



*Research Report
& Resources for
Disentangling
Anti-Asian
Violence*



THE
**AAPI
COVID-19**

PROJECT

MARCH 24, 2021

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THE

AAPI COVID-19

PROJECT

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Preliminary Findings Research Report



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Introduction

Since the first cases of COVID-19 were detected in Wuhan, China, Asian immigrants and Asian Americans (A/AA) have reported experiencing scrutiny, racism, and in some cases, violence as a consequence of media portrayals and political statements linking this demographic to COVID-19. Such stigmatization has catalyzed more than 3,795 reports of verbal harassment, shunning, and physical assaults between March 2020 and February 2021, according to [Stop AAPI Hate](#).

As a result of heightened anti-Asian rhetoric amidst COVID-19, the AAPI COVID-19 Project (ACP) was launched in March 2020 to explore the multitude of ways that the pandemic impacts A/AA & NHPI (Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander) communities.

This document is divided into two main categories:

1. An overview of preliminary research findings from the AAPI COVID-19 Project
2. A curated resource and education guide compiled by the ACP research team and research assistants to help us make sense of the rise in anti-Asian violence.

We use the term “anti-Asian violence” to chronicle acts that are regarded as criminal, but also forms of xenophobia and racism that encompass psychological, emotional, and physical violence, but may not be formally charged as crimes.

While current media discourses have focused on how racism and xenophobia are currently impacting Chinese Americans and individuals who appear to be of East Asian descent, ACP is also interested in how groups that are often placed at the periphery of AAPI scholarship – Pacific Islanders and Southeast & South Asians – are affected by racialized dimensions of the COVID-19 crisis.

Introduction (cont.)

Due to processes of racialization and exclusion, the ways in which A/AAs and NHPs are impacted by racist rhetoric are distinct, and it is important for our study to explicitly unpack how such communities are actually affected. For example, while some within NHPI communities may not be racialized and targeted as Asian-looking, these communities have faced tremendous loss of life and safety during the pandemic in equally violent, albeit differing ways than those who are targeted as Asian.

We believe that addressing anti-Asian violence must also mean addressing the multitudes of experiences that come from belonging to A/AA & NHPI communities, a vibrant demographic composed of over 50 ethnic groups.

The release of this report and resource guide coincides with the aftermath of the killing of eight people – six women of Asian descent, a white woman, and a white man – in shootings at massage parlors in the Atlanta area on March 16, 2021. While there is currently a 21-year-old white male suspect in police custody, this tragedy has sent shockwaves across A/AA & NHPI communities. We are reminded of the urgency in responding to the current moment of biological and social crisis using intersectional analyses that consider not only race, but also dimensions of identity such as gender, sexuality, socioeconomic status, industry, class, and (dis)ability.

We hope that this report and guide proves useful for those seeking resources or further education about these topics. We also recognize this compiled guide is not exhaustive, but serves only as a baseline for further excavation and exploration into the multiplicity of A/AA & NHPI experiences.

About ACP

The AAPI COVID-19 Project is a collective research project that brings together faculty, graduate researchers, and undergraduate research assistants at seven research institutions in the United States. ACP examines the ongoing COVID-19 crisis as it continues to shape the lives of Asians, Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders in the United States. The project focuses on uncovering multiple layers of harm connected to the pandemic – the virus itself and the intensification of racism and xenophobia that A/AAs & NHPIs have endured in its wake.

Some of the key research questions explored are:

- How is COVID-19 impacting the ways that A/AA & NHPI are protecting and reshaping their communities?
- How are A/AA & NHPI communities responding to challenges and threats related to the emergence of COVID-19 as a global crisis?
- How do A/AA & NHPI responses to COVID-19 negotiate existing social inequalities across race and ethnicity, citizenship, gender, sexuality, class, and ability?

Positionality Statement

Speaking explicitly to the identities of our team members, we are predominantly comprised of women researchers. As researchers, we are invested in feminist praxis and actively work to address labor inequalities that are pervasive within academia. As such, our project prioritizes the intellectual contributions of graduate and undergraduate students.

Although the ACP research team is predominantly of East Asian descent, we intentionally collaborate with Southeast Asian, South Asian, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander researchers, students, and community organizations in an effort to uplift the work and contributions of ethnic groups who are generally underrepresented in research on A/AA & NHPI communities. We are dedicated to building meaningful collaborations with non-East Asians, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders in order to better represent the lived experiences of A/AA & NHPI communities as a whole.

Positionality Statement (cont.)

While our project is called the “AAPI COVID-19 Project,” our preliminary results primarily represent experiences of Asian and Asian Americans. We are actively expanding our efforts to include more narratives from Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders through community partnerships.

If you are a member of the Asian, Asian American, Native Hawaiian and/or Pacific Islander community and would like to participate in or inquire about our project, please visit www.aapicovid19.org for more information.

Acknowledgements

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ACP is a multi-institutional project housed in the Department of Sociology at Harvard University. We are a partner of UNESCO’S International Coalition of Inclusive and Sustainable Cities (ICCAR), and a member of the Asian American, Native Hawaiian, & Pacific Islander COVID-19 Policy & Research Team. ACP has received funding from the Natural Hazards Center at the University of Colorado Boulder and Harvard University. We offer additional thanks to: Harvard Sociology’s administrative staff; Linda Tinio (UNESCO); Elena Ong; and Lori Peek and Jennifer Tobin (Natural Hazards Center).

Preliminary Findings

40 initial interviews with primarily A/AA respondents reveal two emerging themes: **risk assessment** and **uneven impacts of economic and legal interventions**.

The COVID-19 pandemic presents a dynamic experience for A/AAs in particular as they navigate their racial identity during a highly stigmatized pandemic that potentially impacts their health and financial situation. Our findings so far reveal that A/AAs constantly negotiate their behaviors within a complex web of racial/ethnic identity, financial status, family health concerns, immigration status, and employment.

**In the below interview excerpts, respondents' names have been changed for confidentiality. Initial interviews took place between June 2020 - October 2020.*

Risk Assessment

Regardless of industry, workers must make complex decisions that seemingly pit personal safety against the safety of others. Occupational risks, workplace challenges, and governmental regulations that preceded the pandemic amplify emerging risks. Healthcare providers find themselves stuck between providing care to patients while protecting their own safety, with some physically separating themselves from family as a measure of protection. They report anti-Asian racism as an additional factor intensifying feelings of social isolation.

Risk Assessment

Interviews with A/AA workers in essential industries revealed heightened risks, such as fear of speaking out and losing employment, while also highlighting emotional responses that differ from those of A/AA working in high-earning salaried occupations. Southeast Asian workers in meatpacking industries reported feeling desensitized and normalizing COVID-19, despite high rates of illness and death in their communities. These early findings raise questions about coping mechanisms that A/AA workers in precarious industries undertake to deal with extreme risks and social pressures.

Jennifer,* a Vietnamese American graduate student in her early twenties, expressed concern for her parents who own a small grocery store selling Asian and African goods in their neighborhood.

My [parents] haven't, like implemented a mask policy, like they aren't making their customers wear masks. Because **my mom's heard of a lot of stories where things go wrong**, like customers don't want to wear masks and fight – or even worse.

Participants also shared an increased level of foreboding and anxiety when going into public spaces due to increased instances of verbal abuse and physical attacks from strangers, indicating that in addition to the health concerns that are common with the general public, A/AA people continue to live in fear of racism-related risks in addition to health risks.

Risk Assessment

Lily,* a Korean American mother of two in her early forties, recalled her young children's fears of leaving the house to take walks around the neighborhood:

Whenever, even going out, taking a walk, my kids [will say], **'Mommy, what if people, what if they spit on us?'** because they saw that in the news... then I kind of have to calm them down... With my kids, I need to make sure nobody comes next or close to us... I'm always conscious about who's coming next to us.

While those living in areas with a greater density of A/AAs may feel somewhat protected from anti-Asian rhetoric due to "strength in numbers," we find that those living in places with smaller A/AA populations tend to feel more exposed and self-conscious. Respondents across all areas of the US expressed concern over loved ones or themselves being victims of anti-Asian racism related to COVID-19.

Jonathan,* a Vietnamese American government worker in his mid-twenties, expressed how his father now dislikes leaving the home because of the reactions of passersby:

He doesn't like being looked at in public. He doesn't like the fact that **people look at him like he's not even human**, you know, like he's some sort of infected dog or something like that. I hate to say it, but that is the way that they look at some of us out here.

Amidst constant risk assessments, our preliminary interviews reveal the complexities in how the pandemic is differentially impacting A/AAs.

Uneven Impacts of Economic and Legal Interventions

Our preliminary findings inform our strategies for capturing differences among A/AAs & NHPs that correlate with a number of social factors, such as socioeconomic status and citizenship. The pandemic has generated policy and legal initiatives that are likely to impact A/AA workers, such as the Coronavirus Aid, Relief and Economy Security Act (“CARES Act”), which expanded economic resources and unemployment benefits for workers, and policies (such as Rep. Grace Meng’s House Resolution 308 and the NYPD’s Hate Crime Task Force) targeting racist harassment and hate crimes against A/AA individuals that emphasize expanding law enforcement to respond to and document incidents.

While these policies aim to protect A/AA workers and communities, we consider that the CARES Act will be insufficient for supporting A/AA workers in informal and precarious labor sectors, and that criminal justice legislation will potentially harm A/AA workers in informal labor sectors in general, particularly for A/AA who are undocumented or migrant workers.

From our initial interview participants, we learned about how existing stressors are exacerbated during the pandemic. According to [AAPI Data](#), while certain Asian ethnicities have average household incomes that are higher than the national average, nearly two million A/AAs and NHPs live in poverty. Many of our interview participants worried about how business losses due to the pandemic would impact their family's financial situations. Further, some participants lived in intergenerational households, or had transitioned back to living with older relatives during this time of instability.

Linda,* a Thai American college graduate in her early twenties, shared the burden she feels her father, a chef at a restaurant, carries as the primary financial supporter of her immediate and extended family:

Uneven Impacts of Economic and Legal Interventions

I just worry for him and his safety and everything, because he's super exposed... and the safety of maybe not [having] health insurance, like, his injuries that could happen at work are just very worrisome to me... because **he's the sole provider of our household**.

Interviews with A/AA workers in precarious industries suggest that economic relief policies should include support for underemployed workers, in addition to those who are unemployed. Restaurant workers described a double bind where decreased patronage triggers cuts in paid working hours, while they remain ineligible for unemployment benefits.

Ron,* a Filipino American non-profit worker in their early twenties, shared how their extended family members were facing economic hardships and how they felt ill-equipped to support them:

My extended family, like some of them are undocumented, and some of them are migrant workers... They were like laid off... just seeing that **so many people around me like need a lot more financial assistance**. And feeling helpless almost.

Alongside increased financial precarity, Anti-Asian racism has generated demands for increased policing, but many A/AA workers may feel increasingly vulnerable as a result. For example, A/AA workers in informal industries, especially those who are undocumented, have historically been targeted by the criminal justice system. Street vendors have long complained of police harassment, and massage parlor workers have undergone raids.

Overall, our preliminary results reveal that common assumptions about interventions aimed at helping A/AAs may compound existing inequities. We encourage policymakers to pursue equity across all echelons of socioeconomic status and to particularly evaluate how intended interventions will impact the most vulnerable.



Resources for Disentangling Anti-Asian Violence



*Authors' note: In the following summaries, we revert to terminology used by authors in their pieces (ex. "AAPI").
The views expressed in the following resources do not necessarily reflect the views of the project team.
Given that the authors are sociologists, the resources in this guide mostly lean towards the social sciences.
These resources are meant to serve as a starting point, and due to space limitations,
what we have provided is not intended as a wholly comprehensive reflection of the narratives of all A/AAs and NHPs.
We encourage readers to explore other works by the authors of these resources to learn more about these topics.*

ANTI-ASIAN VIOLENCE AMIDST COVID-19

Anti-Asian racism is not a novel occurrence only existing because of the COVID-19 pandemic. This rhetoric has a long, sordid history in the United States. It is imperative for Asians and non-Asians alike to understand the complexity of the Asian/Asian American experience throughout our nation's history. Asians have been the target of policies that systematically place them as "perpetual foreigners," disease-carriers, and job-stealers.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES

- "[Potential Impact of COVID-19-Related Racial Discrimination on the Health of Asian Americans](#)" (2020) by Justin A. Chen, Emily Zhang, and Cindy H. Liu in the *American Journal of Public Health*
 - The authors review the history of anti-Asian discrimination in the US, further describing racialized public health implications of the COVID-19 pandemic. They offer a few reasons for optimism, such as the increased awareness of how racism can harm subgroups, and encourage research into resilience-promoting factors that can offset the negative health effects of racism.
- "[After "The China Virus" Went Viral: Racially Charged Coronavirus Coverage and Trends in Bias Against Asian Americans](#)" (2020) by Sean Darling-Hammond, Eli K. Michaels, et al. in *Health Education & Behavior*
 - Following the increase in using "Chinese virus" & related terms on social media and in conservative news, the authors used data from non-Asian respondents of the Project Implicit "Asian Implicit Association Test" from 2007-2020 (n=339,063) to examine if media tone increased bias against Asian Americans. They find that using stigmatizing language increased subconscious beliefs that cast Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners."
- "[#FeministAntibodies: Asian American Media in the Time of Coronavirus](#)" (2020) by Rachel Kuo, Amy Zhang, Vivian Shaw, and Cynthia Wang in *Social Media + Society*
 - This article examines the technological infrastructures, social economies, and material forms of Asian American digital media-making during COVID-19. The Asian American Feminist Collective's zine [Asian American Feminist Antibodies: Care in the Time of Coronavirus](#) and [#FeministAntibodies Tweetchat](#) respond directly to a social media environment that has racialized COVID-19 in the language of Asian-ness.
- "[Anti-Asian Violence and US Imperialism](#)" (2020) by Simeon Man in *Race & Class*
 - Simeon Man offers a historical lens through which to understand anti-Asian racism during COVID-19. He argues that anti-Asian violence should not be seen merely as episodic or as individual acts of violence targeting Asian peoples, but also as a structure of US settler colonialism and racial capitalism.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES (cont.)

- “Xenophobia in the Time of Pandemic: Othering, Anti-Asian Attitudes, and COVID-19” (2020) by Tyler T. Reny & Matt A. Barreto in *Politics, Groups, and Identities*
 - Using a large survey (n = 4311) benchmarked to national demographics, the authors analyze the relationship between attitudes toward Asian Americans, xenophobia, concern about contracting the coronavirus, and a variety of behavioral outcomes and policy attitudes. They find evidence that anti-Asian attitudes are associated with concern about the virus but also with xenophobic behaviors and policy preferences. Findings suggest that anti-Asian attitudes were activated and associated with a variety of COVID-19 attitudes and behaviors in the early stages of the pandemic.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS

- “For Asian Americans, There are Two Pandemics: COVID-19 and Daily Bigotry.” (March 2020) by Brittany Wong in *HuffPost*
 - Written at the beginning of the pandemic, Brittany Wong addresses the myriad of ways that Asians, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders are facing racist backlash and blame for the COVID-19 pandemic.
- “The Revival of the Yellow Peril: Culture and Scapegoating During COVID-19” (June 2020) by Gwen D’Arcangelis in *Medium*
 - Amidst the rise in anti-Asian violence and rhetoric, this article examines the paradox of the model minority and yellow peril stereotypes in US history. It dispels common myths about the spread of diseases and emphasizes using scientific research as opposed to racist stereotypes to guide discourse around COVID-19.
- “The Muddled History of Anti-Asian Violence” (February 2021) by Hua Hsu in *The New Yorker*
 - Hua Hsu revisits the 1997 murder of Kuan Chung Kao, a 33-year-old Taiwanese engineer, by police in California, using it as a reminder of the legacy of violence committed against people of Asian descent in the US. He traces the complicated history of anti-Asian hate and urges readers to understand historical patterns of violence.
- “Attacks on Asian-Americans in New York Stoke Fear, Anxiety and Anger” (February 2021) by Alexandra E. Petri and Daniel E. Slotnik in *The New York Times*
 - This article discusses the complex responses to anti-Asian American violence throughout the pandemic. Prejudice and violent events exacerbate safety concerns throughout AAPI communities. Concurrently, the political and social visibility of AAPIs resulted in numerous incidents of violence not being classified as hate crimes, downplaying the ongoing racism against AAPIs.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS (cont.)

- [“Asian American Attacks: What’s Behind the Rise in Violence?”](#) (February 2021) by Cindy Lang in *TIME*
 - Cindy Lang uncovers the harms of the model minority myth, considers why policing may not be the appropriate response for surges in anti-Asian violence, and examines community-led efforts to combat anti-Asian hate crimes.
- [“The Atlanta Shooting and the Dehumanizing of Asian Women”](#) (March 2021) by Jiayang Fan in *The New Yorker*
 - “To live through this period as an Asian-American is to feel trapped in an American tragedy while being denied the legitimacy of being an American.” Writer Jiayang Fan reflects on the Atlanta shootings as a microcosm of America’s structurally embedded racism.
- [“Political Solidarity is A Solution to Attacks Against Asian Americans”](#) (March 2021) by Julie Ae Kim in *Harper’s Bazaar*
 - In this op-ed, Julie Ae Kim speaks to the importance of political solidarity and takes inspiration from histories of activism as a way to imagine a better, more equitable, and just future.
- [“Anti-Asian Violence in America is Rooted in US Empire”](#) (March 2021) by Christine Ahn, Terry K Park and Kathleen Richards in *The Nation*
 - Christine Ahn, Terry Park, and Kathleen Richards argue the need to recognize how US foreign policy perpetuates anti-Asian hatred in this op-ed.
- [“Cathy Park Hong on Why This Wave of Anti-Asian Racism Feels Different”](#) (March 2021) by Morgan Ome in *The Atlantic*
 - This interview with author Cathy Park Hong speaks to why Asian Americans across the country have been galvanized by the recent wave of highly publicized accounts of anti-Asian physical violence.
- [“Critical Race Theory is Not Anti-Asian”](#) (March 2021) by Mari Matsuda in *Reappropriate*
 - Mari Matsuda, one of the founders of Critical Race Theory (CRT), addresses the history of CRT and explains why such a lens is important for analyzing anti-Asian racism.
- [“Ignoring the History of Anti-Asian Racism is Another Form of Violence”](#) (March 2021) by Connie Wun in *Elle*
 - Author Connie Wun traces her education about the history of anti-Asian violence and resistance as crucial to her understanding of how anti-Asian violence exists currently, and how such knowledge combats harmful stereotypes that lump AAPIs as a monolithic group.
- [“The Biden Administration Has A Lot More Work to Do to Tackle Xenophobia Against Asian Americans, Advocates Say.”](#) (March 2021) by Chabeli Carrazana in *The 19th News*
 - Chabeli Carrazana reports on President Biden’s January 2021 memorandum condemning the rise in anti-Asian hate violence and the administration’s attempts at understanding the needs of AAPI communities through listening sessions.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS (cont.)

- [“The Deep American Roots of the Atlanta Shootings”](#) (March 2021) by May Jeong in *The New York Times*
 - This op-ed by writer May Jeong explores how the March 2021 Atlanta-area killings fall within a long history of structural, institutionalized violence against Asians in the US. Jeong writes that “the racist, sexist nature of American society is hardly some aberrant, recent phenomenon that can be fixed through minor reform.”
- [“The Cruel Plot Twist in the Asian American Story”](#) (March 2021) by Charles Yu in *The Los Angeles Times*
 - In this op-ed, author Charles Yu reflects on how “the events in Atlanta make it impossible to deny that Asians in America – especially Asian women – are seen by some not as people with agency and inner lives, but as props, as dehumanized objects, as set decoration.”
- [“The Legacy of US Policy, Violence Against Asian American Women”](#) by Ko Bragg in *The 19th News*
 - In this interview with *The 19th’s* Ko Bragg, Catherine Lee reflects on the Atlanta-area shootings and how the US’s long history of policies against Asian women contributed to the violence.
- [“Violence Against Asian People Is Quintessentially American”](#) (March 2021) by Anthony Christian Ocampo in *GQ*
 - In a letter to Randy Park, the son of Hyun Jung Grant, one of the victims of the March 2021 Atlanta-area shootings, Anthony C. Ocampo meditates on Asian American grief through a series of apologies. He begins by saying, “I’m sorry that people in this country are so unwilling to connect the dots when it comes to anti-Asian violence.”

BOOKS

- [*Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco’s Chinatown*](#) by Nayan Shah
 - Shah analyzes racial formation in the US through the history of public health, showing how bureaucratic policies reinforced white, heterosexual norms that impacted the social lives, politics, and cultural expression of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the 19th century. Shah uncovers Chinese American activism within this period, through an archive of political speeches, lawsuits, boycotts, violent protests, and poems.

AUDIO/VIDEO

- [“When Xenophobia Spreads Like a Virus”](#) (March 2020) by *NPR*
 - In this interview, Erika Lee, a historian at the University of Minnesota, discusses social issues amidst the COVID-19 pandemic and rising anti-Asian violence. Lee speaks on key concepts from histories of xenophobia associated with disease in the US to show how social media has enabled the spread of racist language during the pandemic.

AUDIO/VIDEO (cont.)

- [“#IAmNotAVirus: A Message from the Asian American Medical Community”](#) (April 2020) from Audrey Sue Cruz
 - In this brief Instagram video clip, Asian American physicians share their grief and express their concern over the rise in anti-Asian hate violence.
- [“How Community Organizers are Fighting Anti-Asian Crimes”](#) (February 2021) from *WBEZ Chicago*
 - This radio piece from February 2021 discusses the rise in anti-Asian violence, featuring Rise’s Amanda Nguyen, Asian Americans Advancing Justice - Chicago’s Andy Nguyen, and ACP’s Rachel Kuo.
- [“‘We are Crying Out for Help’: Actors, Activists Sounding Alarm on Surging Attacks Against Asian Americans”](#) (February 2021) from *MSNBC*
 - In this video clip, Daniel Wu, Daniel Dae Kim, and activist Amanda Nguyen join MSNBC’s host of “American Voices” Alicia Menendez to discuss the violence among AAPI communities.
- [“Why is Anti-Asian Racism on the Rise in the US?”](#) (February 2021) from *Al Jazeera*
 - This episode of Al Jazeera’s The Stream examines the rise in harassment and physical attacks against Asian Americans. At 20:10, ACP’s christina ong discusses movement-building and how fears of xenophobia and the racialization of AAPIs are compounding to create more fear than that of COVID itself.
- [“Violence Against Asian Americans Increased in 2020. So Why is Anti-Asian Racism Often Overlooked?”](#) (March 2021) from *KQED Forum*
 - This podcast discusses how the persistent underrepresentation of AAPIs in politics and media obscures a history of violence and discrimination against AAPI communities, which is further compounded through misconceptions of AAPIs as a monolithic group.
- [“Combatting Anti-Asian Violence Amidst COVID-19: Perspectives from Local and National AAPI Organizers”](#) from *Pitt Global*
 - Local and national Asian American activists discuss how Asian, Asian American, and Pacific Islander communities are combatting targeted hate violence, how to be in solidarity with victims of racism & xenophobia, and what forms of justice these communities are fighting for in a panel moderated by ACP’s christina ong.
- [“No Place For Hate - Healing the Asian Community in the Wake of the Atlanta Massacre”](#) (March 2021) by *East West Players*
 - Panelists May Lee, Tamlyn Tomita, Jully Lee, Connie Chung Jo, Jennifer Chung, and ACP’s Cynthia Wang respond to the Atlanta-area shootings, discussing anti-Asian violence surfacing in the wake of COVID-19 alongside the major implications of misogyny underlying the events in Atlanta.

BUILDING INTRA-A/AA & NHPI COALITIONS

Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander Micronesian Islander Erasure in AAPI/API Studies

While Asian American politics aim to represent Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders alike, many efforts to include a diversity of communities erase the voices and experiences of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. Conflating the identities of Asians, Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders distorts the realities of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders impacted by health and socioeconomic disparities, as well as their robust histories of organizing for their communities and for political sovereignty.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES

- [“Which of These Things is Not Like the Other: Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders Are Not Asian Americans, and All Pacific Islanders Are Not Hawaiian”](#) (2015) by Lisa Kahaleole Hall in *American Quarterly*
 - Hawaiian activists have contested the problematic combining and conflating of two very different pan-national and pan-ethnic categories – “Asian American” and “Pacific Islander” – through the appellations Asian/Pacific Islander, API, Asian Pacific American, APA, AAPI, and so forth. This essay explores the historical origins of these confluations, the reasons why usage of combination terms by Asian Americans and other non-Pacific Islanders continue to persist, and the key consequences of this language for Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders in the US.
- [“COVID-19 Disparities Among Marshallese Pacific Islanders”](#) (2021) by Pearl A. McElfish, Rachel Purvis, Don E. Willis, and Sheldon Riklon in the CDC’s *Preventing Chronic Disease*
 - This article from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) details the results of a multi-week site visit to Marshallese communities in Arkansas in late June and early July 2020. The CDC highlights the disproportionate effect of COVID-19 on the Marshallese population in this region: Marshallese people accounted for 38% of the reported deaths in the region throughout March-June 2020, despite being only 1.5-3% of the population – a much larger burden of COVID-19 infection, hospitalization, and death than other racial and ethnic minorities. This article further outlines a COVID-19 response plan to address such disparities.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES (cont.)

- “Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters: A Thought Piece on Critiques, Debates, and Indigenous Difference” (2013) by Dean Itsuji Saranillio in *Race & Class*
 - Responding to arguments against the critique of Asian settler colonialism, this essay argues that migration to a settler colonial space, where Native lands and resources are under political, ecological, and spiritual contestation, means the political agency of immigrant communities can bolster a colonial system initiated by White settlers. The author asserts that an analysis of white supremacy is critical to a settler of color critique of the US Empire. While not uncomplicated, placing Asian American and Native histories in conversation can create conditions where social justice-oriented Asian Americans might conceptualize liberation in ways that are accountable to Native aims for decolonization.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS

- “Why Coronavirus is Hitting Marshall Island Migrants so Hard” (July 2020) by Richard Read and Susanne Rust in *The Los Angeles Times*
 - This investigative piece explores the toll of COVID-19 on the Marshallese population in the United States, highlighting in particular the irony in how many Marshallese went through tribulations in order to immigrate, seeking better jobs and a healthier life in the United States, only to face a lethal health crisis while the Marshall Islands remained free of COVID-19.
- “Why it’s Time to Retire the Term ‘Asian Pacific Islander’” (November 2020) by Naomi Ishisaka in *The Seattle Times*
 - This piece details the need to separate Pacific Islanders from Asian Americans in order to “speak truth to the reality of the Pacific Islander experience.” Ishisaka speaks with NHPI artists and leaders, who stress that organizations should not claim to represent NHPI communities if NHPI people are not centered; instead, NHPI-led organizations and efforts should be supported to ensure that NHPI “have their own, independent seat at the table.”
- “How Pacific Islanders Have Been Left to Fend for Themselves in the Pandemic” (December 2020) by Rachel Ramirez in *Vox*
 - This article examines how COVID-19 data often lumps Pacific Islanders in with Asian Americans when reporting cases in deaths, but in the states where the numbers are disaggregated, Pacific Islanders often have the highest death rates.
- “Nursing Justice: Filipino Immigrant Nurse Activism in the United States” (December 2020) by Catherine Ceniza Choy in *Nursing Clio*
 - This article details the history of Filipino nurses and activism efforts in the US during a year when many Filipino nurses have died on the COVID-19 front lines. The author stresses that while Filipino nurses like the ones she interviews are hidden figures in American nursing history, this must change. Their lives and work must be recognized, given their longstanding presence and large numbers in the United States.

BUILDING INTRA-A/AA & NHPI COALITIONS

BOOKS

- *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i* edited by Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez
 - In this reinvention of a typical travel guide, the essays, stories, artwork, maps, and tour itineraries included redirect readers from the fantasy of Hawai'i as a tropical paradise toward a multilayered engagement with Hawai'i's culture and complex history.
- *Indigenous Literatures from Micronesia* edited by Evelyn Flores and Emelihter Kihleng
 - This anthology reflects a worldview unique to the islands of Micronesia, yet it also connects to broader issues facing Pacific Islanders and indigenous peoples throughout the world.
- *Beyond Ethnicity: New Politics of Race in Hawai'i* edited by Camilla Fojas, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Nitasha Tamar Sharma
 - Recognizing the ways that Native Hawaiians or Kānaka Maoli are impacted by shifting, violent, and hierarchical colonial structures that include racial inequalities, the contributors of this collection explore questions of personhood and citizenship through language, land, labor, and embodiment.
- *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura
 - This collection examines the roles of Asians as settlers in Hawai'i. Contributors from various fields and disciplines investigate aspects of Asian settler colonialism to illustrate its diverse operations and impact on Native Hawaiians.
- *Black Marks on the White Page* edited by Witi Ihimaera and Tina Makereti
 - A collection of stories from Maori and Pasifika writers that expand our scope of what is possible in Indigenous Oceanic writing.
- *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race* by Anthony Christian Ocampo
 - Ocampo illustrates how second-generation Filipino Americans' racial identities change depending on their surroundings. His analysis offers a window into the racial consciousness of everyday people and the changing racial landscape of US society.

AUDIO

- "High Rates of COVID Among Pacific Islanders Spur Community Solutions" (December 2020) by KPBS
 - This radio story from KPBS Morning Edition highlights how Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians have the highest prevalence of COVID-19.

Learning from South Asian Voices

East Asians are commonly treated as the “default” Asian when discussing Asians and Asian Americans in the United States, even though South Asians are an important part of Asia and Asian American history. The inclusion of South Asian voices in the Asian American experience is critical to understanding how racism intentionally chooses which voices to silence and which voices to spotlight among Asian communities. As a result of past exclusion from Asian American coalitions and dialogue, some South Asians may prefer utilizing the term SSWANA (South Asian, Southwest Asian, and North African). As we continue to think about the importance of A/AA & NHPI solidarities, we too must consider the voices and needs of South Asian communities.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES

- “Panethnicity Revisited: Contested Group Boundaries in the Post-9/11 Era” (2015) by Mehdi Bozorgmehr, Paul Ong, and Sarah Tosh in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*
 - Through a case study of Middle Eastern and South Asian communities after 9/11, the authors document the way that pre-existing ethnic, religious and national-origin labels have been reinforced instead of panethnic labels for the populations under study. They develop an updated conceptualization of group formation that incorporates historical context and the role of the state in the post-9/11 era.
- “The Racial and Ethnic Identity Formation Process of Second-Generation Asian Indian Americans: A Phenomenological Study.” (2013) by Derek Kenji Iwamoto, Nalini Junko Negi, Rachel Negar Partiali, and John W. Creswell in the *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*
 - The authors uncover identity development processes of 12 second-generation adult Asian Indian Americans. Discrimination, parental, and community factors play a salient role in influencing participants’ racial and ethnic identity development. The authors offer a model of racial and ethnic identity formation to identify key developmental periods and turning points within the process of identity development.
- “The Racialization of Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism in the United States” (2006) by Khyati Y. Joshi in *Equity & Excellence in Education*
 - By examining the experiences of Indian Americans – a group made up primarily of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs – Khyati Joshi explores the racialization process and shows how the racialization of religion exacerbates the “othering” of non-Christian religious groups. She demonstrates how the racialization of Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism renders those faiths theologically, socially, and morally illegitimate in the public sphere.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES (cont.)

- “Not Asian, Black or White? Reflections on South Asian American Racial Identity.” (1996) by Nazli Kibria in *Amerasia Journal*
 - Nazli Kibria examines the racial ambiguity of South Asians and the risk of being socially ignored and marginalized, including by the pan-Asian movement. She argues that participation of second-generation South Asians in protesting anti-Asian hate crimes and discrimination in higher education suggest possibilities of a pan-Asian unity that is open, dynamic, and plural.
- “‘Being Canadian’ and ‘Being Indian’: Subject Positions and Discourses Used in South Asian-Canadian Women’s Talk about Ethnic Identity.” (2009) by Rebecca L. Malhi, Susan D. Boon, and Timothy B. Rogers in *Culture & Psychology*
 - The authors use positioning theory to explore how their research participants (South Asian Canadian women) positioned themselves & others in conversations about their ethnic identity. Participants tended to privilege a “hybrid” Canadian/South Asian identity over a unicultural one. In instances when participants positioned themselves with a unicultural identity, social pressure from people they talked with induced them to reposition themselves with a hybrid identity.
- “Finding Common Ground? Indian Immigrants and Asian American Panethnicity.” (2014) by Ariela Schachter in *Social Forces*
 - Ariela Schachter uses data from the National Asian American Survey to examine whether the forces that propel Indian immigrants toward selecting a panethnic identification are similar to those of other Asian subgroups. She finds that for Indian immigrants who live among large non-Indian Asian populations – the setting most likely to encourage panethnicity for other Asians – both immigrant integration and discrimination serve to discourage a panethnic Asian identification. Her findings suggest that the boundaries of Asian American identity are not open for many Indian immigrants.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS

- “In the Outrage Over Discrimination, How Do We Define ‘Asian American’?” (May 2017) by Jennifer Lee and Karthick Ramakrishnan in *NBC News*
 - Due to the selective perception of what constitutes “Asian American,” South Asian American narratives have been largely erased from discussions of anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination. This op-ed details the pitfalls of this exclusion and the dangers of silencing South Asian voices.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS (cont.)

- “Kamala Harris and a History of Trying to Define ‘Asian American’” (October 2020) by Kimmy Yam in *NBC News*
 - As the first Black and Asian American woman to be on a major political party’s presidential ticket, Kamala Harris made history with her (eventually successful) campaign for Vice President, a monumental moment for many BIPOC communities in the US. However, Kamala Harris’ Asian American identity has been unacknowledged across several media outlets and social media platforms. In this op-ed, Kimmy Yam argues that this omission is a product of the longstanding exclusion of South Asians from Asian American spaces.

BOOKS

- *Body Evidence: Intimate Violence Against South Asian American Women in America* edited by Shamita Das Dasgupta
 - In this collection, more than twenty scholars and public health professionals uncover the unique challenges faced by victims of violence in intimate spaces, including within families and other trusted relationships, in South Asian American communities.
- *We Too Sing America: South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh Immigrants Shape Our Multiracial Future* by Deepa Iyer
 - Nationally renowned activist Deepa Iyer asks whether hate crimes should be considered as domestic terrorism and explores the role of the state in perpetuating racism through detentions, national registration programs, police profiling, and constant surveillance. Reframing the discussion of race in America, she “reaches into the complexities of the many cultures that make up South Asia” (Publishers Weekly) and provides ideas from the front lines of post-9/11 America.
- *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America* edited by Lavina Dhingra Shankar and Rajini Srikanth
 - This edited collection focuses on the extent to which South Asian Americans are and ought to be included within Asian America (as the term is applied to academic programs and admission policies; grassroots community organizing and politics more broadly; and critical analyses of cultural products). Taken together, these essays form a spirited dialogue on the dilemmas of Asian American identity politics and coalition building.

Southeast Asian Experiences and Perspectives

The experiences of people from Southeast Asia are often masked or excluded from discourse about Asian Americans. As the region encompasses several countries ravaged by US militarism and war, many Southeast Asian Americans are refugees or descendants of refugees. Scholarship on Southeast Asian migrants and families must acknowledge the myriad ways that such histories of US occupation, imperialism, and trauma specifically impact these communities' lives in ways that may not be experienced by other Asian American subgroups. Studying Asian America without including the experiences of Southeast Asian Americans limits the opportunities and possibilities for dismantling anti-Asian racism.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES

- [“COVID-19 Revealing Unaddressed Systemic Barriers in the 45th Anniversary of the Southeast Asian American Experience”](#) (2020) by Quyen T. Dinh, Katrina D. Mariategue, and Anna H. Byon in *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education & Advancement*
 - COVID-19 has exacerbated and revealed systemic barriers that have always existed for Southeast Asian American communities. This article, written to mark the 45th anniversary of the first wave of refugees fleeing Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam as the result of American occupation and war, explores how these unaddressed systemic barriers have corresponding consequences in income, education, health, immigration enforcement, and more.
- [“Transnational Perspectives on Intersecting Experiences: Gender, Social Class, and Generation Among Southeast Asian Migrants and Their Families”](#) (2017) by Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot and Kyoko Shinozaki in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*
 - In the introduction to a special issue on Southeast Asian migrants and families, Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot and Kyoko Shinozaki point to the importance of considering three flexible categories of analysis. They focus on the feminization of gender, the neglect of social class, and the impact of generation in migration scholarship.
- [“From the Margins to the Center: Debunking Claims about Southeast Asian American Masculinity”](#) (2018) by Peter T. Keo and Pedro A. Noguera in *Equity & Excellence in Education*
 - Peter Keo and Pedro Noguera argue that Southeast Asian American men have been largely dismissed from social science research, with little empirical data relating to their experiences. They argue that this exclusion reinforces a longstanding agenda of structural neglect and invisibility, and call for more disaggregated data to enable a better understanding of the challenges that Asian subgroups (particularly those from marginalized backgrounds) face.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES (cont.)

- “A Gulf Unites Us: The Vietnamese Americans of Black New Orleans East” (2011) by Eric Tang in *American Quarterly*
 - In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, Vietnamese American and Black residents of New Orleans East demonstrated profound acts of solidarity. This article highlights two factors that contributed to Black-Asian solidarity.
- “Unpacking Racial Identities: The Salience of Ethnicity in Southeast Asian American Youth’s Schooling Experience” (2018) by Phitsamay Sychitkokhong Uy in *Race Ethnicity and Education*
 - This article provides an overview of US historical and political contexts that shape the positionality of Southeast Asian American youth within Black-white racial discourse. Despite white teachers lumping Southeast Asian American students into one category, students highlighted the importance of ethnicity in their lives.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS

- “How Southeast Asian American Refugees Helped Shape America’s Resettlement System” (April 2020) by Agnes Constante in *NBC News*
 - 1975 marked the beginning of a forced mass migration of Southeast Asian refugees – the largest group the US has resettled since then. Writer Agnes Constante explores how these refugees helped shape America’s resettlement system, highlighting the path of Le Xuan Khoa, the first Southeast Asian director of the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC).
- “What Southeast Asian Refugees Owe to Black Lives” (June 2020) by Trinh Q. Truong in *Pivot*
 - Trinh Truong traces the history of Black civil rights leaders’ advocating for Southeast Asian refugees and the importance of solidarity between Southeast Asians and Black Americans. The article is also translated into Vietnamese.
- “Op-Ed: Can’t Ignore Class Differences in Asian American Community” (November 2020) by Nathan Reddy in *AsAmNews*
 - In this op-ed, Nathan Reddy grapples with criticism from readers regarding the use of “low-income” to refer to Cambodian Americans in a piece. While he acknowledges that the broad classification of Southeast Asian Americans as low-income is homogenizing (even if pointing out that bringing attention to their status makes them more visible in the context of the model minority myth), Reddy stresses the need for a class-based analysis in the discussion of Asian American as an identity.

BUILDING INTRA-A/AA & NHPI COALITIONS

AUDIO/VIDEO

- “Crossing Boundaries: Four Writers on Fictionalizing Southeast Asia” (October 2016) from *Asia Society*
 - As part of the 2016 Singapore Literary Festival in New York City, four Southeast Asian writers – Gina Apostol, Jessica Hagedorn, Alfian Sa’at and Jeremy Tiang – read excerpts from their work and discuss their upbringings and creative processes, including the role of multiculturalism and divisions within the Philippines and Singapore.
- “How Vietnamese Americans Took Over the Nails Business: A Documentary” (May 2019) from *NPR*
 - Nailed It, a documentary by filmmaker Adele Free Pham, explores how Vietnamese entrepreneurs came to dominate the multibillion-dollar nail economy. In this audio piece, NPR’s Lulu Garcia-Navarro interviews Pham concerning topics such as the Vietnamese community’s perspective in her film (edited transcript is included).

BOOKS

- *Troubling Borders: An Anthology of Art and Literature by Southeast Asian Women in the Diaspora* edited by Isabelle Thuy Pelaud, Lan Duong, Mariam B. Lam, and Kathy L. Nguyen
 - Juxtaposing short stories, poetry, painting, and photographs, this edited anthology showcases the creative work of women of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Lao, Thai, and Filipino ancestry.
- *Language, Identity, and Stereotype Among Southeast Asian American Youth: The Other Asian* by Angela Reyes
 - This book by Angela Reyes explores the relationships among stereotype, identity, and ethnicity using an ethnographic and discourse analytic study of an after-school video-making project for 1.5- and second-generation Southeast Asian American teenagers.
- *Unsettled: Cambodian Refugees in the New York City Hyperghetto* by Eric Tang
 - Eric Tang writes about the Southeast Asian refugees who resettled in the Bronx during the 1980s and 1990s to make sense of how and why these migrants were resettled in the “hyperghetto.” He argues that refugee rescue discourses mask urban realities characterized by racialized geographic enclosure, economic displacement and unrelenting poverty, and the criminalization of daily life.
- *Somewhere in the Unknown World: A Collective Refugee Memoir* by Kao Kalia Yang
 - In *Somewhere in the Unknown World*, author Kao Kalia Yang – herself a Hmong refugee – collects the stories of refugees living in Minnesota’s Twin Cities.

INTERSECTIONS OF POWER IN ANTI-ASIAN RACISM

When exploring how racism impacts A/AA & NHPI communities, it is crucial to complicate our analysis and consider multiple axes of power and inequality.

The March 2021 Atlanta-area shootings that targeted Asian massage parlors cannot be understood without acknowledging gender, class, immigration status, and sexuality – and failing to do so may negatively influence resulting public policies. Understanding these intersections ultimately empowers us to cultivate more critical analyses of anti-Asian racism.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES

- [Breaking Into the Closet: Negotiating the Queer Boundaries of Asian American Masculinity and Domesticity](#) (2014) by Long T. Bui in *Culture, Society & Masculinities*
 - Long T. Bui explores how the coming out process for gay Chinese men does not fit neatly within the boundaries of Western gender distinctions. Bui argues for an intersectional approach to analyzing coming out for racialized sexual minorities.
- [“Dealing with Gendered Racism and Racial Identity Among Asian American Men”](#) (2010) by Christopher T.H. Liang, Amanda L.Y. Rivera, Anisha Nathwani, Philip Dang, and Ashley N. Douroux
 - This chapter discusses the concept of gendered racism in the context of Asian American men, and the implications for culturally responsive counseling.
- [“Seeking Liberation, Facing Marginalization: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders’ Conditional Acceptance in Hip Hop Culture”](#) (2017) by Ninotchka McTaggart and Eileen O’Brien in *Sociological Inquiry*
 - This article examines hip-hop as a liberating space for AAPIs. An intersectional lens reveals the constraints that hypermasculinity places on AAPI men as well as the ethnosexualized expectations AAPI women must negotiate.
- [“Intersectionality in a Transnational World”](#) (2012) by Bandana Purkayastha in *Gender and Society*
 - This article encourages readers to engage in contextual understandings of oppression and privilege that take into account nation, religion, and other aspects of identity.
- [“Radical Caring in an Ethnic Shelter: South Asian American Workers at Apna Ghar, Chicago”](#) (2004) by Sharmila Rudrappa in *Gender and Society*
 - This article explores how South Asian American women caregivers in two domestic violence organizations engage in “radical caring.” While such organizations work for social change, professionalized shelter work can compromise radical caring.

INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND RACE

ACADEMIC ARTICLES (cont.)

- [“Duplicitous Freedom: Moral and Material Care Work in Anti-Trafficking Rescue and Rehabilitation”](#) (2018) by Elena Shih in *Critical Sociology*
 - This article argues that gendered care work under conditions of global migration, development, and humanitarianism requires an acknowledgment of how moral care work in “anti-trafficking” rescue performed mainly by first world women is in opposition to material care work performed by rescued migrant sex workers.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS

- [“The Desexualization of the Asian American Male”](#) (March 2020) by Andrew Kung in *CNN*
 - In this essay, Andrew Kung explores feelings of Asian American invisibility and attempts to redefine Asian American masculinity through his photo series.
- [“Kellie Chauvin and a History of Asian Women Being Judged for Whom They Marry.”](#) (June 2020) by Kimmy Yam in *NBC News*
 - This article highlights how Asian American women are often harassed for their decisions to date non-Asian men, while acknowledging the long history of how both men and women of Asian descent have been characterized by racist tropes.
- [“Getting Hmong Men to Open Up About Something Many Would Rather Not Discuss: A Culture of ‘Toxic Masculinity.’”](#) (November 2020) by Jeffrey Bisoy in *Sahan Journal*
 - Highlighting the podcast Hmong Men Talk, this article discusses the importance of safe spaces for Hmong men to have conversations about masculinity & relationships.
- [“The Identities of the Women Killed in Atlanta Have Begun to Belie the Suspect’s Stated Motive”](#) (March 2021) by Karissa Chen in *NBC News*
 - In this op-ed, Karissa Chen complicates the overwhelming response of sex workers and sex worker rights advocates, urging readers to quell assumptions about the kind of labor that Asian women service workers engage in.
- [“Tales of Racism and Sexism, From 3 Leading Asian American Women”](#) (March 2021) by Alisha Haridasani Gupta in *The New York Times*
 - In this interview, Tina Tchen, Min Jin Lee, and Sung Yeong Choimorrow discuss how Asian American women experience unique forms of sexual harassment.
- [“The Racist Misogyny Of The Atlanta Spa Shootings”](#) (March 2021) by Brittany Wong in *HuffPost*
 - In the course of just under an hour, the Atlanta-area shooter ended eight lives, allegedly prioritizing the need to “eliminate” sexual temptation from his life above the humanity of (mostly) Asian women. Brittany Wong stresses that the fetishization of Asian women is, in itself, racist.
- [“Atlanta Spa Shooting Suspect’s ‘Bad Day’ Defense, and America’s Sexualized Racism Problem”](#) (March 2021) by Nancy Wang Yuen in *NBC News*
 - In light of Georgia law enforcement officials insinuating that the Atlanta-area spa killings occurred as a result of the suspect’s “sex addiction,” Nancy Wang Yuen reflects on how the racism she has experienced has never been separate from sexism.

INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND RACE

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS (cont.)

- “[A White Man’s Bad Day](#)” (March 2021) by Roxane Gay via *Substack*
 - In this piece, author Roxane Gay contextualizes anti-Asian hate rhetoric and situates the Atlanta murders of 8 people, 6 of whom were Asian women, in the larger picture of white supremacist, terrorist violence perpetrated by white men.
- “[Challenging Anti-Asian Racism and Misogyny](#)” (March 2021) by John Palfrey in Macarthur Foundation
 - Inhe Choi, EunSook Lee, Ai-jen Poo, and Stephanie Sy reflect on anti-Asian violence and how they grapple with its harms through their advocacy work.

BOOKS

- [*The Revolution Starts at Home: Confronting Intimate Violence Within Activist Communities*](#) edited by Ching-In Chen, Jai Dulani, and Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha
 - This anthology breaks the silence surrounding intimate violence in social justice circles and provides strategies for creating safety without relying on the power of the state.
- [*Asian American Sexual Politics: The Construction of Race, Gender, and Sexuality*](#) by Rosalind S. Chou
 - Yen Le Espiritu demonstrates how persistent racism affects Asian American body image, self-esteem, and intimate relationships.
- [*Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love*](#) by Yen Le Espiritu
 - This book explores how racist and gendered labor conditions and immigration laws have affected relations between and among Asian American women and men.
- [*Q & A: Queer in Asian America*](#) edited by David L. Eng and Alice Y. Hom
 - This collection of essays, fiction, personal testimonies, and art establishes a multi-faceted conversation of what it means to be queer in Asian America.
- [*Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Politics*](#) edited by Lynn Fujiwara and Shireen Roshanravan
 - This series of essays considers the politics of visibility, accountability for Asian American “settler complicities” & cross-racial solidarities, and Asian American community-based strategies against state violence.
- [*Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology*](#) edited by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence
 - The contributors in this anthology ask “what would it take to end violence against women of color?”

AUDIO

- “[For Asian American Women, Misogyny and Racism are Inseparable, Sociologist Says](#)” (March 2021) from *NPR*
 - In this brief interview (edited transcript is included), sociologist Nancy Wang Yuen and NPR correspondent Ailsa Chang discuss the impacts of the Atlanta massage parlor shootings that killed eight people, including six Asian women.

RESISTING ANTI-BLACKNESS IN CALLS FOR JUSTICE

A/AA & NHPI advocacy groups made significant strides in combating historical anti-Blackness throughout 2020, yet anti-Asian violence has spawned a resurgence of anti-Black sentiments, even as nationwide protests in defense of Black lives continue. Multicultural organizations across the country are unifying against racial violence. We highlight works on social justice & solidarity to build towards collective healing.

ACADEMIC ARTICLES

- “The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans” (1999) by Claire Jean Kim in *Politics & Society*
 - In this article, Claire Jean Kim proposes a theoretical model for understanding how Asians and Asian Americans fit into the Black-white racial landscape within the US. She argues that Asians are racially triangulated through both relative valorization and civic ostracism. Racial triangulation theory is the foundation for many assessments of Asian racialization in the US.
- “This Tree Needs Water! A Case Study on the Radical Potential of Afro-Asian Solidarity in the Era of Black Lives Matter” (2019) by Jeanelle K. Hope in *Amerasia Journal*
 - This article examines how a new iteration of Afro-Asian solidarity led by Asian American activists, artists, and organizers emerged in South Sacramento after Stephon Clark and Darell Richards were killed by the Sacramento Police Department in 2018.
- “Asians for Black Lives, Not Asians for Asians: Building Southeast Asian American and Black Solidarity” (2020) by Stacey J. Lee, Choua P. Xiong, Linda M. Pheng, and Mai Neng Vang in *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*
 - This paper explores the possibilities & challenges of building cross-racial solidarity between Southeast Asian American and Black communities through an ethnographic account of a community-based educational space working with low-income Southeast Asian American and Black youth.
- “Strength in Numbers: Perceptions of Political Commonality with African Americans among Asians and Asian Americans in the United States” (2018) by Harvey L. Nicholson Jr., Scott Carter, and Arjee Restar in *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*
 - In this article, the authors use the 2008 National Asian American Survey to examine how three factors – group consciousness, linked fate, and experiences of discrimination – impact perceptions of political commonality with African Americans among Asians and Asian Americans. They find that group consciousness and linked fate positively & strongly increase the odds of perceptions of political commonality.

NEWS ARTICLES, THINK PIECES, AND OP-EDS

- [“Asian Americans are Still Caught in the Trap of the ‘Model Minority’ Stereotype. And it Creates Inequality for All”](#) (June 2020) by Viet Thanh Nguyen in *TIME*
 - In this op-ed, Viet Thanh Nguyen analyzes the model minority myth and his experiences as a Vietnamese American, highlighting the distinct differences between Southeast Asian American life and the traditional, monolithic narratives of the Asian American experience. Contextualized within the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020, Nguyen reflects on anti-Blackness within Hmong communities as a product of tensions between Asian Americans’ perpetual foreigner identity and simultaneous proximity to whiteness.
- [“Daughters of the Bomb: My Reckoning with Hiroshima, 75 Years Later”](#) (August 2020) by Erika Hayasaki in *The Guardian*
 - Japanese American writer Erika Hayasaki speaks with one of the last living survivors of the Hiroshima atomic bombing. Hayasaki further explores historical narratives, tracing connections from Malcolm X to the fight to end nuclear war.
- [“Anti-Asian Violence is Surging. But We Can’t Answer Bigotry with Bigotry.”](#) (February 2021) by Andrew Wang in *The Washington Post*
 - As anti-Asian incidents of violence surge across the nation, video footage from national news organizations displaying Black men as the suspects in some anti-AAPI attacks reignited anti-Black stereotypes in many Asian American communities. This op-ed by Andrew Wang discusses historical tensions between Black and AAPI communities.
- [“Why the Trope of Black-Asian Conflict in the Face of Anti-Asian Violence Dismisses Solidarity.”](#) (March 2021) by Jennifer Lee and Tiffany Huang in *Brookings Institution*
 - Jennifer Lee and Tiffany Huang write of the trope of Black-Asian conflict, citing Black-Korean histories of conflict in particular from the 1992 LA riots. They chronicle the work of community organizing post-riots which allowed Black and Korean communities to learn of their respective histories with racism in the US.
- [“The Answer to Anti-Asian Racism Is Not More Policing”](#) (March 2021) by Kayla Hui in *Truthout*
 - In this op-ed, Kayla Hui discusses how policing is rooted in systems that uphold white supremacy and anti-Blackness. She outlines how policing has also harmed AAPI communities. Hui ends by encouraging readers to educate themselves on the histories of anti-Asian violence in the US, reaching out to community organizations, and attending bystander intervention training to help combat anti-Asian rhetoric.

- “The Impact of Malcolm X on Asian American Politics and Activism” by Yuri Kochiyama in *Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Urban America: Status and Prospects for Politics and Activism*
 - In an abridged interview, Yuri Kochiyama summarizes “how Malcolm X’s thinking and actions influenced the Asian community in the United States” and “suggest[s] at least one basis for political collaboration between Black and Asian activists.”
- *African Americans Against the Bomb: Nuclear Weapons, Colonialism, and the Black Freedom Movement* by Vincent J. Intondi
 - Intondi tells the story of Black activists who fought for nuclear disarmament by connecting the nuclear issue with the fight for racial equality. Intondi shows that early on, Black people in America saw the use of atomic bombs as a racial issue, asking why such enormous resources were being spent building nuclear arms rather than on providing social and economic resources to impoverished communities.
- *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in 20th Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa* by Yuichiro Onishi
 - Onishi traces the formation of Afro-Asian solidarities across Black America, Japan, and Okinawa in the 20th century. Onishi critically analyzes the complex and controversial politics wherein DuBois and other Black intellectual-activists during this period saw Japanese empire as instrumental in the struggle against global white supremacy.
- *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* by Nico Slate
 - This novel details the hidden history connecting India and the US, the world’s two largest democracies. From the late 19th century through the 1960s, activists worked across borders of race and nation to push both countries toward achieving their democratic principles. Amidst these alliances, African Americans and Indians forged bonds ranging from statements of sympathy to coordinated acts of solidarity.
- *The Karma of Brown Folk* by Vijay Prashad
 - Vijay Prashad locates the birth of the “model minority” myth, placing it firmly in the context of reactions to the struggle for Black Liberation. He reclaims the long history of Black and South Asian solidarities, tracing joint struggles in the US, Caribbean, South Africa, and elsewhere, and exposing how these powerful moments of alliance faded from historical memory and were replaced by Indian support for antiblack racism.
- *Blasian Invasion: Racial Mixing in the Celebrity Industrial Complex* by Myra S. Washington
 - Myra Washington examines how race is socially constructed through the mixed-race identity of Blasians, or people of Black and Asian ancestries. Washington highlights the ways that Blasians navigate belonging in more than one community and analyzes the multiplicities in how they find meaning in their identities.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Our team has compiled a list of A/AA & NHPI organizations working every day to ensure our communities are supported, safe, and nurtured. Many of these organizations have also created their own resource and education guides. We hope that this directory serves as a useful tool for plugging into A/AA & NHPI communities, whether or not you identify as Asian, Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and/or Pacific Islander.

ARTS

- [Asian American Arts Alliance \(A4\)](#) - New York, NY
 - A4 is the only service organization in the country dedicated to the professional development of Asian American artists in all disciplines.
- [Asian American Arts Centre \(AAAC\)](#) - New York, NY
 - AAAC utilizes performances, exhibitions, and public education to present and interpret the ongoing synthesis of contemporary American and Asian art forms.
- [Asian American Writers' Workshop \(AAWW\)](#)
 - AAWW is devoted to creating, publishing, developing and disseminating creative writing by Asian Americans.
- [Asian CineVision \(ACV\)](#)
 - Asian CineVision is devoted to the development, exhibition, promotion, and preservation of Asian and Asian American film and video.
- [Center for Asian American Media \(CAAM\)](#)
 - CAAM is dedicated to presenting stories that convey the richness and diversity of Asian American experiences to the broadest audience possible.
- [East West Players](#)
 - East West Players raises the visibility of the Asian American experience by presenting theatrical productions, developing artists of color, and providing youth programs.
- [Great Leap](#) - Los Angeles, CA
 - Great Leap uses art as both performance and creative practice to deepen relations among people of diverse cultures and faiths and to transform how we live on the earth.
- [SubDrift](#) - Boston, Chicago, NYC, San Francisco, Washington DC
 - SubDrift is focused on building and strengthening the South Asian community in cities throughout the country through the arts.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

ARTS (cont.)

- Slant'd
 - Slant'd produces an annual anthology-meets-art book filled with heartwarming and provocatively-told stories that peel back the layers of the Asian American experience.
- Virtual Asian American Art Museum (VAAAM)
 - Bringing together art and archives collections from individual collections and institutions around the world for a digital Asian American art experience.

COMMUNITY

- African American Policy Forum
 - An innovative think tank that connects academics, activists and policy-makers; dedicated to advancing and expanding racial justice, gender equality, and the indivisibility of all human rights, both in the US and internationally.
- Asian American Cultural Center - Austin, Texas
 - AACC's mission is to provide the facilities, expertise and unique space for the sharing of culture between the East and the West in the American Experience.
- Asian American Feminist Collective - Resources
 - Compilation of resources including zines, COVID-19 mutual care efforts, reading lists, and podcasts.
- COVID-19 Equity Research Initiative
 - Housed at UCLA's Center for Neighborhood Knowledge, the COVID-19 Equity Research Initiative is a pro bono effort examining (both empirically and quantitatively) the direct and indirect impacts of COVID-19 on people and neighborhoods in California.
- Empowering Pacific Islander Communities (EPIC)
 - EPIC advances social justice by engaging Native Hawaiian & Pacific Islander communities through culturally relevant advocacy, research, and leadership development.
- Family Programs Hawaii
 - A social service agency dedicated to strengthening children and families who are at risk or involved in the child welfare system through high-quality prevention, support, and transition service
- Forum on Anti-Asian Violence
 - This Society and Space forum on anti-Asian violence gathers the perspectives of Asian American scholars and organizers to provide context on the murder of spa workers in the Atlanta area on March 16, 2021. Also included is a curated list of resources from the UCRFTP Cops Off Campus Collective.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

COMMUNITY (cont.)

- Japanese Americans Citizens League (JACL)
 - JACL works to secure and safeguard the civil and human rights of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans and all communities who are affected by injustice and bigotry. JACL also promotes and preserves the heritage of the Japanese American Community.
- National Asian American Community Foundation (NAACF)
 - A philanthropic initiative to unify Asian American donors across the nation. NAACF aims to create innovative collaborations and to make sustainable investments to empower our communities.
- Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander Hawai'i COVID-19 Response, Recovery and Resilience Team
 - A consortium of organizations and individuals addressing the impact of COVID-19 on communities across Hawai'i. The consortium identifies current initiatives, assesses community resources & needs, and facilitates partnerships & resource sharing.
- Pacific Islander COVID-19 Response Team
 - A national group of Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (NHPI) researchers, health experts, community leaders and advocates formed to plan and implement infrastructure for informing and supporting families and communities about COVID-19.
- Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA) - Los Angeles, CA
 - SIPA serves Historic Filipinotown and other neighborhoods in Greater Los Angeles County. They produce programs for youth & families including case management and counseling, after school programs, senior programs, small business development, cultural enrichment, and affordable housing.
- Thai Community Development Center (Thai CDC) - Los Angeles, CA
 - Thai CDC serves economically disadvantaged populations including immigrants, low-wage workers, welfare recipients and victims of human trafficking.
- Vietnamese Boat People
 - This project preserves the stories of Vietnamese refugees and mobilizes the community to pay-it-forward by helping today's refugees transition into safer lives.

HEALTH

- Asian Mental Health Collective
 - AMHC normalizes and de-stigmatizes mental health within the Asian community through providing approachable and accessible mental health resources.
- Association of Asian Pacific Community Health Organizations (AAPCHO)
 - APCHO is dedicated to promoting advocacy, collaboration, and leadership that improves the health status and access of AAs, NHs, and PIs within the United States, its territories, and freely associated states.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

HEALTH (cont.)

- Austin Asian Community Health Initiative (AACHI) - Austin, Texas
 - AACHI partners with the Asian community to enhance public health and well-being through language-specific education, advocacy, and healthcare navigation services.
- Hawaii Public Health Institute (HIPHI)
 - HIPHI advances the health and wellness of the people and islands of Hawai'i through fostering partnerships and cultivating education & advocacy programs.
- Pacific Islander Center of Primary Care Excellence (PI-CoPCE)
 - PI-CoPCE was established to improve the health of Pacific Islanders (PIs) in the United States and US Pacific through primary care support, research, workforce development, and community initiatives.

JUSTICE

- 18 Million Rising (18MR)
 - Using technology and popular culture, 18MR develops new ways for Asian Americans and allies to collaborate and transform the world through digital-first advocacy tactics.
- Asian Americans Advancing Justice
 - An affiliation of five organizations advocating for the civil and human rights of Asian Americans.
- Asian Americans for Equality (AAFE) - New York, NY
 - AAFE is one of the city's leading housing, social service and community development organizations.
- Asian Pacific Institute on Gender Based Violence (API GBV)
 - A national resource center on domestic violence, sexual violence, trafficking, and other forms of gender-based violence AAPI communities.
- Asian Pacific Islander Reentry & Inclusion Through Support & Empowerment (API RISE)
 - Empowers API communities, focusing on those impacted by the criminal justice system.
- Barnard Center for Research on Women - Newsletter in Response to Atlanta Shootings
 - A collection of resources including upcoming events, readings, and organizations to support to address recent waves of anti-Asian attacks, and the shootings in Atlanta.

JUSTICE (cont.)

- COVID-19 Racial Aggression Map
 - A crowdsourced map detailing where and when anti-Asian racism has taken place based on user-submitted reports.
- Domestic Violence Action Center - Hawai'i
 - Provides legal information and representation to victims of domestic violence; specialized training, cultural competency and refined expertise in understanding intimate partner abuse.
- #HateIsAVirus
 - A nonprofit community of mobilizers and amplifiers that exists to dismantle racism and hate.
- National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum (NAPAWF)
 - Using a reproductive justice framework, NAPAWF elevates AAPI women and girls to impact policy and drive systemic change in the United States.
- National Domestic Violence Hotline
 - Provides essential tools and support to help survivors of domestic violence so they can live their lives free of abuse; offers referral services in over 200 languages.
- South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT)
 - Fights for the civil rights of all South Asians in the US by advocating for equitable public policies at the national & local level; strengthening grassroots South Asian organizations; and informing national dialogue on trends impacting South Asian communities.
- South Asian Public Health Association (SAPHA)
 - Promotes the health and well-being of South Asian communities in the United States through advocacy, collaboration, and communication.
- Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC)
 - A national civil rights organization that empowers Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese American communities to create a socially just and equitable society.
- Stop AAPI Hate
 - Asian Pacific Policy & Planning Council (A3PCON) and Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA) launched Stop AAPI Hate to allow community members to report incidents of hate. Individual information is kept confidential. In the aggregate, information is used for assistance, advocacy, and education.
- Stop Hate Project - Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
 - Call 1-844-9-NO-HATE for reporting & resources. Callers receive resources as we leverage a national network of pro bono attorneys, community organizations, mental health services, and in appropriate cases, provide access to counsel. You may also visit 8449nohate.org for a collection of resources to combat hate.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

JUSTICE (cont.)

- Stand Against Hatred
 - Asian Americans Advancing Justice is collecting stories of COVID-19-related hate to document and to educate people about the environment of hate around the country. They also have compiled resources for reporting and resisting hate crimes.
- #WeKeepUsSafe: APALA's Resource Guide on Anti-Asian Violence - APALA
 - A compiled list of resources on community safety, contacting elected officials, and information about APALA (Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance) chapters – this includes localized information for Atlanta, New York City, San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles.
- Womankind
 - Provides multilingual (18+ Asian languages & dialects) and culturally-responsive services to help survivors of domestic violence, human trafficking, and sexual violence.

LABOR & ECONOMY

- Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA)
 - Promotes political education among AAPIs; trains and empowers AAPIs within the labor movement and APA community; works to defend and advocate for the human rights of AAPIs, immigrants and all people of color, and develops ties within international labor organizations, especially in the Asia-Pacific Rim.
- Asian Hustle Network (AHN)
 - AHN brings the Asian community together and provides an opportunity to share anything related to their businesses, and to network with other professionals.
- National Employment Law Project (NELP)
 - NELP fights for policies to create good jobs, expand access to work, and strengthen protections and support for low-wage workers and unemployed workers.
- Red Canary Song
 - Red Canary Song is the only grassroots Chinese massage parlor worker coalition in the US. They also organize transnationally with Asian sex workers across the diaspora in Toronto, Paris, and Hong Kong.
- Welcome to Chinatown
 - A grassroots initiative to support Chinatown businesses and amplify community voices that generates much needed momentum to preserve one of New York City's most vibrant neighborhoods.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

POLITICS

- [AAPI Progressive Action](#)
 - Works to empower Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, connect AAPI communities and their leaders, and promote awareness and action for progressive AAPI causes.
- [APIA Vote](#)
 - APIAVote’s mission is to work with local and state community based organizations to mobilize AAPIs in electoral and civic participation.
- [AAPIs for Civic Empowerment Education Fund \(AAPI FORCE-EF\)](#) - California
 - AAPI FORCE-EF advances policies, campaigns and issues that support working-class AAPIs through voter mobilization.
- [AAPI Women Lead](#)
 - Strengthens the progressive political and social platforms of Asian and Pacific Islander communities in the US through the leadership of self-identified AAPI women and girls.
- [Anakbayan USA](#)
 - Anakbayan-USA is the comprehensive national democratic mass organization of Filipino youth and students in the US.
- [Asian American Advocacy Fund](#) - Georgia
 - Dedicated to building a politically-conscious, engaged, and progressive Asian American base in Georgia.
- [Asian American Women’s Political Initiative \(AAWPI\)](#)
 - AAWPI is the country’s only political leadership organization for Asian American women working to ensure that Asian American women and the Asian American community have a voice in their government.
- [Chinese Progressive Association](#) - Boston, MA
 - Works for full equality and empowerment of the Chinese community in the Greater Boston area and beyond. Activities seek to improve the living and working conditions of Chinese Americans.
- [The Interpreter](#)
 - Provides young people with Vietnamese-language materials to help them start difficult conversations regarding social justice, police brutality, solidarity, and history of racism in America.
- [National Korean American Service & Education Consortium \(NAKASEC\)](#)
 - NAKASEC organizes Korean and Asian Americans to achieve social, economic, and racial justice

Thank you for reading.

*We dedicate this report to victims of anti-Asian violence:
from the COVID-19 pandemic and prior;
for the names we know and the ones we don't.*

LEARN MORE

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