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„The Prospect of Black-Asian Solidarity in the US: Looking
at the Attitude of Japanese Americans during the BLM
movement and the COVID-19 Pandemic“

verfasst von / submitted by

Natsuki Hamamoto

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Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Zusammenfassung.....	3
Acknowledgments	5
Chapter1: Introduction.....	6
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review	11
Chapter 3: Methodology	22
Chapter 4: Results and Findings.....	30
Chapter 5: Discussion	54
Chapter 6: Conclusion	62
Appendix A.....	69
References	74

Abstract

Black Americans and Asian Americans have been mutually associated in many aspects of US society for decades. The conversation of Black-Asian solidarity has risen in the current situation surrounding two social movements which simultaneously sparked around the same period due to tragic events: Black Lives Matter (BLM) and Stop Asian Hate (SAH). These movements are both calling for ending racism and racially motivated violence/hate crimes against Black people and Asian people, and they have spread on social media worldwide. This study examined the presence of Black-Asian solidarity during the relative movements by conducting a qualitative content analysis on Instagram. 64 Instagram posts by users (Japanese, Black Americans, and Japanese Americans) were analyzed to identify their attitudes and positionality towards the movements. Data analysis revealed seven themes of Instagram posts: (1) Supporting BLM/SAH; (2) Calling for action and mentioning racism; (3) Showing emotion/empathy towards incidents; (4) Educational contexts; (5) Showing own positionality; (6) Advocating solidarity; (7) Others. Based on the analysis, this study found positive attitudes overall toward supporting the movements by using hashtags such as #BlackLivesMatter. However, the findings also revealed that contexts while discussing the issues were varied in each user group, and the contexts are often social and historical, which are embedded in Japanese and US society. Consequently, this study contributed to deepening the understanding of the nature of racism from social and historical backgrounds that are associated with Black-Asian solidarity building, and it provided a general idea of the crucial role of social media as a platform in expanding the discussion on social movements and solidarity.

Keywords:

Black Lives Matter, Stop Asian Hate, Japanese, Japanese Americans, Asian Americans, Black Americans, Instagram, Social Media.

Zusammenfassung

Schwarze Amerikaner und asiatische Amerikaner sind seit Jahrzehnten in vielen Bereichen der US-Gesellschaft miteinander verbunden. Das Gespräch über schwarz-asiatische Solidarität ist in der aktuellen Situation im Kontext von zwei sozialen Bewegungen aufgekommen, die aufgrund tragischer Ereignisse etwa zur gleichen Zeit entstanden sind: Black Lives Matter (BLM) und Stop Asian Hate (SAH). Beide Bewegungen fordern ein Ende von Rassismus und rassistisch motivierter Gewalt/Hassverbrechen gegen Schwarze und Asiaten und haben sich in den sozialen Medien weltweit verbreitet. Diese Studie untersuchte die Präsenz schwarz-asiatischer Solidarität in den jeweiligen Bewegungen, indem eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse auf Instagram durchgeführt wurde. 64 Instagram-Posts von Nutzern (Japanern, schwarzen Amerikanern und japanischen Amerikanern) wurden analysiert, um ihre Einstellung und Positionierung gegenüber den Bewegungen zu ermitteln. Die Datenanalyse ergab sieben Themen, die in den Instagram-Posts angesprochen wurden: (1) Unterstützung von BLM/SAH; (2) Aufruf zum Handeln und Erwähnung von Rassismus; (3) Zeigen von Emotionen/Empathie gegenüber Vorfällen; (4) Bildungskontexte; (5) Zeigen der eigenen Positionierung; (6) Befürworten von Solidarität; (7) Andere. Auf der Grundlage der Analyse stellte sich in dieser Studie eine insgesamt positive Einstellung zur Unterstützung der Bewegungen durch die Verwendung von Hashtags wie #BlackLivesMatter heraus. Die Ergebnisse zeigten jedoch auch, dass die Kontexte, in denen die Themen diskutiert wurden, in den einzelnen Nutzergruppen unterschiedlich waren. Diese Kontexte sind oft sozial und historisch bedingt und in der japanischen und amerikanischen Gesellschaft verankert. Folglich trug diese Studie dazu bei, das Verständnis für das Wesen des Rassismus vor dem jeweiligen sozialen und historischen Hintergrund zu vertiefen, der mit dem Aufbau schwarz-asiatischer Solidarität verbunden ist, und sie vermittelte eine allgemeine Vorstellung von der entscheidenden Rolle der sozialen

Medien als Plattform für die Ausweitung der Diskussion über soziale Bewegungen und Solidarität.

Stichworte:

Black Lives Matter, Stop Asian Hate, Japaner, japanische Amerikaner, asiatische Amerikaner, schwarze Amerikaner, Instagram, soziale Medien.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Black and Asian American relations are often essentialized as mutually antagonistic, based commonly on this relationship only being highlighted during times of conflict. The legacy of slavery and Jim Crow laws has left a residue of systemic racism in the United States that has disparaged the lives of Black Americans.¹ Black people are seen as criminals, and their bodies are seen as expendable. To address these issues and to dismantle structural racism, the civil rights movements from 1954 to 1965 demanded basic equality for Black Americans in the 20th century.² Simultaneously, in the 1950s, Asian Americans started to be considered as the model minority, and their relatively high levels of educational attainment, household income, and professional occupations made it seem as if they were doing better than other racial minorities or even some whites.³

From the racial political background, white dominant media reports of Asian success were aimed at building conflict between Asian and Black Americans. Thus, portraying Asian Americans as the “model minority” while treating them as either intermediate positions⁴ or perpetual foreigners⁵ and treating Black Americans as the “problem minority” to oppress the civil rights movement. In a specific ethnic context, Japanese Americans had shifted from being the center of the “Japanese problem” during the early months of World War II into a “model minority” to stigmatize Black Americans as a “problem minority”.⁶ However, Black American activists and Japanese American activists, by contrast, formed interethnic cooperation in the

¹ Clayton, D. M. (2018). Black lives matter and the civil rights movement: A comparative analysis of two social movements in the United States. *Journal of Black Studies*, 49(5), 448-480, 449.

² Ibid.

³ Chou, R. S., & Feagin, J. R. (2015). *Myth of the model minority: Asian Americans facing racism*. Routledge.

⁴ Bonilla Silva. (2004). From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27 (6), 931-950.

⁵ Kim. (1999). The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society*, 27(1), 105–138.

⁶ Kurashige. (2008). *The Shifting Grounds of Race*. Princeton University Press.

postwar movement. Black and Asian Americans formed coalitions to combat systemic racism⁷ and eventually they paved the way for the 1965 Nationality and Immigration Act.

Today, there are several activists who advocate for a revival of Black-Asian solidarity to end racism and discrimination they both face.⁸ The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement expanded in 2013 and has further grown since the death of George Floyd in May 2020 triggered massive protests throughout the USA and across the world. BLM intends to bring attention to the racism and inequality that Black people face and to protest police brutality and other forms of violence motivated by racial discrimination.⁹ BLM is an explicitly intersectional movement, and it has been both celebrated and vilified, with offshoots both on and offline¹⁰. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter and associated hashtags were used widely on social media such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram.

Simultaneously, another social movement was born out of increased violence against Asian Americans during the COVID-19 pandemic. During the rise in crimes against Asian Americans, approximately one year on from the murder of George Floyd, A shooting that occurred on March 16, 2021, in Atlanta, Georgia, killed eight people, six of whom were women of Asian descent.¹¹ The Atlanta shooting was believed to be a racially motivated hate crime and one of many crimes against Asians since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. Similar to the impact of George Floyd's murder on the BLM movement, these murders sparked the Stop Asian Hate (SAH) social movement on social media using the #StopAsianHate hashtag.¹²

Movements of solidarity between both communities are more widespread and out in

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ho, J. (2021, January). Anti-Asian racism, Black Lives Matter, and COVID-19. In *Japan Forum* (Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 148-159). Routledge.

⁹ Tong, Li, Y., Li, J., Rongqi Bei, & Zhang, L. (2022). What are People Talking about in #BlackLivesMatter and #StopAsianHate? Exploring and Categorizing Twitter Topics Emerging in Online Social Movements through the Latent Dirichlet Allocation Model., 723.

¹⁰ Kidd, D. (2018). Black Lives Matter: Racial Perspectives on Social Media. In *Social Media Freaks* (pp. 169-191). Routledge., 169.

¹¹ Lee, & Jang, A. (2021). Questing for Justice on Twitter: Topic Modeling of #StopAsianHate Discourses in the Wake of Atlanta Shooting. *Crime and Delinquency*, 2.

¹² Tong & Zhang, 2022, 726.

the open. While Asian Americans rallied around the BLM protests and vowed to end anti-Blackness within their communities, Black activists have joined the fight at recent rallies in New York and California, calling attention to the resurgence of anti-Asian violence. However, even though some Black American and Asian American activists' protests together against common racist schemes have been documented in academic journals and organizations' homepages, non-activists' attitudes and their positionings are often undocumented.

Therefore, the current thesis intends to explore Black-Asian solidarity among their communities in both historical and present contexts. The following research questions were thus developed: What kind of attitudes and positionalities can be seen among Japanese and Japanese Americans towards Black Americans and the BLM movement? What kind of attitudes can be seen among Black Americans towards Asians and the #StopAsianHate movement? What factors may undermine/strengthen the Black-Asian solidarity/correlation through social media?

To investigate these questions, for the methodological part, this thesis examines a sample of 64 Instagram posts that discuss social movements and express their attitudes toward respective others. Both, Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate have multidimensional relationships with social media since social media has played a profound role in increasing the visibility of racial inequalities.¹³ Moreover, social media has provided a structure that allowed rhetorically forceful phrases (Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate) to become both a meme and a movement, thus social media helped the movements to capture the public imagination and to have a powerful place in public discourse.¹⁴

While both Black and Asian/Asian American organizations utilized social media platforms to advocate their movements, social media influencers, and influential online users who build large followings and promote products, services, beliefs, and ideologies¹⁵ are also

¹³ Kidd, 2018, 180.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Wellman. (2022). Black Squares for Black Lives? Performative Allyship as Credibility Maintenance for

influential actors for online social movements and public discourses. Their influence depends on their ability to communicate to their followers, especially during times of social and political unrest.¹⁶ To determine both activists' and non-activists' various reactions and sentiments as well as their attitudes and positionalities towards the movements, the researcher conducted a qualitative content analysis of the Instagram posts by selecting Instagram users who were Japanese, Japanese American, and Black American influencers and organizations.

There are mainly two reasons for choosing a specific ethnic community of Japanese (Americans): firstly, specifying ethnicity among Asian aims to avoid generalizing Asians as a whole and provides new insights into how the correlation between Japanese and Black Americans may look different among Asian communities with varying intersections of ethnicity, class, and migration. And secondly, Black-Japanese relations in US history are crucial since the Japanese were often targeted as a center of the model minority because of their socioeconomic success after World War II, in contrast to the constructed image of the problem minority of Black people as already discussed earlier.

Besides the intersectional approach, from an academic's perspective, the research fills a gap in the literature, which primarily focuses on the use of Twitter, leaving Instagram largely unexplored in this realm.¹⁷ Overall, highlighting the historical discussion of a correlation between Black Americans and Asian/Japanese Americans in the post-WWII period as well as investigating Asian American and Japanese American Instagram posts which discuss their attitudes towards the interracial neighbor, this thesis underscores the presence of historical and current Black-Asian solidarity and it unfolds the nature of racialized categories.

The next chapter highlights relevant literature, in order to situate the forthcoming

Social Media Influencers on Instagram. *Social Media + Society*, 8(1), 3.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Bludau, K. R. (2021). *Company activism & black lives matter: A content analysis of BLM instagram posts*. (Order No. 28321773, The Florida State University). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 66.

research within the extant theoretical paradigms and emphasize the area where further study is needed. Chapter 3 provides an explanation and justification for the research methodology used, including the research design of the qualitative content analysis, data collection and data selection on Instagram, and procedure. Chapter 4 presents the results of the content analysis. Chapter 5 discusses the research findings, followed by a conclusion with the limitations of this study and avenues for future research in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

There is much research investigating the traditional relationship between Black and Asian people in the United States as well as a growing body of literature that examines the current social movement of Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate. This chapter explores the theoretical frameworks regarding the Black-Asian correlation, and it examines the existing research on BLM and SAH movements, social media use, and people's attitudes toward the protests.

Racial Stratification

Anti-Blackness has shaped the United States from slavery to Jim Crow to mass incarceration. Throughout society in the U.S., anti-Blackness interprets Blackness as the ultimate racial threat to white people, the white nation, and white supremacy, and as such anti-Black racism requires Black bodies to be feared, hated, contained, and disciplined.¹⁸

In part due to the country's legacy of slavery, where Black people were subordinated through enslavement and political disenfranchisement that ensured white supremacy, a conception of a racial system has been entrenched in a black-white binary.¹⁹ A racial hierarchy points to Blacks being at the bottom of the hierarchy but positions white supremacy as central to racism.²⁰

Since whites remain at the top of the racial hierarchy, they are presented with structural advantages that allow them to access prime neighborhoods, quality education,

¹⁸ Lee, Xiong, C. P., Pheng, L. M., & Neng Vang, M. (2020). "Asians for Black Lives, Not Asians for Asians": Building Southeast Asian American and Black Solidarity. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 51(4), 406.

¹⁹ McTaggart, N. M. (2017). Don't believe the hype: Gender and interracial relations between asian americans and blacks in hip-hop. (Order No. 10288254, University of California, Riverside). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, 3.

²⁰ Lee, Xiong, Pheng & Neng Vang, 2020, 406.

improved career opportunities, and economic privileges, whilst the nonwhite side of the divide (Blacks, Native Americans, Asians, and Latinos) have experienced colonialism, oppression, exploitation, and racialization.²¹ This bi-racial order (white versus the rest) in the U.S. however, had changed in a post-civil rights era due to the increasing multiracial nature of American society.

Bonilla-Silva (2004) proposes a tri-racial stratification system²² similar to those in various Caribbean and Latin American countries due to the “darkening” of America that includes whites, honorary whites, and the collective black. It is similar to the traditional bi-racial order as whites remain on the top and Blacks are seated on the bottom of the hierarchy. However, the new tri-racial order is comprised of whites at the top, an intermediary group of honorary whites, and a nonwhite group or the collective black at the bottom.²³

The white category is comprised of whites, assimilated white Latinos, and some multiracial groups. Honorary whites include Asian Indians, light-skinned Latinos, Middle Eastern Americans, most multiracial people, and some Asian Americans (Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, etc.). The collective black is comprised of blacks, dark-skinned Latinos, African and West Indian immigrants, Laotians, Vietnamese, Hmong, and Native Americans.²⁴ Remarkably, white supremacy is still preserved in a tri-racial system because the intermediate group of honorary whites provides a buffer for racial conflict.²⁵

Racial Triangulation

Several scholars have challenged and extended the bifurcated White–Black paradigm

²¹ McTaggart, 2017, 3.

²² Bonilla Silva. (2004). From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27 (6), 931-950.

²³ Ibid, 931.

²⁴ Ibid, 932.

²⁵ McTaggart, 2017, 4.

by positioning Asian Americans in the structure of racial hierarchy.²⁶ Similarly, however slightly moving beyond the hierarchical system by Bonilla-Silva (2004), C. J. Kim's (1999) racial triangulation theory²⁷ began to conceptualize a nonbinary racial relation. Racial triangulation theory argues that the racialization processes of Asian Americans and Black Americans are mutually constitutive of one another rather than separate.

According to Kim (1999), racial triangulation occurs using two types of simultaneous, linked processes: (1) processes of "relative valorization," whereby dominant group A (Whites) valorizes subordinate group B (Asian Americans) relative to subordinate group C (Blacks) on cultural and/or racial grounds in order to dominate both groups, but especially Blacks, and (2) processes of "civic ostracism," whereby dominant group A (Whites) constructs subordinate group B (Asian Americans) as immutably foreign and unassimilable with Whites on cultural and/or racial grounds in order to ostracize them from the body politics and civic membership.²⁸

Asian Americans are retained in their racial positions via the triangulation of these two dimensions: superior (colorism) but alien (nativism) compared to Blacks.²⁹ According to Kim, although Blacks have been excluded from meaningful civic participation for most of American history via a shifting combination of law, informal practice, and terror, they have not been ostracized in the exact same way that Asian Americans have. For instance, Black people were granted formal citizenship in 1870, while Asian Americans remained "aliens ineligible to citizenship" until the McCarran - Walter Act of 1952 lifted naturalization, apart from some exceptions made during World War II. Moreover, Kim states that Black people have historically been deprived of civic privileges because of a perception that they are racially inferior and unfit for participation - not because they are treated as foreigners.³⁰ Racial triangulation theory also

²⁶ Yu. (2022). Placing Racial Triangulation, Triangulating Place and Race: Chinese Grocery Stores in the Mississippi Delta during the Jim Crow Era. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 112(1), 97–122.

²⁷ Kim. (1999). The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society*, 27(1), 105–138.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Yu, 2022, 101.

³⁰ Kim, 1999, 122.

describes the construction of Asian Americans as both perpetual foreigners as well as the differentiated attitudes toward Asian Americans by White and Black people.

It is crucial to note that these racial hierarchies and Asian Americans as an intermediate and/or ambivalent position are originated and reproduced by the model minority myth.³¹ The ‘Model Minority’ stereotype arose in the 1950s as the U.S. immigration practices convert to grant priority access from East Asia to the technically skilled, the educated, and the University bound. In response to the African American attack on the U.S. social system in the 1960s, the U.S. government needed to use Asian Americans to explain Black Americans’ own economic failures. Asians started to be considered as the model minority, and their relatively high levels of educational attainment, household income, and professional occupations, made it seem as if they are doing better than other racial minorities or even some whites.³² The model-minority myth functions ideologically to reproduce racial hierarchy in the U.S. by essentializing and homogenizing Asian-American experiences, exaggerating Asian-American prosperity and downplaying Asian-American necessities, arousing Black resentment towards Asian Americans, delegitimizing Black demands for social programs, and legitimating racially discriminatory arrangements.³³

Kim (1997) argues that being positioned as either honorary White or closer to Black, Asians are vulnerable and manipulated to protect White supremacy. In addition to Kim’s argument, Yu (2022) states that the only way to move closer to insiderness along the dimension of “civic ostracism” for Asians in the United States is to move closer to Whiteness along the dimension of “relative valorization”.³⁴

³¹ Kim, & Lee, T. (2001). Interracial Politics: Asian Americans and Other Communities of Color. *PS, Political Science & Politics*, 34(3), 631–637.

³² Chou, R. S., & Feagin, J. R. (2015). *Myth of the model minority: Asian Americans facing racism*. Routledge.

³³ Kim & Lee, 2001, 634. .

³⁴ Yu, 2022, 101.

Intersectionality, Post-Racial Triangulation

Reflecting on Kim's arguments, numerous scholars have applied the racial triangulation theory by adding intersectional dimensions such as ethnicity, class, place, and space.³⁵ Intersectionality is a social science paradigm that examines the ways that racism, classism, sexism, and other forms of oppression work as interlocking systems. These scholars argue that the studies based on the racial triangulation framework have rarely incorporated space, ethnicity, class etc. regardless of the racial triangulation theory which expanded the single-dimensional racial stratification into two dimensions by adding the axis of insider–outsider.³⁶

For example, Wong (2021) examines the potential racial resistance to triangulation by drawing inspiration from the organizing of Freedom Inc., a Black and Southeast Asian grassroots collective working with low-to-no- income communities of color in Madison, Wisconsin.³⁷ According to Wong, there have been many grassroots collectives (e.g., #Asians4BlackLives, Grassroots Asians Rising, and Asian American Feminist Collective) in the last few years, and these new formations create bottom–up spaces for Asian Americans to understand the root causes of anti-Blackness that operate within their own communities and to build strategies that can deepen coalitional alignments that move Black people and Asian Americans towards shared paths to liberation. From the research inspired by the organizing of Freedom Inc., Wong also insists that relationalities may look different for Southeast Asian, South Asian, Black Asian, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander communities with different intersections of ethnicity, class, migration, and encounters with the carceral state.³⁸

³⁵ For example; Diane Wong (2021) The future is ours to build: Asian American abolitionist counterstories for Black liberation, Politics, Groups, and Identities.; Kurashige. (2010). *The Shifting Grounds of Race : Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* /. Princeton University Press.; Yu. (2022). Placing Racial Triangulation, Triangulating Place and Race: Chinese Grocery Stores in the Mississippi Delta during the Jim Crow Era. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 112(1), 97–122.

³⁶ Yu, 2022, 101.

³⁷ Wong, 2021, 2.

³⁸ Ibid, 7.

In terms of intersections of ethnicity, class, and space, Kurashige (2010) focuses on Black and Japanese Americans in Los Angeles in the twentieth century, and he discusses how these communities battled for housing, jobs, and political representation as members of distinct ethno-racial groups during the period. He compares the socioeconomic status and political standing of Black Americans, Japanese Americans, and whites, and he reveals how Black and Japanese Americans responded to instances of interethnic competition, as well as the degree to which they embraced opportunities for interethnic cooperation.³⁹

Therefore, while racial hierarchy and triangulation make coalition building difficult, several scholars have shown that processes of racial subordination may also encourage cross-racial alliances by subjecting racial/ethnic minorities to similar forms of mistreatment or disempowerment and convincing them that they share certain interests to end White supremacy and systemic racism.

Black Lives Matter and Social Media

The legacy of slavery and Jim Crow laws have left a remnant of systemic racism in the United States that has devalued the lives of Black Americans. Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a social movement rooted in the collective and individual experience of Black people in the USA, and calling for an end to racism and racially motivated violence against Black people.⁴⁰

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement was founded in 2013 by three Black women on social media. The movement expanded in 2013 in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the killing of Trayvon Martin, and the death of George Floyd in May 2020 triggered huge protests throughout the country and across the world.⁴¹ Through grassroots

³⁹ Kurashige, 2010.

⁴⁰ Clayton, D. M. (2018). Black lives matter and the civil rights movement: A comparative analysis of two social movements in the United States. *Journal of Black Studies*, 49(5), 499.; McTaggart, N. M. (2017). *Don't Believe the Hype: Gender and Interracial Relations Between Asian Americans and Blacks in Hip-Hop*. University of California, Riverside.

⁴¹ Duncan. (2021). *Black Lives Matter Support and Activism Among College Students: A Quantitative Study*.

interventions, BLM seeks to provide a robust and intersectional presence to dismantle White supremacy, increase public awareness of issues that impact the Black community, and advocate against racially motivated state-sanctioned violence (A.D. Clark et al., 2018; Rickford, 2016). It is believed to be one of the most massive social movements in U.S. history (Buchanan et al., 2020). An estimated 15 million to 26 million Americans participated in BLM demonstrations across the nation (Buchanan et al., 2020).⁴²

Black Lives Matter has a crucial relationship with social media as it plays a profound role in increasing the visibility of racial inequalities, especially police brutality against black people.⁴³ The social media traction of BLM can be quantified by the number of BLM-related hashtags on popular social networking sites such as Twitter.⁴⁴ According to Kidd (2017), social media allows individuals to create media that captures or describes the BLM movement and to share the social media accounts with their dramatically expanding networks. Moreover, Kidd claims that social media has provided a structure that helps a rhetorically forceful phrase of Black Lives Matter to become both a meme and a movement. Thus, Black Lives Matter embraces social media, and it has allowed it to catch the public imagination and to have a powerful place in public discourse.⁴⁵

Stop Asian Hate and Asian Attitudes to BLM

Regardless of the mainstream media's focus on intergroup tension, a new generation of Asian American activist formations such as #Asians4BlackLives organize through offline activities, digital media, cultural production, and other strategies while building on the legacies of past Asian American solidarity projects with Black communities.⁴⁶ There are a number of

ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Kidd. (2017). Black Lives Matter: Racial Perspectives on Social Media. In *Social Media Freaks*, 179.

⁴⁴ Duncan, 2021, 16.

⁴⁵ Kidd, 2017, 180.

⁴⁶ Wong, 2021, 2.

researchers who focus on the Asian community's response to the Black Lives Matter movement as well as the conversation about Black-Asian solidarity in the last few years.

For instance, Lee, Xiong, Pheng, and Neng Vang (2020) conducted research focusing on how Southeast Asian American (SEAA) youth make sense of the inter-racial correlation between SEAA and Blacks through an ethnographic account of one community-based educational space's (CBES), which called SHOUT (Solidarity Holds Our Unity Together).⁴⁷ SHOUT focuses on challenging anti-Blackness in the SEAA community, which is partially motivated by anti-Blackness within the Hmong community in order to achieve cross-racial solidarity. According to the research, SHOUT's work gives Hmong youth a larger political and historical framework for understanding the racism in the dominant society and in their co-ethnic community.⁴⁸ Moreover, the researchers believe that freedom for Blacks will lead to freedom for SEAs, and this belief is consistent with the political philosophy of the BLM Movement.⁴⁹

Besides these Asian collectives' work on ending anti-Blackness within Asian communities and support for the BLM movement, another online social movement was led by the shooting and deaths of six Asian women in Atlanta in March 2021. Similar to the impact of George Floyd's murder on the BLM movement, these murders triggered the Stop Asian Hate (SAH) social movement on Twitter using the #StopAsianHate and/or #StopAAPIHate hashtags. Since the COVID-19 pandemic began, hate crimes against Asians have increased dramatically, therefore, the SAH movement unified several rallies against anti-Asian violence.⁵⁰ The hate crimes against Asian Americans include not only verbal harassment and name-calling but also some physical assaults.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Lee, Xiong, Pheng & Neng Vang, 2020, 408.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 416.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 211.

⁵⁰ Tong, X. *et al.* (2022) 'What are People Talking about in #BlackLivesMatter and #StopAsianHate? Exploring and Categorizing Twitter Topics Emerging in Online Social Movements through the Latent Dirichlet Allocation Model', *arXiv.org* [Preprint], 724.

⁵¹ Nopper, T. K. (2021). On Inheritances: Examining Contemporary Anti-Asian Violence and Black-Asian Solidarity. *Ethnic Studies Review*, 34.

When there were some cases of hate crimes against Asians involving a Black perpetrator, those incidents became high-profile and got widely circulated partly because of the media, the discussion about anti-Asian violence and the discussion about hate crimes were merged, then they became part of the discussion about Black-Asian solidarity after being widely circulated, as Nopper (2021) described.⁵² Nopper (2021) examines what work these narratives framings of #StopAsianHate do in service of or in opposition to anti-Blackness. According to Nopper, one set of responses falls under the umbrella of carceral responses that enlarge the funding, legitimacy, and power of the police; the other set falls under the umbrella of Black-Asian solidarity.⁵³ On the organizing level, a lot of Asian Americans are participating in advocating for Black Asian solidarity, and there are both Asian and Black people who trying to move away from a carceral response. For example, Nopper witnessed rallies where Black people were on the microphone saying things like “I want people to know I don’t have a problem with diverse neighborhoods.”⁵⁴

Both the #blacklivesmatter and #stopasianhate movements were triggered by racism-related violence and both attracted more attention worldwide in the past two years than they had before. Although the existing literature discusses Black-Asian solidarity and the relevant movements, only a few studies compared these two movements: Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate. SAH started 8 years later than BLM and relatively speaking lacks a strong online community.⁵⁵ Moreover, those previous studies regarding Black-Asian solidarity/allies often focus on the Southeast Asian American (SEAA) community rather than East Asian American (EAA). Additionally, recent research on the BLM and SAH movements and their media uses primarily focuses on the use of Twitter, leaving Instagram largely unexplored in this realm.⁵⁶

⁵² Ibid, 36.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 38.

⁵⁵ Tong, 2022, 724.

⁵⁶ Bludau, K. R. (2021). Company activism & black lives matter: A content analysis of BLM instagram posts. (Order No. 28321773, The Florida State University). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 66.

Therefore, this thesis focuses on Black Americans and Asian/Japanese Americans' relationship. Specifically, this thesis investigates Black Americans, Asian Americans' and Japanese Americans' Instagram posts which reveal their attitudes toward interracial neighbors.

In order to investigate Black-Asian solidarity in the U.S., especially focusing on the positionality of Japanese/Japanese Americans who are based in the U.S., only Japanese/Japanese American's Instagram accounts were collected initially. However, due to a lack of accounts, as well as discovering (that not only Japanese/Japanese American users who live in the U.S. are influential, but also) that Japanese users who live in Japan are influential for Japanese people in the U.S. especially those who speak Japanese; it was necessary to include Japanese (non-US) accounts as well as they clearly have an impact on Japanese/American views. Thus, aside from US-based Japanese/Japanese American/Asian accounts, Japan-based Japanese accounts are also collected for this study. Because Japanese (non-us) accounts were added, it became necessary to investigate Japanese opinion as that opinion (shared by these Japanese accounts) may shape/effect Japanese/Japanese Americans' views and attitudes towards Black Americans/Black people. Following this chapter, Chapter 3 includes a detailed explanation of the research methodology.

While the tri-racial stratification theory describes Asian Americans' positionality as an intermediary group of honorary whites, racial triangulation theory focuses on Asian Americans' racial positions via the triangulation of two dimensions: superior and alien, compared to Blacks. Moreover, the intersectional theory provides a framework for understanding a community's experience with the inequality that is presented through multiple lenses of race, class, sexuality, religion, etc. By applying these theories, this study explores what are the positionalities of Asian Americans, Japanese, Japanese Americans, and Black Americans within current social movements, from historical and social backgrounds. Moreover, provided insights from these theories help this study to find multiple factors that interfere/build

the Black-Asian correlation after further data analysis based on social media contents which the next chapter explains in more detail.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Chapter 3 presents the procedures of the methodology used to carry out this investigative research in detail to be able to answer the research questions in the preceding chapters. First, the choice of the research field is presented and justified, then the justifications for the methods are explained in more detail. Following that, this chapter discusses the sample selection which includes the specific criteria and the categories of the sampled data as well as the limitations that appeared in the process of the data collection. Finally, the plan for analyzing the data is described at the end of this chapter.

Research Area

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this thesis uses Instagram as the research ground in this study. Instagram, with over one billion users in 2019, is one of the most popular Social Media platforms in the world.⁵⁷ A recent Pew Research Center report showed that 35% of U.S. adults use Instagram, 71% of individuals aged 18–24 years old use it, and just over 50% of individuals 25–29 years old use it⁵⁸. Thus, Instagram and individual influencers are quite influential on younger individuals.⁵⁹ Besides the fact that young adults are often influenced by Instagram, they are also mutually influencing Instagram by utilizing the platform to participate in discussions on certain issues.

One of the main reasons for choosing Instagram is the fact that it is a platform used

⁵⁷ Perera, Chaudhury, S. R. P. A., & Nafees, L. (2021). This Is Who I Am- Instagram as Counterspace for Shared Gendered Ethnic Identity Expressions. *Journal of the Association for Consumer Research*, 6(2), 274–285.

⁵⁸ Smith, A., & Anderson, M. (2018). Social media use in 2018: A majority of Americans use Facebook and YouTube, but young adults are especially heavy users of Snapchat and Instagram. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.

⁵⁹ King, J. L. K. (2020). Asian american cultural identity portrayal on instagram. (Order No. 28482944, Brigham Young University). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, , 79, 8.

for social movements. As Bludau (2021) mentioned, social media platforms, like Instagram, have become a powerful tool for movements such as Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate. The nature of social media has greatly impacted how users, individuals, and society alike share information about movements and interact with each other through comments on posts⁶⁰.

Similar in that #MeToo creates an online space for sexual harassment victims to communicate, #BlackLivesMatter also creates a crucial platform for individuals who want to end police brutality and stand against racial injustices. By searching #BlackLivesMatter or #BLM on Instagram, users will find several posts introducing ways to support the movement as well as people sharing their thoughts, opinions, and stories related to the topic.⁶¹ Investigating posts about BLM by Japanese and Asian American influencers have a potential to find their emotions and attitudes towards the movement. Regardless of the popularity and power of Instagram, recent research on the BLM and SAH movements and their media uses primarily focuses on the use of Twitter, leaving Instagram largely unexplored in this realm⁶². Therefore, Instagram has been chosen as a field for this research to also help in the gaining of new insights in the relevant research.

Method justification

For this research, a content analysis method was conducted to analyze the content and sentiment of the data of Instagram posts related to BLM and SAH. Holsti (1968) describes that content analysis consists of “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages”⁶³.

Moreover, according to Brooks (2021), this type of analysis “enables social

⁶⁰ Bludau, 2021, 10.

⁶¹ Ibid, 13.

⁶² Ibid, 66.

⁶³ Holsti, O.R. (1968). Content Analysis. The Handbook of Social Psychology, Reading, MA, Addison-Wesley.

researchers to collect individuals' voices to explore how they experience and interact with the world around them"⁶⁴. Brooks adds that the qualitative content analysis may be easier to identify real voices through social media than any other traditional methods since social media data extends from real-world social environments with real people, without any encouragement.⁶⁵ With this method, it is possible to see how the target Instagram users interpreted their emotions and opinions towards the social movements according to the content and how their followers and the public reacted to these posts. Traditional methods, such as interviews and surveys where arranged environments may discourage complete honesty. While analyzing social media posts helps the analysis of more real subjective data without prompting as they were never posted to be analyzed.

Data selection

To examine public reactions and sentiments as well as their attitudes and positionalities towards BLM and SAH, content analysis was conducted for this study. The sample of the analysis is 64 Influencers' and organizations' Instagram posts regarding BLM and SAH. The main analysis for the study is the captions of the posts. The following section refers to more detail about the accounts and their posts collection and selection, as well as specific criteria and category of the accounts

Criteria and Categories of Instagram Accounts Selection

The Instagram accounts were collected and further selected from certain inclusion criteria under the supervision of the faculty advisor. These criteria have been set up to limit biases as much as possible since the research involves a small sample.

⁶⁴ Brooks, J. (2021). Centering black trans lives: Social network exploration of #BlackTransLivesMatter content on twitter. (Order No. 28496604, Rochester Institute of Technology). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, , 46.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

There were five main criteria in the process of data collection: Location: Japan/US, Ethnicity: Japanese/Japanese American/Black American/Others (mixed), Language: Japanese/English, Account: Individual/Organization, and Focus: General/Political/Educational. Besides these criteria, the Instagram accounts had to have a significant enough number of followers to be influential Instagram users, they had to be active consistently on Instagram, and have their profiles set to public mode. On Instagram, there is a setting allowing the user to decide the visibility of his/her profile; it can be private (only visible to followers that the user has chosen to accept) or public (visible to everyone).⁶⁶ In order to investigate how the accounts users utilize their Instagram accounts to express their attitudes/opinions towards BLM and SAH, it was essential that the participants have an account visible to all. Since all selected posts were published by public accounts, there is no necessity to obtain approvals from these accounts to analyze the data.

Under these criteria, 64 of Instagram accounts were selected. These accounts were further divided into three main categories: Japanese, Black Americans and Japanese Americans (Both US born and Japan born), based on active location and their ethnicity. The researcher created these categories as one of my main criteria of differentiation to see each group's attitudes and sentiments towards the movements, which may differ depending on their social/historical backgrounds. Particularly, posts by Japanese users were taken into account to help this study to understand the situation in the US from a comparative perspective. Besides their posts having an influence on posts by Japanese in the US, the comparison between the two perspectives might help to identify whether or not and if yes to which degree the situation in the US shapes their attitudes.

Furthermore, each category has three different account types: Individual General

⁶⁶ Binmasudi, I. (2018). Egocasting on social media : A qualitative study of the use of instagram by generation Y, in the context of travel. (Order No. 28633949, Anadolu University (Turkey)). *PQDT - Global* , 104.

Influencers, Individual Influencers who more focus on political context (e.g., #BLM, #SAH) and Educational Organizations, based on their account type and their focus. The collected accounts in each category and the specific criteria are explained below.

Sample Accounts

Each category has nine accounts in total (three accounts for each account types). First, for the category of Japanese, the following accounts were selected: Japanese general influencers: @watanabenaomi703, @liveglenwood, @mmkemio; Japanese influencers who focus more on political contexts: @cocoalizzy, @seyarogaiojisan, @euro719; Japanese educational organizations: @noyouth_nojapan, @blossomtheproject, @hanasou.jp. For the specific criteria for these accounts, first, they had to be active in Japan (or have strong influence on Japanese people), and second, they had to have posted something related to BLM at least once in order to see their attitudes towards BLM.

Secondly, for Black Americans, the following accounts were selected: Black American general influencers: @badgalriri, @janetjackson, @kellyrowland; Black American influencers who more focus on political contexts: @rachel.cargle, @ayaotometi, @amplify.rj; Black American educational organizations: @theconsciouskid, @r29unbotherd, @yourrightscamp. For the specific criteria, they had to be active in the U.S., and they have at least one post talking about SAH in order to see their attitudes towards SAH.

Finally, for Japanese Americans, the following accounts were selected: Japanese American general influencers: @joeandohirsh, @sakuraconsidine, @naru_chan_official; Japanese American influencers who more focus on political contexts: @dearwhitewomenpodcast, @stephaniewatanabe, @kurtkanazawa; Japanese American (Asian American) educational organizations: @jacl_national, @gokizuna, @dearasianyouth.

Under more specific criteria, they had to be active in the U.S., and they had to have

at least one post regarding BLM (to see their attitudes towards BLM). Moreover, the organization accounts include both Japanese American organizations and Asian American organizations to see different attitudes towards BLM between Japanese Americans and general Asian Americans, and due to the limitation of not finding enough sample accounts of the Japanese American organization focus on educational context and/or BLM discussion.

In terms of the definition of the category of Japanese American, it is crucial to note that there is no specific distinguishment between Japan-born Japanese Americans and US-born Japanese Americans because it is not possible to find out whether they were born in Japan or the U.S. from their accounts (such as account profile) and their posts, thus they were all categorized as “Japanese American”. In general, there was no criterion based on gender and age for this research, since ethnicity rather than gender and age is the primary focus on this study, and again, it is generally not possible to tell gender and age from their accounts and posts.

Criteria of Sample Posts

The selected sample posts were posted during a crucial period for both movements, Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate. The starting point for the data selection is the day of George Floyd’s death, May 25, 2020, when the BLM movement has particularly sparked. The ending point is roughly a month after the Atlanta spa shooting on March 16, 2021, when the strong demand for the SAH movement had risen.

A significant part of the sampled posts is caption, which is the accompanying text that an account user decides to put under each photo. To ensure that the sample of captions was worth analyzing, those that were only emojis (no words), not in English or Japanese, spam, duplicates, only URLs, only Instagram tags/handles were excluded from the analysis in this study.

At least one relative post that discusses either BLM or SAH was selected from each

account. As there were a few accounts that had posted multiple times, three posts in both chronological order and the highest number of likes, comments and/or viewers by their followers were selected in this case. Duplicate posts that appeared more than once from the same user were included in the selection as the comments are still varied for each post. However, posts, where links had gone dead due to users deleting posts or changing their accounts to private, were excluded. Under these criteria, a total of 64 Instagram posts were sampled and analyzed.

Data Analysis

To analyze more specific sentiments and attitudes in the sampled contents, qualitative analysis was conducted by following Feng, Chen, and He (2019) and Yang (2021)'s research⁶⁷. After having collected the data set and considering the researchers' approach from the sampled captions, categories were developed, then these thematic categories were classified.

The categories were created to group the recurring contexts within the captions of the sampled posts which were continuously added via the coding process until all contexts of captions fell under at least one of the developed categories. As a result, the screening process elicited more than ten initial categories. Then, by employing more coding process, initial categories were refined into less than ten themes that occurred in all groups. As Essi and her colleagues (2022) suggest, whilst the main goal of the analysis was to qualitatively understand the nature of the data, the share of the classification is aimed at displaying and giving the reader an understanding of their relative prevalence.⁶⁸

In the case of posts, the analysis focused especially on textual or oral content as

⁶⁷ Yang, Chuentawong, P., & Pugdeethosapol, K. (2021). Speaking Up on Black Lives Matter: A Comparative Study of Consumer Reactions toward Brand and Influencer-Generated Corporate Social Responsibility Messages. *Journal of Advertising*, 50 (5), 565-583.

⁶⁸ Essi Pöyry, Hanna Reinikainen & Vilma Luoma-Aho (2022) The Role of Social Media Influencers in Public Health Communication: Case COVID-19 Pandemic, *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, 16:3, 469-484, 473.

opposed to visual content. Moreover, example caption messages are presented in Appendix A from the data in order to illustrate the findings. Furthermore, all messages in Japanese by mostly Japanese Instagram users in this study are translated into English. It is crucial to note that the researcher did not re-wording quotes I found from posts in English by users because what they wrote should not suppose to be changed. Hence, the reader may find awkward/grammatically incorrect sentences in the captions in a few quotes. However, this is because they were not native English speakers, or they used a sort of daily using English in their posts. Finally, the author determined that testing reliability was not necessary nor appropriate for the current study because this thesis is a pre-study trying out which methods to use and how to use social media for this study, so it does not claim to work on a sample which is representative according to the agreed upon standards of social sciences.

Chapter 4

Results and Findings

Chapter 4 aims to report the different results and findings that appeared during the research. First, the data set for qualitative content analysis will be shortly presented. Following that, the result from This part includes the initial sub-categories and a detailed explanation of the final thematic categories after the coding of sampled posts. This aims to give the reader a first sight of the different attitudes and emotions of the targeted Instagram users towards the social movements. In this part, each thematic category will be reported. It will also introduce the tendency and characteristics of each category of the accounts: Japanese, Black American and Japanese American (Both US-born and Japan-born). Supporting tables and figures are submitted in the appendices at the end of this paper.

Data Set

Data for this study were comprised of 64 Instagram posts published by Japanese, Black American, and Japanese American (Asian American) influencers and organizations who focus on either general, political, or educational content on Instagram. Each Instagram post was analyzed to create meaning units, which were subsequently condensed, abstracted, and coded. After identifying initial codes through data analysis, codes were grouped on similarities and differences into sub-categories (see appendix A) and main thematic categories through iterative review and comparison. From this process, the following emerged: 21 sub-categories and seven themes. The themes include: (1) Supporting BLM/SAH; (2) Calling for action and mentioning racism; (3) Showing emotion/empathy towards incidents; (4) Educational contexts; (5) Showing own positionality; (6) Advocating solidarity; (7) Others.

Findings

Theme 1: Supporting BLM/SAH

Supporting BLM/SAH was one of the prominent themes in Instagram posts by the users. This theme defines any content of the captions which showed support towards Black Lives Matter or Stop Asian Hate movements by the publishers of the posts. They often use relative hashtags such as #BlackLivesMatter, #BlackOutTuesday, #StopAsianHate, or #HateIsVirus. The tendency and details regarding this theme are in each account category (Japanese, Black American, and Japanese American) that follows.

Japanese

Most of the posts that discuss BLM by Japanese influencers and organizations were explicitly showing their positions supporting the movement. Japanese general influencers often used the hashtags of #BlackLivesMatter, #BlackOutTuesday⁶⁹ on their posts. Two user accounts used merely the hashtags, without any other comments on their posts (@liveglenwood, @mmkemio).

Other accounts (Japanese politically focused influencers and educational organizations) often expressed their strong supportive attitudes towards BLM and Black American people by adding extra sentences to their posts besides using hashtags. For instance, one of the politically focused influencers, @shumatsuopost, stated, “I choose to speak up about issues that matter. I choose to fight for equality. I choose love.”. Similar to other Japanese accounts, Japanese educational organizations often used relative hashtags. However, while other accounts only used English hashtags of #BlackLivesMatter, all Japanese educational

⁶⁹ According to Bludau (2021), Instagram users were encouraged to post a blank, black square and use #BlackoutTuesday in the caption of their posts mourn the Black lives lost to police brutality, show their collective support on BLM, and promote the movement.

organizations (@noyouth_nojapan, @blossomtheproject, @hanasou.jp) also used Japanese hashtags of BlackLivesMatter besides English hashtags⁷⁰.

Black Americans

As well as Japanese accounts, Black American users often express their support for the Stop Asian Hate movement by using hashtags such as #StopAsianHate, #HateIsVirus, and #ProtectAAPILives. Although there is no post with only hashtags in the caption, slightly similar to Japanese general influencers, Black American general influencers also use hashtags to show their support, and they express other sentiment (such as sympathy or sorrow) to the additional comments, rather than supportive comments.

For Black American politically focused influencers, they express their support towards SAH in their posts the most among Black American groups. Aside from using relative hashtags, one of the Black American politically focused influencers, @amplify.rj, shared her action for supporting Asian communities. She stated, following caption in her post: “we held a collective grief space to process the mass shooting of 8 in Atlanta, the majority of whom were Asian women. We also made space for the youth to lead in their collective grieving, which resulted in sharing their needs and how adults can help support those needs”.

The researcher identified this supportive action in Black American educational organizations. For instance, @yourrightscamp described: “We're on the grounds organizing and taking care of people in our communities, especially our elders here in Oakland, Chinatown. We've been working with local leaders and groups, as part of a multi-racial and multi-cultural collective to address the uptick in violence against Asian communities and communities all across Oakland.” The same user also expressed their direct supportive comments saying, “We are working together to ensure safety for everyone.”. As well as the hashtag #ProtectAAPILives,

⁷⁰ For example, #ブラックライヴズマター(@hanasou.jp), #黒人の命は大切だ(@noyouth_nojapan).

specific words such as “protect” or “safe” can be seen in the captions by Black American users.

Asian Americans

Although Japanese American users also showed their supportive attitudes often in their posts, Japanese American general influencers specifically tend not to use hashtags as often as other users. Nonetheless, some supportive comments or words can be seen among the influencers. For instance, @sakuraconsidine stated, “black lives matter and we must change + do better.” and “We stand with you. BLACK LIVES MATTER” in her posts.

On the other hand, similar to Japanese politically focused influencers, their strong supportive attitudes towards BLM and Black American people can also be found in Japanese American’s posts. For instance, one of the more politically focused influencers, @dearwhitewomenpodcast, explicitly stated her support in her post. She said, “Because Black Lives Matter.”. @kurtkanazawa, a Japanese American politically focused influencer, insisted on his support for BLM by writing his comment, “I’ll support you.”, and using hashtags of #BlackLivesMatter. Similar to the supportive action in the implementation by some Black American users who made other online spaces as a way for supporting the SAH movement, @dearwhitewomenpodcast supported BLM by creating podcasts for discussing anti-racism and expanding the conversation about it from all over the world. @dearwhitewomenpodcast also stated their reason for creating the podcast as, “Because we are, and we want to make sure everyone has the tools to fight this fight, on behalf of all of us.”. Regarding this platform, there is seemingly no specific rule/comment to communicate in Japanese or English when the researcher checked the platform. However, upon investigating the posts or platform of the user, English is exclusively used.

The accounts of Japanese American organizations (including two Japanese American educational organizations and one Asian American educational organization, as I explained in

the Methodology chapter) also often used relative hashtags. Nevertheless, there are no specific comments other than hashtags in the posts by the two Japanese American organizations. As for Asian American educational organizations, @dearasianyouth described their supportive attitude by mentioning, “We see you, we hear you, and we will fight for you.”, with hashtags.

Theme 2: Mentioning racism/racial justice and calling for action

Mentioning racism/racial justice and calling for action was a prominent theme that can be seen frequently among the selected Instagram users’ posts. Firstly, “Calling for action” can include advocating for donations or change and calling specific action supporting Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate (directed to the public, readers, or followers). It is crucial to note the differentiation of this theme from theme 1 of supportive attitudes. Showing support can be merely subjective sentiments or attitudes, and they often express users’ cooperative positions through their words/content. On the other hand, calling for action means asking the viewers to take action proactively, and this can be categorized as sort of “convince people to do/think something”.⁷¹

“Calling for action” also includes sub-categories “calling for people to speak up” and “calling for people to take responsibility.” Such posts that insist on speaking up rather than being quiet about the issues regarding the movements are examples of this category. This theme can include relative hashtags such as #SilenceIsViolence. Similarly, some posts also called for people to take responsibility, which means calling for recognition of one’s involvement rather than thinking of these matters as other people’s business. These categories were often identified in Japanese/Japanese Americans’ posts. The details will be reported below.

Multiple Instagram users advocated action through their posts, often associated with

⁷¹ This is an example of “showing support”: “I choose to speak up about issues that matter. I choose to fight for equality. I choose love.” (@shumatsuopost). If it was “calling for action”, the sentence would be “I want you to speak up about issues that matter. I want you to fight for equality. I want you to choose love.”, for instance.

various issues surrounding the BLM and SAH movements. Therefore, many users depicted their opinions/sentiments towards racism, racial justice, or white supremacy. Mentioning these matters in the posts also includes calling for the prevention of racism and calling for racial justice by criticizing police brutality, for example. Recognizing white supremacy is also included in this category as it is mutually related to anti-racism sentiments.

Japanese

For this theme, “Mentioning racism/racial justice and calling for action,” it is essential to note that the relative content cannot be found among Japanese general influencers’ posts. However, this theme can often be found among politically focused influencers and educational organizations’ posts.⁷² Thus, for this theme section, posts by two users who are politically focused influencers and educational organizations will be focused on. These Japanese Instagram users regularly touched on racism and relative matters proactively in their posts. They tend to insist on racial-related issues in Japan and the U.S., and often publish their posts to provoke Japanese people to pay attention to those issues.

For instance, @shumatsuopost insisted that racism exists in Japan, and he also stated that, “we are the problem.”. Similarly, Japanese education organizations often mentioned racism and called for stopping it through their posts. For example, one of the posts by @blossomtheproject stated the following sentence as a caption title, “the racism issue is not only a US issue.”, which implied that racism also exists in Japan, not only in the U.S. Moreover, @noyouth_nojapan published their posts about how Japanese people can be racist subconsciously and added, “This is not only an issue outside of Japan, it is also our issue.”. With regards to this statement, two of the organizations published posts specifically talking

⁷² Particularly, in terms of “calling for people to speak up/take responsibility,” the associated captions were found most frequently in posts by politically focused Japanese influencers and educational organizations, compared to Black American and Japanese American users.

about “Microaggression” in Japan and proactively called for action and preventing racism in Japan. Unlike the posts by Japanese general influencers, many posts by Japanese education organizations attempted to call for action/people to speak up/take responsibility through their content.

There were mainly two ways of calling for action, speaking up and taking responsibility found through this analysis: one is a relatively cooperative/friendly/rational way, and the other is a more critical/emotional way. For instance, one of the more politically focused influencers, @shumatsuopost, mentioned, “What anyone, anywhere can do is to speak up because being silent is a choice.” and “Let’s take action to end crimes against humanity.”; Another politically focused influencer, @cocoalizzy, stated, “Do you really care about us? Do you really feel us? If you are not caring this situation, stop being around us. (...) Please think black people's experience and do something for us. Please.”.

Among the users who posted critical and emotional captions, as an example, @seyarogaiojisan, a more politically focused influencer, stated, “Being indifferent and quiet are same as being a perpetrator of racism. (...) We need to speak up and take responsibility!”. Several influencers argued that Japanese people are often not interested in the issues of racism in the U.S. as well as racism in Japan. For example, @cocoalizzy called for action from Japanese people by stating,

“If you are not able to post about racism, at least please repost this to increase the people who will be interested in this issue. If you thought, you are not related to this issue because you are Japanese, or you thought this is waste of time, that is completely wrong. Are you still not aware of the fact that the world where you are living is a racist country where people discriminate other people because of their skin color?”.

Also, while an organization called for action in a relatively cooperative way, some organizations were more critical about the situation in Japan. For instance, @blossomtheproject

attempted to evoke Japanese people by simply stating, “Let’s talk about #blacklivesmatter even in Japan!”. On the other hand, @hanasou.jp strongly called for action in their post by stating, “There are many ways to support even from Japan. Do not use living in Japan as an excuse. Join the #BLM movement.”.

In addition, a few posts which criticized police brutality and called for racial justice were published by politically focused Japanese influencers and educational organizations. For example, @cocoalizzy discussed the use of force by police in the U.S., and she justified the demonstration of the use of force by police in one of her posts. Educational organization @hanasou.jp used the hashtag #JusticeForGeorgeFloyd, and they specifically criticized former police officer Tou Thao for not intervening even though he was watching as his colleague killed George Floyd. Posts about recognizing white supremacy were not identified among Japanese users’ posts.

Black Americans

The number of posts that regard this theme was relatively small among Black American users compared to Japanese and Japanese American users. However, there were several Black American users who mentioned racism and called for action and to speak up about the Stop Asian Hate movement and hate crimes against Asians. A few Black American general influencers mentioned relative matters in their posts, unlike Japanese general influencers. For example, @kellyrowland strongly called for stopping hate crimes towards Asian people by stating, “PERIOD!!!! STOP KILLING OUR ASIAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS”. Similarly, after @badgalriri mentioned that the Atlanta shooting was not an isolated issue, she also stated, “hate must stop.”

Politically focused Black American influencers and Black American education organizations both advocated for action in their posts. For example, @amplify.rj, a politically

focused Black American influencer, called for action (donation) in her captions, saying, “If compelled donate to a local organization working for racial justice.” While Japanese users’ ways of calling for action in posts were relatively non variant, Black American users called for action in various ways. For instance, @amplify.rj and @yourrightscamp called for action by suggesting that their followers share, save and repost their posts. There was no caption calling for taking responsibility in this user group.

Moreover, politically focused influencer @rachel.cargle showed her recognition of white supremacy by using the words “system of patriarchal white supremacy” in her post, also stating, “Asian hate must stop . White supremacy must end.” Recognizing white supremacy is also profoundly connected to Black-Asian solidarity, which will be discussed in detail in a later section.

Japanese Americans

The theme (Mentioning racism/racial justice and calling for action) was often found in posts by Japanese American user types, primarily politically focused influencers, and education organizations. Only one general influencer shared the post calling for action, and it was explicitly calling for donations. The influencer, @joeandohirsh stated, “PLEASE go donate! Go sign petitions! If you can’t donate, then educate yourself! Link in bio! DO IT! DO IT! DO IT!” with a link for donation in his caption. Similarly, there were also two captions by politically focused Japanese influencers (@dearwhitewomenpodcast and @kurtkanazawa) that called for donations as a way of action to support BLM. It is crucial to note that calling for donations can be found in Black American and Japanese American users’ posts but not in Japanese users’ posts.

It is important to note that the specific word “systematic racism” rather than merely “racism” can often be found in posts by Japanese Americans; thus, they acknowledge the issue

of systematic racism in the U.S. For example, general influencer @sakuraconsidine and politically focused influencer @kurtkanazawa mentioned in their posts, respectively, “We must stand together to end systemic racism.” and “This conversation = Everyone vs. Systemic Racism. Everyone. (...) End systematic racism.”.

In addition, politically focused influencers. @stephaniewatanabe called for justice for Breonna Taylor, and criticized police brutality, saying, “Say her name today and every day - and demand justice for her. It’s been 12 weeks and no officers have been fired or arrested.”

Another crucial finding was that they often focused on racism/anti-Blackness in their Japanese (Asian) community in the U.S., whereas Japanese users focused on racism among Japanese in Japan. For example, @gokizuna, a Japanese American educational organization, stated, “We also acknowledge the vast amount of work there is yet to do in order to abolish anti-Black racism in the Japanese American community.” Similarly, @dearasianyouth, Asian American educational organization, discussed the issue in their posts, saying, “In many Asian communities, the topic of anti-Blackness can be difficult to discuss, especially with our parents. (...) we, as Asians, must be actively against the systemic racism that plagues our society today.” The recognition of anti-Blackness in Japanese/Asian communities is related to a key point of Black-Asian (Japanese) solidarity, which will be explained in the later theme section.

Associating with the anti-Blackness in the Japanese (Asian) community, @kurtkanazawa also called for speaking up and criticized being quiet about the issue by saying, “Silence is shitty.” Likewise, @dearasianyouth and @dearasianyouth, who are educational organizations, argued the importance of not staying silent and called for their followers to act/speak up. Other educational organizations also called for action by calling for people to join the Black Lives Matter movement or reposting their posts.

Theme 3: Showing emotion/empathy toward incidents

Showing emotions and empathizing with incidents or victims were seen in many of the Instagram posts by users. Various categories of emotions, including anger, sorrow, disgust, and so on, emerged as users expressed these emotions/sentiments towards racially biased murders/hate crimes against the Black and Asian communities. Showing empathy often came as a result of these incidents, and many users showed their empathy with the victims of the incidents or their families/communities, through their content.

Japanese

The researcher found his theme in many Japanese political-focused users but not in other account users (general influencers and educational organizations). Although @watanabenaomi703, one of the Japanese general influencers expressed her regret and respect regarding BLM issues. Other emotions, such as anger and sorrow cannot be found in her posts. In her post, she described how she regretted her ignorance about these issues (racism) and showed respect towards Black people as she has been significantly influenced by Black American culture. Among Japanese general influencers, while it was common to see some optimistic sentiments/attitudes, such as supporting BLM or hoping for a bright future, negative and more emotional sentiments such as anger and sorrow, were challenging to identify.

On the other hand, this theme can be found in more politically focused influencers' posts. For instance, @cocoalizzy expressed her sadness in her post about BLM by saying, "This isn't fun to post. I was crying while I was writing this but trying to put together.". In addition, @shumatsuopost described his emotions about George Floyd's death when he visited the place where George Floyd was murdered. In his post, he stated, "Today, we went to the George Floyd and I was overcome with emotions. It was surreal and heartbreaking to be in the place of his death a few months ago".

Black Americans

Various emotions and empathy towards Asian communities regarding Asian hate were also displayed in the posts by Black American users. For instance, @badgalriri, a general influencer, expressed her strong emotion through her captions by saying, “AAPI hate has been rampantly perpetuated and it’s disgusting! I’m heartbroken for the Asian community and my heart is with the loved ones of those we lost yesterday.”. Similarly, another general influencer, @janetjackson stated the following caption in her post: “My heart breaks for the Asian community. Sending prayers to all affected by yesterday’s tragedy.” Likewise, some politically focused influencers described their strong sentiments on hate crimes against Asian community, especially after the Atlanta shooting happened. One of the politically focused Black influencers, @rachel.cargle, stated, “I am devastated to witness the deep pain existing in the Asian community right now”.

As well as other Black American accounts, educational organizations also showed their honest, strong feelings, especially after they heard about the incident. For example, @theconsciouskid stated. “We are absolutely devastated to hear of the violent attacks on Asian women and businesses in Atlanta tonight. It is terrifying, especially amidst the spike in anti-Asian hate crimes.” Moreover, @yourrightscamp explained her emotions by using certain words in her post, “The last few weeks have been hard and painful for so many of our communities.”. The expressed emotions, especially “sorrow/sadness” and “empathy,” were often found in the posts by Black American users compared to Japanese and Japanese American users.

Japanese Americans

Similar to Japanese users, this theme of showing emotions/empathy can only be found in the posts by Japanese American political-focused users specifically and not in the posts

by general influencer and educational organization users. One of the politically focused users, @stephaniewatanabe, expressed her sadness and empathy towards Breonna Taylor, who was fatally shot by police in Louisville, and her family, saying, “My heart is broken for her loved ones suffering this immense hurt”.

Theme 4: Educational contexts

Educational contexts were categorized from posts explaining the movements (e.g., the meaning of BLM, what is happening during the movement, and so on.), or giving expert information regarding the movements, hate crimes, or racism, as well as explaining historical background. This theme includes introducing lists of the information or putting a link for more detailed information in the caption. This theme was regularly found in the posts by educational organizations due to the nature of their Instagram accounts. Nevertheless, the theme was also found in some of the posts by politically focused influencers and a few by general influencers. The details of this tendency will be reported in the following section.

Japanese

The educational context was one of the most common themes in the posts by Japanese users. General influencer @liveglenwood introduced her podcast with a link which is about discussing racism and Black Lives Matter (includes a basic definition of BLM and minorities). This podcast episode aimed to educate Japanese listeners who need to become more familiar with the issues. This tendency (the post aimed at educating Japanese people) was often found in other Japanese Instagram users.

The explanation of BLM and the movement (definition, purpose, informing current situation) was the most common in Japanese politically focused users' posts. For instance, @euro719 explained in his post why there are currently many active demonstrations in the

United States. @cocoalizzy, another politically focused influencer also posted basic information about BLM and the current situation in the U.S. with a message for Japanese people by saying, “I want you to share this post as much as possible. I want you to know the situation in the U.S. is becoming worse day by day. There are still many people who are suffering from racism.”

Japanese educational organizations regularly publish relative educational posts on their Instagram accounts. For example, @noyouth_nojapan explained the situation in the U.S. regarding the BLM movement saying, “Black Lives Matter is a movement fighting for racism against Black people. Today, the 2nd of June, American music industry implicated a strike as Black out Tuesday. They are calling for the abolish racism by respecting Black Americans who have been influencing pop music culture.”. For example, @noyouth_nojapan introduced the BLM movement with an example of a strike as Blackout Tuesday by Black American music industries. Similarly, @hanasou.jp published a post about Black Lives Matter for educational purposes with detailed explanation of the movement (e.g., how the movement was first created). These educational purpose posts by Japanese users may also be related to the finding in theme 2 (calling for speaking up/taking responsibility) and a theme of mentioning racism which will be reported later. Since many Japanese users in this study acknowledged a prevalence of ignorance or indifference towards BLM issues among Japanese people, thus they tried to educate Japanese people/their followers through their posts.

Black Americans

Only a few posts regarding educational contexts by Black American users can be found, compared to Japanese users. This theme was not found in posts by Black American general influencers. However, one of the more politically focused influencers, @amplify.rj shared knowledgeable information about anti-Asian racism with a title, for instance, “Anti-

Asian Racism & Community Impact (6 infographics on white supremacy, violence, stereotypes, myths, horizontal oppression, and intervention tactics)”.

It is crucial to note that some posts explaining the historical background by Black American users were not common to find in the posts by Japanese users. These posts often help readers to understand that racism is deeply rooted in historical contexts. For instance, @amplify.rj showed that hate crimes against Asian/Asian Americans are not only current issues same as hate crimes against Black people. She stated, “Just like anti-Black racism didn't start with videos of police murdering Black folx, racially motivated violence against the Asian, Pacific Islander, South Asian community didn't start with the onset of C19.” An educational organization, @yourrightscamp, also gave informative reports as well as historical matters:

“In the past year alone, there were 3,800 *reported* anti-Asian and anti-Asian-American racist incidents, the majority of which were directed at women and some of which included physical assault. We know the actual number is likely much higher. But it would be misguided to see these incidents as isolated. Violence against Asian and Asian-American people is systemic and intersectional, and in the U.S. context reflects 150 years of accumulated anti-Asian and anti-Asian-American racist history.”

Japanese Americans

Both educational contexts and historical contexts can be seen in the posts by Japanese American users. For instance, @naru_chan_official, a general influencer explained the current situation in the U.S. in the educational context, saying, “Currently, there are many demonstrations in the U.S., including Houston, regarding George Floyd’ death. (...) In the U.S., there are many people who have been suffering from discriminations only because of their skin color.”

Aside from her post, @stephaniewatanabe, a politically focused influencer, published

her post with expert information about historical racism towards Black people. At the beginning of the post, she stated: “HAPPY JUNETEENTH! On this day in 1865, the last enslaved Black communities were informed that they were free a whole 2 1/2 years after they'd been emancipated. (...) Enslavement never ended, it just evolved. Mass incarceration is its most prolific iteration”, and she added statistical information to explain how many Black people today are still forced to work disproportionately in US society. The education contexts posts with historical contexts, also may be related to solidarity between Black Americans and Japanese Americans, as some Instagram users addressed how their histories are often overlapped. The detail of this will be discussed later.

Theme 5: Showing own positionality

This theme, showing own positionality emerged from the posts mainly published by politically focused influencers in each group (aside from one Japanese American organization). This theme was defined as showing own positionality regarding movements or racism-related contexts. Showing own positionality often includes or starts with telling personal stories, such as their personal experience as Black, Japanese, Asian and so on. As well as other themes, this theme is also mutually connected deeply with other themes/categories, such as empathy or solidarity. The detail will be reported and discussed in the following section.

Japanese

As discussed, showing own positionality and telling own personal stories were only identified from posts/captions by Japanese politically focused influencers. For example, @cocoalizzy showed her positionality as mixed Black and Japanese (more often as Black in this context) by telling her personal stories that she has experienced in Japan. In one of her posts regarding Black Lives Matter, she stated:

“For me, I've been growing up with racism in Japan as a black girl, so racism is not mystery. I remember how hurt the feeling to be treated differently. I still remember that when I was working, manager told me that I couldn't work there anymore because one of the customer claim that she doesn't want to buy products from someone who look like me.”

Moreover, in another post also published by @cocoalizzy, she mentioned, “I am watching both countries of Japan and the U.S., from perspectives as I am mixed Japanese and Black and as Black person who suffer from racial discriminations.”. These captions in her posts tell her positionality and her struggle being mixed Japanese and Black.

On the other hand, another politically focused influencer, @shumatsuopost, displayed his positionality as Japanese and intersectional perspectives. He stated:

“In Japan, I’m amongst the most privileged. I’m Japanese, male, tall, straight, married, educated and able bodied. I don’t pretend to understand what black people in Japan experience. But what I can do is to educate myself and challenge other Japanese people that racism exists in Japan and fight to end it.”.

Thus, from this post, he acknowledged his position of being Japanese as a privilege, and he showed his positionality supporting BLM. This positionality also can be found among some Japanese American users, which will be reported at the end of this section.

Black Americans

Among Black American users, politically focused influencer @amplify.rj was the only Instagram user who showed her positionality in her post. In her post, she stated. “As a bi-racial Black-Filipino person, the constant barrage of violence against MY people is weighing super heavy.” It is important to note that showing own positionality is common among multi-racial Instagram users, including @amplify.rj. This tendency may be one of the critical points

for discussing Black-Asian solidarity, which may be missed in any other theories introduced earlier. The detail of this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Japanese Americans

Japanese Americans' positionality towards BLM and Black people is one of the most crucial factors in this study as their complex positions as Asian/Japanese Americans in the US history as compared to Black Americans as discussed in the theoretical framework chapter. Unlike Japanese users, Japanese American users often showed their positionality in this context. For example, Japanese politically focused influencer, @kurtkanazawa told his positionality and experience as a Japanese and/or Filipino American in US society, stated:

“As a 4th gen Asian-American, specifically because visually I’m perceived as a Japanese and/or Filipino American, I’ve DEFINITELY escaped from many dangerous/life-threatening situations by someone’s blink-of-an-eye analysis that I am a “model minority,” or, when I have actively said to them, in so many words or less “No speak English!” with a naive fucking grin and batting anime eyes. However fucked up and humorous that that may be, THAT is privilege....and I tremble at the thought of being Black in America, in ANY of those same situations. May you take this COVID-19 moment, where we have very few distractions, to make a little time to reflect on your own individual and unique set of privileges.”

As he mentioned, he recognized his position as being perceived “model minority” through his experience. However, he also acknowledges that even being a model minority is still a privilege compared to what Black people have experienced. Similar to this, Asian American educational organization @dearasianyouth stated:

“As an organization made up of minorities, (...) We understand what it is like to be mistreated. We understand firsthand how our appearance, our culture, and our

heritage can be used against us. And even then, what we experience is a sliver compared to what the Black community faces on a daily basis.”

Both @kurtkanazawa and @dearasianyouth showed their supportive position not only because they shared a similar experience with Black people as a perceived model minority, but they also recognized their position that being Japanese/Asian American is also a privilege, thus not utterly equal to Black people. These attitudes are crucial for this study as they are related to a conversation of Black-Asian solidarity. Thus, these findings will be discussed in detail as they reflect on existing theories.

Theme 6: Advocating solidarity

Advocating solidarity between Black and Asian (Japanese) communities towards issues or movements was one of the most crucial themes for this thesis crucial as this thesis focuses on the solidarity. For this thesis, solidarity should focus on Black-Asian (Japanese) relations; thus, it specifically sees whether Instagram users mentioned/showed their clear attitudes/statements for fighting together with the Black/Asian (Japanese) community as a fellow. This theme can include using specific words such as “solidarity,” words indicating fellowship such as “Our brothers and sisters,” relative hashtags such as #AsiansforBlackLives.

Japanese

It is important to note that there were no posts identified as this theme among Japanese Instagram users during this analysis. However, this may not necessarily imply that Japanese users did not show their attitudes toward fighting collectively. For instance, showing supportive attitudes or calling to prevent racism in Japan may be correlated to attitudes advocating solidarity among Japanese people. Nevertheless, reflecting on this study which focuses on Black-Asian (Japanese) solidarity, specific attitudes/statements calling for solidary

with a Black community were not identified in the posts published by Japanese users. This tendency may be rooted in the fundamental issue regarding racism in Japan. Hence, Japanese users (primarily politically focused Japanese influencers and educational organizations) started their conversations which focused on banishing racism in Japan by helping Japanese people to recognize their anti-Blackness sentiments or ignorance towards issues, before starting conversations about collective solidarity against white supremacy or systematic racism. The detail of this tendency will be discussed in the next chapter.

Black Americans

This theme of advocating solidarity was often found in posts by Black American users. For example, @kellyrowland, a general influencer, displayed her solidarity with the Asian community by calling them “OUR ASIAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS.” Politically focused influencer @rachel.cargle expressed her solid position in solidarity to fight against Asian hate and white supremacy. She stated: “In solidarity....I am in solidarity with the Asian community and we do not ignore your pain and we fight for accountability for the ways your lives , your communities , your joy , your freedom are being threatened .”Another politically focused influencer, @ckyourprivilege, also explicitly presented her position as an ally with the Asian community in her post by stating, “Standing in solidarity with our AAPI family.”

Similarly, some Black American educational organizations advocated solidarity in their posts. For instance, @theconsciouskid stated in their post, “Let’s do everything we can to be in solidarity and ensure the safety of the Asian community.” Also, @yourrightscamp proactively called for solidarity, and they showed their supportive attitudes by stating, “We do this work in solidarity with BIPOC communities.” , and “We are in solidarity with our Asian and Asian-American siblings.”, as well as using a hashtag of “InSolidarity.” These posts, which actively called for solidarity, may be boosted by the spontaneous timing when the Stop Asian

Hate movement sparked in the middle of the Black Lives Matter movement.

Japanese Americans

As well as Black American users, the theme is often found in the posts by Japanese American users, especially by educational organizations. The general influencer @sakuraconsidine expresses her attitudes for calling for collective solidarity to end racism by stating, “We stand with you.”. Politically focused influencer @kurtkanazawa also showed his attitude for standing in solidarity with the Black community by calling them as “brother,” “sisters,” and “siblings.”

For educational organizations, both @gokizuna and @dearasianyouth were proactively calling for Black-Asian (Japanese) solidarity through their posts. First, @gokizuna stated, “Kizuna firmly believes that #BlackLivesMatter and is in solidarity with the Black community,” and they also showed their solidarity between Black and Japanese (American) from historical context by mentioning, “Black History has shaped Japanese American History.”. Secondly, @dearasianyouth expressed their position in solidarity by stating, “We see you, we hear you, and we will fight for you.” and using hashtags of #AsiansForBlackLives and #Asians4BlackLives. Moreover, after @dearasianyouth showed their positionality as part of memories, they also stated the following caption:

“Therefore, we will not sit here and ignore the Black community when they need us most. We will work to actively combat the anti-Blackness in the Asian community, and do all that we can to make sure your voices are heard, loud and clear. We will fight with you until our roots grow stronger than ever before, until our collective strength reminds us of the path our ancestors left for us to conquer — and together, we will bloom as one.”

Therefore, Japanese (Asian) American users’ solid positions as allies who fight

against systematic racism and social justice were often explicitly insisting on their posts, often from current contexts of hate crimes during the covid-19 situation and sometimes from historical contexts.

Theme 7: Others

This category mainly contains other content that could not be categorized due to the small number of captions (less than three captions) or content that could not be categorized into any theme because it needed to be more isolated a discussion. This theme includes the following sub-categories. for instance: “Being optimistic about a future,” “Intersectionality contexts,” “Sharing the quotes, posts, or videos of others,” and so on.

Japanese

Japanese general influencer @watanabenaomi703 published her post, “Hoping for a future, all together, filled with love.”, using the hashtag #blackouttuesday. While most of the people who created their posts with the #blackouttuesday hashtag tended to write an extra caption, @watanabenaomi703 was the only Instagram user who wrote captions as well as the hashtag among Instagram users for this study. Such optimistic statements were rarely identified in posts regarding the conversation of Black Lives Matter compared to other users who relatively show more severe attitudes towards the issues. These sorts of optimistic comments/attitudes were also found in the post by another general influencer, @mmkemio, when he shared a quote from Nelson Mandela with a message. “I want to share and be happy with you because I found such a lovely quote today.”

Besides sharing a quote, sharing a video with self-translated subtitles was found in the posts by @euro719, who is a politically focused influencer. In one of his posts, he shared a video about demonstrations in the U.S., and he insisted on the necessity of demonstrations to

share information with Japanese people.

Black Americans

Among Black American users, educational organization @r29unbothered published a post critically mentioning broadcasting by media regarding the Atlanta shooting incident. They stated, “The incident isn't being called a #hatecrime on the news yet, but we all know it's no coincident,” and they focused on how the incidents were racially motivated by the perpetrator. However, the mass media did not focus and did not refer to it in the beginning. This critical statement towards media has only emerged in @r29unbothered's post, among other posts by Black American users.

Japanese Americans

Politically focused Japanese American influencer @stephaniewatanabe was the only Instagram user who published a post arguing Black trans people from an intersectional perspective. She stated:

“This is utterly heartbreaking. And yet, we (my cis friends and family) are guilty of staying silent when it comes to the violence against the Black Trans Community. (...) Cis folks of the Movement 4 Black Lives, the larger queer movement, and the feminist movement have long failed Black trans people. It's time for a reckoning on your collective silence and inaction. I believe the #BlackTransMovement has said in nearly every way that the communities we share with y'all need transformation and that we can't do it alone.”

Besides intersectional context, the Japanese educational organization @gokizuna addressed Black-Japanese solidarity for Black Lives Matter by sharing a quote by Yuri Kochiyama, who was a Japanese American political and civil rights activist. Another

educational organization, @dearasianyouth, added a caption in one of their posts saying, “If you are attending a protest, PLEASE STAY SAFE.” This caption was the only statement stressing the safety of people when they attend a protest (for Black Lives Matter) on Instagram users in this study.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The current chapter aims to summarize the key findings obtained during the study and analysis. Also, this chapter returns to the existing theories and research, which were introduced in Chapter 2, in order to highlight the connections with the results. While it reflects on theoretical frameworks, it also tries to answer the research questions of this thesis, including: What kind of attitudes and positionalities can be seen among Japanese and Japanese Americans towards Black people and the BLM movement; What kind of attitudes can be seen among Black Americans towards Asian/Asian Americans and the #StopAsianHate movement; and What factors may undermine/strengthen the Black-Japanese/Asian solidarity/correlation on social media.

This chapter will be divided into sections of critical findings for developing the discussion: general attitudes, racism/anti-Blackness, shared history, positioning, and other key findings. While discussing the emerged findings' themes, each Instagram user category: Japanese, Black American, and Japanese American, will be central actors in this discussion as the most crucial groups for this study. Discussion based on the findings of this study reflecting on existing theories and previous studies will offer several arising insights associated with the conversation on Black-Asian solidarity.

Summary and general attitudes

Based on the result of investigating attitudes among Japanese, Japanese Americans, and Black towards Black people and Asian/Asian Americans as well as relative movements (Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate), this study showed that many Instagram users frequently depicted their positive attitudes through their posts. These attitudes include, for

example, showing support and solidarity towards the relevant movements. Any negative attitudes concerning the BLM and SAH movements, such as criticizing the movements, were not identified.

Hashtags (e.g., #BlackLivesMatter and #StopAsianHate) were used among each group to show their supportive attitudes. For Black American users, as well as the hashtag #StopAsianHate or #ProtectAAPIlives, often showed their emotions, especially “sorrow/sadness” and “empathy,” compared to Japanese and Japanese American users. Previous research by Tong (2022) also investigated public attitudes and sentiments toward the BLM and SAH.

Tong argued that the different dominant emotions among users between the two movements: more users express anger and outrage toward the police, the government, murders, and the overall social situation in the U.S. in the discussion about BLM, while the dominant emotion was sorrow when they were discussing SAH.⁷³ Although this research by Tong focused on Twitter as a research area and the targeted users were somewhat random regardless of racial/ethnic category, this study also identified empathy with victims of Asian hate crimes was prominent among users (Black American users in this study). Deep insights regarding this result from multiple aspects and backgrounds of Black Americans will be discussed more in this chapter.

Racism/Anti-Blackness

Japanese users often mentioned racism and related matters in their posts. Primarily politically focused Japanese influencers and educational organizations tend to focus on anti-Blackness sentiments among Japanese people. Thus, they utilized their social media as a tool

⁷³ Tong, X. *et al.* (2022) ‘What are People Talking about in #BlackLivesMatter and #StopAsianHate? Exploring and Categorizing Twitter Topics Emerging in Online Social Movements through the Latent Dirichlet Allocation Model’, *arXiv.org* [Preprint], 729

to provoke Japanese people to recognize the issue and to abolish racism in Japan.

The study also found this tendency among Japanese American users, and they mentioned racism/anti-Blackness in their community. Japanese and Japanese American users' attitudes on calling for the recognition of anti-Blackness in Japanese/Asian communities are related to realize ~~to a critical key~~ of Black-Asian (Japanese) solidarity. As Lee (2020) and her colleagues argue, people (especially youth) need to be educated about recognizing the hegemony of anti-Blackness and resisting anti-Black racism. Challenging anti-Blackness in the Asian community is crucial to address in order to achieve cross-racial solidarity.⁷⁴

Although challenging anti-Blackness is fundamental for building Black-Asian solidarity, recognizing the system of patriarchal white supremacy is also valuable to be addressed in a conversation about Black Lives Matter.⁷⁵ Despite addressing anti-Blackness and racism in Japan, Japanese users often lack comments on systematic racism or white supremacy in their posts as they focus more on the issues above. In comparison, several Japanese American users and Black American users showed their solid positions opposing the patriarchal system when they argued about Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate in their Instagram posts.

Anti-Blackness interprets Blackness as the racial threat in white hegemonic society⁷⁶, and Black people are positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy, as Bonilla-Silva (2004) demonstrates in his hierarchical racial theory⁷⁷. Recognizing this hierarchy and white supremacy deepens the understanding that white supremacy persecutes all people of color⁷⁸ including Black and Asian people in this context. Therefore, the recognition and calling for understanding are profoundly connected to Black-Asian solidarity building.

⁷⁴ Lee, Xiong, Pheng & Neng Vang, 2020, 416.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 418.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Bonilla Silva, 2004.

⁷⁸ Lee, Xiong, Pheng & Neng Vang, 2020, 410.

Shared History

Besides recognizing anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy, many Black American users and Japanese American users address that racism is deeply rooted in historical contexts. This historical context includes discussing how the two racial communities often overlapped in US history. For instance, a politically focused Black American influencer stated, “Just like anti-Black racism didn't start with videos of police murdering Black folx, racially motivated violence against the Asian, Pacific Islander, South Asian community didn't start with the onset of C19.” This post may indicate the shared experiences between the two communities regarding the racial discrimination they have suffered.

Moreover, Japanese American organization @gokizuna celebrated Black History Month in their post, and they stated:

“There are many moments when our communities and histories have overlapped and this month in particular, we honor and celebrate those important intersections. From reparations and redress, to incarceration and family separation, there are deep and important connections that we honor today and every day.”

This post may indicate the overlapped history between the Black and Japanese American communities. For instance, as Kurashige (2010) says, Black Americans and Japanese Americans built interethnic cooperation and joined forces in the battle against discrimination in the twentieth century.⁷⁹

These posts may help readers to understand that it is not only racism which is deeply rooted in historical contexts but also correlations between Black Americans and Asian (Japanese) Americans in US history. Recognizing that the shared history, white supremacy, and systematic racism is correlated to developing Black-Asian solidarity, based on Ho (2020)'s statement that understanding these shared roots can create a common cause for struggling

⁷⁹ Kurashige, 2010.

against racism collectively.⁸⁰

Positionality

Extended from shared historical contexts, several Japanese American users showed their positionality as somehow intermediary position as Asian (Japanese) American in the U.S. For instance, a politically focused Japanese American influencer explicitly depicted his position as a Japanese and/or Filipino American as a model minority. Being Asian (Japanese) Americans a “privilege” but “perpetual foreigners” in the U.S. compared to Black people is explained in Kim’s racial triangulation theory as discussed in the theoretical framework chapter.

The prevalence of understanding the model minority and racial triangulation may be one of the crucial factors in enhancing Black-Asian solidarity. As Wong (2021) discusses, the theory of racial triangulation is “a generative analytical tool” that uncovers power relations and interconnected mechanisms that endorse hierarchies of violence. Thus, this framework helps transformative solidarity and a new way of being in relation among Black and Asian people to combat racial inequality.⁸¹

Nevertheless, among Japanese users (and a Black American user), one of the key findings was the positioning of multi-racial people. Their position as multi-racial actors is rooted in their experience as being Black and Asian, and this tendency is not classified by either tri-racial theory or racial triangulation theory, as multi-racial actors are excluded from a conversation found in these theories. Japanese politically focused influencer @cocoalizzy proactively mentioned her struggle with being multi-racial Japanese and Black through her posts. She stated that she experienced discrimination as a Black person in Japan within her work environment, and she has been treated differently from other Japanese people. Besides

⁸⁰ Jennifer Ho (2020): Anti-Asian racism, Black Lives Matter, and COVID-19, Japan Forum.

⁸¹ Wong, 2021, 3.

@cocoalizzy's story, the case of anti-Black racism towards multi-racial Japanese and Black people was further seen in Japan⁸² according to Ho (2020). Ho furthermore argued that this mistreatment of multi-racial Black-Asian people is found in not only Japan, but Korea and Vietnam, regardless of the argument that Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese cultures relatively privilege ethnic purity over multiraciality of any mixture.⁸³

Focusing on multi-racial actors in discussion on Black-Asian solidarity may be vital. As they are multi-racial Black and Asian, they can be an actor who illustrates intersectional axes of racialization that unfold their unique positioning beyond merely Black or Asian. Their personal stories may help people to understand the positioning of Black and Asian people in hierarchal society, and they could help to develop Black-Asian solidarity as an intermediate position between the two communities.

Other key findings

One of the key findings is that supportive action in the implementation was identified among some Black American users and Japanese American users, but not Japanese users. For example, Black American politically focused influencer, @amplify.rj organized an online space for Asian people where they can communicate and collectively share their pain due to hate crimes to enhance their mental health. She stated:

“Carrying this pain is a heavy burden, but coming together to collectively grieve and process can be healing. While strategy, education, and action is needed (and is on going), THIS is intentionally a space for community support and sharing. Join us Wednesday, March 17 from 4:30-6:30pm PST. (Come and go as you're able). *This space is for people of Asian, Pacific Islander, & South Asian descent (including those

⁸² Ho, 2020, 7.

⁸³ Ibid.

of mixed heritage). More info and zoom link in bio.”

Similarly, @dearwhitewomenpodcast, a Japanese American politically focused influencer, created an online account for people who want to discuss or learn about racism and aims to abolish systematic racism. This action could help expand the anti-racism discussions and build cross-racial correlations.

Another key finding is that mainly political-focused influencers and educational organizations were the main actors who explicitly and proactively depicted their sentiments and attitudes towards the BLM movement and racism issues among Japanese users and Japanese American users.⁸⁴ Although supportive attitudes (such as using the hashtags) can be seen among the general influencers, specific sentiments or attitudes as a well strong call for action were challenging to identify in their posts. For Japanese general influencers, several users stated sorts of optimistic sentiments/attitudes, such as supporting BLM or hoping for a bright future, instead of showing more severe emotions such as anger and sorrow.

This tendency may be because they are influencers, who mainly post general data (e.g., fashion, beauty, travel, touches of humor, etc.), and they have a relatively high number of followers. They may regard talking about Black Lives Matter and racism as too sensitive or unrelated to their focused theme on their Instagram accounts. Regardless of their intentions to not intensely argue about racism issues and possible actions towards that, they are influential actors in public discourse, challenging the nature of general influencers and proactively using Instagram as a tool for expanding discussion about the issues which may enhance solidarity-building.

⁸⁴ For example, for Japanese general influencers, two user accounts used merely the hashtags, without any other comments on their posts in theme 1 (Supporting BLM/SAH). Posts were not identified in theme 2 (Mentioning racism/racial justice and calling for action) and theme 3 (Showing emotion/empathy toward incidents). For Japanese American general influencers, posts were not identified in theme 3.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This chapter aims to present the summary of this thesis by restating the main arguments regarding Black-Asian solidarity. This part also discusses the effectiveness of examining Instagram as a research area, as well as emerged questions and limitations of this study. Moreover, several contributions to relevant research fields will be discussed, then a few recommendations for further research will be included as final statements. This chapter also explicitly answers the research questions of this thesis.

Summary of Study

The purpose of the study was to identify the Black-Asian solidarity during the Black Lives Matter and the Stop Asian Hate movements. In this study, a qualitative content analysis was conducted by using Instagram as the research field. Particularly focusing on Black Americans and Japanese Americans, the data for this analysis were collected and selected under certain criteria. As a result, the researcher identified three account types (general/politically focused influencers and educational organizations) in each user group (Japanese, Black Americans, and Japanese Americans). The selected data (posts) were further classified and categorized as followed by the coding procedure. Eventually, the analysis revealed themes from the posts regarding the movements among Instagram users include: (1) Supporting BLM/SAH; (2) Calling for action and mentioning racism; (3) Showing emotion/empathy towards incidents; (4) Educational contexts; (5) Showing own positionality; (6) Advocating solidarity; (7) Others.

Based on the thematic categories, findings suggest that the tendency and characteristics of each user are various attitudes and positions toward the related movements,

which are associated with the Black American-Asian correlation. As a whole, the data illustrated that many users displayed their positive reaction in supporting the BLM and SAH movements by using multiple ways, such as using related hashtags (#BlackLivesMatter) or calling for more action to end racism. Particularly, Black American users used the hashtag #StopAsianHate or #ProtectAAPILives to show their supportive attitudes, and they often showed their emotions, mainly “sorrow/sadness” and “empathy,” compared to Japanese and Japanese American users. This result answers one of the research questions: What kind of attitudes can be seen among Black Americans towards Asian/Asian Americans and the #StopAsianHate movement.

While addressing issues regarding BLM and SAH, the contexts of statements varied mainly based on the users’ locations whether they were in the U.S. or Japan. The analysis identified that whereas many Japanese users showed their positions in supporting BLM by addressing the existing racism towards Black people in Japan, several Japanese American users addressed the issue of anti-Blackness in their communities. Japanese and Japanese American users displayed their attitudes on calling for the recognition of anti-Blackness in Japanese/Asian communities by using their social media as a tool to provoke Japanese people to recognize the issue and to abolish racism in Japan. This finding answers the research question: What kind of attitudes and positionalities can be seen among Japanese and Japanese Americans towards Black people and the BLM movement.

This study also identified that several Japanese American users and Black American users showed their solid positions opposing the patriarchal system and recognizing white supremacy through their posts regarding BLM and SAH. As discussed in the previous chapter, this study found that challenging anti-Blackness and recognizing the system of patriarchal white supremacy could be fundamental factors for building Black-Asian solidarity, hence this finding answers the research question: What factors may strengthen the Black-Japanese/Asian

solidarity/correlation on social media.

Moreover, this study observed that both Black American users and Japanese American users often called for ending systematic racism and called for co-ethnic linkage between the Black and Japanese (Asian) communities in the U.S. from historical contexts. Many Black American users and Japanese American users address that racism is deeply rooted in US history, and the two communities often shared experiences regarding the racial discrimination they have suffered. The study found understanding these shared roots can create a common cause for struggling against racism⁸⁵ as discussed, thus besides recognizing anti-Blackness and racial hierarchy, recognizing the shared history is also can be one of the factors that strengthen the Black-Japanese/Asian solidarity.

This study investigation indicated that Kim (1999)'s racial triangulation theory (Being Asian Americans a "privilege" but "perpetual foreigners" in the U.S. compared to Black people) can be applied to understanding Japanese Americans' attitudes and positionality. This is because the study found some Japanese American users displayed their positionality as Asian (Japanese) Americans as both model minority and privilege compared to Black people in the US society based on their experiences. The study found that understanding this framework helps Black-Asian relations to combat racial inequality, thus this finding answers the research question regarding Japanese/Japanese Americans' positionality, and this can add to the factors that strengthen the Black-Japanese/Asian solidarity.

In terms of positionality, this study also found that multi-racial Japanese (Asian) and Black American people may see their positionality as an intermediate position between Japanese (Asian) and Black American people. Thus, their positionality cannot be applied from the existing theories, which are not focusing on multi-racial actors. For instance, the researcher found that a multi-racial Black American influencer displayed her position as Asian in

⁸⁵ Jennifer Ho (2020): Anti-Asian racism, Black Lives Matter, and COVID-19, Japan Forum.

supporting the Stop Asian Hate movement. Another multi-racial Japanese influencer showed her position as a Black person, and she advocated for ending racism towards Black people in Japan. This prominent finding also answers the research question about positionality. Also, as their personal stories may help people to understand the positioning of Black and Asian in hierarchal society, telling their stories could also be one of the factors to strengthen the Black-Japanese/Asian solidarity on social media.

The study also found a factor to reinforce solidarity, which is supportive action in the implementation such as establishing an online space for sharing struggles or creating an online account for discussing racism. This action was identified among Black American users and Japanese American users, and this action could help to strengthen the Black-Japanese/Asian solidarity by expanding the anti-racism discussions. Furthermore, this study discovered that the nature of Instagram as one of the tools to share users' fashion or advertising related products, may influence the influencers' posts, as many general influencers tend to not severely discuss or focus on optimistic statements in contrast to politically focused influencers and educational organizations. Regardless of their intentions to not intensely discuss racism issues, since they are influential actors in public discourse, this tendency may undermine the efforts to reinforce Black-Asian (Japanese) solidarity. Challenging the nature of Instagram and the role of general influencers by proactively using Instagram as a tool for expanding discussion about the issues would strengthen the solidarity.

Limitations

Several limitations emerged during this study. First, because this thesis is a pre-study and focused on a relatively small sample size, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to the whole Japanese, Black Americans, and Japanese Americans. Similarly, the researcher particularly collected and selected the posts which talked about the BLM or SAH movements

to narrow down the focus related to this study's topic and to enrich the discussion. However, this selection also made it challenging to generalize the results of this study to the target group. Sampling random Instagram users with more data could help to identify more generalized answers regarding the attitudes or sentiments among the targeted groups.

Secondly, due to the time set for the selected posts being determined in a certain period, the posts which were published before or after the time set were not taken into account in the analysis. The starting point for the data selection is the day of George Floyd's death, May 25, 2020, when the BLM movement was particularly sparked, and the ending point is roughly a month after the Atlanta spa shooting on March 16, 2021. This period was settled by the researcher to focus on the peaks when a strong demand for the BLM and SAH movement had risen. However, the demand for the movements is still ongoing, hence covering a wider time period could address the whole discussion about the topic.

Third, for this study, English is the most dominant language in terms of the existing literature and analyzing data. Although the researcher included Japanese aside from English for analyzing data, which were written in Japanese by Japanese people or Japanese Americans, other data which discussed BLM and SAH in other languages were excluded, mainly due to the researcher's language proficiency. For instance, since not all Black American users on Instagram primarily use English, this study may overlook important discussion about the social movements in other languages. Analyzing posts in multiple languages, especially among Black American and Asian American users would help to expand the discussion and generalize the findings to each group.

Contributions

Regardless of the limitations above, this study made several contributions. First, this study contributed to filling a gap in the academic literature which often uses other social media

such as Facebook or Twitter for the analysis, while this study used Instagram as a research field. This study provided a broad idea of how young adults utilize Instagram as a tool for not only showing their attitudes and sentiments towards BLM and SAH as well as related issues such as racism and hate crimes but also expanding the discussion and calling for action to develop the movements and collective solidarity.

Secondly, this study contributed to deepening the understanding of social and historical backgrounds which motivate young adults (Japanese, Black Americans, and Japanese Americans) to advocate for recognizing or ending racism which is associated with Black-Asian solidarity. More specifically, this work provided a better understanding of the nature of systematic racism and how Asian Americans recognize them as intermediate or triangulated position via vis Black Americans in hierarchal US society, reflecting on existing theories of racial stratification by Bonilla Silva (2004) and racial triangulation by Kim (1999). Thus, the findings on this study mostly confirmed these theories.

Thirdly, this pre-study contributed to providing new insight into Black-Asian solidarity from intersectional contexts by focusing on Japanese and multi-racial actors. Black Americans' and Japanese Americans' relationship has a long history, which was also recalled in a few posts by Japanese American users today. Thus, this study helps to better understand of Black-Asian correlation by paying attention to a specific ethnicity, rather than merely generalizing and perceiving Asian Americans as a whole group who share the same experiences with Black Americans. This study also identified multi-racial actors who cannot be compared with Black people or Asians (Japanese) as their experiences were seemingly not shared with one racial group. The intersection of race, class, and ethnicity was addressed in this thesis in various ways, and this approach would help to grasp not only the related issues that are embedded in the US society but also Black-Asian solidarity in intersectional ways.

Recommendations for further research

In terms of intersectionality, Japanese American influencer @stephaniewatanabe's argument over the silence regarding the violence against the Black trans community during the discussion on Black Lives Matter and collective solidarity, produced questions about whether Black-Asian solidarity looks different among Black and Asian trans communities who advocate for social justice. Thus, a future study could investigate the attitudes and sentiments focusing on the gender axis within the intersectional framework to identify further Black-Asian solidarity.

Moreover, a future study could solely explore media, Instagram, and add other social platforms such as Twitter or Facebook to compare each social media and its users' responses to the BLM and SAH movement. As each platform has characteristics and targets of the user, the study comparing these platforms may allow the researcher to gain a general understanding of the connections between social movements and social media as well as how Black-Asian solidarity might look different or similar on different online platforms. This study would also help to collect a large amount of data as the research field gets expanded, thus it would be possible to conduct mixed method research of quantitative and qualitative analysis to obtain more scientific and holistic data which strengthens the statements regarding the presence of Black-Asian solidarity.

Appendix A

Sub-categories

Name	Description	Example	Number of captions
Supporting BLM/SAH	Showing their support attitudes towards movements Note: This can include relative hashtags.	Black lives matter and we must change + do better.	37
Educational contexts	Explaining the movements (e.g., meaning of BLM, what is happening during the movement, etc.), Giving knowledgeable information regarding the movements	Here is the information about Black Lives Matter.	20
Mentioning racism/hate crimes	Mentioning racism or hate crimes	Racism doesn't exist only in the United States.	11
Silence is Violence	Insisting on speaking up rather than being quiet	Silence is shitty.	8

	about the issues regarding the movements Note: This can include relative hashtags.		
Calling for taking responsibility/recognizing involvement	Calling for taking responsibility towards the movements rather than thinking these matters as other people's business	The most important thing I want to tell you is, "This is also our business."	8
Showing sorrow	Showing their sorrow towards the incidents/victims	My heart breaks for the Asian community.	5
Showing anger	Showing their anger towards hate crimes/racism	AAPL hate has been rampantly perpetuated and it's disgusting!	4
Empathy	Empathizing with victims/communities who suffer racism, discrimination, hate crimes, etc.	My heart is with the loved ones of those we lost yesterday.	9
Calling for action(donation)/change	Calling for action, includes donation,	PLEASE go donate!	30

	otherwise call for change the situation		
Criticizing/Mentioning police brutality	Criticizing or mentioning police brutality due to racial motives for instance	Breonna Taylor, a 26-year-old EMT, was senselessly killed in her own home by police	4
Calling for justice	Calling for justice for incidents which occur due to racial motives for instance	Say her name today and every day - and demand justice for her.	5
Advocating solidarity	Advocating solidarity between Black and Asian (Japanese) communities towards issues or movements Note: This can include using certain words such as “solidarity”, or using relative hashtags, or expressing their position fighting together as a fellow.	Kizuna firmly believes that #BlackLivesMatter and is in solidarity with the Black community	15
Recognizing white supremacy	Recognizing white supremacy	White privilege is real.	2

Mentioning historical contexts	Mentioning historical contexts related to the movements	Celebrate Black History Month.	3
Calling for the prevention of racism	Calling for the prevention of racism	End systemic racism.	17
Being optimistic about the future	Being optimistic about the future	Hoping for a future.	2
Showing own positionality	Showing own positionality regarding movements and/or racism related contexts	I am a black woman. I remember how hurt the feeling to be treated differently.	10
Intersectional contexts	Mentioning intersectional approaches/contextes	#BlackTransMovement	2
Sharing the quotes, posts, or videos of others	Sharing the quotes, posts, or videos of others	I am going to share with you a beautiful quote I found.	6
Others	Other content that cannot be categorized due to the small number of captions (less than two captions)	If you are attending a protest, PLEASE STAY SAFE	5

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