

Anti-Asian COVID-19 Disinformation and Misinformation:
A Global Security Threat and its Governance Responses

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Introduction

The Research Question

The COVID-19 pandemic saw an onslaught of disinformation and misinformation (hereafter DMI).¹ Much of the COVID-19 DMI (hereafter CDMI) was racist and xenophobic, specifically targeting Asian communities worldwide.² Since the onset of COVID-19, scholars have observed how anti-Asian CDMI became a major factor in the rise of hate of anti-Asian racism – this will be elaborated upon in this paper’s literature review.³ The resulting racism materialized as hate speech and more severely, as hate crimes.⁴ Ranging from online and verbal harassment to physical assault, Asian communities worldwide were attacked as a result of racist and xenophobic CDMI.⁵ Based on how anti-Asian CDMI inspired physical harm, it was, and is, a security threat: anti-Asian CDMI’s ability to transform into hate crimes and transcend national

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1. Vimala Balakrishnan et al., “Infodemic and Fake News - A Comprehensive Overview of its Global Magnitude during the COVID-19 Pandemic in 2021: A Scoping Review,” *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 78 (2022): 1-2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2022.103144>; and Salman Bin Naeem and Rubina Bhatti, “The Covid-19 ‘infodemic’: A New Front for Information Professionals,” *Health Information and Libraries Journal* 37, no. 3 (2020): 233-234, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/hir.12311>. The COVID-19 pandemic will hereafter be referred to as “the pandemic.” COVID-19 dis- and mis-information will hereafter be referred to as CDMI; dis- and mis-information will be abbreviated as DMI. More information about the CDMI and DMI abbreviations will be in the next section.
 2. Christina E. Farhart and Philip Gordon Chen, “Racialized Pandemic: The Effect of Racial Attitudes on COVID-19 Conspiracy Theory Beliefs,” *Frontiers in Political Science* 4 (2022): 2, 5, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2022.648061>.
 3. For example, see Kim Yi Dionne and Fulya Felicity Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering: Putting COVID-19 in Global and Historical Context,” *International Organization* 74, no. S1 (2020): E219-E220, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000405>.
 4. Jae Yeon Kim and Aniket Kesari, “Misinformation and Hate Speech: The Case of Anti-Asian Hate Speech During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Journal of Online Trust and Safety* 1, no. 1 (2021): 1-3, 9, <https://doi.org/10.54501/jots.v1i1.13>; and Angela R. Gover, Shannon B. Harper, and Lynn Langton, “Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Exploring the Reproduction of Inequality,” *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 45 (2020): 660-661, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-020-09545-1>.
 5. Gover, Harper, and Langton, “Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 647-648, 659.

borders makes anti-Asian CDMI a global human security issue.⁶ As a global security issue, this paper is interested in how different nation-states responded to anti-Asian CDMI. Therefore, this paper will answer the following question: how did the United Kingdom (U.K.), Canada, and the United States of America (U.S.) compare in terms of their responses to anti-Asian CDMI and the hate crimes it inspired?

This paper will assess these three states because they have some of the largest Asian diasporas outside of Asia,⁷ have accessible hate crime statistics,⁸ are all part of the Organization

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6. Amitav Acharya, *Constructing Global Order: Agency and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 135, 137, 141-145, 154, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316756768>; United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 24, 30-31, <https://hdr.undp.org/system/files/documents/hdr1994encompletenostatpdf.pdf>; Diana Yeh, "Covid-19, Anti-Asian Racial Violence, and The Borders of Chineseness," *British Journal of Chinese Studies* 10 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.51661/bjocs.v10i0.117>; and Neil G. Ruiz, Khadijah Edwards, and Mark Hugo Lopez, "One-third of Asian Americans fear threats, physical attacks and most say violence against them is rising," Pew Research Center, last modified April 21, 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/21/one-third-of-asian-americans-fear-threats-physical-attacks-and-most-say-violence-against-them-is-rising/>; Victoria Lindrea and Francesca Gillett, "Coronavirus: British Chinese people reveal prejudice amid outbreak," BBC News, last modified February 3, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-51348593>; and Katherine J. Roberto, Andrew F. Johnson, and Beth M. Rauhaus, "Stigmatization and Prejudice during the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 42, no. 3 (2020): 369, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2020.1782128>. According to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report, human security included seven aspects. Expanding upon this, Amitav Acharya's synthesis of security concepts outlines how human security is integral to global security. Because anti-Asian CDMI threatened at least two of the seven components of human security (personal and community security, but an argument can also be made for economic security due to the stigmatization of Asian cuisine during the pandemic), and because it transcended national and continental borders, anti-Asian CDMI was, and is, a global human security threat; based on Acharya's work, anti-Asian CDMI being a global human security threat innately makes it a global security threat.
 7. Dudley L. Poston Jr. and Juyin Helen Wong, "The Chinese Diaspora: The Current Distribution of the Overseas Chinese Population," *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 2, no. 3 (2016): 354-355, 363, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057150X16655077>.
 8. Brendan Lantz and Marin R. Wenger, "Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report Hate Crime Victimization to the Police? Implications for Research and Policy in the Wake of the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Crime and Delinquency* 68, no. 8 (2022): 1293, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00111287211041521>; Government of the United Kingdom, "Official Statistics: Hate crime, England and Wales, 2021 to 2022," last modified October 6, 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2021-to-2022/hate-crime-england-and-wales-2021-to-2022#further-information>; Jing Hui Wang and Greg Moreau, "Police-reported hate crime in Canada, 2020," Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00005-eng.htm>; and Department of Justice, "FBI Releases 2020 Hate Crime Statistics,"

for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD),⁹ and most importantly, because they all ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) decades ago.¹⁰ Comparing the responses between governments is important because these juxtapositions will highlight any common shortcomings and any differences in successes, both of which may allude to the impact of politics and agendas on institutions.¹¹ Hence, in addition to being timely, this paper is relevant because it will illustrate the stagnation or evolution of state responses.

This paper's research question arises because scholars have not compared state responses to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes. On that account, this paper will contribute to the literature by labelling anti-Asian CDMI a security threat, providing a comparative model that can analyze other state responses to anti-Asian CDMI, revealing both collective and unique shortcomings and successes in global security governance in the context of racist and

United States Government, accessed November 26, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/hate-crime-statistics>.

9. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, "Our Global Reach," accessed November 26, 2022, <https://www.oecd.org/about/members-and-partners/>.
10. Equality and Human Rights Commission, "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)," last modified March 12, 2020, <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/our-human-rights-work/monitoring-and-promoting-un-treaties/international-covenant-civil-and>; and Equality and Human Rights Commission, "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD)," last modified July 19, 2022, <https://humanrightstracker.com/en/un-treaty/cerd/>; Government of Canada, "International Human Rights Treaties to which Canada is a Party," last modified August 5, 2021, <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/abt-apd/icg-gci/ihrl-didp/tcp.html>; Maya K. Watson, "The United States' Hollow Commitment to Eradicating Global Racial Discrimination," Americana Bar Association, last modified January 6, 2020, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/black-to-the-future-part-ii/the-united-states--hollow-commitment-to-eradicating-global-racia/; and Jimmy Carter, "U.S. Finally Ratifies Human Rights Covenant," The Carter Center, last modified June 28, 1992, <https://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc1369.html>.
11. Kenneth J. Meier et al., "Bureaucracy and the Failure of Politics: Challenges to Democratic Governance," *Administration & Society* 51, no. 10 (2019): 1576-1578, 1581, 1589, 1596, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399719874759>.

xenophobic CDMI, and by bringing the Asian diaspora into human security conversations.¹² The last point is important because as “model minorities,”¹³ Asians communities’ experiences with racism are often overlooked and ergo underrepresented or unrepresented in media, hate crime statistics, and “funding priorities,”¹⁴ especially in the states this paper focuses on.¹⁵

Methodology

To answer the research question, this paper will draw from primary sources such as social media analyses and anti-Asian hate speech and hate crime data. This paper also relies on secondary literature from scholars who have written about the causal relationship between CDMI and different forms of anti-Asian racism. This paper will then synthesize this data through comparing individual case studies. In each case study, state responses will be examined based on

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12. United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994*, 31-32. This paper will also bring the Asian diaspora into discussions about “personal security” and “community security,” which the UNDP *Human Development Report 1994* did not do.
 13. Lantz and Wenger, “Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report Hate Crime Victimization to the Police? Implications for Research and Policy in the Wake of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 1293; Audiey C. Kao, “From the Editor in Chief: Invisibility of Anti-Asian Racism,” *AMA Journal of Ethics* 23, no. 7 (2021): E508, doi: 10.1001/amajethics.2021.507; Lin Wu and Nhu Nguyen, “From Yellow Peril to Model Minority and Back to Yellow Peril,” *AERA Open* 8, no.1 (2022): 1, 5, <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584211067796>; Yao Li and Harvey L. Nicholson Jr., “When ‘Model Minorities’ Become ‘Yellow Peril’—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Sociology Compass* 15, no. 2 (2021): 3-4, <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12849>; and Amy Yee, “The Fight Against Invisibility,” *Wellesley Magazine*, last modified Fall 2021, <https://magazine.wellesley.edu/fall-2021/the-fight-against-invisibility>.
 14. Jennifer Lee, “How we rise: Confronting the invisibility of anti-Asian racism,” The Brookings Institution, last modified May 18, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2022/05/18/confronting-the-invisibility-of-anti-asian-racism/>.
 15. Yee, “The Fight Against Invisibility,” *Wellesley Magazine*, last modified Fall 2021, <https://magazine.wellesley.edu/fall-2021/the-fight-against-invisibility>; Alessia Passafiume, “Anti-Asian racism is soaring in Canada. These numbers tell the story,” *The Toronto Star*, last modified March 29, 2022, <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2022/03/29/anti-asian-racism-is-soaring-canada-these-numbers-tell-the-story.html>; and Diana Yeh, “How the UK’s East and South-East Asian communities are fighting COVID-related violence,” *Open Democracy*, last modified November 23, 2021, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/pandemic-border/how-east-and-south-east-asian-communities-are-fighting-covid-related-violence/>.

how they responded to anti-Asian CDMI and hate crimes. The three states' responses will be evaluated and compared based on the three aspects of the United Nations' (UN) framework for human security governance that are the most relevant to governing anti-Asian CDMI: top-down "norm management,"¹⁶ preventative measures, and victim support.¹⁷

Roadmap

This paper will first outline the parameters and definitions pertinent to my research. The next section will provide a literature review of works that have studied the connection between anti-Asian CDMI and its consequences, as well as discuss the historical context of racist and xenophobic DMI during epidemiological crises. Using pre-existing literature to establish the connection between anti-Asian CDMI and its consequences is integral to this paper's analysis because it proves that anti-Asian CDMI directly resulted in anti-Asian hate crimes (the literature provides evidence of causation and not just correlation), justifies anti-Asian CDMI's classification as a global human security threat, and highlights the importance of assessing and

16. Ann P. Kinzig et al., "Social Norms and Global Environmental Challenges: The Complex Interaction of Behaviors, Values, and Policy," *Bioscience* 63, no. 3 (2013): 5-6, <https://doi.org/10.1525/bio.2013.63.3.5>.

17. Human Security Unit, *Human Security in Theory and Practice: Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security* (New York: United Nations, 2009), 11, 35, <https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/HSU/Publications%20and%20Products/Human%20Security%20Tools/Human%20Security%20in%20Theory%20and%20Practice%20English.pdf>; Human Security Unit, *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United Nations system* (New York: United Nations, 2016), 8-10, <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/h2.pdf>; Lloyd Axworthy, "Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First," *Global Governance* 7, no. 1 (2001): 20, 23, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27800284>; and Geoffrey Vickers, "Values, Norms and Policies," *Policy Sciences* 4, no. 1 (1973): 103-107, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4531518>. Within the context of these case studies, top-down "norm management" will be measured by publicized state support, preventative measures will be assessed based on how states implemented research initiatives, engaged with civil society, announced funding, and developed policy, and victim support will be evaluated on the creation of legislation that prioritizes the victims of anti-Asian CDMI and of related hate crimes. For more on ethics, norms, and policy, see Geoffrey Vickers' article.

comparing state responses to that threat. The following sections will answer the research question by assessing and comparing the three states' responses to anti-Asian CDMI. Beginning with the U.K.'s response, following with Canada's, and ending with the U.S.'s, this section will also demonstrate the evolution, or lack thereof, of their responses. After this will come a discussion that compares the three states' responses through the human security governance framework outlined in the methodology. This paper will conclude with important takeaways, applications, and future research directions.

Definitions and Research Parameters: Operationalizing Disinformation and Misinformation (DMI), Using the Term “Asian,” and Outlining Limitations

Definitions

This paper will refer to disinformation and misinformation collectively by using the abbreviation DMI to address them (CDMI will be used to refer to COVID-19 disinformation and misinformation). The difference between disinformation and misinformation is intention: disinformation intentionally spreads false information while misinformation unintentionally does so.¹⁸ As such, determining the intention behind someone else's actions cannot be confirmed without evidence and context.¹⁹ Therefore, to avoid assuming people's intentions, this paper will use DMI because it accurately and collectively acknowledges that malicious speech and actions

18. Alexander Lanoszka, “Disinformation in International Politics,” *European Journal of International Security* 4, no. 2 (2019): 3-4, <https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2019.6>; and Stephan Lewandowsky et al., “Misinformation, Disinformation, and Violent Conflict: From Iraq and the ‘War on Terror’ to Future Threats to Peace,” *American Psychologist* 68, no. 7 (2013): 487, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034515>.

19. Sille Obelitz Sør, “Algorithmic Detection of Misinformation and Disinformation: Gricean Perspectives,” *Journal of Documentation* 74, no. 2 (2018): 310, 329, doi: [10.1108/JD-05-2017-0075](https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-05-2017-0075).

may come from either ignorance or hate.²⁰ In the case of the repercussions of anti-Asian CDMI, both components of DMI proved to be equally harmful in online and offline spaces.²¹

Determining the difference between DMI does not change the fact that spreading conspiracy theories, lies, and hate speech intentionally or ignorantly resulted in real-life hate crimes.²² The difference between DMI did not change the outcomes of hate crimes, nor did it prevent the spread of hate speech.²³ With the same result of both disinformation and misinformation, determining whether the people posting this content genuinely believed the deceptive and misleading content they shared or posted is less effective than addressing their joint impact.²⁴

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20. Asian Americans Advancing Justice, “Anti-Asian Hate,” accessed November 26, 2022, <https://www.advancingjustice-aajc.org/anti-asian-hate>; Roberto, Johnson, and Rauhaus, “Stigmatization and Prejudice during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 369-370; and Shawna Chen and Hope King, “Poll: Distrust of Asian Americans is rising,” *Axios*, last modified May 4, 2022, <https://www.axios.com/2022/05/04/asian-americans-covid-hate-survey>.
 21. Rebecca Ruiz, “When you become the target of racist disinformation,” *Mashable*, last modified June 27, 2021, <https://mashable.com/article/covid-19-disinformation-anti-asian-racism>; Kim and Kesari, “Misinformation and Hate Speech,” 1-3, 9; Marielle Segarra, “Misinformation about COVID-19 planted a seed for online hate speech,” *Marketplace Tech*, last modified March 23, 2021, <https://www.marketplace.org/shows/marketplace-tech/misinformation-about-covid-19-planted-a-seed-for-online-hate-speech-anti-asian-hate-crimes/>; Roberto, Johnson, and Rauhaus, “Stigmatization and Prejudice during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 369-370; and Asian Americans Advancing Justice, “Anti-Asian Hate,” accessed November 26, 2022, <https://www.advancingjustice-aajc.org/anti-asian-hate>.
 22. Anti-Defamation League, “Coronavirus: Prominent Conspiracies,” Last modified April 20, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/blog/coronavirus-prominent-conspiracies>; Ruiz, “When you become the target of racist disinformation,” *Mashable*, last modified June 27, 2021, <https://mashable.com/article/covid-19-disinformation-anti-asian-racism>; and Kim and Kesari, “Misinformation and Hate Speech,” 1-3, 9.
 23. Alvin Powell, “Asian Americans more worried about racist Americans than coronavirus,” *The Harvard Gazette*, last modified May 3, 2021, <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2021/05/survey-highlights-bias-facing-asian-americans/>; Roberto, Johnson, and Rauhaus, “Stigmatization and Prejudice during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 369-370; and Yao Lu et al., “Priming COVID-19 Salience Increases Prejudice and Discriminatory Intent Against Asians and Hispanics,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences - PNAS* 118, no. 36 (2021): 1-2, 6-7, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2105125118>.
 24. Sabrina Tavernise and Richard A. Oppel Jr., “Spit On, Yelled At, Attacked: Chinese-Americans Fear for Their Safety,” *The New York Times*, last modified May 5, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/23/us/chinese-coronavirus-racist-attacks.html>; Roberto, Johnson, and Rauhaus, “Stigmatization and Prejudice during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 369-370; Chen and King, “Poll: Distrust of Asian Americans is rising,” *Axios*, last modified May 4, 2022, <https://www.axios.com/2022/05/04/asian-americans-covid-hate-survey>; and Anti-Defamation League, “Coronavirus: Prominent Conspiracies,” Last modified April 20, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/blog/coronavirus-prominent-conspiracies>.

Operationalizing DMI does not justify hate crimes; it simply recognizes the shortcomings of this research while also recognizing the equally dangerous impact of DMI.²⁵ In relation to criminal law, since this paper cannot prove the *mens rea* of the people who posted anti-Asian CDMI, this paper will not assume that every instance of anti-Asian CDMI was disinformation.²⁶

This paper will also use the term “Asian” to refer to people of Asian descent who were discriminated against around the world during the COVID-19 pandemic for being and looking Asian.²⁷ When used by itself, the term is sometimes considered problematic for its homogenizing implications.²⁸ However, this paper is mainly focused on the discrimination experienced collectively by people of Asian descent around the world.²⁹ After all, although the racialized hate

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25. Ruiz, “When you become the target of racist disinformation,” Mashable, last modified June 27, 2021, <https://mashable.com/article/covid-19-disinformation-anti-asian-racism>; and Kim and Kesari, “Misinformation and Hate Speech,” 1-3, 9.
26. Jason Pielemeier, “Disentangling Disinformation: What Makes Regulating Disinformation So Difficult?” *Utah Law Review* 2020, no. 4 (2020): 919-921, 925, <https://doi.org/10.26054/0D-CJBV-FTGJ>; Justin Monahan, “‘Falsehood Flies, and the Truth Comes Limping After’: Combatting Online Disinformation in the Shadow of CUMSA,” *Dalhousie Journal of Legal Studies* 30 (2021): 80, <https://digitalcommons.schulichlaw.dal.ca/djls/vol30/iss1/4/>; Louis W. Tompros et al., “The Constitutionality of Criminalizing False Speech made on Social Networking Sites in a Post-Alvarez, Social Media-Obsessed World,” *Harvard Journal of Law & Technology* 31, no. 1 (2017): 86, 107, <https://jolt.law.harvard.edu/assets/articlePDFs/v31/31HarvJLTech65.pdf>; and Legal Information Institute, “Mens Rea,” Cornell Law School, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/mens_rea.
27. Human Rights Watch, “Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide,” last modified May 12, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide>. Human Rights Watch also uses the term “Asian” to emphasize the impact of COVID-19-related racism on Asian communities worldwide.
28. Lu et al., “Priming COVID-19 Salience Increases Prejudice and Discriminatory Intent Against Asians and Hispanics,” 1-2; Tavernise and Opiel Jr., “Spit On, Yelled At, Attacked: Chinese-Americans Fear for Their Safety,” *The New York Times*, last modified May 5, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/23/us/chinese-coronavirus-racist-attacks.html>; Daniel Wang et al., “Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders in COVID-19: Emerging Disparities Amid Discrimination,” *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 35, no. 12 (2020): 3685, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-020-06264-5>; Lisa Son, “Opinion: Stop Treating Asians as a Monolith,” Barnard College, last modified April 1, 2021, <https://barnard.edu/news/opinion-stop-treating-asians-monolith>.
29. Human Rights Watch, “Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide,” last modified May 12, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide>.

during the pandemic primarily targeted people of East Asian descent (especially Chinese people), people from other Asian backgrounds (Southeast and South Asian in particular) did not walk away unscathed.³⁰ Therefore, while the term “Asian” will be used to primarily refer to East Asians and the East Asian diaspora (the main targets of CDMI and subsequent hate crimes), it also has the capacity to refer to and include the experiences of Asians and Asian diasporas who have different cultures and heritages.³¹

Caveat and Limitations

This paper has research limitations. Using hate crimes statistics to contextualize the three states’ responses is not a perfect method. Firstly, each state has different legal processes and definitions regarding hate crimes, leading to differences in prosecution and charges.³² Secondly, many hate crimes were not reported to authorities, and Asian communities have a history of

30. Lu et al., “Priming COVID-19 Salience Increases Prejudice and Discriminatory Intent Against Asians and Hispanics,” 1; and Yeh, “How the UK’s East and South-East Asian communities are fighting COVID-related violence,” *Open Democracy*, last modified November 23, 2021, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/pandemic-border/how-east-and-south-east-asian-communities-are-fighting-covid-related-violence/>.

31. Lu et al., “Priming COVID-19 Salience Increases Prejudice and Discriminatory Intent Against Asians and Hispanics,” 1-2; Stephen M. Croucher, Thao Nguyen, and Diyako Rahmani, “Prejudice Toward Asian Americans in the Covid-19 Pandemic: The Effects of Social Media Use in the United States,” *Frontiers in Communication* 5 (2020): 1, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2020.00039>; Qin Xie, “As Lunar New Year approaches, many Asians worry about future journeys,” *National Geographic*, last modified February 11, 2021, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/article/will-travel-after-covid-still-be-fraught-for-asians>; and Human Rights Watch, “Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide,” last modified May 12, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide>.

32. David Lowe, “Far-Right Extremism: Is it Legitimate Freedom of Expression, Hate Crime, or Terrorism?” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34, no. 7 (2022): 1434-1435, 1437-1438, 1440-1441, 1448, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2020.1789111>.

underreporting hate crimes they experience.³³ Hence, one limitation in this paper is knowing that hate crime statistics do not capture the whole picture because some crimes are not considered hate crimes by law enforcement, and because many hate crimes were not reported to authorities.³⁴ Additionally, while there were other reasons behind the rise in anti-Asian hate crimes during the pandemic, such as geopolitics, economic competition, and claims of job theft,³⁵ authorities, activists, and academics attribute the surge to COVID-19 racism and

33. Lantz and Wenger, “Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report Hate Crime Victimization to the Police? Implications for Research and Policy in the Wake of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 1293-1294.

34. Lantz and Wenger, “Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report Hate Crime Victimization to the Police? Implications for Research and Policy in the Wake of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 1293-1294.

35. United Nations Human Rights: Office of the High Commissioner, *Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants; and the Working Group on discrimination against women and girls*, AL USA 20/2020 (12 August 2020), available from <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gId=25476>; Lily Zheng, “To Dismantle Anti-Asian Racism, We Must Understand Its Roots,” *Harvard Business Review*, last modified May 27, 2021, <https://hbr.org/2021/05/to-dismantle-anti-asian-racism-we-must-understand-its-roots>; Justin J. Hill, “The Overlooked Tragedy of the Pandemic: How Media Coverage of the COVID-19 Pandemic has Led to an Increase in Anti-Asian Bias and Xenophobia,” *Asian Pacific American Law Journal* 25, no. 1 (2021): 142, doi: 10.5070/P325157463; and Jeff Grabmeier, “Study reveals why some blame Asian Americans for COVID-19,” *Ohio State News*, last modified October 20, 2020, <https://news.osu.edu/study-reveals-why-some-blame-asian-americans-for-covid-19/>.

xenophobia.³⁶ As a result, this paper will work with the understanding that COVID-19 was the main reason behind anti-Asian CDMI and the hate crimes it inspired from 2020 to 2022.³⁷

Moreover, since diseases have historically been used to marginalize “others,”³⁸ the racism and discrimination Asians have experienced due to COVID-19 is not a new phenomenon.³⁹ Within Asian diasporic histories, COVID-19 was not the first disease used to vilify and blame Asians: scapegoating Asians for diseases has a long history, especially in, but not reserved to, the West, and in terms of the “Yellow Peril.”⁴⁰ In the present context, anti-Asian

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36. Human Rights Watch, “Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide,” last modified May 12, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide>; United Nations, General Assembly, *Contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance*, A/75/329 (28 August 2020), available from undocs.org/en/A/75/329; Sungil Han, Jordan R. Riddell, and Alex R. Piquero, “Anti-Asian American Hate Crimes Spike During the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 0, no. 0 (2022): 1-2, 4-6, 13-14, <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605221107056>; Vicente Javier Clemente-Suárez et al., “Mis-Dis Information in COVID-19 Health Crisis: A Narrative Review,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19, no. 9 (2022): 6, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19095321>; Kazuki Shimizu, “2019-nCoV, fake news, and racism,” *Lancet* 395 (2020): 685–686, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)30357-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)30357-3); Article 19, *Viral Lies: Misinformation and the Coronavirus* (London: Article 19 – Free Word Centre, 2020), 2, 4, 10, <https://www.article19.org/>; Mary Findling et al., “COVID-19 Has Driven Racism And Violence Against Asian Americans: Perspectives From 12 National Polls,” *Health Affairs*, last modified April 12, 2022, <https://www.healthaffairs.org/doi/10.1377/forefront.20220411.655787/>; United Nations Human Rights: Office of the High Commissioner, *Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants; and the Working Group on discrimination against women and girls*, AL USA 20/2020 (12 August 2020), available from <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gId=25476>; Justin Kong et al., *A Year of Racist Attacks: Anti-Asian Racism Across Canada One Year into the COVID-19 Pandemic* (Toronto: Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter, 2021), 9-10, <https://ccncsj.ca/resources/>.
37. Li and Nicholson Jr., “When ‘Model Minorities’ Become ‘Yellow Peril’—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 7-8; Roberto, Johnson, and Rauhaus, “Stigmatization and Prejudice during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 369-370; and Croucher, Nguyen, and Rahmani, “Prejudice Toward Asian Americans in the Covid-19 Pandemic,” 1-2, 9-10.
38. Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E215-E218.
39. Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E215-E219.
40. Chelsea Gray and Kirstine Hansen, “Did Covid-19 Lead to an Increase in Hate Crimes Toward Chinese People in London?” *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 37, no. 4 (2021): 570-571, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10439862211027994>; and Li and Nicholson Jr., “When ‘Model Minorities’ Become ‘Yellow Peril’—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 2, 4, 6.

racism due to COVID-19 also happened outside of the states this paper focuses on; as detailed in the introduction, one reason these countries have been selected is because of the available hate crime data.⁴¹ COVID-19 also targeted other minorities, and specifically fueled Islamophobia and anti-immigrant sentiments.⁴² Because of its scope, this paper will not be able to focus on and account for differences in hate crime legislation, underreporting, counterfactual arguments, and all past and contemporary victims of epidemiological discrimination in its analysis.⁴³

Literature Review, Historical Background, and Why Anti-Asian CDMI should be considered a Security Threat

General Trends

There are major trends in the literature that focuses on anti-Asian COVID-19 racism, hate speech, and CDMI.⁴⁴ One point made by scholars and journalists alike is that former American President Donald Trump's use of "China Virus" and "Kung Flu" instead of COVID-19 in his speeches and tweets exacerbated anti-Asian hate speech, hate crimes, and anti-Asian CDMI in

41. Reuben Ng, "Anti-Asian Sentiments During the COVID-19 Pandemic Across 20 Countries: Analysis of a 12-Billion-Word News Media Database," *Journal of Medical Internet Research* 23, no. 12 (2021): 1-2, 5-6, <https://doi.org/10.2196/28305>; and Human Rights Watch, "Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide," last modified May 12, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide>.

42. Sana Ali, "Combatting Against Covid-19 & Misinformation: A Systematic Review," *Human Arenas* 5 (2022): 342-343, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42087-020-00139-1>; and Human Rights Watch, "Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide," last modified May 12, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide>.

43. Grabmeier, "Study reveals why some blame Asian Americans for COVID-19," Ohio State News, last modified October 20, 2020, <https://news.osu.edu/study-reveals-why-some-blame-asian-americans-for-covid-19/>; Lowe, "Far-Right Extremism: Is it Legitimate Freedom of Expression, Hate Crime, or Terrorism?" 1437-1438, 1440-1441; and Lantz and Wenger, "Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report Hate Crime Victimization to the Police? Implications for Research and Policy in the Wake of the COVID-19 Pandemic," 1293-1294.

44. This literature review assesses both academic and media sources.

the U.S. and around the world.⁴⁵ While scholars and researchers noted that online racism had been directed towards Asians prior to Trump’s use of these terms due to “the racialisation of the virus as ‘Chinese,’”⁴⁶ there was a significant spike in social media posts targeting Asians after Trump’s statements.⁴⁷ Similarly, media outlets point to Trump blaming China for COVID-19 as a milestone in the timeline of increasing anti-Asian sentiment throughout the pandemic.⁴⁸ It is also important to acknowledge that after Trump’s racialization of COVID-19, members of his administration followed his lead in using and popularizing terms like “China Virus.”⁴⁹ Hence,

45. For example, see Katie Rogers, Lara Jakes, and Ana Swanson, “Trump Defends Using ‘Chinese Virus’ Label, Ignoring Growing Criticism,” *New York Times*, last modified March 18, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/18/us/politics/china-virus.html>; Suyin Haynes, “‘This Isn’t Just a Problem for North America.’ The Atlanta Shooting Highlights the Painful Reality of Rising Anti-Asian Violence Around the World,” *Time Magazine*, last modified March 22, 2021, <https://time.com/5947862/anti-asian-attacks-rising-worldwide/>; Li and Nicholson Jr., “When ‘Model Minorities’ Become ‘Yellow Peril’—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 7; and Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E219-E220.

46. Yeh, “Covid-19, Anti-Asian Racial Violence, and The Borders of Chineseness.”

47. For example, see University of Utah, “Spatial distribution of anti-Asian hate tweets during COVID-19,” *Phys.org*, last modified May 25, 2022, <https://phys.org/news/2022-05-spatial-anti-asian-tweets-covid-.html>; Thu T. Nguyen et al., “Exploring U.S. Shifts in Anti-Asian Sentiment with the Emergence of COVID-19,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17, no. 19 (2020): 9, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17197032>; Kim and Kesari, “Misinformation and Hate Speech,” 2; Mishal Reja, “Trump’s ‘Chinese Virus’ tweet helped lead to rise in racist anti-Asian Twitter content: Study,” *ABC News*, last modified March 18, 2021, <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/trumps-chinese-virus-tweet-helped-lead-rise-racist/story?id=76530148>; and Qin Gao and Xiaofang Liu, “Stand Against Anti-Asian Racial Discrimination during COVID-19: A Call for Action,” *International Social Work* 64, no. 2 (2021): 262-263, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872820970610>.

48. For example, see Aina Khan, “‘I don’t feel safe’: Asians in the UK reflect on a year of hatred,” *Al Jazeera*, last modified March 23, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/23/i-dont-feel-safe-asians-in-the-uk-reflect-on-a-year-of-hatred>; and Haynes, “‘This Isn’t Just a Problem for North America.’ The Atlanta Shooting Highlights the Painful Reality of Rising Anti-Asian Violence Around the World,” *Time Magazine*, last modified March 22, 2021, <https://time.com/5947862/anti-asian-attacks-rising-worldwide/>.

49. Han, Riddell, and Piquero, “Anti-Asian American Hate Crimes Spike During the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 9.

the literature shows a consensus regarding the fact that Trump was an important actor in propelling anti-Asian CDMI and hate crimes by associating the virus with Chinese people.⁵⁰

The policy implications of Trump's intentional anti-Asian CDMI is another theme in the literature.⁵¹ Trump's tactical framing of COVID-19 as the "Chinese virus" also capitalized on his supporters' animosity towards China and Asian immigrants to push the American right-wing, nationalist, anti-China, and anti-immigrant agenda; scapegoating China for COVID-19 became a central part of Trump's re-election campaign.⁵² Consequently, this was demonstrated by Trump's ban on and restriction of Chinese students entering the U.S., and by how his persistent claim that China manufactured and spread COVID-19 to the U.S. resulted in the prohibition of "Chinese

50. For example, see Kim and Kesari, "Misinformation and Hate Speech," 2-3, 9-10; Tyler T. Reny and Matt A. Barreto, "Xenophobia in the Time of Pandemic: Othering, Anti-Asian Attitudes, and COVID-19," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 10, no. 2 (2022): 209-210, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2020.1769693>; and Farhart and Chen, "Racialized Pandemic," 1-2, 5-6.

51. For example, see Jeff Mason, Matt Spetalnick, and Humeyra Pamuk, "Trump threatens new tariffs on China in retaliation for coronavirus," Reuters, last modified April 30, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-usa-china-idUSKBN22C3DS>; and Rogers, Jakes, and Swanson, "Trump Defends Using 'Chinese Virus' Label, Ignoring Growing Criticism," New York Times, last modified March 18, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/18/us/politics/china-virus.html>.

52. Brendan Lantz, Marin R. Wenger, and Jack M. Mills, "Fear, Political Legitimization, and Racism: Examining Anti-Asian Xenophobia during the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Race and Justice* 13, no. 1 (2022): 85, 87, 93-94, 97, <https://doi.org/10.1177/21533687221125817>; Priya Gauttam, Bawa Singh, and Jaspal Kaur, "COVID-19 and Chinese Global Health Diplomacy: Geopolitical Opportunity for China's Hegemony?" *Millennial Asia* 11, no. 3 (2020): 329, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0976399620959771>; Seth Schindler, Nicholas Jepson, and Wenxing Cui, "Covid-19, China and the Future of Global Development," *Research in Globalization* 2 (2020): 1-2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resglo.2020.100020>; Anita Kumar, "Trump says blame China. His supporters are listening," Politico, last modified May 3, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/03/trump-supporters-china-226309>; Kenneth M. Roberts, "Performing Crisis? Trump, Populism and the GOP in the Age of COVID-19," *Government and Opposition* (2022): 5-6, <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2022.30>; and Mervat M. Ahmed, "Polarization and Negative-Other 'China' Presentation in US President Trump's COVID-19 Tweets: A Critical Discourse Analysis," *Cairo Studies in English: Journal of Research in Literature, Linguistics and Translation Studies* 2021, no. 2 (2021): 150-151, <https://dx.doi.org/10.21608/cse.2022.48320.1079>.

technology,”⁵³ and to “. . . [Trump threatening] new tariffs on Beijing.”⁵⁴ Trump was not alone in using the pandemic to foster animosity towards minorities and encourage anti-immigrant sentiments, as seen by the work of other right-wing politicians in different continents.⁵⁵

While most of the literature focuses on the impact of anti-Asian CDMI on Asian American and Pacific Islander communities (AAPI), anti-Asian CDMI, before and after Trump’s actions, had consequences worldwide.⁵⁶ Moreover, the literature that does study the connection between hate crimes, hate speech, and anti-Asian CDMI mainly discusses misinformation, especially regarding fake news, conspiracy theories, and racist rhetoric.⁵⁷ Overall, most scholars agree that the rise in anti-Asian hate crimes is tied to the proliferation of many forms of anti-Asian CDMI.⁵⁸

53. Hill, “The Overlooked Tragedy of the Pandemic,” 142.

54. Mason, Spetalnick, and Pamuk, “Trump threatens new tariffs on China in retaliation for coronavirus,” Reuters, last modified April 30, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-usa-china-idUSKBN22C3DS>.

55. Marc Edelman, “From ‘Populist Moment’ to Authoritarian Era: Challenges, Dangers, Possibilities,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 47, no. 7 (2020): 17, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2020.1802250>.

56. For example, see Han, Riddell, and Piquero, “Anti-Asian American Hate Crimes Spike During the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 9; and Li and Nicholson Jr., “When ‘Model Minorities’ Become ‘Yellow Peril’—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 7. See also Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E214, E219.

57. For example, see Segarra, “Misinformation about COVID-19 planted a seed for online hate speech,” Marketplace Tech, last modified March 23, 2021, <https://www.marketplace.org/shows/marketplace-tech/misinformation-about-covid-19-planted-a-seed-for-online-hate-speech-anti-asian-hate-crimes/>; Sean Darling-Hammond et al., “After ‘The China Virus’ Went Viral: Racially Charged Coronavirus Coverage and Trends in Bias Against Asian Americans,” *Health, Education, and Behavior* 47, no. 6 (2020): 870-871, 873, 875-876, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198120957949>; Farhart and Chen, “Racialized Pandemic,” 2; and Zheng, “To Dismantle Anti-Asian Racism, We Must Understand Its Roots,” Harvard Business Review, last modified May 27, 2021, <https://hbr.org/2021/05/to-dismantle-anti-asian-racism-we-must-understand-its-roots>.

58. For example, see Jonathan Corpus Ong, “Online Disinformation Against AAPI Communities During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” in *Issues on the Frontlines of Technology and Politics*, ed. Steven Feldstein (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2021), 25-26, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/10/19/online-disinformation-against-aapi-communities-during-covid-19-pandemic-pub-85515>.

Historical Context

Many scholars in this field have also contextualized anti-Asian CDMI within the larger history of how DMI has been weaponized to push an anti-immigrant agenda against Asian people, and how it has resulted in violence and systemic discrimination.⁵⁹ Tracing these racist and xenophobic sentiments to the “Yellow Peril” and to centuries-old rhetoric that portrayed Asians as unhygienic and “other.”⁶⁰ Expanding on the context provided in the caveat section, the historical background of anti-Asian COVID-19 scapegoating Asian people, specifically Chinese people, is rooted in Western, “orientalist” attitudes that “other” Asian immigrants and see them as inferior, backward, and uncivilized.⁶¹ Situating the experiences of Asians during the COVID-19 pandemic within histories that have seen predominantly colonial-settler states use diseases to push anti-immigrant and anti-Asian legislation and agendas since the nineteenth century, Kim Yi Dionne and Fulya Felicity Turkmen detailed historical events through the lens of racial discrimination driven by pandemics, something they highlight is absent in international studies scholarship.⁶² Likewise, Anita Jack-Davies, Michelle Yiu, Jarmin Yeh, Kourtney Nham, Carroll Estes, and other researchers and scholars have applied the historical lens of the “Yellow Peril,”⁶³

59. For example, see Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E215-E219.

60. For example, see Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E215-E219; Wu and Nguyen, “From Yellow Peril to Model Minority and Back to Yellow Peril,” 1, 5; and Anita Jack-Davies, “Coronavirus: The ‘yellow peril’ revisited,” *The Conversation*, last modified August 3, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-the-yellow-peril-revisited-134115>.

61. Jarmin C. Yeh, Kourtney Nham, and Carroll L. Estes, “Entwined Oppressions: Historicizing Anti-Asian Violence in the Coronavirus Disease 2019 Era,” *Public Policy and Aging Report* 32, no. 3 (2022): 95, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ppar/prac014>; and Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E216.

62. Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E218-E220, E226-E227.

63. Michelle Yiu, “COVID-19 is a ‘Yellow Peril’ Redux: Immigration and Health Policy and the Construction of the Chinese as Disease,” *Asian American Research Journal* 2 (2022): 3, doi: 10.5070/RJ42057359.

a nineteenth-century fear in North America that equated Asian immigration to “the plague,”⁶⁴ to the treatment and representation of Asians during COVID-19, and to the violent consequences of racist narratives.⁶⁵ Going a step further, Jack-Davies tied insights from Amy Go about how anti-Asian CDMI has been the reason behind the racism many Asians have experienced into the larger picture of anti-Asian hate crimes in 2020.⁶⁶ Since the history behind the racism Asian people have endured due to COVID-19 is evidently central in understanding the outcomes of anti-Asian CDMI, historical context is often discussed in research regarding anti-Asian CDMI, hate speech, and hate crimes.⁶⁷

The Consequences of Anti-Asian CDMI: Hate Speech and Hate Crimes

Researchers mainly used quantitative methods to conduct social media and targeted word analyses, to assess the demographic and geographic distribution of anti-Asian CDMI and hate

64. Jack-Davies, “Coronavirus: The ‘yellow peril’ revisited,” *The Conversation*, last modified August 3, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-the-yellow-peril-revisited-134115>; Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E217, E223; and Carrienne Leung, “The Yellow Peril Revisited: The Impact of Sars on Chinese and Southeast Asian Communities,” *Resources for Feminist Research* 33, no. 1-2 (2008): 137, https://www.academia.edu/919335/Yellow_peril_revisited_Impact_of_SARS_on_the_Chinese_and_South_east_Asian_Canadian_communities.

65. Jack-Davies, “Coronavirus: The ‘yellow peril’ revisited,” *The Conversation*, last modified August 3, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-the-yellow-peril-revisited-134115>; Yiu, “COVID-19 is a ‘Yellow Peril’ Redux,” 2-4, 6-8, 14-15; Yeh, Nham, and Estes, “Entwined Oppressions,” 94-96; Gover, Harper, and Langton, “Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 648-649, 651, 659; Hee An Choi and Othelia EunKyoung Lee, “To Mask or To Unmask, That Is the Question: Facemasks and Anti-Asian Violence During COVID-19,” *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work* 6 (2021): 237, 240-242, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41134-021-00172-2>; and Zheng, “To Dismantle Anti-Asian Racism, We Must Understand Its Roots,” *Harvard Business Review*, last modified May 27, 2021, <https://hbr.org/2021/05/to-dismantle-anti-asian-racism-we-must-understand-its-roots>.

66. Jack-Davies, “Coronavirus: The ‘yellow peril’ revisited,” *The Conversation*, last modified August 3, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-the-yellow-peril-revisited-134115>.

67. For example, see Choi and Lee, “To Mask or To Unmask,” 240-241; and Kim and Kesari, “Misinformation and Hate Speech,” 2-3.

speech, and to track the pathways and trends of anti-Asian CDMI.⁶⁸ The most pertinent literature to this paper is the literature demonstrating the causal relationship between anti-Asian CDMI and hate crimes, and demonstrating how anti-Asian CDMI transforms into hate speech, which later becomes hate crimes. Jonathan Corpus Ong recognized the impact of racist CDMI on Asian Americans and touched on how Asian voices are ignored by the media.⁶⁹ On a panel for Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage month, Corpus Ong also identified right-wing-oriented hate speech's capacity to spread across the world.⁷⁰ Jae Yeon Kim and Aniket Kesari recorded the number of tweets and different contexts using the phrase "Chinese Virus" in the U.S. after former President Trump first used it, and concluded that ". . . Trump's anti-Asian tweet increased hate and counterhate speech among the US Twitter users,"⁷¹ thus solidifying the link between CDMI and anti-Asian hate speech, and also revealing alternative uses of the phrase.⁷² Similarly, Tyler Reny and Matt Barreto conducted a survey inspired by how anti-Asian CDMI intersected with racist, political rhetoric; they observed that CDMI influenced how ". . . anti-Asian attitudes [became] associated with both concern about the disease [and] also with xenophobic behaviors and policy preferences."⁷³ Other scholarly studies, such as those by Fatemeh Tahmasbi *et al.* and Thu Nguyen *et al.*, conducted targeted word searches and social media content analyses

68. For example, see Matthew Costello et al., "COVID-19: A Pandemic of Anti-Asian Cyberhate," *Journal of Hate Studies* 17, no. 1 (2021): 110-111, 114, <https://doi.org/10.33972/jhs.198>; and Nguyen et al., "Exploring U.S. Shifts in Anti-Asian Sentiment with the Emergence of COVID-19," 2-3.

69. Corpus Ong, "Online Disinformation Against AAPI Communities During the COVID-19 Pandemic," 25-26.

70. Wilson Center, "At the Crossroads: COVID-19, Racism, and Disinformation," accessed November 27, 2022, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/crossroads-covid-19-racism-and-disinformation>.

71. Kim and Kesari, "Misinformation and Hate Speech," 4-5.

72. Kim and Kesari, "Misinformation and Hate Speech," 9-10.

73. Reny and Barreto, "Xenophobia in the Time of Pandemic," 209-210, 227; and Ali, "Combatting Against Covid-19 & Misinformation," 343.

(especially using tweets as a unit of analysis) to reaffirm the causal relationship between anti-Asian CDMI, media framing, hate speech (particularly through racial slurs), and the racist rhetoric used by American politicians;⁷⁴ specifically, Nguyen *et al.*'s study went a step further by situating their results within “. . . reports from the FBI, newspapers, and other commentaries [that reveal] a rise in anti-Asian hate crimes [in early 2020].”⁷⁵

Moreover, a map created by researchers at the University of Utah to chart the geographical distribution of anti-Asian COVID-19 hate speech in the U.S. was motivated by evidence that suggested that hate speech can predict hate crimes.⁷⁶ In line with this, reporters such as Marielle Segarra and Davey Alba have shed light on how CDMI, especially through conspiracy theories, “. . . seeded the idea that the public should be suspicious of Asians.”⁷⁷

74. Costello et al., “COVID-19: A Pandemic of Anti-Asian Cyberhate,” 115-116; Fatemeh Tahmasbi et al., “‘Go eat a bat, Chang!’: On the Emergence of Sinophobic Behavior on Web Communities in the Face of COVID-19,” in *WWW '21: Proceedings of the Web Conference 2021*, eds. Jure Leskovec, Marko Grobelnik, Mark Najork, Jie Tang, and Leila Zia (New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 2021), 1-2, 11, <https://doi.org/10.1145/3442381.3450024>; Reja, “Trump’s ‘Chinese Virus’ tweet helped lead to rise in racist anti-Asian Twitter content: Study,” ABC News, last modified March 18, 2021, <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/trumps-chinese-virus-tweet-helped-lead-rise-racist/story?id=76530148>; Darling-Hammond et al., “After ‘The China Virus’ Went Viral,” 870-871, 875-876; Ali, “Combatting Against Covid-19 & Misinformation,” 342-343; and Victoria Dinh, “USask study collects 3.5 million anti-Asian tweets amid COVID-19 pandemic,” University of Saskatchewan, last modified April 7, 2021, <https://news.usask.ca/articles/research/2021/usask-study-collects-3.5-million-anti-asian-tweets-amid-covid-19-pandemic.php>.

75. Nguyen et al., “Exploring U.S. Shifts in Anti-Asian Sentiment with the Emergence of COVID-19,” 9.

76. University of Utah, “Spatial distribution of anti-Asian hate tweets during COVID-19,” Phys.org, last modified May 25, 2022, <https://phys.org/news/2022-05-spatial-anti-asian-tweets-covid.html>; Nguyen et al., “Exploring U.S. Shifts in Anti-Asian Sentiment with the Emergence of COVID-19,” 9; and Yulin Hswen et al., “Association of ‘#covid19’ Versus ‘#chinesevirus’ With Anti-Asian Sentiments on Twitter: March 9–23, 2020,” *American Journal of Public Health* 111, no.5 (2021): 957, 960-961, <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2021.306154>.

77. For example, see Segarra, “Misinformation about COVID-19 planted a seed for online hate speech,” Marketplace Tech, last modified March 23, 2021, <https://www.marketplace.org/shows/marketplace-tech/misinformation-about-covid-19-planted-a-seed-for-online-hate-speech-anti-asian-hate-crimes/>; Haynes, “‘This Isn’t Just a Problem for North America.’ The Atlanta Shooting Highlights the Painful Reality of Rising Anti-Asian Violence Around the World,” Time Magazine, last modified March 22, 2021, <https://time.com/5947862/anti-asian-attacks-rising-worldwide/>; and Holly Yan, Natasha Chen, and Dushyant Naresh, “What’s spreading faster than coronavirus in the US? Racist assaults and ignorant attacks

Drawing from studies conducted by New York University and by UC San Francisco that revealed how hate speech directly influenced hate crimes,⁷⁸ and demonstrated the linear relationship between Trump’s CDMI (through the infamous “Chinese Virus”) and “overtly racist hashtags,”⁷⁹ Alba identified the “. . . arc of misinformation going into hate speech and going into real-world violence.”⁸⁰ Activist scholars have also published findings that prove the connection between anti-Asian CDMI (especially through rhetoric) and anti-Asian hate by quantifying survey data and highlighting the role rhetoric plays in fueling “virulent animosity.”⁸¹

Scholars and news agencies have also established the direct connection between anti-Asian CDMI and hate crimes worldwide.⁸² According to Bushra Ebadi, CDMI has given rise to

against Asians,” Cable News Network (CNN), last modified February 21, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/02/20/us/coronavirus-racist-attacks-against-asian-americans/index.html>.

78. New York University, “Hate Speech on Twitter Predicts Frequency of Real-life Hate Crimes,” last modified June 24, 2019, <https://www.nyu.edu/about/news-publications/news/2019/june/hate-speech-on-twitter-predicts-frequency-of-real-life-hate-crim.html>.
79. Laura Kurtzman, “Trump’s ‘Chinese Virus’ Tweet Linked to Rise of Anti-Asian Hashtags on Twitter,” University of California San Francisco, last modified March 18, 2021, <https://www.ucsf.edu/news/2021/03/420081/trumps-chinese-virus-tweet-linked-rise-anti-asian-hashtags-twitter>; and Hswen et al., “Association of ‘#covid19’ Versus ‘#chinesevirus’ With Anti-Asian Sentiments on Twitter,” 957, 960-961.
80. Segarra, “Misinformation about COVID-19 planted a seed for online hate speech,” Marketplace Tech, last modified March 23, 2021, <https://www.marketplace.org/shows/marketplace-tech/misinformation-about-covid-19-planted-a-seed-for-online-hate-speech-anti-asian-hate-crimes/>.
81. Melissa Borja et al., “Anti-Chinese Rhetoric Tied to Racism against Asian Americans Stop AAPI Hate Report,” Chinese for Affirmative Action, last modified June 22, 2020, <https://caasf.org/2020/06/anti-chinese-rhetoric-tied-to-racism-against-asian-americans-stop-aapi-hate-report/>.
82. For example, see Han, Riddell, and Piquero, “Anti-Asian American Hate Crimes Spike During the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 4-6, 9, 13-14; Hswen et al., “Association of ‘#covid19’ Versus ‘#chinesevirus’ With Anti-Asian Sentiments on Twitter,” 956, 961; Tavernise and Oppel Jr., “Spit On, Yelled At, Attacked: Chinese-Americans Fear for Their Safety,” *The New York Times*, last modified May 5, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/23/us/chinese-coronavirus-racist-attacks.html>; and Ginette M. Sims et al., “Anti-Asian American Discrimination and COVID-19: Living with Fear,” *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation* 11, no. 3 (2022): 206-207, <https://doi.org/10.1027/2157-3891/a000048>.

“... increased acts of racism and violence towards Asian people.”⁸³ This observation can be substantiated by Rebecca Ruiz’s article that borrowed from Russel Jeung’s insights to explain how anti-Asian CDMI, through racializing COVID-19, indicated the racist dimension of COVID-19’s “infodemic,”⁸⁴ and resulted in the proliferation of verbal harassment and physical assault against Asian Americans.⁸⁵ Additionally, Diana Yeh further strengthened the causal relationship between anti-Asian CDMI and hate crimes by stating how Trump’s “Chinese Virus” resulted in racist speculation about COVID-19’s origin and “... an unprecedented rise in racial violence – physical, verbal, symbolic, and structural – that took place on the streets, in public transport, at workplaces, in the media and social media, and in the mouths of the political elite.”⁸⁶ Similar to Yeh, Chrysalis Wright and Hang Duong contextualized their research by identifying the simultaneous rise in COVID-19 fake news, anti-Asian attitudes, and anti-Asian hate crimes in the U.S.⁸⁷ Within the U.S., Sungil Han, Jordan Riddell, and Alex Piquero noted how immediately following the dissemination of the phrases “Kung Flu” and “Chinese Virus,”⁸⁸ there was a momentary but rapid rise in anti-Asian hate crimes.⁸⁹ On a global scale, different

83. Alton Grizzle, “Media and Information Literacy against racial discrimination: Young Experts from Canada and Morocco,” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, last modified Last modified April 21, 2022, <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/media-and-information-literacy-against-racial-discrimination-young-experts-canada-and-morocco>.

84. World Health Organization, “Infodemic,” accessed November 27, 2022, https://www.who.int/health-topics/infodemic#tab=tab_1.

85. Ruiz, “When you become the target of racist disinformation,” Mashable, last modified June 27, 2021, <https://mashable.com/article/covid-19-disinformation-anti-asian-racism>.

86. Yeh, “Covid-19, Anti-Asian Racial Violence, and The Borders of Chineseness.”

87. Chrysalis L. Wright and Hang Duong, “COVID-19 Fake News and Attitudes toward Asian Americans,” *Journal of Media Research* 14, no. 1 (2021): 7-8, doi: 10.24193/jmr.39.1.

88. Han, Riddell, and Piquero, “Anti-Asian American Hate Crimes Spike During the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 9, 14.

89. Han, Riddell, and Piquero, “Anti-Asian American Hate Crimes Spike During the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 13-14.

studies outlined how xenophobic and racist CDMI, specifically anti-Asian CDMI, transferred from online to offline spaces.⁹⁰

The literature exhibited how anti-Asian CDMI contributed to hate crimes, and confirmed that anti-Asian CDMI transformed into hate crimes against Asian communities around the world; hence, the literature demonstrated the causal relationship between anti-Asian CDMI and anti-Asian hate crimes, and proved that anti-Asian CDMI should be considered a global security threat.⁹¹ However, the literature does not delve much into the evolution of different state responses to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes.⁹² As a result, this paper will provide a comparative analysis of state responses to assess different governance examples to the same global security threat. This comparative analysis will contribute to the literature by categorizing different state responses, and identifying their successes and shortcomings through further exploring the transformation of anti-Asian CDMI into hate speech and hate crimes. Since “. . . [there is still a] limited understanding of how [CDMI] erodes the well-being of those in the

90. For example, see Ali, “Combatting Against Covid-19 & Misinformation,” 342-343; Hswen et al., “Association of ‘#covid19’ Versus ‘#chinesevirus’ With Anti-Asian Sentiments on Twitter,” 956-957, 961; and Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E220.

91. United Nations Human Rights: Office of the High Commissioner, *Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants; and the Working Group on discrimination against women and girls*, AL USA 20/2020 (12 August 2020), available from <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownLoadPublicCommunicationFile?gId=25476>; and Roberto, Johnson, and Rauhaus, “Stigmatization and Prejudice during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 364-365, 369-370; and Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E220.

92. Gover, Harper, and Langton, “Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 660; and June Kim and Pratyusha Tummala-Narra, “Introduction: Rise of Anti-Asian Violence and the COVID-19 Pandemic for Asian Americans,” *Asian American Journal of Psychology* 13, no. 3 (2022): 218, <https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000301>.

crosshairs of conspiracy theories and disinformation,”⁹³ and because anti-Asian perspectives motivated by COVID-19 continue to exist,⁹⁴ the findings in this paper are relevant.

Governance around the World Case Studies: How did the U.K., Canada, and the U.S. respond to anti-Asian CDMI and its Consequences?

This section will first outline how each state responded to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes, and will then compare the responses to each other. Outlining and comparing the role of the state in these three case studies is important because juxtaposing them emphasizes where each succeeded or failed in security governance.

The U.K.

With COVID-19 and Trump’s “Chinese Virus” rhetoric travelling around the world, the U.K. saw a significant rise in anti-Asian hate crimes compared to the data from 2019.⁹⁵ Aside from being disregarded by the state, anti-Asian racism, inspired by anti-Asian CDMI, grew both

93. Ruiz, “When you become the target of racist disinformation,” Mashable, last modified June 27, 2021, <https://mashable.com/article/covid-19-disinformation-anti-asian-racism>.

94. Kim and Tummala-Narra, “Introduction,” 217; and Aggie J. Yellow Horse and Theresa Chen, *Two Years and Thousands of Voices: What Community-Generated Data Tells Us About Anti-AAPI Hate* (San Francisco: Stop AAPI Hate, 2022), 3, 10, <https://stopaapihate.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Stop-AAPI-Hate-Year-2-Report.pdf>.

95. Tony Thompson, “Hate crime against Londoners of an East Asian appearance almost doubles,” Police Professional, last modified December 4, 2020, <https://www.policeprofessional.com/news/hate-crime-against-londoners-of-an-east-asian-appearance-almost-doubles/>; and Protection Approaches, *COVID-related hate East and South East Asian communities' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic* (London: Protection Approaches, 2020), 1, <https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/39436/html/>.

online and offline.⁹⁶ For instance, one study, based in the U.K., noticed prevalence of conspiracy theories and over 45% of the theories blamed China for COVID-19.⁹⁷ Moreover, after Trump's first use of "Chinese Virus," there were ". . . at least 317 [hateful tweets emanating] from within the UK."⁹⁸ Throughout the first year of the pandemic, there was a 2,770% increase in hate speech targeting Asians.⁹⁹ In real life, there was a 21% increase in anti-Asian hate crimes days after the pandemic officially began,¹⁰⁰ and a 300% increase in anti-Asian hate crimes months after the start of the pandemic;¹⁰¹ this increase was unique to Asian, specifically Chinese, communities in the U.K.¹⁰²

In response to this context, the British government adopted an indifferent position.

Firstly, there was no publicized government statement of solidarity for Britain's Asian

96. Gray and Hansen, "Did Covid-19 Lead to an Increase in Hate Crimes Toward Chinese People in London?" 577, 579-580, 583; and Ditch the Label and Brandwatch, *Uncovered: Online Hate Speech in the Covid Era* (Brighton: Ditch the Label, 2021), 2, 12-13, <https://www.ditchthelabel.org/research-papers/hate-speech-report-2021/>.

97. United Nations, General Assembly, *Contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance*, A/75/329 (28 August 2020), available from undocs.org/en/A/75/329; and Georgios Karyotis, "British people blame Chinese government more than their own for the spread of coronavirus," *The Conversation*, last modified May 6, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/british-people-blame-chinese-government-more-than-their-own-for-the-spread-of-coronavirus-137642>.

98. Cardiff University, "COVID-19 political commentary linked to online hate crime," last modified March 29, 2021, <https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/2510296-covid-19-political-commentary-linked-to-online-hate-crime>.

99. Ditch the Label and Brandwatch, *Uncovered*, 12.

100. Cardiff University, "COVID-19 political commentary linked to online hate crime," last modified March 29, 2021, <https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/2510296-covid-19-political-commentary-linked-to-online-hate-crime>.

101. Kate Ng, "Chinese groups in UK are being taught how to handle Covid hate crimes after brutal attack on lecturer," *The Independent*, last modified March 3, 2021, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/coronavirus-racism-chinese-hate-crimes-b1811881.html>; and International Bar Association, "IBA and IBAHRI condemn anti-Asian hate crimes and call for fortification of anti-racism legal frameworks," last modified May 7, 2021, <https://www.ibanet.org/IBA-IBAHRI-condemn-anti-asian-hate-crimes>.

102. Gray and Hansen, "Did Covid-19 Lead to an Increase in Hate Crimes Toward Chinese People in London?" 577, 579-580, 583.

communities.¹⁰³ In fact, the only time the government announced its condemnation of anti-Asian racism during COVID-19 was when it responded to a petition that was asking for funding to help communities suffering from COVID-19-related racism and for anti-racism initiatives.¹⁰⁴ Second, the first time anti-Asian racism related to COVID-19 was discussed in parliament was in October 2020; at this parliamentary meeting, “. . . not a single Conservative, not a single Government Member, decided to turn up.”¹⁰⁵ Because there was no publicized statement condemning anti-Asian racism and because the discussion regarding anti-Asian racism related to COVID-19 happened months after the onset of anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes, the state evidently did not care.¹⁰⁶ Third, in the government’s reply to the Online Harms White Paper, which emphasized the severity of online hate, “race” and “racism” are not mentioned.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, the state never addressed or took any measures against the racialization of COVID-19 and the consequences of this racialization.¹⁰⁸

103. UK Government and Parliament, “Closed petition: Fund additional support for victims of COVID19 racism and anti-racism programmes,” last modified April 28, 2021, <https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/578173>.

104. UK Government and Parliament, “Closed petition: Fund additional support for victims of COVID19 racism and anti-racism programmes,” last modified April 28, 2021, <https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/578173>.

105. UK Parliament, “Chinese and East Asian Communities: Racism during Covid-19,” last modified October 13, 2020, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2020-10-13/debates/858E78B5-1049-4480-A1A7-5362FC12F47E/ChineseAndEastAsianCommunitiesRacismDuringCovid-19>; and Yeh, “How the UK’s East and South-East Asian communities are fighting COVID-related violence,” Open Democracy, last modified November 23, 2021, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/pandemic-border/how-east-and-south-east-asian-communities-are-fighting-covid-related-violence/>.

106. UK Parliament, “Chinese and East Asian Communities: Racism during Covid-19,” last modified October 13, 2020, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2020-10-13/debates/858E78B5-1049-4480-A1A7-5362FC12F47E/ChineseAndEastAsianCommunitiesRacismDuringCovid-19>.

107. Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, and Secretary of State for the Home Department, “Consultation outcome: Online Harms White Paper: Full government response to the consultation,” Government of the United Kingdom, last modified December 15, 2020, <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/online-harms-white-paper/outcome/online-harms-white-paper-full-government-response>.

108. Yeh, “Covid-19, Anti-Asian Racial Violence, and The Borders of Chineseness.”

Additionally, the British government has also been antagonistic towards Asian communities in the U.K. On the societal level, the government rejected a petition that listed actions the government could take to “prevent Anti-Asian hate crime in Britain,”¹⁰⁹ such as stopping the media from visually associating COVID-19 with Asian communities, which was a trend noticed by Mai-Anh Peterson and Amy Phung;¹¹⁰ the government rejected this petition based on it “. . . not [being] clear [about] what [it was] asking the UK Government or Parliament to do.”¹¹¹ Moreover, the government denied and overlooked systemic racism in its response to the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities.¹¹² Based on how over twenty organizations have shunned the Commission’s work,¹¹³ and on how the Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities, Marsha de Cordova, thought the Commission “. . . [downplayed] institutional racism in a pandemic where black, Asian and ethnic minority people have died disproportionately and are now twice as likely to be unemployed,”¹¹⁴ the state, as seen by its positive response to the Commission and its “Inclusive Britain” recommendations based on the

109.Sarah Owens, “Prevent Anti-Asian hate crime in Britain,” UK Government and Parliament, last modified March 18, 2021, <https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/580350>.

110.Haynes, “‘This Isn’t Just a Problem for North America.’ The Atlanta Shooting Highlights the Painful Reality of Rising Anti-Asian Violence Around the World,” Time Magazine, last modified March 22, 2021, <https://time.com/5947862/anti-asian-attacks-rising-worldwide/>.

111.Owens, “Prevent Anti-Asian hate crime in Britain,” UK Government and Parliament, last modified March 18, 2021, <https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/580350>.

112.Government of the United Kingdom, “Inclusive Britain: government response to the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities,” last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/inclusive-britain-action-plan-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities/inclusive-britain-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities>.

113.Aamna Mohdin and Peter Walker, “Bodies credited in UK race review distance themselves from findings,” The Guardian, last modified April 12, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/12/bodies-credited-in-uk-race-review-distance-themselves-from-findings>.

114.Mohdin and Walker, “Bodies credited in UK race review distance themselves from findings,” The Guardian, last modified April 12, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/12/bodies-credited-in-uk-race-review-distance-themselves-from-findings>.

Commission's results, clearly failed to address racist, specifically anti-Asian, CDMI (and DMI), while also perpetuating the harmful "model minority" image for Asian communities.¹¹⁵

Ultimately, the British government's response to anti-Asian CDMI and related discrimination did not evolve: from its parliamentary indifference in 2020 to its ignorance with the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities and its "Inclusive Britain" response to the Commission in 2022, the state overlooked the human security threat anti-Asian CDMI and its subsequent hate crimes posed, and remained indifferent and antagonistic throughout the pandemic.¹¹⁶ In terms of "norm management,"¹¹⁷ preventative measures, and victim support, the U.K. had no human security governance response to anti-Asian CDMI and the hate crimes it inspired.¹¹⁸

Canada

Aligned with the global trend of increased hate crimes against Asian communities and rise of racist CDMI blaming Asians for COVID-19, Canada saw a nation-wide increase in hate

115. Government of the United Kingdom, "Inclusive Britain: government response to the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities," last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/inclusive-britain-action-plan-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities/inclusive-britain-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities>.

116. UK Parliament, "Chinese and East Asian Communities: Racism during Covid-19," last modified October 13, 2020, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2020-10-13/debates/858E78B5-1049-4480-A1A7-5362FC12F47E/ChineseAndEastAsianCommunitiesRacismDuringCovid-19>; and Government of the United Kingdom, "Inclusive Britain: government response to the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities," last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/inclusive-britain-action-plan-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities/inclusive-britain-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities>.

117. Kinzig et al., "Social Norms and Global Environmental Challenges," 5-6.

118. Human Security Unit, *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, 11, 35; Human Security Unit, *Human Security Handbook*, 8-10; Axworthy, "Human Security and Global Governance," 20, 23; and Vickers, "Values, Norms and Policies," 103-107.

crimes against Asian Canadians and Asians residing in Canada.¹¹⁹ In terms of the impact of anti-Asian CDMI, a survey conducted in early 2020 recorded that many of the survey participants believed “. . . that Chinese and/or Asian Canadians were the carriers of COVID-19.”¹²⁰ Thus, the national increase in hate crimes against Asians surged because of COVID-19, and specifically because of anti-Asian CDMI.¹²¹ Regarding the offline consequences of anti-Asian CDMI, Vancouver’s 2020 statistics made it the “anti-Asian hate crime capital of North America,”¹²² the number of anti-Asian hate crimes increased sevenfold in Ottawa compared to 2019,¹²³ and major cities across Canada have seen similar trends.¹²⁴

119. Wang and Moreau, “Police-reported hate crime in Canada, 2020,” Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00005-eng.htm>.

120. United Nations, General Assembly, *Contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance*, A/75/329 (28 August 2020), available from undocs.org/en/A/75/329.

121. Myrna El Fakhry Tuttle, “Asian Canadians and Hate Crimes During COVID-19,” Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre (blog), May 13, 2022, <https://www.aclrc.com/blog/19>; Jeanna Parsons Leigh et al., “Lived Experiences of Asian Canadians Encountering Discrimination during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Qualitative Interview Study,” *CMAJ Open* 10, no. 2 (2022): E542-E543, <https://doi.org/10.9778/cmajo.20220019>; and Shibao Guo, “Multiculturalism at a Crossroads: Toward Pandemic Anti-Racism Education in Post-Covid-19 Canada,” *Canadian Issues* (2020): 83, <https://www.proquest.com/openview/c7a0dfb36f9cfd2f7a48da324f81e505/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=43874>.

122. Johna Baylon and Leyland Cecco, “Attacks make Vancouver ‘anti-Asian hate crime capital of North America,’” *The Guardian*, last modified May 23, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/23/vancouver-anti-asian-hate-crimes-increase>; and Ling Lei and Shibao Guo, “Beyond Multiculturalism: Revisioning a Model of Pandemic Anti-Racism Education in Post-Covid-19 Canada,” *International Journal of Anthropology and Ethnology* 6, no. 1 (2022): 8, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41257-021-00060-7>.

123. Ottawa Police Service, *Incidents Motivated by Hate (Criminal Offenses Only)* (Ottawa: Ottawa Police Services, 2021), <https://www.ottawapolice.ca/en/news-and-community/resources/Hate-Crimes-2019-2020.pdf>.

124. Government of Canada, “Eliminate hate: Addressing Anti-Asian racism,” last modified November 4, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/government/system/digital-government/living-digital/ahm.html>.

Acknowledging the rise in anti-Asian hate crimes during the pandemic, Prime Minister Trudeau released public statements condemning anti-Asian racism.¹²⁵ Moreover, the Canadian government created the Digital Citizen Contribution Program (DCCP) to combat online disinformation.¹²⁶ In particular, the DCCP was discussed on the government’s Asian Heritage Month 2021 page, and the government specifically addressed how the program would be used to respond to racist CDMI; the government also listed the funding it dedicated during the pandemic to anti-racism measures on the same page.¹²⁷ The government has also created a webpage that lists resources for people to learn about and stand against anti-Asian racism:¹²⁸ one of these sources leads to a page that outlines the connection between anti-Asian CDMI and anti-Asian racism, and allows victims or witnesses of anti-Asian COVID-19-related hate crimes to report their experiences.¹²⁹ Additionally, the government is updating its national anti-racism strategy by including anti-Asian racism, something that had been missing in the 2019 federal anti-racism

125. Global News, “‘Hatred and intolerance in all its forms are absolutely unacceptable in Canada’: Trudeau on rise of troubling anti-Asian racism,” last modified April 22, 2021, <https://globalnews.ca/video/7781993/hatred-and-intolerance-in-all-its-forms-are-absolutely-unacceptable-in-canada-trudeau-on-rise-of-troubling-anti-asian-racism>.

126. Canadian Heritage, “Digital Citizen Contribution Program,” Government of Canada, last modified September 7, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/online-disinformation/digital-citizen-contribution-program.html>.

127. Canadian Heritage, “Asian Heritage Month: Celebrating Contributions of Asian Communities and Addressing Anti-Asian Racism in Canada,” Government of Canada, last modified May 31, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/news/2021/05/asian-heritage-month-celebrating-contributions-of-asian-communities-and-addressing-anti-asian-racism-in-canada.html>; and Canadian Heritage, “Digital Citizen Contribution Program,” Government of Canada, last modified September 7, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/online-disinformation/digital-citizen-contribution-program.html>.

128. Government of Canada, “Addressing anti-Asian racism,” last modified May 11, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/asian-heritage-month/anti-asian-racism.html>.

129. Fight COVID-19 Racism, “COVID-19 Racism in Canada Incident Reporting,” Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter, accessed November 29, 2022, <https://www.covidr racism.ca/report>; and Kong et al., *A Year of Racist Attacks*, 10, 21, 24.

plan.¹³⁰ The Canadian government has also taken actions related to racism caused by the pandemic, but not specifically regarding anti-Asian CDMI.¹³¹ One example of this is the COVID-19 Taskforce, which allows people to communicate with policymakers: a specific area of interest this Taskforce deals with is anti-Asian racism relating to the pandemic.¹³² Another example of the government addressing matters related to anti-Asian CDMI was how in 2021, a bill was introduced to amend the Canadian Human Rights Act, the Criminal Code, the Youth Criminal Justice Act to broaden the definition of discriminatory to include spreading hate speech; if passed, this bill would grant the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal more legal power to punish perpetrators.¹³³

Overall, Canada's response to anti-Asian CDMI has been ambivalent. While the state did publicly support Asian communities and has taken preventative measures against the spread of anti-Asian CDMI and hate through funding anti-racism plans and forming the COVID-19 Taskforce, it has yet to update its hate speech and DMI legislation to better address

130. Canadian Heritage, "Asian Heritage Month: Celebrating Contributions of Asian Communities and Addressing Anti-Asian Racism in Canada," Government of Canada, last modified May 31, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/news/2021/05/asian-heritage-month-celebrating-contributions-of-asian-communities-and-addressing-anti-asian-racism-in-canada.html>; and Ryan Patrick Jones, "Asian Canadians see flaws in federal anti-racism strategy," CBC News, last modified April 8, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/anti-racism-strategy-asian-canadians-1.5977980>.

131. Government of Canada, "Addressing COVID-19 needs in diverse communities," last modified February 1, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/federal-anti-racism-secretariat/covid-19-diverse-communities.html#a1>.

132. Government of Canada, "Addressing COVID-19 needs in diverse communities," last modified February 1, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/federal-anti-racism-secretariat/covid-19-diverse-communities.html#a1>.

133. Robert Mason and Julian Walker, *Legislative Summary of Bill C-36: An Act to amend the Criminal Code and the Canadian Human Rights Act and to make related amendments to another Act (hate propaganda, hate crimes and hate speech)* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2021), 1-2, 6-7, https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/LegislativeSummaries/432C36E#ftn11.

discriminatory DMI.¹³⁴ Considering the rise in discriminatory, but especially anti-Asian, hate speech and hate crimes during the pandemic, the Minister of Justice introduced a bill to update DMI legislation better address racist hate speech and propaganda, but the bill died.¹³⁵

Consequently, Canada still has weak DMI infrastructure, as seen by how despite the Canadian government being aware of the connection between DMI, hate speech, and hate crime years before the pandemic,¹³⁶ Canada still saw record-breaking levels of anti-Asian CDMI-related hate crimes in 2020;¹³⁷ in 2022, “Canada continues to report a higher number of anti-Asian racism incidents per capita than the United States by over 100%.”¹³⁸ However, the state’s security response did evolve and continues to evolve, as seen by the ongoing efforts to prevent and combat the consequences of anti-Asian racism and anti-Asian CDMI.¹³⁹ The Canadian government also continues to voice its support for Asian communities and recognize the need to stop blaming Asians for COVID-19.¹⁴⁰ Canada’s human security governance response to anti-Asian CDMI and the hate crimes it inspired focused primarily on “norm management,”¹⁴¹ as

134. Mason and Walker, *Legislative Summary of Bill C-36*, 1.

135. Mason and Walker, *Legislative Summary of Bill C-36*, 1.

136. Canadian Heritage and Multiculturalism, *Building a Foundation for Change: Canada’s Anti-Racism Strategy 2019-2022* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2019), 17-19.

137. Wang and Moreau, “Police-reported hate crime in Canada, 2020,” Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00005-eng.htm>.

138. Government of Canada, “Eliminate hate: Addressing Anti-Asian racism,” last modified November 4, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/government/system/digital-government/living-digital/ahm.html>.

139. Canadian Heritage, “Asian Heritage Month: Celebrating Contributions of Asian Communities and Addressing Anti-Asian Racism in Canada,” Government of Canada, last modified May 31, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/news/2021/05/asian-heritage-month-celebrating-contributions-of-asian-communities-and-addressing-anti-asian-racism-in-canada.html>.

140. Government of Canada, “Eliminate hate: Addressing Anti-Asian racism,” last modified November 4, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/government/system/digital-government/living-digital/ahm.html>.

141. Kinzig et al., “Social Norms and Global Environmental Challenges,” 5-6.

demonstrated by the state's publicized support and the inclusion of anti-Asian racism in the federal anti-racism plan, and on preventative measures, as evidenced by the DCCP and proposed legislation.¹⁴² However, while Canada moves towards implementing more human security-inspired measures, its response so far has delivered more plans than action.¹⁴³

The U.S.

The U.S. presents an interesting case study because the presidency changed during the pandemic; regardless, both administrations responded to the same issue of anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes.¹⁴⁴ Preceding the national trend of the rise in anti-Asian hate crimes,¹⁴⁵ anti-Asian CDMI was prolific, especially during Trump's presidency.¹⁴⁶ There was an over 650%

142. Canadian Heritage, "Building a Foundation for Change: Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy 2019–2022," Government of Canada, last modified June 23, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/anti-racism-engagement/anti-racism-strategy.html>; Human Security Unit, *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, 11, 35; Human Security Unit, *Human Security Handbook*, 8-10; Axworthy, "Human Security and Global Governance," 20, 23; and Vickers, "Values, Norms and Policies," 103-107.

143. Canadian Heritage, "Asian Heritage Month: Celebrating Contributions of Asian Communities and Addressing Anti-Asian Racism in Canada," Government of Canada, last modified May 31, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/news/2021/05/asian-heritage-month-celebrating-contributions-of-asian-communities-and-addressing-anti-asian-racism-in-canada.html>.

144. The White House, "Inaugural Address by President Joseph R. Biden, Jr.," last modified January 20, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/01/20/inaugural-address-by-president-joseph-r-biden-jr/>.

145. Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism, *Fact Sheet: Anti-Asian Prejudice March 2021 Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism* (San Bernardino: Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism, 2021), 1-2, <https://www.csusb.edu/sites/default/files/FACT%20SHEET-%20Anti-Asian%20Hate%202020%20rev%203.21.21.pdf>.

146. Hswen et al., "Association of '#covid19' Versus '#chinesevirus' With Anti-Asian Sentiments on Twitter," 956-957, 961.

increase in hate speech in the U.S. on Twitter after Trump’s first use of “Chinese Virus.”¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, a Center for Public Integrity poll recorded one third of the participants had seen people “. . . blaming Asian people for the COVID-19 epidemic,”¹⁴⁸ and it “found that about three in ten Americans blamed China or Chinese people for the pandemic.”¹⁴⁹ Additionally, studies conducted in 2020 found that almost 30% of American adults subscribed to the idea of COVID-19 being a bioweapon manufactured by China.¹⁵⁰ The U.S. was ultimately one of the countries with the most anti-Asian CDMI and bias.¹⁵¹ Consequently, there was an approximate 76.6% increase in anti-Asian hate crimes in the U.S. in 2020.¹⁵² In 2021, there was a 339% increase in anti-Asian hate crimes,¹⁵³ and on March 16, 2021, three spas were targeted and six Asian women were murdered in the infamous Atlanta Spa Shootings.¹⁵⁴

147. Cardiff University, “COVID-19 political commentary linked to online hate crime,” last modified March 29, 2021, <https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/2510296-covid-19-political-commentary-linked-to-online-hate-crime>.

148. Chris Jackson, Jennifer Berg, and Jinhee Yi, “New Center for Public Integrity/Ipsos Poll finds most Americans say the Coronavirus Pandemic is a Natural Disaster,” IPSOS, last modified April 28, 2020, <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/news-polls/center-for-public-integrity-poll-2020#>.

149. Jackson, Berg, and Yi, “New Center for Public Integrity/Ipsos Poll finds most Americans say the Coronavirus Pandemic is a Natural Disaster,” IPSOS, last modified April 28, 2020, <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/news-polls/center-for-public-integrity-poll-2020#>.

150. Wright and Duong, “COVID-19 Fake News and Attitudes toward Asian Americans,” 8-9.

151. Ng, “Anti-Asian Sentiments During the COVID-19 Pandemic Across 20 Countries,” 1, 5.

152. Federal Bureau of Investigation, “2020 Hate Crimes Statistics,” The United States Department of Justice, last modified May 5, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/crs/highlights/2020-hate-crimes-statistics>.

153. Kimmy Yam, “Anti-Asian hate crimes increased 339 percent nationwide last year, report says,” NBC News, last modified January 31, 2022, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/anti-asian-hate-crimes-increased-339-percent-nationwide-last-year-repo-rcna14282>.

154. Michelle Chen, “‘She could have been your mother’: anti-Asian racism a year after Atlanta spa shootings,” The Guardian, last modified March 16, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/mar/16/anti-asian-racism-atlanta-spa-shootings-anniversary>.

As mentioned throughout this paper, Trump was responsible for exacerbating the hate Asian Americans, and Asians around the world, experienced; consequently, his response to anti-Asian CDMI reflected this attitude.¹⁵⁵ Known as a popular progenitor of anti-Asian CDMI, Trump continued to fuel anti-Asian CDMI and hatred by blaming China for COVID-19, claiming that COVID-19 was a Chinese bioweapon, and by reiterating his racist rhetoric.¹⁵⁶ After national backlash, Trump continued to blame China for COVID-19 and remained indifferent when being asked about the rise of anti-Asian hate crimes in the U.S.¹⁵⁷ In addition to his own use of “Chinese Virus” and other terms, some politicians used this rhetoric in public statements as well.¹⁵⁸ Trump’s anti-Asian CDMI response also had an international agenda: to further the hostile relationship between China and the U.S., Trump’s administration implemented policies, in the name of COVID-19 and geopolitics, that banned Chinese students (based on their educational histories) from the U.S., and issued espionage charges against Chinese and Chinese American scholars to the extent it has been considered “racial profiling.”¹⁵⁹ Under Trump’s

155. See Li and Nicholson Jr., “When ‘Model Minorities’ Become ‘Yellow Peril’—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 7; and Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E219-E220.

156. Hill, “The Overlooked Tragedy of the Pandemic,” 128, 135-136; and Anthony R. DiMaggio, “Conspiracy Theories and the Manufacture of Dissent: QAnon, the ‘Big Lie’, Covid-19, and the Rise of Rightwing Propaganda,” *Critical Sociology* 48, no. 6 (2022): 1035, <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211073669>.

157. Hill, “The Overlooked Tragedy of the Pandemic,” 128, 135-136; and Gover, Harper, and Langton, “Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 660-661.

158. DiMaggio, “Conspiracy Theories and the Manufacture of Dissent,” 1035; Costello et al., “COVID-19: A Pandemic of Anti-Asian Cyberhate,” 115; and Nicholas Wu, “GOP senator says China ‘to blame’ for coronavirus spread because of ‘culture where people eat bats and snakes and dogs,’” USA Today, last modified March 19, 2020, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2020/03/18/coronavirus-sen-john-cornyn-says-chinese-eating-bats-spread-virus/2869342001/>.

159. Edward Wong and Julian E. Barnes, “U.S. to Expel Chinese Graduate Students With Ties to China’s Military Schools,” *New York Times*, last modified December 3, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/28/us/politics/china-hong-kong-trump-student-visas.html>; Nicolas Sung, “Anti-Asian Prejudice Undermines U.S. National Security: Revisiting the U.S. Government’s Deportation of Qian Xuesen,” *Just Security*, last modified September 6, 2022, <https://www.justsecurity.org/82948/anti-asian-prejudice/>; and Eileen Guo, Jess Aloe, and Karen Hao, “The US crackdown on Chinese economic

administration, the UN heavily criticized the U.S.'s response to anti-Asian COVID-19-related racism, stating how “. . . U.S. authorities . . . utterly failed to take the steps required to detect, monitor, and prevent racist and xenophobic incidents.”¹⁶⁰ Thus, during former President Trump's time in office, the state, aside from Congresswoman Grace Meng and a few other government officials, was unresponsive to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes; this greatly contrasted the prompt federal response to racialized hate following SARS and the September 11 attacks.¹⁶¹

In contrast, President Biden took immediate action once he was inaugurated in January 2021.¹⁶² From his decision to issue a presidential memorandum to combat anti-Asian COVID-19-related racism and allot more funding AANHPI (Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders) communities' research to his administration's COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act and more, Biden's response to anti-Asian CDMI went beyond promises.¹⁶³ While his measures did not directly counter anti-Asian CDMI, they did prioritize lessening anti-Asian prejudice.¹⁶⁴ In

espionage is a mess. We have the data to show it,” MIT Technology Review, last modified December 2, 2021, <https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/12/02/1040656/china-initiative-us-justice-department/>.

160. United Nations Human Rights: Office of the High Commissioner, *Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants; and the Working Group on discrimination against women and girls*, AL USA 20/2020 (12 August 2020), available from <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gId=25476>.

161. Gover, Harper, and Langton, “Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 660.

162. The White House, “Inaugural Address by President Joseph R. Biden, Jr.,” last modified January 20, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/01/20/inaugural-address-by-president-joseph-r-biden-jr/>.

163. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country,” last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>.

164. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country,” last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden->

addition to implementing policies, Biden’s response also included collaborating with renowned Korean pop music group BTS to further normalize the condemnation of anti-Asian racism,¹⁶⁵ funding initiatives to increase AANHPI communities’ access multilingual resources, and helping AANHPI communities get justice.¹⁶⁶ Although the Biden administration’s response focused more on helping victims of anti-Asian CDMI and hate crimes than on addressing racist CDMI, it still illustrated how states can create legislation to advance national human security.¹⁶⁷ Despite the flaws behind some of Biden’s anti-Asian racism response, his administration’s initiatives still made anti-Asian COVID-19-related hate crimes a presidential matter and set a precedent.¹⁶⁸ Given this, the Biden administration’s response prioritized the human security of Asian communities in the U.S., and demonstrated how the U.S.’s response to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes evolved.¹⁶⁹ In terms of human security governance, Trump’s response was

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165. Mariah Espada, “‘Devastated’ BTS Visits President Biden to Condemn Anti-Asian Hate Crimes in the U.S.,” *Time Magazine*, last modified May 31, 2022, <https://time.com/6182944/bts-white-house/>.

166. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country,” last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>.

167. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country,” last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>.

168. Chu Li, “The COVID-19 Hate Crime Act: Anti-Chinese Sentiment and Xenophobia in Times of Austerity,” *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 64 (2022): 453, <https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.220504.082>; and Rhonda Sonnenberg, “One Year Later: COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act a promising work in progress,” *Southern Poverty Law Center*, last modified May 20, 2022, <https://www.splcenter.org/news/2022/05/20/one-year-later-covid-19-hate-crimes-act-promising-work-progress>.

169. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country,” last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden->

absent; however, under Biden’s administration, the U.S.’s human security governance response to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes mainly focused on “norm management,”¹⁷⁰ as seen by the state’s publicized support and its decision to invite BTS to the White House during the pandemic to condemn anti-Asian racism, and on victim support, as seen by how the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act was created to help victims of hate crimes attain justice by making federal and law enforcement services more accessible.¹⁷¹

Discussion: Comparing States’ Responses

Comparing and categorizing the states’ responses provides a framework that distinguishes which countries need to take more action (as illustrated by figure 1). Despite their different responses, the three states shared the common trait of having a late response (in relation to rise of anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes in early 2020); this was demonstrated by the number of hate crimes and hate speech incidents that happened before states acknowledged and

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170. Kinzig et al., “Social Norms and Global Environmental Challenges,” 5-6.

171. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country,” last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>; The White House, “Fact Sheet: President Biden Establishes the White House Initiative on Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders,” last modified May 28, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/05/28/fact-sheet-president-biden-establishes-the-white-house-initiative-on-asian-americans-native-hawaiians-and-pacific-islanders/>; Human Security Unit, *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, 11, 35; Human Security Unit, *Human Security Handbook*, 8-10; Axworthy, “Human Security and Global Governance,” 20, 23; and Vickers, “Values, Norms and Policies,” 103-107.

acted against anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes, if at all.¹⁷²

Moreover, Canada's and the U.S.'s responses were also similar in terms of trying to influence norms because both states publicly condemned anti-Asian racism.¹⁷³ However, based on

Biden's memorandum and the U.S. government's decision to invite influential recording artists to the White House to speak out against anti-Asian racism in 2021, the U.S.'s effort to shape norms went further than Canada's.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the U.S. directed resources towards addressing anti-Asian hate crimes inspired by COVID-19 rather than towards the root cause of these crimes,

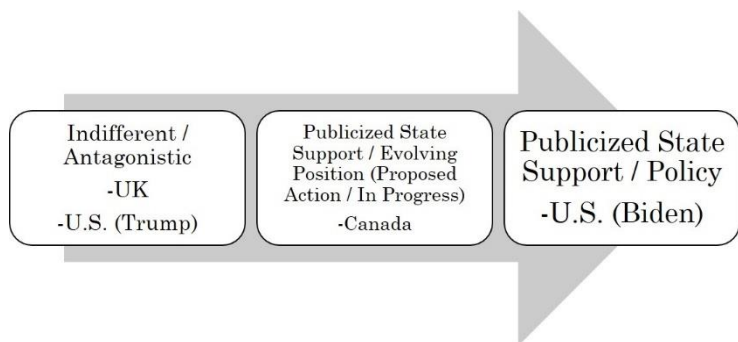


Figure 1. Visualization of the three states' responses to and measures against anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes compared to each other. The purpose of the arrow is to illustrate the evolution of their responses, as well as their potential evolution. Diagram created by author.

172. Protection Approaches, *COVID-related hate East and South East Asian communities' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic*, 1; Wang and Moreau, "Police-reported hate crime in Canada, 2020," Canadian Centre for Justice and Community Safety Statistics, last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2022001/article/00005-eng.htm>; and Federal Bureau of Investigation, "2020 Hate Crimes Statistics," The United States Department of Justice, last modified May 5, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/crs/highlights/2020-hate-crimes-statistics>.

173. The White House, "Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country," last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>; and Global News, "'Hatred and intolerance in all its forms are absolutely unacceptable in Canada': Trudeau on rise of troubling anti-Asian racism," last modified April 22, 2021, <https://globalnews.ca/video/7781993/hatred-and-intolerance-in-all-its-forms-are-absolutely-unacceptable-in-canada-trudeau-on-rise-of-troubling-anti-asian-racism>.

174. Espada, "'Devastated' BTS Visits President Biden to Condemn Anti-Asian Hate Crimes in the U.S.," Time Magazine, last modified May 31, 2022, <https://time.com/6182944/bts-white-house/>; The White House, "Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country," last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>; Halsey, "BTS," Time Magazine, accessed December 1, 2022, <https://time.com/collection/100-most-influential-people-2019/5567876/bts/>; and Raisa Bruner, "Time Entertainer of the Year: BTS," Time Magazine, Accessed December 1, 2022, <https://time.com/entertainer-of-the-year-2020-bts/>.

which was anti-Asian CDMI.¹⁷⁵ Although both states funded relevant research and tried to influence social norms, Canada's response focused on preventative measures while the U.S.'s response covered more area in terms of addressing racism but focused more on helping the victims of hate crimes.¹⁷⁶

Based on the case studies, the U.K.'s security response did not evolve beyond being absent: the government remained indifferent and antagonistic.¹⁷⁷ On a worse note, the Trump administration's response to anti-Asian CDMI was antagonistic, as evidenced by the anti-Asian CDMI Trump popularized himself, by the lack of action taken by federal institutions,¹⁷⁸ and by the policies he implemented.¹⁷⁹ Thus, the U.K. and the Trump administration presented no security response to anti-Asian CDMI and its consequences. In contrast, while Canada's DCCP is important in studying the impact of racist disinformation and even though its inclusion of anti-

175. The White House, "Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country," last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>.

176. Li, "The COVID-19 Hate Crime Act: Anti-Chinese Sentiment and Xenophobia in Times of Austerity," 453; and Canadian Heritage, "Digital Citizen Contribution Program," Government of Canada, last modified September 7, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/online-disinformation/digital-citizen-contribution-program.html>.

177. Yeh, "How the UK's East and South-East Asian communities are fighting COVID-related violence," Open Democracy, last modified November 23, 2021, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/pandemic-border/how-east-and-south-east-asian-communities-are-fighting-covid-related-violence/>.

178. Gover, Harper, and Langton, "Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic," 660-661.

179. Sung, "Anti-Asian Prejudice Undermines U.S. National Security: Revisiting the U.S. Government's Deportation of Qian Xuesen," Just Security, last modified September 6, 2022, <https://www.justsecurity.org/82948/anti-asian-prejudice/>; and Guo, Aloe, and Hao, "The US crackdown on Chinese economic espionage is a mess. We have the data to show it," MIT Technology Review, last modified December 2, 2021, <https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/12/02/1040656/china-initiative-us-justice-department/>.

Asian racism in the federal anti-racism plan demonstrates state growth,¹⁸⁰ the state's security governance initiatives and deliberations did not translate into anti-racism or anti-Asian CDMI federal policies during the pandemic.¹⁸¹ Going beyond plans and promises, the Biden administration's response to anti-Asian COVID-19-related hate crimes was the most significant security response to anti-Asian CDMI.¹⁸² Making the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act a part of American law and approving initiatives to support victims of anti-Asian hate crimes demonstrated how Biden turned his words into actions, and how his administration's response to the consequences of anti-Asian CDMI was the most thorough example of a human security-based response among the three states compared in this paper.¹⁸³ For instance, Biden had already signed the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act by the time the Canadian Minister of Justice introduced a bill that would make hate speech and hate crime laws more extensive, and include more regulations in the online realm (this bill died months later).¹⁸⁴ However, Biden's response was

180. Canadian Heritage, "Digital Citizen Contribution Program," Government of Canada, last modified September 7, 2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/online-disinformation/digital-citizen-contribution-program.html>.

181. Mason and Walker, *Legislative Summary of Bill C-36*, 1.

182. The White House, "Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country," last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>.

183. The White House, "Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country," last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>.

184. Mason and Walker, *Legislative Summary of Bill C-36*, 1; and The White House, "Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country," last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/>.

not perfect, and he still has not rescinded Trump’s policy that determined which Chinese post-secondary students could study in the U.S. based on the schools they attended in China.¹⁸⁵

In short, the U.K.’s response did not evolve: the state failed to provide many Asian communities in England with a sense of security throughout the pandemic.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, Canada’s response evolved because it resulted in action; however, this action was limited in scope and lacked legislative action.¹⁸⁷ Finally, the U.S.’s response evolved the most, shifting from Trump perpetuating anti-Asian CDMI in the name of nationalism and accusing Chinese and Chinese American scholars of espionage in the name of national security,¹⁸⁸ to Biden implementing a human security-focused response to the consequences of anti-Asian CDMI.¹⁸⁹

185. Sonnenberg, “One Year Later: COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act a promising work in progress,” Southern Poverty Law Center, last modified May 20, 2022, <https://www.splcenter.org/news/2022/05/20/one-year-later-covid-19-hate-crimes-act-promising-work-progress>; Li, “The COVID-19 Hate Crime Act: Anti-Chinese Sentiment and Xenophobia in Times of Austerity,” 453; and Stuart Anderson, “Biden Keeps Costly Trump Visa Policy Denying Chinese Grad Students,” *Forbes*, last modified August 10, 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2021/08/10/biden-keeps-costly-trump-visa-policy-denying-chinese-grad-students/?sh=3912d0b83641>.

186. UK Parliament, “Chinese and East Asian Communities: Racism during Covid-19,” last modified October 13, 2020, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2020-10-13/debates/858E78B5-1049-4480-A1A7-5362FC12F47E/ChineseAndEastAsianCommunitiesRacismDuringCovid-19>; and Government of the United Kingdom, “Inclusive Britain: government response to the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities,” last modified March 17, 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/inclusive-britain-action-plan-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities/inclusive-britain-government-response-to-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities>.

187. Canadian Heritage, “Asian Heritage Month: Celebrating Contributions of Asian Communities and Addressing Anti-Asian Racism in Canada,” Government of Canada, last modified May 31, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/news/2021/05/asian-heritage-month-celebrating-contributions-of-asian-communities-and-addressing-anti-asian-racism-in-canada.html>; and Mason and Walker, *Legislative Summary of Bill C-36*, 1.

188. Li and Nicholson Jr., “When ‘Model Minorities’ Become ‘Yellow Peril’—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” 7; Dionne and Turkmen, “The Politics of Pandemic Othering,” E219-E220; and Guo, Aloe, and Hao, “The US crackdown on Chinese economic espionage is a mess. We have the data to show it,” *MIT Technology Review*, last modified December 2, 2021, <https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/12/02/1040656/china-initiative-us-justice-department/>.

189. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Advances Equity and Opportunity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Communities Across the Country,” last modified January 20, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/01/20/fact-sheet-biden->

Therefore, in terms of human security governance, the U.K.'s and Trump's responses were absent. Moreover, Biden's and Canada's responses both prioritized "norm management,"¹⁹⁰ but the former was more dedicated to supporting victims while the latter focused on future prevention.¹⁹¹ Despite the trend of anti-Asian COVID-19-related hate crimes happening around the world after 2020, this paper illustrates how some states are motivated enough to continue acting against and evolving their responses to anti-Asian CDMI and its consequences.¹⁹²

Conclusion

This purpose of this paper is to the following question: how did the United Kingdom (U.K.), Canada, and the United States of America (U.S.) compare in terms of their responses to anti-Asian CDMI and the hate crimes it inspired? Based on the analysis of the three states' responses to the security threat of anti-Asian CDMI, there was no universal response. The U.K., Canada, and U.S. all had different security responses to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes: the U.K. did not respond, Canada has an evolving stance and potential for significant security governance measures, and the U.S.'s response drastically evolved with changing administrations and resulted in human security-based measures being enacted to combat anti-Asian COVID-19-related hate crimes. The main point that policymakers and governments can

[harris-administration-advances-equity-and-opportunity-for-asian-american-native-hawaiian-and-pacific-islander-communities-across-the-country/](#).

190. Kinzig et al., "Social Norms and Global Environmental Challenges," 5-6.

191. Human Security Unit, *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, 11, 35; Human Security Unit, *Human Security Handbook*, 8-10; Axworthy, "Human Security and Global Governance," 20, 23; and Vickers, "Values, Norms and Policies," 103-107.

192. Haynes, "'This Isn't Just a Problem for North America.' The Atlanta Shooting Highlights the Painful Reality of Rising Anti-Asian Violence Around the World," *Time Magazine*, last modified March 22, 2021, <https://time.com/5947862/anti-asian-attacks-rising-worldwide/>.

take away from this study is that there needs to global security measures that ensure state responses are coherent and cohesive, and that these responses protect human rights and security; state indifference and antagonism towards Asian communities during the pandemic revealed the absence of such measures.

Admittedly, these three states' responses are not the only responses that occurred, and other state responses might have been a combination of the responses outlined in this paper (as illustrated by figure 2). Even though those states fall outside of this paper's scope, potential analyses of their responses can be situated within the framework provided by this paper and placed within figure 2.

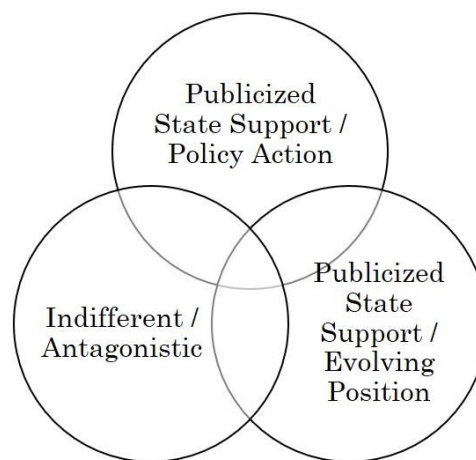


Figure 2. Triple Venn Diagram representing potential state responses to anti-Asian CDMI. This model can be used to categorize future analyses of states' responses to anti-Asian CDMI and related hate crimes. Diagram created by author.

The events from the past two years justify the importance of studying anti-Asian CDMI because the lessons from state inaction can be used to not only improve human security for Asian communities around the world, but can also be applied to general DMI governance and human security policies.¹⁹³ Since this paper has outlined the connection between anti-Asian CDMI and security, this paper calls on policymakers to realize and study the connection between DMI and racism, and to implement better strategies against racist and xenophobic CDMI, CDMI, and DMI in general.

193. Haynes, "'This Isn't Just a Problem for North America.' The Atlanta Shooting Highlights the Painful Reality of Rising Anti-Asian Violence Around the World," Time Magazine, last modified March 22, 2021, <https://time.com/5947862/anti-asian-attacks-rising-worldwide/>; and UK Parliament, "Chinese and East Asian Communities: Racism during Covid-19," last modified October 13, 2020, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2020-10-13/debates/858E78B5-1049-4480-A1A7-5362FC12F47E/ChineseAndEastAsianCommunitiesRacismDuringCovid-19>.

Anti-Asian CDMI has been a human security threat around the world for the past two years, and more research is warranted.¹⁹⁴ Some future research directions include conducting more research on Asian activists' role in pressuring states' to respond to anti-Asian CDMI and the hate crimes it inspired,¹⁹⁵ and on how social media's lack of speech regulation measures prolonged and exacerbated impact of anti-Asian CDMI.¹⁹⁶ Overall, anti-Asian CDMI continues to be a human security issue that needs to be better addressed by states, and addressed by global governing organizations. While states' responses to anti-Asian CDMI over the past two years have varied, there is reason to be optimistic about the future actions states take against anti-Asian CDMI because this paper has demonstrated how security governance responses are capable of evolving.

194. Yellow Horse and Chen, *Two Years and Thousands of Voices*, 3, 10.

195. Jiepin Cao et al., "The #StopAsianHate Movement on Twitter: A Qualitative Descriptive Study," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19, no. 7 (2022): 2, 9, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19073757>; and Lantz and Wenger, "Are Asian Victims Less Likely to Report Hate Crime Victimization to the Police? Implications for Research and Policy in the Wake of the COVID-19 Pandemic," 1293.

196. Sarah Oates, "The Easy Weaponization of Social Media: Why Profit has Trumped Security for U.S. Companies," *Digital War* 1 (2020): 119, 121, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s42984-020-00012-z>.

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