources are social networks and organizational strategies used to recruit more movement members, and spread the organization's message to people outside the movement. This resource is crucial in explaining social media within RMT, as social media helps form and enlarge a movement's social networks as well as spread the organization's message. Based on RMT, a social movement's success depends on how it allocates and dispenses these five types of resources.

Persuasion is a key element to allocating these resources for a social movement as Stewart et al. (2012) argued "persuasion is the primary agency through which social movements attempt to perform critical functions" which allow them to be born, expand and enlarge in size and influence, meet opposition, and "effectively bring about or resist change." Persuasion is how social movements are able to cause social change. Moreover, Stewart et al. (2012) proposes that language used in a social movement is "the agent for social integration, the means of cultural socialization, the vehicle for social interaction, the channel for the transmission of values, and the glue that bonds people, ideas, and society." Social media has become the main avenue for social movements to use language that persuades larger audiences to join a movement.

**Social Media and Social Movement Theory**

Over 2.77 billion people use social media networks and social media use is projected to hit 3 billion in 2021 ("Number of Social Media Users Worldwide 2010-2021" n.d.). Roughly

36% of the world uses social media. It has become a transformative resource that has allowed for quick communication across the globe. Social media has transformed the methods of communication within social movements. Communication is quicker because information is quickly spread throughout social network sites, allowing for quick mobilization.

The use of social media in movements can be seen all across the world such as Iran's Green Movement (Ansari, 2012), Occupy Wall Street (Ranney, 2014) , and the Umbrella Movement (Chu 2018). Many scholars, such as those previously mentioned, are interested in how social movements have used social media and how it has changed the way social movements mobilize and organize. DeLuca and Brunner (2017) assert that "new media has become an essential tool to organize protests for groups and individuals." Within these movements, social media facilitated rapid development of the movements online, which then moved offline. Literature suggests that social media catalyzes a movement primarily through the spread of information which can cause mass mobilization as online activity may quickly transform into offline mobilization (Lynch, 2011; Murthy 2018; Chu 2018; McKeon & Gitomer, 2019).

Earl and Kimport (2011) explain two types of effects the Internet has on social movements: Supersize Effects and Theory 2.0 Effects. The Supersize Effects explains that the internet reduces cost (time and money) of protest, it decreases the time in which mobilization occurs through the diffusion of information and transmission of communication, and alters the scale in which mobilization occurs. The second type of effect is Theory 2.0 Effects. They argue that the internet has led to fundamental changes in the processes that drive participation and organization. Social movements that predate the social media era coordinated movement

activities at in-person meetings and people participated in physical protests such as rallies, sit-in

and demonstration. However, McKeon and Gitomer (2019) explain:

> We now see a new digital repertoire of e-tactics (organization that occurs without
> physical co-presence). This can include a range of activities: large-scale e-tactics
> produced by individuals or small groups; short, sporadic, and episodic campaigns as well
> as sustained protest; and specific as well as broad targets and goalsThis can include a
> range of activities: large-scale e-tactics produced by individuals or small groups; short,
> sporadic, and episodic campaigns as well as sustained protest; and specific as well as
> broad targets and goals.

Even though Earl and Kimport's data is from 2006,  Polletta (2011) argues that their theory still

holds up, and social media foster a new virtual collective identity which "in some ways is more

effectively mobilizing than the kind of collective identity forged" through a physical

co-presence. Earl and Kimport's two types of effects explain the role social media plays within a

social movement and how it improves the movement's ability to mobilize and organize as well

as spread information, which provides a compelling reason to examine social media through the

theoretical framework of resource mobilization theory.


**Public Relations, Advocacy, and Activism**

Social movements, advocacy, and activism are blended within each other. Typically,

social movements conduct activism through behavior commitments, which serve to advocate for

changes within a system. Edget (2002) defines advocacy as "the act of publicly representing an

individual, organization, or idea with the object of persuading audiences to look favorably

on—or accept the point of view of—the individual, the organization, or the idea." For example, SEALDs wanted to change how Japanese society viewed political participation and activism by youth. Lee (1997) argues that although activism encompasses advocacy, it also contains a behavioral commitment to a cause such as marches, protests, demonstrations, and boycotts. To illustrate how social movements, advocacy, and activism go hand in hand, I will utilize the context of SEALDs. SEALDs attempts to normalize political activities such as protesting and demonstrations as well advocates for Japanese youth to vote. They are able to advocate and pursue these goals through demonstrations and protests.

Public relations intertwines with activism and advocacy in many ways (Edgett 2002). Public relations activities began " when a person or organization sought to secure profit, recruitment, legitimacy, or to participate in the marketplace of ideas through agitation and advocacy (Lamme and Russell 2010). Demetrious (2013) illustrates that public relations practitioners work for powerful companies to further their interests, which is "orientated around maximising profits, market share and influence, and have confidently been able to approach media outlets to adopt their narratives over others." In order for a company or organization to handle controversy or issues, public relations practitioners respond to or interact with advocacy or activist groups (Grunig 1992). This illustrates public relations, advocacy, and activism at an institutional level. At an individual level, public relations and advocacy intersect when public relations work as advocates within their organization in order to voice issues of marginalizing publics (Holtzhausen, 2012). These publics can be internal or external to the organization where internal publics are employees and external publics are people outside the organization (Benedict 2017).

Even if a social movement, organization, or activist group does not have a formal structure, communication and relationship building are key elements to the cause. These two elements form the public relations function within social movements, activist groups, and advocacy organizations (Dozier & Loauzen 2000).  Smith and Ferguson (2001) discuss that public relations within these bodies support and main the movement or organization as the focus of public relations is the relationship to and communication with the public. Ciszek (2015) bridges the gap between activism and public relations in his research as she suggests that many tactics that employed "by activists are public relations tactics, and their motives can be viewed as public relations strategies." She elaborates activists employ public relations as they work to produce both material and symbolic products as they are "planning, designing, and disseminating content, to shape the discourse around issues and causes" Despite this link drawn between the two almost two decades ago, there is limited literature of how activist groups use public relations online. This research is important to examine how activist groups use public relations may differ from other types of organizations.

**Advocacy on Social Media**

Advocacy and public relations literature has shifted its focus into social media advocacy research. Social media has the potential to increase communication with advocates, but considerable engagement and action among supporters is what causes effective social change (Fine 2006). Fine (2006) explains that engagement occurs incrementally where social media offers the first step "by recruiting  new supporters and providing opportunities to build relationships over time to gradually increase supporters' engagement." Kanter and Paine (2012)

characterize this gradually increasing engagement as a "ladder of engagement." This ladder illustrates engagement as a continuum that ranges in intensity and type. They explain that behaviors that indicate low-level engagement includes sharing and liking; mid-level behaviors are participating in electronic forms of action such as signing a petition, and high-level behaviors are actions taken outside social media such as volunteering and attending demonstrations. High-level engagement behaviors are actions that social movements want to promote as this level of engagement directly aids the movements cause.

Studies have reported that the primary uses of social media by advocacy groups are educating, mobilizing and promoting the organization's message. (Obar, Zube, & Lampe, 2012). Public relations has become more socially distributed as a result of social media; therefore; "public relations-related messages expand through the ease of sharing (functional interactivity) and the relevance of the message to an issue community (contingent interactivity)." To further studies of public relations by organizations' use of social media, Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) developed a typology of three primary categories based on nonprofit tactics and their use of social media. These three categories are action, community, and information. Information posts are about any news or information. Community posts build community through various ways such as recognizing or thanking people. Action posts contain a behavioral aspect such as promoting an event or selling a product. These categories have been used in several studies. Studies have examined which types of posts nonprofit advocacy groups would use on Twitter (Guo & Saxton 2014; Endrington & Lee 2018), Facebook (Saxton & Waters 2014; Huang, Lin, & Saxton 2016), and other social network sites. These studies found that message type affects audience engagement on social media. Information posts were found to be shared more by users

following advocacy groups (Saxton & Waters, 2014; Huang, Lin, & Saxton 2016). These studies are based on organizations in the United States. Studies using this typology should also be examined outside of an United States context to see if it can be used to study activist groups or organizations in a different physical context.
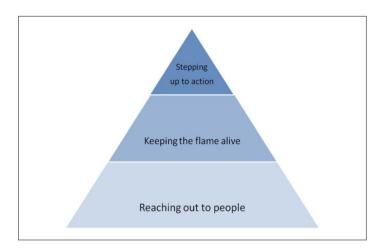
**Theoretical Framework**

The Resource Mobilization Theory is applicable to social media because social media decreases the cost (of time, money, and labor) of organizing and mobilizing movement activities through its ability to quickly disperse information online. Social media is a medium that facilitates the growth of social networks online by connecting an account with other accounts, therefore it is a social organizational resource (Obar & Wildman 2015). Social media has become an instrument through which movement's can share information, build community, and promote action (Endrington & Lee 2018), which can directly and indirectly impact the movement. For these reasons, this research employs the resource mobilization theory to describe SEALDs use of social media as a social organizational resource to spread messages in order to enlarge its social network.

In order to study the use of social media, a systematic, objective approach is necessary. Therefore, this study models the typology developed by Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) to study how SEALDs utilizes Twitter to promote information, build, community, and promote action. As mentioned previously, previous research has studied various social networking sites through this coding scheme, which allowed these researchers to understand the types of messages other

groups or organizations employ. By implementing this coding scheme, I can contribute to the

literature of public relations messages within social movements, which there is limited research.

To theorize how these three categories are used on social media, I use Guo and Saxton's

(2014) original pyramid model of social media based advocacy presented in figure 1. Through

the study of the tweets by 121 different advocacy organizations, Guo and Saxton (2014)

theorized the three categories into three stages.



**Figure 1. A Pyramid Model of Social Media-Based Advocacy.**

This hierarchical model has three stages: reaching out to people, keeping the flame alive, and

stepping up to action. Guo and Saxton (2014) explain the three stages:

> The organization first reaches out and brings awareness of the organization's cause to
>
> current and potential supporters. Once a constituency is built, the next step is to sustain
>
> the constituency and keep alive the flame of passion among supporters. When the timing
>
> is right, the final step is to mobilize the supporters to act. The hierarchy implicit in the
>
> model reflects how each successive layer of the model is built on the one below. Given
>
> the greater number of messages at the earlier than later stages, the three elements of
>
> social media-based advocacy can be depicted as a pyramid.

Although each component represents a "stage," they highlight that all three can occur simultaneously or in a different order as the stages are based on the organization's relationship with its constituents at any time. In the first stage, organizations reach out to the audience, specifically through information. In the second stage, organizations must build community to deepen the audience's knowledge and continue their interest in its cause. In the last stage, organizations are motivating its constituents to take action by promoting events or providing ways for them to take action.  Because the organization is always fostering relationships and organizing new supporters, Guo and Saxton (2014) have created a model of "mobilization-driven relationship-building." This explains how organizations generate and mobilize network support. This model posits the communicative functions (information, community, and actions) into three stages to better understand how advocacy organizations use social media.

Based on the previous literature on social media, social movements, and public relations, three questions were created with respective hypotheses:

1. What are the most common types of messages utilized by SEALDs on Twitter for their #DontTrashYourVote campaign?

Based on previous literature (Guo & Saxton, 2014; Lovejoy & Saxton 2012), information posts were used more often than community or action; therefore, I hypothesize SEALDs will use more messages that focus on information than those that focus on community or action.

2. Which message type caused the most audience engagement in terms of retweets?

Based on past literature on social movements and audience engagement online (Enderington & Lee 2018), community tweets were retweeted the most; therefore, I hypothesize that messages that focus on community will have the most audience engagement in terms of retweets.

3. How do social movements use social media to attract new participants, and to what extent does their use of social media deepen participants' engagement within the movement and its activities?

When Guo and Saxton (2014) studied 121 advocacy groups on social media, they found that these groups used informational tweets (in the first stage) to bring awareness to the group's cause, which can attract new participants. Based on this, I hypothesize that in order for social movements to attract new participants, they will post informational tweets to provide the foundation of understanding an organization or group's cause. Moreover, Guo and Saxton (2014) found that organizations use community posts to "sustain the constituency and keep alive the flame of passion among supporters." Therefore, I hypothesize that social movements deepeen participants' engagement by strengthening the ties with the online community through community-building posts.

# CHAPTER 3: Research Methodology

**Overview**

To restate, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ1. What are the most common types of messages utilized by SEALDs on Twitter for their #DontTrashYourVote campaign?

RQ2. Which message type caused the most audience engagement in terms of retweets?

RQ3. How do social movements use social media to attract new participants, and to what extent does their use of social media deepen participants' engagement within the movement and its activities?

In order to answer these questions, a content analysis of SEALDs' accounts was conducted with specific hashtags that correlate with their #DontTrashYourVote campaign.

**Hypothesis**

For RQ1, I hypothesize SEALDs will use more messages that focus on information than those that focus on community or action. For RQ2, I hypothesize that messages that focus on community will have the most audience engagement in terms of retweets. For RQ3, I hypothesize that in order for social movements to attract new participants, they will post informational tweets to provide the foundation of understanding an organization or group's cause. I also hypothesize that social movements deepeen participants' engagement by strengthening the ties with the online community through community-building posts.

**Sample**

All tweets were collected manually from Twitter onto Google Sheets. Even though originally three accounts would be part of this study, one account (@DTYV_2016) was deleted, which served as the official #DontTrashYourVote account and contained roughly 300 posts. This greatly reduced the sample size to tweets from only two accounts run by SEALDs. Consequently, this research examined @sealds_jpn and @sealds_eng. Studying the @DTYV_2016 account would have greatly improved the sample size of tweets and provided a full account of tweets within the #DontTrashYourVote initiative. This account could have provided a clearer picture of the change in frequency of message types that SEALDs used throughout the campaign. Also, the account would have provided insight on basic details of the campaign such as when it officially started and ended. Additionally, the message types used by this account could be compared to SEALDs' original accounts to see if there was a difference in messaging strategy.

All tweets posted between May 10, 2016, and July 10, 2016, were collected. To accurately assess the use of communicative functions by SEALDs for the #DontTrashYourVote campaign, posts that included one of five hashtags were collected. These hashtags are #DontTrashYourVote, #GoVote, #VoteTogether, #選挙に行こう[6], and #7月10日参議院選挙[7]. These hashtags narrow the scope to the tweets posted for this specific campaign as they focus on the July 10th, 2016 Upper House election. The Twitter advanced search tool was used to restrict posts that were outside the timeframe and did not contain the aforementioned hashtags. Out of the collective 42,115 tweets from both accounts, posts that were retweets without commentary

---

[6] Translation: Let's go to the elections
[7] Trasnlation: July 10, House of Councillors elections

and posts without these hashtags were excluded from the sample to ensure that the tweets were in conjunction with the #DontTrashYourVote campaign and the tweets were created by SEALDs. This resulted in a final sample of 199 tweets. 21 tweets from @sealds_eng and 178 tweets from @sealds_jpn.

**Data Analysis**

Each tweet was analyzed on an individual level. The main variable of interest was retweets, which is a behavioral outcome on Twitter. The retweets were manually recorded onto Google Sheets. In order to assess the relationship between communicative functions and behavioral outcomes, all 199 tweets were coded by adapting a categorization template laid out by Lovejoy and Saxton (2012), which will be discussed in the "Categories" section. The studies have classified messages into three categories: Information, Community, and Action. These were separated into 12 subcategories, which were developed by Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) and Edrington and Lee (2018). Five categories were created to fit the context of this study.

Because I seek to explore how SEALDs' uses twitter, I take a quantitative content analysis approach originally developed by Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) and build upon the intersecting literature of social movement, advocacy, and public relations studied by Endrington and Lee (2018). Content analysis has become one of the dominant methods researchers use to study Twitter data (Zimmer & Proferes 2014). Content analysis is "a technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages." (Holsti 1969) This study is specifically employing a quantitative content analysis to be able to describe the message type used on Twitter and examine message type and retweets. Quantitative

content analysis is the best approach for this study because it allows this study to examine

SEALDs use of Twitter through a systematic and objective method. Quantitative content analysis

is defined by Berelson (1952) as "a research technique for the systematic, objective, and

quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." By utilizing this technique, a

description is created by breaking communication content into units, designating each unit to a

category, and presenting a total within each category.

A simple cross tabulation analysis was used to assess the frequency of the message type

tweeted by SEALDs and it was used to compare the number of retweets across tweet functions.

If SEALDs post one message type significantly more than another, the overall number of

retweets would likely be higher as well. If the data is illustrated as such, then we can assume that

SEALDs likely posted a certain function to garner more interaction with that specific type of

message. However, a better method to investigate which message type invoked the highest

number of retweets is the arithmetic mean. Through this, the research can summarize the number

of retweets for each category by dividing the number of retweets by the frequency of the function

employed, providing an average number of retweets per tweet. Also, the arithmetic mean was

found for each tweet function by taking the frequency of each function and dividing them by the

number of retweets generated by the message type.

**Methods**

This research is analyzing Twitter posts that are in congruence with the

#DontTrashYourVote campaign. After examining both twitter accounts, the 5 hashtags were

determined based on the objective of the campaign: increase Japanese youth voter turnout in the

July 10, 2016 Upper House elections. All five of these hashtags within the May 10, 2016 to July

10, 2016 timeframe were used to promote the #DontTrashYourVote campaign to increase youth voter at the Upper House Elections.

All posts are collected from May 10, 2016 to July 10, 2016. May 10th is the first post by either account to contain #DontTrashYourVote which I marked as the online beginning of the #DontTrashYourVote campaign. July 10th is the day of the Upper House elections. After July 10th, there was only one tweet that contained any of the above hashtags, thus the data of tweets cuts off on July 11 and marks July 10 as the end of the campaign.

**Categories**

All 199 tweets were coded based on a categorization scheme developed by Lovejoy and Saxton (2012). This coding scheme has been used in other studies (e.g., Thackeray, Neiger, Burton, & Thackeray 2013, Guo & Saxton 2014; Endrington & Lee 2018) and it classifies messages into three broad categories: Information, Community, and Action. These categories were broken down into 12 subcategories. 5 of these categories were created by Lovejoy & Saxton (2012), 3 of them by Endrington & Lee (2018), and the other 4 categories were added to fit the context of this study. In this section, a description of each category and examples will be provided.

*Information*

The information contains four subcategories: announcement, candidate information, fact or statistic, and guide. The distinctive feature of this category is that the tweet's main purpose is to inform. The tweet does not have a secondary agenda, it does not promote an event, call to take some sort of action, or foster dialogue. These tweets are simple one-way information exchanges

(Lovejoy & Saxton 2012). In this case, the information is exchanged from SEALDs to the public.

There are four subcategories: announcements, candidate information, fact or statistic, and guide.

### *Announcements.*

Based on Endrington and Lee's research (2018), announcements are any formal

statements released by the organization. For the purpose of this study, tweets that updated

SEALDs' following about government elections were also categorized as an announcement. This

is because SEALDs primary objective through #DontTrashYourVote is to increase voter turnout

at the Upper House election in 2016; therefore, the constant updates about how far election day

is fits into the announcement subcategory. Below is an example of an announcement tweet.

> Sealds_jpn: いよいよ明日、公示される参議院選挙。投開票日まであと１９日。明
> 後日からは期日前投票をすることが出来ます！#DontTrashYourVote
> (Tomorrow's House of Councilors election will be announced tomorrow. There are 19
> days left until the voting and voting date. You can vote in advance from the day after
> tomorrow!)



### *Candidate Information.*

This subcategory was created for the purpose of this study. These types of posts inform

SEALDs' following on political candidates and their platforms. All of the political candidates

were in political parties against the Liberal Democractic Party, which Prime Minister Shinzo Abe

is a part of. Every political candidate that was posted by SEALDs was verbal against the

corruption of LDP.

> sealds_jpn:【参院選：兵庫】兵庫の方、みずおか俊一（@s_mizuoka さんを応援
> してください！！子どもへの投資として３つの政策を、暮らしを守るために４つ
> の政策を掲げています。兵庫県からみずおかさんを国会へ！！#7月10日参議院選
> 挙
> ([Senior election: Hyogo] Please support Shunichi Mizuoka (@s_mizuoka-san, Hyogo!
> We have three policies to invest in children, and four policies to protect our lives. From
> Hyogo prefecture Mizuoka to the Diet!#July 10th House of Councilors election)



### *Fact or Statistic.*

This category is based on Endrington and Lee's work. Fact or statistics are tweets that

provide statistics that back domestic issues in Japan such as housing disparities, gender

inequality, poverty, etc. Also, these tweets explained the basic information about the political

make-up and each branch's power. The tweet below explains the disparities that exist within

each generation in Japan.

> sealds_jpn:【 #7月10日参議院選挙 】
> 世代超え広がる格差 金融資産を持たない単身世帯は、全体の五割近くまで増え
> た。大学生の半数が奨学金を借り、生活保護を受ける高齢者は八十万世帯を突
> 破。貧困はあらゆる世代の課題となった(TOKYO Web)
> tokyo-np.co.jp/article/politics/list/ 201606/CK2016061102000140.html
> ([#July 10th House of Councilors election] Disparities that spread across generations:
> single-person households that do not have financial assets have increased to nearly 50%;
> half of the university students borrowed scholarship; the number of elderly people
> receiving public assistance exceeded 800,000 households. Poverty has become a
> challenge for all generations.)

*Guide.*

This subcategory was created for the purpose of the study. These tweets provide a

step-by-step guide on how to vote in elections. All of these tweets were focused on informing

SEALDs' following on how to vote.

> sealds_jpn:【HOW TO VOTE 投票ガイド】
> こちらでデータを配布しています。ぜひ、全国で使ってください！CHANGE
> TOGETHER, VOTE TOGETHER. #7月10日参議院選挙
> http://sealdspost.com/archives/540
> ([HOW TO VOTE Voting Guide] The data is distributed here. Please use it nationwide!
> CHANGE TOGETHER, VOTE TOGETHER.)

*Community*

Even though there is literature about the use of hashtags to foster dialogue and build

community on Twitter (LeFebvre & Armstrong 2018; Segerberg & Bennett 2011) and literature

on nonprofit organizations' use of Twitter to foster dialogue and build community with its

stakeholders (Lovejoy & Saxton 2012; Guo & Saxton 2013), there is limited literature on social

movement's building community through Twitter. Twitter is not only a microblogging system,

but also a social networking tool. Therefore, Twitter enables organizations to interact, share, and

converse with its followers which facilitates an online community. Because this fosters an online

community, tweets that fill this function are labeled "community" (Lovejoy & Saxton 2012).

This category entails two aspects: dialogue and community-building. First, there are tweets that

spark direct conversations between the organization and its following. Second, tweets whose

primary function strengthens ties to the online community without expecting two-way

interactions. For the purpose of this study, only the second part, community building, is

examined. I use three categories of tweets: acknowledgement of current or local events, message,

and recognition or thanks. Both "acknowledgement of current or local events" and "recognition or thanks" categories are from Lovejoy & Saxton's (2012) study which was used to examine community-building. The "message" category is created to fit this study.

### *Acknowledgement of Current or Local Events.*

There were two conditions that a tweet had to meet for it to fulfill the functions of this category. First, the tweet had to contain a picture or video of an event so followers can see what SEALDs was acknowledging. Second, the event had to acknowledge a protest, demonstration, concert. This category covers tweets that acknowledge demonstrations, debates, protests, or concerts that have already occurred or are occurring at the time of the post. If the tweet is a picture or video of an event without any caption, then it was automatically coded under this category. Any tweet that contained "acknowledgements," but the tweet pertained to a future event, it was coded under "event promotion" under "action." These tweets show that the SEALDs' events have people from the local community participate by presenting pictures or videos of crowds and/or people from the area. This shows SEALDs' following that people that are in the community participate in SEALDs events. For example, the tweet below doesn't explicitly recognize a person or group; instead, it is acknowledging the public appeal that happened in Yurakucho.

> sealds_eng: Public appeal in Yurakucho #Tokyo Our votes can make a change #votetogether

*Messages.*

This category contains tweets that had messages from celebrities, musicians, politicians, and other well-known people in Tokyo. These tweets were typically messages that were posted on SEALDs' websites, to which they attach a link on the post along with the people who are giving a message. All the messages on the posts were from people that were well-known within their area. The messages would contain support for SEALDs actions and express the importance of voting and participating in politics. This category demonstrated how SEALDs attempted to build an online community through posting messages from well-known people that supported SEALDs. The example below is a tweet which names the people that the messages are from and has a link to the messages.

> sealds_jpn:【⚡POST更新！】
> #DontTrashYourVote メッセージ第三弾！
> 今回は、音楽家の大友良英さん、 "SLANG" のKOさん、DJ・トラックメイカー
> のXTALさんです🌟 http://sealdspost.com/archives/3516
> ([ POST update! ]
> #DontTrashYourVote Message third!
> This time, musician Yoshihide Otomo, "SLANG" KO, DJ/track maker XTAL)

***Recognition or Thanks.***

According to Lovejoy & Saxton (2012), "it is one of the basic tenets of nonprofit management that acknowledging and thanking donors and other supporters is essential." However, since this research examines social movements and not nonprofit organizations, donors are not recognized. Instead, tweets that fulfilled this function were either supporters recognized for attending demonstrations or thanking supporters for their actions. This category is different from the "acknowledgement of current or local events" category. A tweet fulfills this category's function only if the tweet explicitly recognizes a person or group or explicitly thanks a person, group, or crowd. If the tweet is a video or photo with a basic description or no caption, then this would fall into the "acknowledgement of current or local events" category.

> sealds_eng: Today's public appeal in Yurakucho #Tokyo We had a big & colourful turnout! Thank you for your support #VoteTogether



***Action***

The third main function is "action." The purpose of this function is to get followers to take action. The actions range from asking followers to share information to providing ways followers can participate. This function involves using social media messages for the purpose of

mobilization and promotion. According to Lovejoy & Saxton (2012), "Twitter users are seen as a resource that can be mobilized to help..." fulfill the organization's objectives; therefore, "this function is perhaps the most tangible, outcomes-oriented manifestation of the benefits rendered possible by a Twitter presence, asking followers to do something concrete." Movements want to mobilize followers so they commit to concrete actions such as attending events, participating in direct action, and becoming activists. This category is about mobilizing resources and supporters to accomplish the movement's goals. There are 5 categories within "action": call to share information, event promotion, selling a product, and call to act.

### Call to Vote.

SEALDs' primary objective through #DontTrashYourVote is increase voter turnout. Because of this, this category was developed to encompass any tweet that explicitly tells its following to "Go Vote." If tweets contain the hashtag #govote, but the caption, photo, or video did not explicitly tell its audience to go vote, then it was not classified under this category. The tweet below explicitly states to go vote and to tell family and friends to do the same.

> sealds_jpn：６月２４日(金) #参院選まであと　１６日投開票日は７月１０日です
> が、期日前投 票はすでに始まってます。投票に行 家族や友達を誘う、#選挙割
> をしてみる等、やれること全部やりましょう！#選挙に行こう #7月10日参議院選
> 挙
> (June 24th (Friday) # 16 days left until the Upper House election The voting day is July
> 10th, but the early voting has already started. Go to polls Invite family and friends, try
> #elections, and do whatever else you can! #Let's go to elections #July 10th House of
> Councilors election)

### Call to Share Information.

Tweets in this category explicitly contain the word "share" or some variation of this term such as "spread." The purpose is to tell followers to share information so others can read the post. This

action seems to be the simplest way followers can take action. The tweet below is a quote tweet

where the original post is retweet along with a comment, the quote tweet.

>Sealds_jpn: Quote Tweet どんどん拡散お願いします！！ #7月10日参議院選挙
>(Please spread more and more! !! #July 10th House of Councilors election)
>
>Original Tweet
>#拡散希望
>みんなのための政治を、いま。
>市民＋４野党党首有楽町大街宣
>６月１９日、午前１０時３０分〜
>東京・有楽町イトシア前
>🌟『市民×４党党首による大街宣が重要な理由』
>http://sealdspost.com/archives/1881
>(# Hope to spread
>Now politics for everyone.
>Citizen +4 opposition party leader Yurakucho Osamu Osamu
>June 19th, 10:30 am-
>In front of Itosia, Yurakucho, Tokyo
>🌟 "Why is it important for the citizens of the four-party leaders to proclaim the big
>town?")

### *Event Promotion.*

These tweets promoted an event by including information about an event, the date, time,

and/or price. If the tweet only included information, but not an event, date, time, and/or price, the

tweet was included in the "acknowledgement of current or local event" category. Lovejoy &

Saxton (2012) placed tweets within the "information" category if the tweet about the event only

included information without any details. However, this research acknowledges that collective

efforts at demonstrations or high attendance of an event captured by photo or video without

captions or just information still communicates a sense of community as Twitter users can

visually see people that mobilize in support of the movement activities.

>sealds_jpn:【拡散希望】７月８日（金）18:00~ SEALDs×DOMMUNE VOL.7
>FINAL #DontTrashYourVote ７月10日参院選２日前、ついに最終回。近日詳細公
>開！豪華ゲストに豪華ライブで盛りだくさんの５時間！

([Diffusion hope] July 8 (Friday) 18:00~ SEALDs×DOMMUNE VOL.7 FINAL #DontTrashYourVote July 10 Two days before the Upper House election, the final round. More details coming soon! Five hours of gorgeous guests with gorgeous live performances!)

***Selling a Product.***

SEALDs sold fashion apparel with #DontTrashYourVote or some variation of this on

clothes. Selling a product is one way SEALDs could make money along with its partnered stores.

sealds_jpn:【本日20時から】12XU for SEALDs #DontTrashYourVote コレクションがオンラインストアにて販売スタート。http://12xu.stores.jp
([From 20 o'clock today] 12XU for SEALDs #DontTrashYourVote collection starts selling at online store. http://12xu.stores.jp)



***Call To Act.***

SEALDs promoted other actions that followers could take to participate in the

movement's cause. These range from posting flyers to attending public debates. All of these

tweets urged followers to take actions and were usually labeled with "今すぐできるアクション" or "Actions you can take now."

sealds_jpn:【今すぐできるアクション🌠 お店を経営している方へ】

🌷投票パンフを置いたり、政党ポスター、選挙促進のためのポスターを貼ることができます🌷#投票割り 、#選挙割り を始めてみませんか？#7月10日参議院選挙#参加 #拡散

Actions you can do right now  For those who run a shop]
You can put up a voting pamphlet, put a party poster, or a poster to promote elections
#July 10th House of Councilors election #Participation #Diffusion

# CHAPTER 4: Results

## RQ1. What are the most common types of messages utilized by SEALDs on Twitter for their #DontTrashYourVote initiative?

Cross tabulation analysis was used to address this question. When examining the three primary categories, the frequencies show that *Action* focused tweets were posted most often by SEALDs with 86 tweets (43.2%). 64 tweets (32%) were *Information* focused, and with the least posts, *Community* tweets had 49 (24.7%) posts. Therefore, the hypothesis that SEALDs will use more information based tweets is not supported by the data. When looking at the subcategories, *event promotion* was the most common type of message with 39 tweets or 39% of all the tweets, which falls in the *Action* category. Another common type of message was *call to vote* with 24 tweets (12.1%), which is also under the *Action* category. Under the *community* function, tweets for *acknowledgement of current or local events* had 23 tweets (11.6%) and *messages* had 21 tweets (10.6%). Under the *Information* category, 19 tweets (9.5%) were *guide* posts.

Table 1. Tweet Categories and Frequencies

| Categories | Example | Frequency |
|---|---|---|
| **Information** | | **64 (32%)** |
| *Announcement* | いよいよ明日、公示される参議院選挙。投開票日まであと１９日。明後日からは期日前投票をすることが出来ます！#Don't Trash Your Vote #7月10日参議院選挙 | 13 (6.5%) |
| *Candidate Information* | 【参院選：兵庫】兵庫の方、みずおか俊一（@s_mizuoka さんを応援してください！！子どもへの投資として３つの政策を、暮らしを守るために４つの政策を掲げています。兵庫県からみずおかさんを国会へ！！#7月10日参議院選挙 | 16 (8.0%) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Fact or Statistic* | 【 #7月10日参議院選挙 】<br>世代超え広がる格差 金融資産を持たない単身世帯は、全体の五割近くまで増えた。大学生の半数が奨学金を借り、生活保護を受ける高齢者は八十万世帯を突破。貧困はあらゆる世代の課題となった(TOKYO Web) tokyo-np.co.jp/article/politics/list/201606/CK2016061102000140.html | 16 (8.0%) |
| *Guide* | 【HOW TO VOTE 投票ガイド】<br>こちらでデータを配布しています。ぜひ、全国で使ってください！CHANGE TOGETHER, VOTE TOGETHER.<br>#7月10日参議院選挙 http://sealdspost.com/archives/540 | 19 (9.5%) |
| **Community** | | **49 (24.7%)** |
| *Acknowledgement of Current or Local Events* | Public appeal in Yurakucho #Tokyo<br>Our votes can make a change #votetogether | 23 (11.6%) |
| *Messages* | 【⚡POST更新！】<br>#DontTrashYourVote メッセージ第三弾！<br>今回は、音楽家の大友良英さん、 "SLANG" のKOさん、DJ・トラックメイカーのXTALさんです🌟<br>http://sealdspost.com/archives/3516 | 21 (10.6%) |
| *Recognition or Thanks* | Today's public appeal in Yurakucho #Tokyo We had a big & colourful turnout! Thank you for your support #VoteTogether | 5 (2.5%) |
| **Action** | | **86 (43.2%)** |
| *Call to Vote* | ６月２４日(金) #参院選まであと１６日<br>投開票日は７月１０日ですが、期日前投票はすでに始まってます。投票に行く、家族や友達を誘う、#選挙割 をしてみる等、やれること全部やりましょう！<br>#選挙に行こう #7月10日参議院選挙 | 24 (12.1%) |
| *Call to Share Information* | どんどん拡散お願いします！！<br>#7月10日参議院選挙 | 2 (1%) |
| *Event Promotion* | 【拡散希望】７月８日（金）18:00~ SEALDs×DOMMUNE VOL.7 FINAL #DontTrashYourVote ７月10日参院選２日前、ついに最終回。近日詳細公開！豪華ゲストに豪華ライブで盛りだくさんの５時間！ | 39 (19.6%) |
| *Selling a Product* | 【本日20時から】12XU for SEALDs #DontTrashYourVote コレクションがオンラインストアにて販売スタート。<br>http://12xu.stores.jp | 3 (1.5%) |

| *Call to Act* | 今すぐできるアクション⚡ お店を経営している方へ】<br>🌷投票パンフを置いたり、政党ポスター、選挙促進のための<br>ポスターを貼ることができます<br>🌷#投票割り 、#選挙割り を始めてみませんか？<br>#7月10日参議院選挙#参加 #拡散 | 18 (9.0%) |
|---|---|---|

**RQ2. Which message type caused the most audience engagement in terms of retweets?**

For this question, the retweets of each category were examined and the mean or average number of the  retweets for each category and subcategory were examined. *Action* tweets had the most number of retweets in total with 13,545 retweets, followed by *Information* tweets with 11,233 retweets, and lastly, *Community* 5569 retweets. However, simply examining which categories had the most retweets assumes that each category had a similar number of posts. Additionally, the arithmetic mean allows this research to summarize the data for retweets into one number to find the average number of retweets per post. Therefore, the mean of the number of retweets in each category and subcategory may be a better way to analyze the data set. When examining the average retweet of each category, *Information* tweets had the highest retweet per post with 176 retweets, followed by *Action* 158, then lastly *Community* with 114 retweets. Based on the data, the hypothesis that messages that are *Community* focused will have the most audience engagement is not supported when examining both the total number of retweets and the average number of retweets.

When looking at the subcategories, *call to vote* had the most retweets with 6,262 retweets, followed by *fact or statistic* with 4872 retweets.. The subcategory with the third most retweets is *call to act* with 3972 retweets. When looking at the average retweets, the data is completely different. The *recognition or thanks* subcategory had an average of 320 retweets,

followed by *fact or statistic* with an average of 305 retweets. Lastly, *call to vote* has the third highest average with 261 retweets.

**RQ3. How do social movements use social media to attract new participants, and to what extent does their use of social media deepen participants' engagement with the movement and its activities?**

Based on the data, SEALDs uses social media to attract new participants in two significant ways. First, SEALDs may be able to attract new participants by posting information and using specific hashtags for that information. In the *information* category 57 of the 64 tweets contained the hashtag #7月10日参議院選挙[8]. Moreover, informational messages had the highest average number of retweets per post, which entails that these messages are spread to a wider audience who may potentially read the information, share it, and engage in other posts.Therefore, this study proves the hypothesis to be evident. The data also presents a second way that SEALDs attracts new participants. SEALDs is able to attract new participants by promoting events. The *event promotion* tweets were posted the most out of all the subcategories. Besides social media, demonstrations were an important place for SEALDs to recruit because of the social stigma behind attending demonstrations, they could not recruit within their campuses, friend circles, or family members as members and participants did not want to be ostracized.

There are four observations using the context of SEALDs and the dataset in terms of how they use social media to deepen participants' participants' engagement with the movement and its activities.

---

[8] July 10 Upper House Elections

First, I observe *Community* tweets. *Recognition or thanks* had the highest mean or average number of retweets out of all the subcategories, and *messages* had the most retweets in the *Community* function. The data reveals that audiences are more likely to engage, in terms of retweets (which is a low-level of engagement), in a tweet that recognizes or appreciates participants. Moreover, messages from celebrities, musicians, politicians, and other well-known people encouraged readers to participate in politics and go vote. If a reader sees a message about voting or participating in politics by someone they admire or look up to, they may be more likely to participate in SEALDs activities on or offline. Therefore, this observation confirms that hypothesis; however, there are some limitations to how much the posts deepened engagement of participants with the movement and its activities.

Second, informational messages can provide the foundation for users to engage in offline activities. Through information such as how to vote, facts or statistics, and political candidate information, participants are educated on what the issues are, how to work against those issues, with or without the movement, and how they can contribute to the cause. By gaining more knowledge on insight, they are building the foundation to participate in the movement and its activities, on and off social media. This could lead to followers looking for outside information, such as books, pamphlets, the Internet, about the movement's purpose, the issues it is attempting to tackle, and how they can be a part of it.

Third, *event promotion* tweets can invoke engagement in two key ways. One way is that a simple retweet can spread the information, which subsequently could mean the participant engages with the movement by wanting others to attend the event as well. The other way is the post itself. The purpose of the post is to mobilize supporters to attend, thus social media itself

does not deepen the engagement, but promoting the event could cause the participant to attend, which then will lead to more participation in future events. This may explain why *event promotion* messages were the most posted subcategory.

Fourth, hashtags may have been used as a community building tool. All tweets that contained #Votetogether were tweets in the *acknowledgement of current or local events* subcategory. Additionally, other tweets in the *Community* category contained the hashtags #Votetogether, #DontTrashYourVote, or #選挙に行こ[9]. #選挙に行こ translates to "Let's go Vote." While the #Votetogether and #選挙に行こ hashtags place an emphasis on togetherness, #DontTrashYourVote puts the emphasis on "You" or the person reading the tweet. Therefore, SAELDs utilize these hashtags to build community by illustrating a togetherness in voting and implying to users to not waste their vote because everyone only has one. All three hashtags reflect on the notion that everyone is part of politics so everyone should vote.

Overall, this research suggests that *Community* focused tweets, tweets that promote events, informational tweets, and hashtags contribute to how social media can deepen participants' engagement in the movement.

Table 2. Categories with number of tweets, retweets and average retweets

| Category | # of Tweet | # of Retweets | Average Retweets |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Information** | 64 | 11233 | 176 |
| Announcements | 13 | 2071 | 159 |
| Candidate Information | 16 | 2524 | 158 |
| Fact/ Statistic | 16 | 4872 | 305 |
| Guide | 19 | 1766 | 93 |
| **Community** | 49 | 5569 | 114 |
| Acknowledgement of Current/ Local Events | 23 | 1531 | 67 |

---

[9] Translation: Let's go vote

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Message | 21 | 2439 | 116 |
| Recognition/Thanks | 5 | 1599 | 320 |
| **Action** | 86 | 13545 | 158 |
| Call to Vote | 24 | 6262 | 261 |
| Event Promotion | 39 | 2799 | 72 |
| Selling a Product | 2 | 48 | 24 |
| Call to Share Information | 3 | 464 | 168 |
| Call to Act | 18 | 3972 | 221 |

# Chapter 5: Conclusion

**Discussion**

Overall, the results help illustrate how a social movement uses social media, in this case Twitter, for advocacy. *Action* tweets were the most common followed by *Information*, then *Community* tweets. This does not match previous research on public relations messages and social movements. Endrington and Lee (2018) studied how Black Lives Matter, a social movement organization, used Twitter and found that they posted *Information* tweets more often than *Community* and *Action* tweets. Drawing from previous research from other account types such as nonprofit organizations (Saxton & Waters 2014; Guo & Saxton, 2014) and health departments (Thackeray, Neiger, Burton, & Thackeray 2013), *Information* posts were used most.

Although the hypothesis was not supported by the data, there are two alternative explanations that may reaffirm the pyramid model. First, the #DontTrashYourVote initiative took place towards the end of SEALDs existence. Based on Guo and Saxton's (2014) the pyramid model of social media-based advocacy or a model of "mobilization-driven relationship-building," there is a greater number of messages at the earlier stages of a movement, thus in stage 1 or "Reaching out to people," tweets are informational and serve to implement a public education in order to make new connections. Even though #DontTrashYourVote began in May of 2016, SEALDs formed in May 2015 and was able to enlarge its scope quickly. #DontTrashYourVote occurred closer to the disbandment of SEALDs which was August 15, 2016, meaning SEALDs was focused less on providing information and found promoting action to be more necessary. Second, the results are based on the context of SEALDs' #DontTrashYourVote. Guo and Saxton (2014) admit that even though the pyramid has three

components that represent stages, "all three can happen simultaneously—the stage is conceived with respect to the organization's relationship with a specific group of constituents at any given point in time." SEALDs already built a relationship with its users before #DontTrashYourVote; therefore, for the context of this initiative, *Action* tweets may have been seen as more necessary. This can also explain why *event promotion* tweets were most common followed by *call to vote* tweets. At this time, SEALDs' central goal was to promote action by mobilizing supporters and encouraging them to vote suggesting that SEALDs' goal for this initiative was to use Twitter for the purpose of promoting action to their followers.

Results from RQ2 indicated which types of posts are most effective in engaging their audience. Even though *Action* tweets had the most number of retweets in total, *Information* tweets had the highest average number of retweets per tweet. Because *Action* tweets were posted the most, it makes sense that it also has the highest number of retweets. However, when looking at the average number of retweets, *Information* invoked more retweets per post, which indicates that informational messages are spread more often, despite less of them being posted. This is slightly different from previous research on social movements which finds *Community* posts to have the most reposts (Endrington and Lee 2018). Although the hypothesis was not supported by the data, the results are similar to the research on nonprofit organizations found that *Information* tweets had the most repost (Saxton & Waters 2014; Huang, Lin, & Saxton 2016). Informational messages are crucial for connecting an organizations' followers to resources in the community as well as serving as the foundation for complex functions, such as community building, dialogue, and mobilization) to be built upon (Lovejoy & Saxton 2012), which ties to RQ3 on the second point of informational messages deepen engagement. Also, retweeting shows that users are

publicly agreeing or validating the post and want to inform their followers (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan 2010). As a result, users that retweet *information* messages pass on that information to their followers who could then learn about SEALDs' cause, allowing these users to then build the foundation to understanding the movement. The type of message with the most retweets could reveal the online relationship that an organization or group has with its followers. For example, Enderington and Lee (2018) found that *community* posts invoked more sharing responses, while for SEALDs, informational tweets invoked more sharing. However, this rejection of the hypothesis of RQ2  does not disprove or reaffirm the pyramid model; instead, a new theoretical framework could be created that explains the relationship between organization and users based on which message type elicited the most retweets.

RQ3 takes an analytical approach to the data, which some observations were discussed earlier in the section. First, I analyzed how new participants are recruited by using social media. First, hashtags can serve as a tool to attract new participants. Hashtags can be useful in quickly spreading information because it makes the content searchable and more visible (Wang, Liu, & Gao 2016). Moreover, hashtags facilitate spreading information as it categorizes the message revolving around a specific topic. As a result, the hashtag can serve as a bookmark where one can find bodies of knowledge. (Guo & Saxton 2014). Because 57 of the 64 *Information* tweets contained the hashtag #7月10日参議院選挙[10], SEALDs was strategically utilizing this hashtag for categorizing informational posts since the information directly would relate to the July 10 Upper House elections. Also, SEALDs utilized Japanese and English hashtags, which can be an effective strategy to attract people beyond their own movement and geographical community as

---

[10] July 10 Upper House Elections

there is a spillover effect. Isa and Himbelboim (2018) found that using "his strategy is successful in reaching out beyond community lines." Secondly, SEALDs attract new participants by promoting events or demonstrations such as concerts, protests, and marches. Demonstrations were an important place for SEALDs to recruit because of the social stigma behind attending demonstrations, they could not recruit within their campuses, friend circles, or family members as members and participants did not want to be ostracized (Hammond 2020). Because of its necessity to SEALDs recruitment, they would incorporate youth culture (hip-hop, fashion, etc) to increase participation. According to Slater et. al (2015), SEALDs primary method of recruiting was through "their website and political events, such as demos." He continues, "for SEALDs, demonstrations function as important opportunities for recruitment and mobilization." For these reasons, promoting events is a great way to recruit. In relation to how *event promotion* deepened engagement, *event promotion* was also critical as it was the first step in encouraging Twitter users to attend the event. The demonstrations themselves were necessary in deepening participant engagement. As discussed in the "SEALDs' Tactics" section, demonstrations played an important function in political socialization as one engages their "five senses" (Slater et. al 2015). Because of this, a participant will feel as if they are part of a larger cause, continuing to support the movement and participate in other activities.

I explain how *Community* posts deepened engagement through *recognition or thanks* and *messages*. According to Guo and Saxton (2014), through *Community* posts, "the focus of the organization is on deepening and sustaining communities of interest and networks of supporters." *Recognition or thanks* tweets had the highest average of retweets per post. Previous research on retweeting behavior highlights that emotionally evocative posts are shared more than

those that are not (Brady, Wills, Jost, Tucker, & Van Bavel, 2017; Goldenberg, Gross, & Garcia 2017). Since these posts show support for others and serve to be commemorative, Brady et. al (2017) and Goldberg et al. (2017) literature on retweeting behavior could explain why this function was shared the most. When examining *message* posts, well-known people such as celebrities, musicians, etc. are spreading messages through SEALDs blog which can help build community. Interestingly, there is no literature on how celebrities can facilitate building community online. Instead, Guo & Saxton (2014) describe how celebrities can increase the diffusion of an organization's message as they have tremendous "network powers" with hundreds of thousands or even millions of followers. By doing this, celebrities spread information that can aid the movement. However, this research did not discuss how messages from celebrities could build community within a social movement. For example, when Alyssa Milano posted on Twitter, "If all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote 'Me too' as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem." While she promoted action, she also helped build a community online for the Me Too movement. Thousands of people tweeted to illustrate how prevalent sexual harassment and assault is within society. This created an online community based on trauma where women supported one another. In the same sense, messages from well-known celebrities, musicians, artists, politicians are able to build stronger ties within a movement as people look up to well-known people. These messages illustrated to youth that SEALDs are supported by a wide range of people. If a participant sees these messages, they feel a connection that what they are doing is also being done by this DJ or this actor. Social media, i.e. Twitter, can serve to deepen engagement through community-building posts and promoting action such as promoting events to attend, where users

participate in the activities of the movement. But, a movement must use social media, to first, spread information, so that users understand the reasoning to participate and the potential impact of participating in the movement and its activities. In order to sustain the movement online, it must then deepen the engagement of the participants.

**Limitations**

This study had many limitations be used for future research. One limitation was the amount of tweets studied. This research analyzes #DontTrashYourVote and to ensure tweets were focused on this initiative, five hashtags were used to narrow the search. Originally, this initiative was accompanied with a Twitter account as well, @DTYV_2016, but the account was deleted before data could be extracted. Another limitation is the understanding how social media deepens participant engagement through retweets. Even though as mentioned before that major motivations of "retweeting include the desire to entertain or inform followers as an act of curation, to publicly agree with or validate someone, and to comment on a tweet by retweeting with new information added" (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan 2010), retweeting can only illustrate a surface-level of engagement. Therefore, the data cannot explicitly illustrate how retweet deepens engagement. Future research could investigate the correlation between participants seeing a post on Twitter under one of the three categories, whether they retweeted or liked the post, and if the user attended the event. Also, future research could use a survey to examine which function (Information, Community, and Action) was more likely to engage with the post, commit to the activity, look up more information,  or share. Moreover, one key limitation is that users that retweeted multiple times could not be seen, which could help understand how many people only

retweet a post once versus multiple times and if they are more likely to participate offline. This research also did not consider replies under tweets which could illustrate how organizations create dialogue between itself and followers to engage them in the movement. Another limitation is that this research was not able to compare retweets of tweet functions in the *Action* category to the number of people that committed to the action. Taking on such research could prove to be essential in understanding what a retweet could indicate in future studies on social movement's use of social media. A limitation, which was intentionally imposed, was the timeframe of the tweets. The tweets in this study were within a three month span. However, SEALDs existed for over a year and was extremely active on social media; therefore, future studies could utilize a similar coding scheme to examine SEALDs overall use tweet functions over the course of a year. This can also enable researchers to investigate the changes in the message types as SEALDs' social network grows. Another limitation is the categories. These categories provide one method to understand how SEALDs used social media as the categories ignore cultural aesthetics such as graphic design or how SEALDs utilizes language in English and Japanese. Therefore, this research provides one way to examine SEALDs' social media use.

## Bibliography

Allison, Anne. 2009. "The Cool Brand, Affective Activism and Japanese Youth." Edited by
Shunya Yoshimi. Theory, Culture & Society 26 (2–3): 89–111.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276409103118.

Andrews, W. (2016). Dissenting Japan: A History of Japanese Radicalism and Counterculture,
from 1945 to Fukushima. Hurst. https://books.google.com/books?id=Cu6ArgEACAAJ

Ansari, A. (2012). The role of social media in Iran's Green Movement (2009-2012). Global
Media Journal-Australian Edition, 6, 1–6.

Arai K (2014) Sanka no Mekanizumu: Minshu shugi ni Tekiou-suru Shimin no Dotai. Tokyo:
Bokutakusha. Barber BR (1984) Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New
Age. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Belotti, F., Comunello F., Corradi C.(2020). Feminicidio and #NiUnaMenos: An Analysis of
Twitter Conversations During the First 3 Years of the Argentinean Movement -
Francesca
Belotti, Francesca Comunello, Consuelo Corradi, 2020. Retrieved from
https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1077801220921947?ai=2b4

Bennett, W. L., Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the
personalization of contentious politics. Information, Communication & Society, 15(5),
739–768.

Berelson, B. (1952). Content Analysis in Communication Research. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Blumer, H. (1951). Collective behavior. In Park, R. E. (Ed.), New Outline of the Principles of
Sociology (pp. 166–222). New York, NY: Barnes & Noble.

Boyd, D., Golder, S., & Lotan, G. (2010) Tweet, Tweet, Retweet: Conversational Aspects of

Retweeting on Twitter. 43rd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences,
Kauai,

6 January 2010, 1-10.

Brady, W. J., Wills, J. A., Jost, J. T., Tucker, J. A., & Van Bavel, J. J. (2017). Emotion shapes
the

diffusion of moralized content in social networks. Proceedings of the National Academy

of Sciences, 114(28), 7313–7318. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1618923114

Broadbent, K. (2015). Japan's summer of protest. Retrieved from

https://socialistworker.org/2015/09/30/japans-summer-of-protest

Brown, Tom (2017) From Participation To Protest: The Link Between Protest and Participation.

The Case of the #FEESMUSTFALL Protests at the University of Western Cape

(Unpublished master's dissertation). Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

Casquete, Jesús. (2006). The Power of Demonstrations. Social Movement Studies. 5. 45-60.

10.1080/14742830600621183.

Cha, M., Haddadi, H., Benevenuto, F., & Gummadi, K. (2010). Measuring user influence in

Twitter: The million follower fallacy. International  Conference  on

Weblogs  and  Social  Media  (ICWSM)(pp. 10–17). MenloPark, CA: AAAI Press.

Christiansen, Jonathan. 2009. Four Stages of Social Movements. EBSCO Research Starters. At

http://www.ebscohost.com/uploads/imported/thisTopic-dbTopic-1248.pdf

Chu, Donna SC. (2018) "Media Use and Protest Mobilization: A Case Study of Umbrella

Movement Within Hong Kong Schools." Social Media + Society 4 (1):

2056305118763350. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118763350.

Clement, J. (2020). Most Used Social Media Platform. Retrieved from

https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/

Ciszek, E. L. (2015). Bridging the gap: Mapping the relationship between activism and public relations. Public Relations Review, 41(4), 447-455.

Conway, B. A., Kenski, K., Wang, D. (2015). The rise of Twitter in the political campaign: Searching for intermedia agenda-setting effects in the presidential primary. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 20, 363–38

Dalton, R. J. (2009). The good citizen: How a younger generation is reshaping American politics. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Delli Carpini, M. X. (2000). Gen.Com: Youth, civic engagement, and the new information environment. *Political Communication*, 17, 341–349.

DeLuca, K. & Brunner, E. (2017). Activism in the Wake of the Event of China: Abandoning the Domesticated Rituals of Democracy to Explore the Dangers of Wild Public Screens. In C. Foust, A. Pason, & K. Rogness (Eds.), *What democracy looks like: The rhetoric of social movements and counterpublics* (pp. 225-245). Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Demetrious, K. (2013). Public Relations, Activism, and Social Change: Speaking Up. Routledge.

Diani, M. (1992). The Concept of Social Movement. The Sociological Review, 40(1), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1992.tb02943.x

Dozier, D. M., & Lauzen, M. M. (2000). Liberating the Intellectual Domain from the Practice: Public Relations, Activism, and the Role of the Scholar. Journal of Public Relations Research, 12(1), 3–22. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532754XJPRR1201_2.

Dowsey, S. J. (1970). Zengakuren: Japan's revolutionary students. Ed. by S.J. Dowsey. Berkely, CA: Ishi Press.

Earl, J., and Kimport, K. (2011). Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age.

Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Edrington, C. L., &amp; Lee, N. (2018). Tweeting a Social Movement: Black Lives Matter and
its use of Twitter to Share Information, Build Community, and Promote Action. The
Journal of Public Interest Communications, 2(2), 289. doi:10.32473/jpic.v2.i2.p289

Edgett, R. (2002). Toward an ethical framework for advocacy in public relations. Journal of
Public Relations Research, 14(1), 1-26. doi:10.1207/S1532754XJPRR1401_1

Edwards, B. and McCarthy, J.D. (2007). Resources and Social Movement Mobilization. In The
Blackwell Companion to Social Movements (eds D.A. Snow, S.A. Soule and H. Kriesi)

Falch, Daniel & Hammond, Christopher. (2020). Social activism and 'spaces of autonomy' in the
context of Japan: an analysis of the student movement known as SEALDs. Globalisation,
Societies and Education. 1-14. 10.1080/14767724.2020.1762167.

Fine, A. (2006). Momentum: Igniting social change in the connected age. San Francisco, CA:
John Wiley & Sons.

Fuse, T. (1969). Student Radicalism in Japan: A "Cultural Revolution"? Comparative Education
Review, 13(3), 325-342. Retrieved July 20, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/1186545

Ghannam, J. (2012). Digital Media in the Arab World One Year After the Revolutions. Center
for International Media.

Gingold, N. (2016, May). The student group in Japan that's made it cool to protest. Retrieved
from https://www.pri.org/stories/2016-05-27/student-group-japan-thats-made-
it-cool-protest

Goldenberg, A., Gross, J., & Garcia, D. (2018). Emotional Sharing on Social Media: How
Twitter Replies Contribute to Increased Emotional Intensity [Preprint]. PsyArXiv.
https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/cbv5j

Grunig, L. A. (1992). Activism: How it limits the effectiveness of organizations and how
excellent public relations departments respond. In J. E. Grunig (Ed.), Excellence in public

relations and communication management (pp. 503–530). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Guo, C., & Saxton, G. D. (2014). Tweeting social change: How social media are changing nonprofit advocacy. Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 43(1), 57-79. doi:10.1177/0899764012471585

Hammond, C. (2020). Social activism and 'spaces of autonomy' in the context of Japan: An analysis of the student movement known as SEALDs. Retrieved from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14767724.2020.1762167

Hasegawa, K. (2019). Student radicalism and the formation of postwar Japan. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hermida, A., Lewis, S. C., Zamith, R. (2014). Sourcing the Arab Spring: A case study of Andy Carvin's sources on Twitter during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 19, 479–499.

Hirano H (2012) Nihon ni okeru Seiji Bunka to Shimin Sanka. Seisaku Kagaku 19(3): 143–161.

Holsti, Ole R. 1969. Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Holtzhausen, D. R., & Voto, R. (2002). Resistance from the Margins: The Postmodern Public Relations Practitioner as Organizational Activist. Journal of Public Relations Research, 14(1), 57–84. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532754XJPRR1401_3.

Huang, Y. C., Lin, Y. P., & Saxton G. D. (2016). Give me a like: How HIV/AIDS nonprofit organizations can engage their audience on Facebook. AIDS Education and Prevention, 28, 539-556. doi:10.1521/aeap.2016.28.6.539

Isa, Daud, and Itai Himelboim. 2018. "A Social Networks Approach to Online Social Movement: Social Mediators and Mediated Content in #FreeAJStaff Twitter Network." Social Media + Society 4 (1): 2056305118760807. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118760807.

Japan. (1957). The Constitution of Japan and criminal statutes. [Tokyo] :Ministry of Justice,

Joo, Yunjeong. (2018). "Same Despair but Different Hope: Youth Activism in East Asia and

Contentious Politics." Development and Society 47 (3): 401–22.

Jou, Willy & Endo, Masahisa. (2017). Political participation in Japan: A longitudinal analysis.
Asian Journal of Comparative Politics. 2. 10.1177/2057891116677349.

Kanter, B., & Paine, K. D. (2012). Measuring the networked nonprofit: Using data to change the
world. San Francisco, CA:  John Wiley & Sons.

Kamikubo, M. (2019). Age of eligibility to run for election in Japan: a barrier to political
careers?, Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies, 8:1, 14-29, DOI:
10.1080/24761028.2019.1630052

Kaplan, A.M. & Haenlein, M. (2010) Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and
Opportunities of Social Media. Business Horizons, 53, 59–68.

Keeping the Peace. (2014). Retrieved from https://www.economist.com/banyan/2014/05/14/kee
ping-the-peace

Khamis, S., & Vaughn, K.. (2011.). Cyberactivism in the Egyptian Revolution: How Civic
Engagement and Citizen Journalism." Arab Media and Society

Kikuchi, D. (2016). SEALDs to disband but founder says political activism just beginning.
Retrieved from
https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/08/14/national/politics-diplomacy/sealds-disban
d-founder-says-just-beginning/

Kim, Thomas N. 2017. "Recent Japanese Legislation Unconstitutional: Reasons and
Consequences." Preprint. LawArXiv. https://doi.org/10.31228/osf.io/wn4cy.

Kingston, Jeff. 2015. "SEALDs: Students Slam Abe's Assault on Japan's Constitution | The
Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus." 2015. https://apjjf.org/-Jeff-Kingston/4371.

Kingston, J. (2019). *Japan*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Lamme M. O. & Russell, K. M. (2010). Removing the spin. Toward a new theory of public
relations history. Journalism and Communication Monographs, 11(4), 281-362.

Lee, A. R. (1997). Exploration of the sources of student activism: The case of South Korea.

International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 9(1), 48-65. doi:10.1093/ijpor/9.1.48

LeFebvre, R., & Armstrong, C. (2018). Grievance-based social movement mobilization in the
#Ferguson Twitter storm. New Media & Society, 20, 28 - 8.

Li, M., Turki, N., Izaguirre, C., DeMahy, C., Thibodeaux, B., &amp; Gage, T. (2020, February
07). Twitter as a tool for social movement: An analysis of feminist activism on social
media communities. Retrieved from https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.10
02/jcop.22324?af=R

Lovejoy, K., & Saxton, G. D. (2012). Information, community, and action: How nonprofit
organizations use social media. Journal of Computer‑Mediated Communication, 17(3),
337- 353. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01576.x

Lynch, M. (2011). After Egypt: The limits and promise of online challenges to the authoritarian
Arab state. Perspectives on Politics, 9, 301–310.

Macskassy, S., A. , & Michelson, M. (2011). Why do people retweet? Anti-homophily wins the
day. Paper presented at the Fifth AAAI ICWSM, Barcelona. Retrieved from
https://www.aaai.org/ocs/index.php/ICWSM/ICWSM11/paper/viewFile/2790/3291

Maffeo, C. (2017). MA Asian Studies (60 EC): Politics, Society and Economy. Retrieved from
https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/42653/MA%20thesis-%20student
%20activism%20in%20Japan.pdf?sequence=1

Matake, K. (2014, September). Japanese Public Opinions about the Exercise of the Right of
Collective Self-Defense. Retrieved from https://www.japanpolicyforum.jp/politics/p
t20140925231907.html

McKeon, R. T., & Gitomer, D. H. (2019). Social Media, Political Mobilization, and High-Stakes

      Testing. Frontiers in Education, 4. https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2019.00055

McCarthy, John and Zald, Mayer. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A

      Partial Theory". The American Journal of Sociology. 82

Mercea, D., &amp; Levy, H. (2019). City Research Online. Retrieved From

      https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/22399/1/Prepublication_Mercea_Cuing_collective

      _outcomes_movement_social_learning.pdf

Meraz, S., & Papacharissi, Z. (2013). Networked gatekeeping and networked framing on #egypt.

      The International Journal of Press/Politics, 18, 138–166. doi:10.1177/1940161212474472

Messing, S., & Westwood, S. J. (2014). Selective exposure in the age of social media.

      Communication Research, 41, 1042–1063. doi:10.1177/0093650212466406

Mie, A., Osaki, T. (2016). Systemic avoidance of political issues by schools keeps youth vote in

      the dark. Retrieved from https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/05/02/national/

      politics-diplomacy/systemic-avoidance-political-issues-schools-keeps-youth-vote-dark/

Murthy, D. (2018). Introduction to Social Media, Activism, and Organizations. Social Media +

      Society. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117750716

Nations, D. (2019, December 19). Serious Question: What Exactly Is Social Media? Retrieved

      from https://www.lifewire.com/what-is-social-media-explaining-the-big-trend-3486616

Neiger, B., Thackeray, R., Burton, S., Thackeray, C., & Reese, J. (2013). Use of twitter among

      local health departments: An analysis of information sharing, engagement, and action.

      Journal of Medical Internet Research, 15(8), e177. doi:10.2196/jmir.2775

Obar, J.A. and Wildman, S. (2015). Social media definition and the governance challenge: An

      introduction to the special issue. Telecommunications Policy, 39(9), 745-750.

Obar, J. A., Zube, P., & Lampe, C. (2012). Advocacy 2.0: An analysis of how advocacy groups
in the United States perceive and use social media as tools for facilitating civic
engagement and collective action. Journal of Information Policy, 2(1), 1-25.
doi:10.5325/jinfopoli.2.2012.0001

O'Day, Robin. 2015. "Differentiating SEALDs from Freeters, and Precariats: The Politics of
Youth Movements in Contemporary Japan | The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus."
2015. https://apjjf.org/-Robin-O_Day/4376.

O'Donoghue, J. L., & Strobel, K. R. (2007). Directivity and freedom: Adult support of activism
among urban youth. American Behavioral Scientist, 51, 465–485.

Polletta, F. (2011). Maybe you're better off not holding hands and singing We Shall Overcome.
Available online at:https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2011/11/21/maybe-youre-
better-off-not-holding-hands-and-singing-we-shall-overcome/

Porta D. and Diani M. 2006. Social Movements: An Introduction (2nd ed.). Malden, MA:
Blackwell.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community. New
York: Simon & Schuster.

Ranney, K. (2014). Social media use and collective identity within the occupy movement
(Doctoral dissertation). University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI. Retrieved from
https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/101130/1/Ranney_Kathryn_r.pdf

Richter, J. (2016). Japan's "Reinterpretation" of Article 9: A Pyrrhic Victory for American
Foreign Policy? Retrieved from https://ilr.law.uiowa.edu/print/volume-101-issue-3/
japans-reinterpretation-of-article-9-a-pyrrhic-victory-for-american-foreign-policy/

Saxton, G. D., & Waters, R. D. (2014). What do stakeholders like on Facebook? Examining
public reactions to nonprofit organizations' informational, promotional, and community-

building messages. Journal of Public Relations Research, 26(3), 280-299.

doi:10.1080/1062726X.2014.908721

Schlozman, K. L., Verba, S., & Brady, H. E. (2010). Weapon of the strong? Participatory

inequality and the internet. Perspectives on Politics, 8(2), 487-509.

Segerberg A. & Bennett L. (2011) Social Media and the Organization of Collective Action:

Using Twitter to Explore the Ecologies of Two Climate Change Protests, The

Communication Review, 14:3, 197-215, DOI: 10.1080/10714421.2011.597250

Slater, David H, Robin O'Day, Satsuki Uno, Love Kindstrand, and Chiharu Takano. 2015.

"SEALDs (Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy): Research Note on

Contemporary Youth Politics in Japan | The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus."

September 2015. https://apjjf.org/-David_H_-Slater/4375.

Smelser, N. (1962). The theory of collective behavior. London, England: Routledge & Kegan

Paul (Sociology 105(4), 1063–1104).

Smith, M. F., & Ferguson, D. P. (2001). Activism. In R. L. Heath (Ed.), Handbook of Public

Relations (pp. 291–300). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Stewart, C. J., Smith, C. A., & Denton, R. E. (2012). Persuasion and social movements. Long

Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Thackeray, R., Neiger, B., Burton, S., & Thackeray, C. (2013). Analysis of the purpose of state

health departments' tweets: Information sharing, engagement, and action. Journal of

Medical Internet Research, 15(11), e255. doi:10.2196/jmir.3002

Tilly, C. & Wood, L. J. (2013). Social movements 1768-2012. New York, NY: Paradigm

Publishers

Tufekci,Z. (2017). Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest. Journal

of Communication, 67

Uebayashi, Y. (2017, October 19). Uninterested young Japanese least likely to vote in election.

Retrieved from https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Uninterested-young-Japanese-least-likely

-to-vote-in-election

Yellen, J. (2014, June 13). Shinzo Abe's Constitutional Ambitions. Retrieved from

      https://thediplomat.com/2014/06/shinzo-abes-constitutional-ambitions/

Westaby, J. D. (2012). Dynamic network theory: How social networks influence goal

      pursuit (1st ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Wilkins, K. G. (2000). The role of Media in Public Disengagement from political life. Journal of

      Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 44, 569–580.

Willnat, L., & Aw, A. (2014). Social Media, Culture, and Politics in Asia. Retrieved 2014, from

      https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327152213_Social_Media_Culture_and_Politic

      s_in_Asia

Zimmer, M., & Proferes, N. J. (2014). A topology of Twitter research: Disciplines, methods, and

      ethics. Aslib Journal of Information Management, 66, 250–261.

Appendix

## Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution

RENUNCIATION OF WAR

Article 9. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.