

SHADES OF HATE

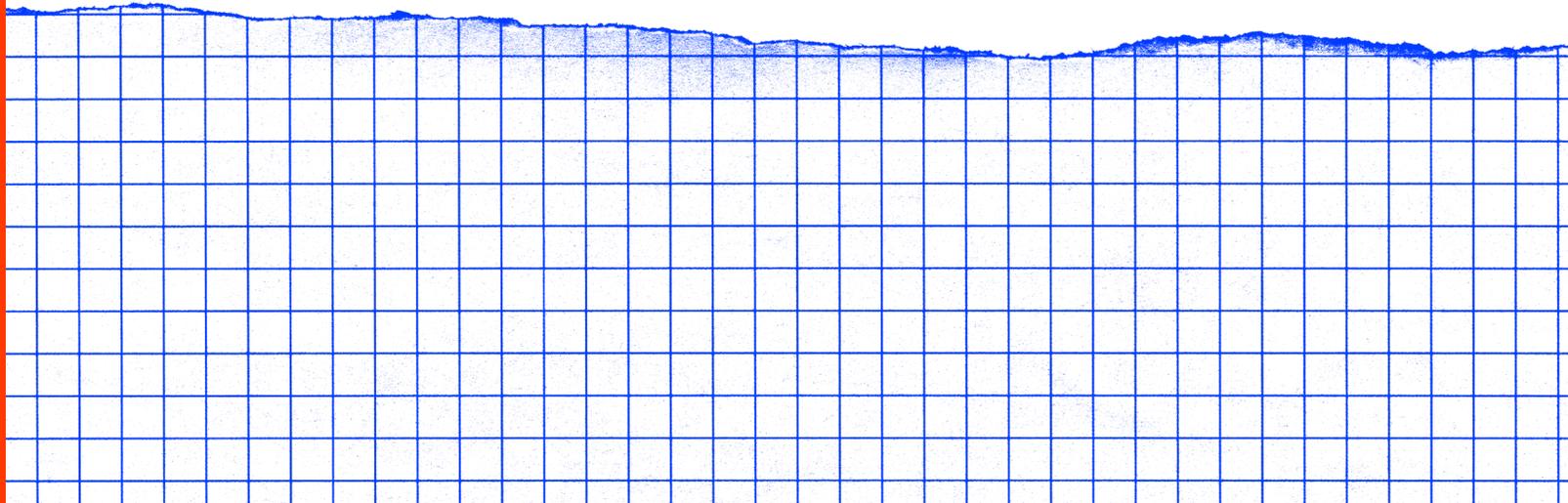
A Deeper Understanding of
Asian American & Pacific
Islander Experiences

NOVEMBER 2023



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Stop AAPI Hate operates the largest reporting center dedicated to tracking acts of hate against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the United States. Since 2020, thousands of people have reported experiences of bigotry to our center. Collected from across the country, these stories paint a vivid picture of what hate looks like and the collective harm and dehumanization that our communities endure.

In order to understand people's experiences more deeply and advocate for effective, holistic solutions, we need a clearer understanding of the various forms of hate our communities face. Looking at different dimensions, we code each hate act reported to us. Analyzed in aggregate, patterns and themes emerge, giving us insight into how we can advocate for more tailored solutions to racism.

Shades of Hate: A Deeper Understanding of Asian American & Pacific Islander Experiences outlines the updated classification system we use to code each hate act report. To develop this system, we wove together insights from three strands of research — studies of hate crimes and hate groups, studies of everyday racism and microaggressions, and studies of institutional discrimination and systemic racism.

HOW How is the hate experienced? Is it interpersonal or societal? Is the experience of racial bias explicit, coded, or perceived? Does the experience contain a comparator (i.e., evidence of being treated differently than a similarly situated non-Asian American or non-Pacific Islander person(s))? Is the bias intersectional (i.e., directed at multiple identities)?

WHO Who is involved? Was the offender acting as an individual or in an institutional capacity? Is the report being made for oneself, or on behalf of a friend or relative, someone else, or entire communities?

WHAT What is the hate act? Is it harassment, physical harm, institutional discrimination, or property harm?

WHERE Where does the hate act take place?

Key Observations

Our updated classification system highlights the many different shades of hate our communities experience. We have learned that community members adopt a broad understanding of "hate" to mean any encounter that is shaped by racial bias, including harassment, physical attacks, and unfair treatment. We have found that:

1. Hate is not confined to interpersonal interactions but is bred within a larger environment of societal hate, requiring a broader approach to prevention and healing.
2. Hate is not just explicit, but also coded and hidden. Although it can be harder to detect, non-explicit hate is potentially more pervasive and just as harmful. It must be understood and addressed alongside more explicit forms of hate.
3. Offenders are not just individuals but also institutions and institutional representatives. This reveals opportunities for improvement in institutional policies and practices and possibilities for civil rights solutions.

INTRODUCTION

“We must contemplate — when we say #stopaapihate, what “hate” do we really mean? ... The violence perpetrated by structural racism is just as violent as that caused by individual actors. Structural racism enacts a myriad of forms of violence, and each must be acknowledged, addressed, and contextualized in tandem to fully understand the scope of anti-Asian racism.”¹

- CAROLYN FAN, “BEYOND #STOPAAPIHATE,” *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH*

Since March 2020, Stop AAPI Hate has operated a [reporting center](#) for community members to report anti-Asian American and anti-Pacific Islander hate. These reports comprise an expansive community archive of contemporary experiences of hate acts encountered by Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAs & PIs²). They represent the courage of thousands of community members to speak up against race-based hate.³ In order to understand people’s experiences more deeply and advocate for effective, holistic solutions, we need a clearer understanding of the various forms of hate our communities face.

Studies of racism are often divided into: 1) the study of overt racism, hate crimes, and hate groups;⁴ 2) the study of more subtle everyday racism and microaggressions;⁵ and 3) the study of institutional discrimination and systemic racism.⁶ To develop our updated system for analyzing anti-Asian American and anti-Pacific Islander hate, we have woven together insights from these three strands of research into a single, updated classification system⁷ that captures the various shades of hate reflected in the specific, lived experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

This report outlines this classification system for understanding anti-Asian American and anti-Pacific Islander hate and explains the decisions that led to it. We organize this framework into four dimensions: 1) how, 2) who, 3) what, and 4) where. Categorizing in new ways allows us to identify additional patterns and themes in order to advocate for more tailored solutions to tackle racism against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

How To Use This Resource

- 1. Community members:** Use this report to name, understand, and process your own experiences with hate, both individually and collectively.
- 2. Community organizations:** Use this report along with our interactive [data visualization tool](#) to explore how community members are experiencing hate and to inform direct services, advocacy, and community-based solutions.
- 3. Researchers:** Use these categories to inform research questions, topics, and instruments to study hate and racism in Asian American and Pacific Islander communities.
- 4. Lawmakers and civil rights agencies:** Use these categories to understand the forms of hate our communities are reporting to identify where additional civil rights protections and policies are needed.

The examples in this report come directly from the real-life experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islander community members who have reported to Stop AAPI Hate.⁸ When sharing stories from community reports, we have used pseudonyms to protect individuals’ identities. We believe that the best way to learn about hate and craft solutions is to listen to those most impacted. What you will read are the actual descriptions in our community members’ own words. We invite you to sit with people’s stories and bear witness to their experiences.

CONTENT WARNING

**This report includes stories of racism, violence, and harm and can be disturbing.
We encourage you to prepare yourself emotionally.**

DEFINING HATE

Stop AAPI Hate is a platform for the collective voices of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders to be expressed and heard. This means that our definition of “hate” is broadly guided by *how our communities define it* through their reporting. Community members have reported to us a wide range of experiences that they perceive to be motivated by racial bias or prejudice. These acts range from verbal harassment to physical attacks to institutional discrimination. Therefore, we adopt a broad definition of “hate” to encompass and address the concerns that have been shared with us.

This community-driven definition is consistent with scholarship that has called for an approach to examining hate that extends beyond focusing on hate crimes and hate groups.⁹ We have found that the term “hate” resonates with members of our communities and serves as a useful “onramp” to discussions of a spectrum of events activated by anti-Asian American or anti-Pacific Islander bias.¹⁰ We believe that viewing different acts driven by racial bias together reveals how they are related and rooted in larger systemic causes.¹¹

Definitions

When discussing hate, public and academic attention has focused on hate crimes, but the hate acts reported to us extend beyond hate crimes. Therefore, we need greater precision in our terminology when referencing hate acts. See Figure 1 for how we understand the relationship among these terms.

HATE ACT (OR ACT OF HATE) any event motivated by bias or prejudice, whether explicit or implicit, against a person or group’s actual or perceived identity(ies) that inflicts individual or community harm; includes hate crimes and hate incidents

HATE CRIME “a crime motivated by bias against race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or disability”¹²

HATE INCIDENT “acts of prejudice that are not crimes and do not involve violence, threats, or property damage”¹³

CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATION an event motivated by bias or prejudice that violates civil rights laws, which prohibit discrimination on the basis of a protected characteristic (e.g., race, sex, religion, citizenship status) in a specific context (e.g., education, employment, housing)¹⁴

FIGURE 1. Hate Act Definitions and Relationships



DIMENSIONS OF HATE

When we categorize hate acts, we use a framework comprised of four broad dimensions: 1) *how*, 2) *who*, 3) *what*, and 4) *where*.



●●● Rachel's Story

To demonstrate how we would categorize a hate act, we want to introduce Rachel's story. Rachel submitted a report on the Stop AAPI Hate website, and we followed up with a phone call to learn more about the hate act she experienced. She shared this with us:

"It was near [an area in California] at a [private gated] parking lot outside of my work at around 9 a.m. I went into the parking lot ... and there was another car. He had his headlights on, but he was parked, and I was parking, and he was honking at me. Then I parked and as I was leaving, I walked out the door and then he followed me, and he was like, 'Oh my gosh, you didn't hold the door open for me,' and I said, 'I didn't know you were back there.'"

Then as I was walking he just started following me, and he started harassing me, saying, 'You don't have any manners. I knew you were going to hit my car so I had to honk.' And then I was like, 'Well, I knew you were there. I was not even near your car.' But he just kept harassing me, saying, 'You're such a bad driver. I knew you were going to hit my car. ... Why don't you go back to miss gugugu, c-nt.' He also said, 'Do you need me to speak slower?'"

This experience was traumatizing for her. It took place in the parking lot she has to go to every day for work, and she recognized the man as someone who worked nearby. She feared having to encounter her harasser again. Her workplace made accommodations for her to park in a different lot, but after the experience she felt even more wary of strangers than she did before.

As we walk you through our classification system, we will return to Rachel's account to show you how we would categorize her experience. Look for the blue circles ●●● to follow Rachel's story. In research, this process is called "coding."¹⁵ Appendix A (p. 26) illustrates how we would code Rachel's account. Each of the specific categories will be defined throughout the report.



1. HOW IS HATE EXPERIENCED?

The first question we use to guide our hate act categorization is, "How is hate experienced?" There are two major components for understanding how hate is experienced: 1) the scope of hate and 2) the experience of bias.

1.1 SCOPE

To examine how hate is experienced, we categorize the breadth of the hate act, or the *scope* of hate. We distinguish between actions directed at specific individuals (interpersonal) versus those directed more broadly at Asian American or Pacific Islander communities (societal). When people think of hate, they often exclusively think of interpersonal hate acts wherein an offender inflicts harm on a specific individual or group of individuals. However, our community members also report how they are affected by racism in the broader environment, like racist portrayals in mass media. Similar to addressing individual illnesses versus public health crises differently, manifestations of individual versus societal hate require related but different responses and solutions.¹⁶ Therefore, it is helpful to distinguish between them.¹⁷ For the purposes of our classification, the scope categories are mutually exclusive. A hate act is identified as either interpersonal or societal.

SCOPE: Definitions and Examples

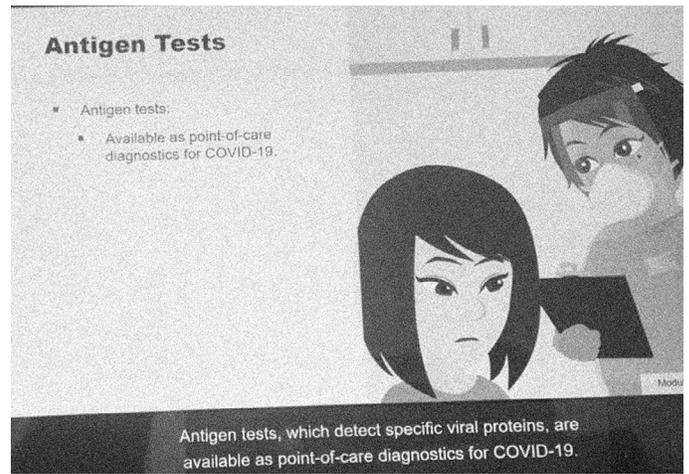
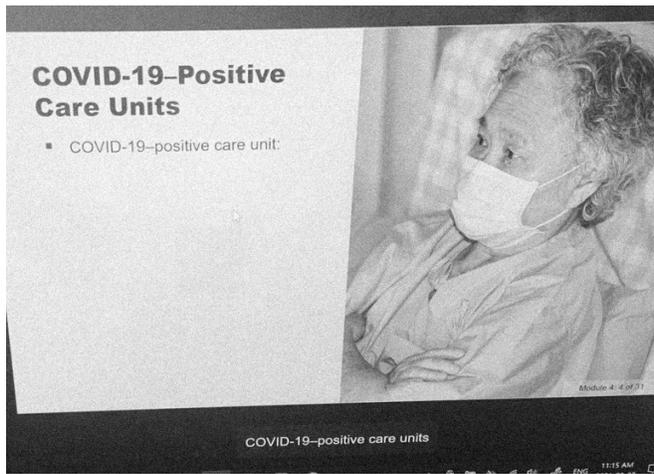
CATEGORY	DEFINITION	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
INTERPERSONAL	Directed at an individual or small, localized group of people	"My Vietnamese wife and I (Filipino) were refused a table at [a restaurant on the East Coast]. We confronted the manager and he told us that we cannot sit in the front of the restaurant and took us to the back of the restaurant (which was empty) and hid us from the rest of the patrons. There were several other tables available in the restaurant, yet because of our Asian background we could not sit with the other patrons (who, by the way, were all white)." (Jonathan, Man, Northeast)
SOCIETAL	Directed at Asian American or Pacific Islander communities as a whole or in general	"I work in healthcare and was required to take an online COVID-19 training. ... In pictures and in animation, Asians were depicted as being positive for COVID." (Arlene, Woman, Illinois)

1.1.1 Interpersonal

The scope is *interpersonal* if it is directed at an individual or small, localized group of people. By localized group, we mean a group that is targeted together at the same time and in the same space, for example, a family dining together or Asian American or Pacific Islander passengers on a bus.



Rachel's account (p. 5) is an example of an interpersonal hate act directed at an individual since the offender who approached her in the parking lot directed his harassment toward her.



Photos of COVID-19 training for nursing home staff submitted by Arlene

1.1.2 Societal

The scope is *societal* if it is directed at Asian American or Pacific Islander communities as a whole or in general rather than a specific person or small, localized group.¹⁸ Community members who report to us call out hateful rhetoric and images from speeches, videos, books, songs, signs, curriculum, products, and other media or public fora as being harmful to Asian American and Pacific Islander communities at large.

This category captures racism that is “in the air” or in the surrounding environment. As Native Hawaiian activist and scholar Huanani-Kay Trask explains, “Racism envelops us, intoxicating our thoughts, permeating our brains and skins, determining the shape of our growth and the longevity of our lives.”¹⁹ Exposure to seeing racist content in mass media and social media can lead to increased race-based trauma symptoms “over and above the effect of direct discrimination.”²⁰ Hate acts are also categorized as societal if they are directed at larger AA- or PI-centered events like protests or Zoom webinars on AA or PI topics.

Societal incidents, like the biased portrayal of Asians as COVID positive in healthcare training reported by Arlene in Illinois, can become environmental hazards for Asian American and Pacific Islander communities and lead to a domino effect of hate. As we saw in the vocabulary used by prominent figures to describe COVID-19, e.g., “kung flu,” societal acts of hate can often be the impetus for interpersonal acts.²¹

An example from Mila in Texas illustrates how societal hate feeds interpersonal hate. She reported to us “People said I was a terrorist, said that Asians were taking over the USA and to go back to my country and pulled off my hijab.” While this incident is directed specifically at Mila, it also underscores how harmful portrayals of Muslim people as terrorists and beliefs that Asians are taking over the U.S., ideas which are propagated through public narratives, were the fodder for this interpersonal attack. To combat hate, one needs to address structural causes like prejudicial political rhetoric.²²

1.2 EXPERIENCE OF BIAS

A second aspect of how hate is experienced is how bias shows up in the hate act. Within the *experience of bias*, we first locate the form of racial bias. Because racial bias can be experienced in more and less obvious ways, we distinguish among *explicit*, *coded*, or *perceived anti-AA or anti-PI bias*. These categories are mutually exclusive.²³ After examining each hate act for racial, ethnic, or xenophobic slurs, actions, or symbols, we then identify whether the report contains additional evidence of bias in the form of *containing a comparator* or *intersectional bias*. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and a report can be classified, for example, as containing explicit anti-AA or anti-PI bias, a comparator, and intersectional bias. The reasons why we distinguish among different kinds of bias are: 1) to provide a fuller picture of how hate looks and feels and 2) to inform more tailored responses. For example, legal responses typically rely on displays of more explicit forms of bias.

EXPERIENCE OF BIAS: Definitions and Examples

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
EXPLICIT ANTI-AA OR ANTI-PI BIAS	Includes the use of familiar anti-AA or anti-PI racial or xenophobic slurs, symbols, or actions (e.g., “ch-nk,” “sand n—,” slanted eye gesture) and/or offender clearly references race, ethnicity, or nationality (e.g., “go back to India”)	“They called me a Samoan sea n— outlaw. ” (Mataio, Man, Online)
CODED ANTI-AA OR ANTI-PI BIAS	Includes the use of words, symbols, or actions that have anti-AA, anti-PI, or xenophobic connotations but no explicit references to race, ethnicity or nationality (e.g., “terrorist,” “dog eater”)	“As I was walking my dog, someone screamed at me, ‘That’s animal abuse, I’m going to call 311 because I know you’re going to cook your dog. ” (Esther, Woman, Illinois)
PERCEIVED ANTI-AA OR ANTI-PI BIAS	Does not include explicit or coded words, symbols, or actions but anti-AA or anti-PI bias is perceived by the person(s) harmed or acting as a witness	“The host at [a restaurant] in [New York] told me to leave the bar because I was making patrons uncomfortable. I was sitting by myself the entire time.” (Paul, Man, New York)
CONTAINS A COMPARATOR	Contains a comparator, whereby the AA or PI person reporting compares their experience with a similarly situated person or group who is not AA or PI and describes how they were treated less favorably than the non-AA or non-PI person(s)	“ Only group of Asian minorities in the location (golf course). Male employee was following only us around and watching us. He came up to us multiple times to make rude comments.” (Sam, Man, Illinois)
INTERSECTIONAL BIAS	Includes the use of biased slurs, symbols, or actions directed at identities other than race, ethnicity, or nationality, such as gender or sexual orientation (e.g., “c-nt,” “f-g”)	“I was stopped inside my car at a light — a block away from [a police station] at night. ... He started yelling and trying to get my attention as a ‘ China doll. ’ Then when I did not react he walked right up to my passenger window and started yelling profanities and threats.” (Nora, Woman, California)

1.2.1 Explicit Anti-AA or Anti-PI Bias

Demonstrations of bias that include one or both of the following criteria are classified as *explicit anti-AA or anti-PI bias*:

- Use of very well-known anti-AA or anti-PI racial or xenophobic slurs, symbols, or actions (e.g., "ch-nk," "sand n—," slanted eye gesture)
- Offender's words, actions, or symbols clearly reference race, ethnicity, or nationality (e.g., "go back to India")²⁴

1.2.2 Coded Anti-AA or Anti-PI Bias

Some hate acts contain words, actions, or symbols that have anti-AA, anti-PI, or xenophobic connotations but do not explicitly reference race, ethnicity, or nationality (e.g., "terrorist," "dog eater").²⁵ We label these acts as containing *coded anti-AA or anti-PI bias*. For example, Esther from Illinois shared, "As I was walking my dog, someone screamed at me, 'That's animal abuse, I'm going to call 311 because I know you're going to cook your dog.'" The offender referenced a common stereotype that Asian people eat household pets,²⁶ demonstrating coded anti-AA bias, and threatened to report Esther for animal abuse simply because she was Asian and had a dog.

Coded language involves "substituting terms describing racial identity with seemingly race-neutral terms that disguise explicit and/or implicit racial animus."²⁷ This type of language "triggers racial stereotypes and other negative associations without the stigma of explicit racism."²⁸ In short, coded language allows people to harm others while simultaneously hiding behind a veneer of "not being racist."

1.2.3 Perceived Anti-AA or Anti-PI Bias

Other hate acts do not contain explicit or coded words, symbols, or actions, but individuals may still perceive them as motivated by bias. In these instances, we classify the hate act as containing *perceived anti-AA or anti-PI bias*. This is illustrated by Paul's experience in the chart above in which he perceives being asked to leave a bar in New York as motivated by racial bias. In research, common measures of experiences of discrimination rely on people's perception of bias.²⁹

Reports of perceived bias are also instructive given that these may be indicative of covert racism.³⁰ Sociologist Rodney Coates defines covert racism as "racism which is hidden; secret; private; covered; disguised; insidious; or concealed."³¹ It is notoriously difficult to study the more covert forms of racism, but well-designed audit studies have revealed how racism operates even absent any overt signs.³² Audit studies are social experiments that test for discrimination by examining how people who are similar in all but one aspect of their identity are treated differently. These studies have been used to detect more subtle discrimination in areas like hiring.³³

Deeply listening to and probing people's experiences with racism allow us to discover these more hidden forms as well. Philomena Essed, a pioneer in the study of everyday racism, writes, "Experiences of racism are a relevant source of information because racism is often expressed in covert ways and because racism is denied and



Returning to Rachel's experience (p.5), we identified it as including coded anti-AA bias due to the offender saying to her: "you don't have any manners," "you're such a bad driver," "do you need me to speak slower?," and "why don't you go back to ...". Though there is no explicit mention of race, ethnicity, or nationality, these words have clear anti-Asian and xenophobic connotations.

mitigated by the dominant group.”³⁴ For example, through in-depth interviews on post-9/11 discrimination toward South Asian women, sociologist Rachel Finn found that a significant and common experience among them was “surveillant staring,” or feeling watched or being stared at as a “potential terrorist.”³⁵ Essed notes, “It has been shown repeatedly in research that careful observation is a norm rather than an exception when suspicion of discrimination is involved.”³⁶

Moreover, when we see the same actions happening repeatedly within our communities, we realize that these are not random acts but related ones. We have seen this with the numerous reports we have received about being coughed on or spit at. When someone coughs or spits on or toward someone in a hostile way, it is often not accompanied by explicit or coded words. In these instances, *the action is overt, but the bias is not*. See below for examples of spitting incidents. The fact that spitting is a common occurrence alerts us to a pattern that our communities are being targeted in this way.

The differentiation among explicit, coded, and perceived bias does not imply a scale of severity. Based on what we hear from community members, all forms can be harmful and traumatizing. While offenders may view dog eating comments as a joke, such stereotyping can have severe consequences. For example, in May 2023, the owner of a Thai restaurant in California was forced to temporarily close due to a barrage of harassment and negative reviews after a woman posted a picture of a dog tied up outside the restaurant on social media and insinuated that the restaurant was serving dog meat.³⁷ The dog did not belong to the restaurant owner, and the restaurant does not serve dog meat, but the woman’s activation of this stereotype had a significant impact on the restaurant owner and his employees.

SPITTING INCIDENTS

LENA IN NEW YORK

“My friend was spit on the face near [a transit station], the person was jogging towards her so she didn’t suspect anything until the ‘runner’ got closer to her and spit on her face, the person didn’t say anything and ran away.”

MIGUEL IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

“I got out of my car and a man ... turned and spit at me. I was in disbelief, standing there, when he stopped and spit at me again.”

LEONARD IN ILLINOIS

“Stopped at red light, ... male rode past, looked me in the eye through windshield and spit all over the passenger side of my car.”

1.2.4 Contains a Comparator

In addition to detecting bias through slurs, gestures, or symbols, community members also detect bias by comparing their experience with others present. When a community member describes how they or an Asian American or Pacific Islander person(s) they observe were treated less favorably than a similarly situated non-Asian or non-Pacific Islander person(s), we identify the report as *containing a comparator*.

In audit studies as well as civil rights cases, the presence of a comparator can serve as evidence of racial discrimination. There is also a long history of different treatment of Black customers, compared to white customers, by restaurants, hotels, motels, public transportation, and other service providers in the United States.³⁸ As a result of Black activism, as well as organizing by other historically marginalized communities, we now have civil rights laws that prohibit such discrimination.

1.2.5 Intersectional Bias

To understand the multi-faceted and intersectional nature of hate, we also classify reports that contain *intersectional bias*, for example, sexist, homophobic, ableist, and ageist slurs. The term “intersectional” is a reference to Kimberlé Crenshaw’s concept of intersectionality. Crenshaw coined this term when she observed that existing legal, political, and academic frameworks did not capture how Black women’s lives were affected by the intersection of racism and sexism and could not be understood through either perspective alone.³⁹ She explains that intersectionality is “a

lens, a prism, for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other.”⁴⁰ We highlight intersectional bias to demonstrate that solutions need to consider how racism operates in tandem with other forms of oppression.

Nora from California shared with us how both her race and gender were targeted. She wrote, “I was stopped inside my car at a light – a block away from [a police station] at night. There were two other cars stopped at that light (the other car that I could see did not have Asian passengers). He started yelling and trying to get my attention as a ‘China doll.’ Then when I did not react he

walked right up to my passenger window and started yelling profanities and threats.” As explained by the Committee of 100, “[The term ‘China doll’] fetishizes women of Asian descent and treats them like objects or children. The stereotypes that preceded and inspired this term were often used to justify anti-Asian laws like the Page Act.”⁴¹

Another example of how such stereotypes can have enormous consequences and shape discriminatory policy can be seen in the Bush Administration’s implementation of the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System in 2002. The intersectional stereotype of men and boys from Arab and/or Muslim countries as potential terrorists led to the registration and surveillance of more than 80,000 men and boys.⁴² The program was highly ineffective and severely disrupted the lives of thousands of families while resulting in no terrorism-related convictions.⁴³



Rachel’s account (p. 5) contains intersectional bias in the offender’s use of the sexist term “c-nt.”



Photo by B.C. Lorio.

2. WHO IS INVOLVED?

The second question we use to guide our categorization of a hate act is, “Who is involved?” This dimension includes two major areas: 1) the *offender’s position*, and 2) whom someone is *reporting for*.

2.1 OFFENDER’S POSITION

We categorize offenders as either individual or institutional depending on the position they hold when committing the hate act.

OFFENDER’S POSITION: Definitions and Examples

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
INDIVIDUAL OFFENDER	An individual or group of individuals who acts of their own accord	“Me and my friends who are all of Indian descent were sitting [at a park] in California and got abused. There was a man crossing us who kept saying ‘I f–king hate Asian people,’ ‘f–k Asians.’ He would cross, look at our reaction, cross again and abuse along the way. One time he showed us his middle finger and that’s when we decided to leave because he started coming real close and it was threatening.” (Maryam, Woman, California)
INSTITUTIONAL OFFENDER	An institutional or organizational representative(s) that has the power to deny resources, access, privileges, or services to others (e.g., employee of a company that can deny services, landlord who can control access to housing)	“I was waiting for a bus at a bus stop, and a bus stopped in front of me briefly. The bus driver opened the door and yelled at me, ‘Nobody likes you.’” (Limei, Woman, Washington)

2.1.1 Individual Offender

An *individual offender* is an individual or group of individuals who act of their own accord and not on behalf of an institution or organization.

2.1.2 Institutional Offender

In instances where the offender is an institutional or organizational representative or group of representatives that has the power to deny resources, access, privileges, or services to others⁴⁴ (e.g., employee of a company that can deny services, landlord who can control access to housing), we categorize the offender as *institutional*. In the example above (see table) experienced by Limei in Washington, the bus driver was a representative of the public transit agency and had the power to refuse her service.

The path to accountability is different depending on whether or not the offender is an individual or an institutional representative. In the case of Limei’s experience where the offender was an institutional representative, the transit agency could implement non-discrimination policies and training for employees. However, if the offender were an individual like a fellow bus passenger, the transit agency could produce public education campaigns to promote a harassment-free environment. Understanding these differences has shaped our proposed policy solutions, including the [No Place for Hate](#) campaign and related bills in California.



In Rachel’s account (p. 5), the person harassing her was not acting in an institutional capacity but was a person she happened to encounter in the parking lot. Thus, we would consider him an *individual offender*.

We do not collect information on the demographic characteristics of reported offenders because we choose to center the experiences of those harmed. We also believe that focusing on demographic characteristics contributes to unjust profiling and punitive measures rather than holistic and transformative solutions that address the root causes of hate and lead to safer, flourishing communities.⁴⁵

2.2 REPORTING FOR

We categorize whom the community member is reporting on behalf of. While most of the hate acts reported to us are self-reported, others are submitted for *friends or relatives*, for *someone else*, and for *Asian American or Pacific Islander communities* more generally.

REPORTING FOR: Definitions and Examples

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
SELF	The person who submitted the report is the person who experienced the hate act	"I was going out with my girlfriend ... and I was approached by a ... man who started calling me chopsticks and ch-nk and spat on me. He also told me to go back to Guam, called me the n-word and asked if I ate cats for dinner. Then he made fun of my accent. It was so brutal. Never have I ever been mistreated this way in America." (Chris, Man, Ohio)
FRIEND OR RELATIVE	The person is reporting on behalf of a friend or relative; includes spouses and partners	"I'm reporting on behalf of my friend ... He was at [a clothing store]. He went through racks and picked about 10 items. He went to a register to check out. An employee made a phone call, and an owner showed up in 10 minutes. The owner looked at items that my friend picked and she refused to sell anything to him. She is not willing to sell to Japanese dealers. ..." (Hideo, Man, South)
SOMEONE ELSE	The person is reporting on behalf of someone outside of their immediate social circles (i.e. not family or friend); often used if someone is a firsthand witness to an act of hate; includes co-workers, classmates, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers	"I saw a man attacking an elderly Asian woman on the street. He was grabbing her by the neck and dragging her across the street, and then got on top of her. My friend and I ran up and shouted at him to stop, he got up and let her go. She ran away, but as she did he spat on her." (Steven, Man, California)
AA OR PI COMMUNITIES	The person is reporting on behalf of Asian American or Pacific Islander communities in general; includes reporting biased content in speeches, videos, books, songs, signs, curriculum, and other media or statements directed at Asian American or Pacific Islander communities in general	"Hi, there is an advertisement for a tee shirt company that pops up occasionally on [a video sharing platform] before a video starts. It starts with mocking Asian languages by saying 'ch-ng ch-ng ch-ng' and other stereotypical racist mocking against Asian Americans." (Jess, Gender nonconforming/nonbinary person, Online)

Reporting acts of hate can be a difficult experience for a variety of reasons: the need to recall and relive a traumatic experience; the inconvenience of the process; unfamiliarity with existing systems for reporting; believing it will not make a difference or is not warranted; and worrying about unwanted attention.⁴⁶ Opportunities to report should not be limited to self-reporting, where a person reports on behalf of themselves, but also should be open to friends, relatives, witnesses, co-workers, peers, and other supporters. The reports to Stop AAPI Hate from these various sources demonstrate that social support from both loved ones and strangers is important.

Moreover, hate acts are notable for their impact on others, especially those who share the targeted identity. Racial stigmatization can become a community stressor and have significant consequences for mental and physical health.⁴⁷ As seen in the aftermath of killings of Black people by police during the COVID-19 pandemic, collective responses to hate can lead to an outpouring of grief, solidarity, and organizing for reform; nonetheless, the mental and emotional toll in enduring and addressing anti-Black violence is palpable, cumulative, and experienced most acutely by Black communities. Identifying who is reporting allows us to explore these complex dynamics.

Though it can be painful, the reporting process can also empower both those harmed and those who surround them to bear witness. For those who have experienced trauma, “[b]earing witness is a valuable way to process an experience, to obtain empathy and support, to lighten our emotional load via sharing it with the witness, and to obtain catharsis.”⁴⁸ For witnesses, observing, listening, and reporting is a way to care for the person harmed and contribute to the movement for racial justice.

2.2.1 Self⁴⁹

If the person reporting to us is the person who experienced the hate act, we categorize this as reporting for *self*.



Rachel’s report (p. 5) of her firsthand experience with harassment in the parking lot is an example of reporting for self.

2.2.2 Friend or Relative

To capture people in one’s closest social circles, we identify when someone is reporting for a *friend or relative*. This includes spouses and partners.

2.2.3 Someone Else

We classify people reporting for those outside of their immediate social circles as reporting for *someone else*. They are often a firsthand witness to the hate act or an acquaintance of the harmed person (e.g., neighbor, colleague, or classmate).

2.2.4 AA or PI Communities

If someone reports biased content in speeches, videos, books, songs, signs, curriculum, and other media, we classify this as reporting for *AA or PI communities*. The words and imagery in this content impacts the broader communities by contributing to dominant, harmful narratives.

This category is also used when people hear racist remarks about Asian American or Pacific Islander communities in general that are not directed at a specific individual(s). Sometimes these reports come from non-Asian American or non-Pacific Islander observers, which helps us detect racism that surfaces outside of the presence of our community members. For example, Leslie from California reported to us, “I’m a server at a restaurant and a man was upset we stopped serving his favorite wine due to sales being down from the pandemic. He started to raise his voice saying that it was China’s fault and went on to shout inside the restaurant ‘Chinese virus’ and ‘Wuhan flu.’ His tone and volume were aggressive and he continued to yell that we need to ‘blame them’ and ban them from our country.”

3. WHAT HAPPENS?

The third question we use to guide our categorization of a hate act episode is, “What happens?” Within this dimension we classify the type of hate act.

TYPE OF HATE ACT

We have four main categories for the type of hate act: 1) harassment, 2) physical harm or contact, 3) institutional discrimination, and 4) property harm.

1. **Harassment:** actions that “subject (a person or group) to unwarranted ... speech or behavior causing annoyance, alarm, distress, or intimidation”⁵⁰
2. **Physical harm or contact:** actions that involve a physical component
3. **Institutional discrimination:** actions that involve unfair, inferior, or biased treatment by an institutional representative⁵¹
4. **Property harm:** actions that involve harm to property

HARASSMENT	PHYSICAL HARM OR CONTACT	INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION	PROPERTY HARM
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbal harassment • Written, visual, or auditory harassment • Threat of harm to person • Threat of harm to property • Following or stalking • Behavioral harassment • Calling ICE or police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical injury (e.g., kicked to the point of needing first aid) • Physical contact (e.g., being spilled on) • Attempted physical injury or contact • Coughing or spitting 	Unfair or inferior treatment by an institution: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business discrimination • Education discrimination • Job discrimination • Government services discrimination • Housing discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Property damage or abuse • Robbery or theft

These categories describe what happened, but they do not tell us whether a hate act can be classified as a hate crime, hate incident, or civil rights violation. How any given act is classified is complex and requires consideration of many factors including the statutory definitions of hate crimes and civil rights violations and variations in federal, state, and local standards.



It is important to note that a single hate act can include multiple types of actions and that these types are not mutually exclusive. Rachel’s incident (p. 5), for example, includes verbal harassment (derogatory speech), following or stalking (being followed), and behavioral harassment (being honked at).

3.1 HARASSMENT

Harassment includes actions that “subject (a person or group) to unwarranted ... speech or behavior causing annoyance, alarm, distress, or intimidation.”⁵² These kinds of actions often result in mental distress for the receiver.

HARASSMENT: Subcategories, Definitions, and Examples

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
VERBAL HARASSMENT	Hateful spoken words (e.g., shouting racial slurs) and verbal slights (e.g., mocking Asian accents)	I was walking up the stairs to [a] restaurant ... in the ... suburbs and this individual said, 'Hey Osama Bin Laden.' I asked him, 'What did you say?' and he said, ' F-k you. '" (Thomas, Man, Georgia)
WRITTEN, VISUAL, OR AUDITORY HARASSMENT	Hate that occurs in written, visual, or auditory materials (e.g., curriculum, signage, texts, images, songs, social media posts, emails)	"I was sharing [on social media] about my home, Guam, and how we are a U.S. Territory. A ... woman stated [in a comment] that my culture is insignificant, that I'm a foreigner and an ingrate. She continued ... to say that my home should be nuked by North Korea and that race should not exist." (Tanya, Woman, Online)
THREAT OF HARM TO PERSON	Explicit verbal, written, or gestural threat of physical harm to person (e.g., "I will kill you," cutting motion across throat) or actions that create a sense of imminent danger (e.g., obstructing someone's movement)	"On the train, a man who was sitting down asked me to hold the poles because he didn't want me to step on his shoes. When I didn't do that, he started talking about the Christina Yuna Lee and Michelle Go murders, implying that he would do the same to me just because of his shoes that I didn't step on." (Erin, Woman, New York)
THREAT OF HARM TO PROPERTY	Explicit verbal, written, or gestural threat of harm to someone's property or actions that create a sense of imminent danger to someone's property (e.g., threat to burn down someone's house or threat to harm an AA- or PI-owned business)	"I was working at an Asian grocery store part time. Our store got a phone call from a stranger. ... [T]hat stranger threatened us to rob our store. That man said that Asians steal jobs and send all U.S. dollar back to China, so it is time to f-k our store up. " (Vicky, Woman, Midwest)
FOLLOWING OR STALKING	Behavioral intimidation in the form of following, stalking, or chasing	A man shouted to me 'go back to China,' saying 'nihao' in funny tones, and tried to spit at me. When I told him to f-k off, he started to chase me. After I escaped to a nearby bus and got off the bus one block away, he chased me again with more violent language like, 'how dare you talk to me like this b-tch,' 'I'm gonna kill you.' ..." (Allison, Woman, Washington)
BEHAVIORAL HARASSMENT	Hateful or harassing behavior including gestures (e.g., the slanted eye gesture, middle finger, glaring, cutting in front of someone in line, avoidance or shunning)	"I was leaving [a business] after grocery shopping and a ... middle-aged male drove next to my car and made the slanted eyes gesture. " (Nathan, Man, Texas)
CALLING ICE OR POLICE	Threats to call or actual calls to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement or the police for the purpose of harassment or intimidation	"We were having music practice in a public town bandshell that is free to the public. A ... woman immediately confronted us the minute we arrived ... and all throughout rehearsal ... she verbally harassed members 3 inches from their face as well as our parents who were in attendance. She even called the cops and reported us to the park ranger, both who said we have the right to play there. ..." (Jooyoung, Gender nonconforming/nonbinary person, New York)

3.2 PHYSICAL HARM OR CONTACT

Physical harm or contact includes actions that involve a physical component. More severe physical harm is categorized as *physical injury* and defined as physical harm from a person or object that results in a major or minor injury (e.g., pushing, punching, kicking, having a rock thrown at one’s head). Physical acts that do not result in injury are categorized as *physical contact*. We would categorize the example shared by Justine in the Midwest below (see table) as “physical contact” since having dirt poured on top of one’s head involves physical interaction but does not result in major or minor injury.

PHYSICAL HARM OR CONTACT: Subcategories, Definitions, and Examples

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
PHYSICAL INJURY	Physical harm from person or object that results in major or minor injury (e.g., pushing, punching, kicking, being hit by vehicle); includes being harmed by an object via throwing or spraying (e.g., a rock being thrown at one’s head)	“[On city public transit] ... 8:30 a.m., rush hour. Talking to my parents on the phone in Mandarin. ... male ... exclaims, ‘Speak english, Ch-nk.’ Sucker-punches me in the left temple and promptly runs away.” (Carson, Man, New York)
PHYSICAL CONTACT	Unwanted physical contact with person or object that does not result in major or minor injury (e.g., bumping into someone, purposely spilling a drink on someone)	“Had a large plastic tarp full of dirt dropped on top of my head and body . With a small handful of onlookers not one person stood up, spoke up, or asked if I was okay. After I shook all of the sh-t off and out of my hair I broke down in my car. I was subjected to public humiliation because I’m Asian.” (Justine, Woman, Midwest)
ATTEMPTED PHYSICAL INJURY OR CONTACT	Physical injury or contact that is attempted but is not successful (e.g., a swing and a miss, someone tried to touch me but I moved away)	“A ... male stranger on the street started targeting me on my walk and trying to block me to a corner. I dodged him and walked away, when he turned around and started charging at me, trying to grab me, pick a fight , and yell obscenities at me. I tried to leave as fast as possible. When he couldn’t grab me , he yelled on top of his lung ‘F–k you Asian.’” (Kathy, Woman, Illinois)
COUGHING OR SPITTING	Coughing or spitting directly on or near a person for the purpose of harassment or intimidation	“My friend was spit on the face near [a transit station], the person was jogging towards her so she didn’t suspect anything until the ‘runner’ gets closer to her and spit on her face. The person didn’t say anything and ran away.” (Lena Woman, New York)

3.3 INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION

Institutional discrimination includes instances whereby there is unfair, inferior, or biased treatment, and the offender is a representative of an institution, such as a business or a school. We would classify Nicole’s experience below (see table) of being refused service by the pizzeria owner as institutional discrimination. More specifically, it would be business discrimination due to Nicole receiving unfair treatment from the owner based on her ethnicity/national origin in a business setting.

The types of institutional discrimination listed in the table reflect common types of civil rights violations identified by the U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division.⁵³ It is important to note that civil rights violations⁵⁴ are not limited to these forms of discrimination. If they involve a protected characteristic and take place in a setting covered by civil rights laws, instances of harassment, physical harm, and property damage may also constitute civil rights violations. This, however, varies by state.

INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION: Subcategories, Definitions, and Examples

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
BUSINESS DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination against a customer, patient, or third party in a commercial or healthcare setting by an employee, owner, or other institutional representative; includes denial of service, inferior service, different pricing, or being barred from the premises	"I walked into [a pizzeria] and one of the owners stepped in front of me to block me from the counter. She then asked loudly 'where are you from?' I was taken aback but then said, 'I was born here but my parents are from Taiwan.' She then said, ' There is no food for you here. Leave! ' I asked her, 'What?' and she repeated to me to leave." (Nicole, Woman, California)
EDUCATION DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination against a student or creation of a hostile environment in an educational setting by staff, teachers, professors, or any other institutional representative	"I am a student at [a university]. I was taking [a class] online. I had a conversation with [the professor] about my test after class. I told him that I grew up in Japan and sometimes get confused with the terminology. He told me to go speak with the 'disability department' on campus because English is my second language so I can get the care I need. ... In closing the conversation, he restated that I should speak with the disability department and continued to call me disabled making me cry." (Seiko, Woman, West)
JOB DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination against an employee or job applicant in a workplace setting by a supervisor or prospective employer; includes unfair firing, not getting promoted due to race/ speaking up about race, differential access to resources, or being retaliated against for reporting discrimination at work	"During a company wide marketing meeting, I propose to the team that I will be the person to contact customers. However, a manager directly interrupted the meeting and said, 'Americans dislike Chinese accents.' After the meeting, three team members directly approached me, indicated that they all felt deeply offended, and would like to file a complaint against him." (Haoyu, Man, California)
GOVERNMENT DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination against a patron in a government services setting by an employee or other institutional representative (e.g., TSA, police, DMV, public library, public transit); includes racial profiling by the police, racially disparate deportations, property laws targeting particular national origins	"Our car was hit. I called 911. The police came. They did not let me tell them what happened and did not write up a report for me. They said I do not understand English and told me not to talk. " (Yiming, Man, New York)
HOUSING DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination against a buyer, renter, or resident in the housing sector by a current or potential landlord/apartment manager, realtor, lender, homeowners association (HOA), or other institutional representative	" HOA creating hostile environment for our family in an attempt to force us to move." (Nadine, Woman, California)

3.4 PROPERTY HARM

While the above categories are targeted towards people or groups, a fourth category, *property harm*, distinguishes acts of hate in which the harm is directed at someone’s property.

PROPERTY HARM: Subcategories, Definitions, and Examples

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
PROPERTY DAMAGE OR ABUSE	Graffiti, vandalism, or other property harm or abuse (e.g., car was egged, trash thrown in yard, harm to pet)	“I went to my dentist appointment. I came back out and found my car keyed with the words ‘Do Not B Asian.’ ” (Tony, Man, Michigan)
ROBBERY OR THEFT	Stealing or attempting to steal something from someone or taking someone’s property	“I was walking to the hospital (I’m a medical student) and [a person] yanked my hair, called me names, and stole my phone . He dropped his phone and I picked it up so I wanted to politely exchange phones. He told me a sad story to let my guard down then he beat me up and kicked me multiple times.” (Kulap, Woman, New York)



4. WHERE DOES IT HAPPEN?

The third question we use to guide our categorization of a hate act is, “Where does it happen?” Within this dimension we classify the site of the hate act.

SITE OF HATE ACT

When examining the sites where acts of hate take place, we found that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders experience unprovoked hate in everyday places while going about their daily lives. They experience it in the mundane spaces of their daily activities like picking their kids up from school, buying groceries, commuting to work, doing their jobs, seeing a doctor, taking a walk in their neighborhood, or enjoying a concert.



In Rachel’s case (p. 5), she was going about her everyday routine of parking in her assigned work parking lot.

We have eight main categories to identify the site of the hate act: 1) public space, 2) business, 3) residence, 4) online or media, 5) education, 6) workplace, 7) place of worship, and 8) healthcare. These categories help us evaluate whether people are more prone to experience racism in certain settings. Studies reveal that encounters with racism often occur in public spaces.⁵⁵ We also see this confirmed in the reports we have received, where the largest portion occurred in public settings.⁵⁶

PUBLIC SPACE	BUSINESS	ONLINE OR MEDIA	EDUCATION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public street or sidewalk Public park or recreational area Parking lot Public transit Government setting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Restaurant or cafe Retail or grocery store Gas station Hotel, motel, or inn Event venue Gig economy Business: other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Online or phone Social media or gaming Mass media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> K-12 school University or college Educational institution: other
RESIDENCE	WORKPLACE	PLACE OF WORSHIP	HEALTHCARE

Different settings can also direct us toward different solutions. For example, current federal civil rights law prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin in places of “public accommodation,” which includes “restaurants, hotels, and places of exhibition or entertainment.”⁵⁷ If someone experienced discriminatory treatment in one of these settings, they could file a civil rights complaint. However, our data shows a large number of events happening in retail and grocery stores. Since retail and grocery stores are not included in the current federal definition of “public accommodation,” preventing discriminatory treatment in these settings would require an update to Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or filing a civil rights complaint under state or local law.⁵⁸

Site categories are not mutually exclusive as an incident can occur in multiple spaces at once. For example, William from California shared with us the following incident: “I called the social security office ... for my dad who does not speak any English, nor does he have any knowledge of Medicare insurance. The lady ... forced my dad to speak for himself even though my dad repeatedly requested for me to speak for him. When my dad couldn’t answer the questions she asked, she hung up on us. It’s scary to realize that racism is in the larger government system.” We categorize the site of the hate act as both “government setting” because William spoke with someone at a government office and “online or phone” because the exchange occurred over the phone.

4.1 PUBLIC SPACE

The broad category of *public space* includes the more obvious public spaces like streets and sidewalks, as well as government spaces that are open to the public like post offices and libraries. It consists of publicly accessible spaces where strangers are likely to interact. Within the category of public space, there are five subcategories: public street or sidewalk; public park or recreational area; parking lot; public transit; and government setting.

PUBLIC SPACE: Subcategories and Examples

CATEGORY	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
PUBLIC STREET OR SIDEWALK	"Just driving to the store a short distance from home, twice I was asked to go back to my home country. Unsure what triggered it, perhaps because I let an elderly cross the road on first incident and absolute random drive by yelling on second." (Evan, Man, Massachusetts)
PUBLIC PARK OR RECREATIONAL AREA	"I was sitting on a bench alone at a local dog park which I visit almost daily. A ... woman started yelling at me out of nowhere when passing by. (Stupid. Should not look for troubles I don't want. Should keep my mouth shut if I don't speak English. ... B-tch.) Then again across the park." (Mingyue, Woman, Florida)
PARKING LOT⁵⁹	"I was at [a big box store] parking lot . A man came and knocked on my window and asked me if I'm leaving. I told him no. He got mad and started to call me names and told me that's why y'all a-s got killed. He pulled his pants down after all the name calling." (Rachini, Woman, South)
PUBLIC TRANSIT	"A man on the subway started screaming at me out of nowhere, telling me I should die and that he would kill me. Screamed racial slurs (Chinese b-tch, Asian sl-t, wh-re) and death threats at me for 10 minutes, while no one on the subway ... did or said anything. Just looked at their phones." (Minji, Woman, Washington D.C.)
GOVERNMENT SETTING (E.G., DMV, POST OFFICE)	"I called the social security office ... for my dad who does not speak any English, nor does he have any knowledge of Medicare insurance. The lady ... forced my dad to speak for himself even though my dad repeatedly requested for me to speak for him. When my dad couldn't answer the questions she asked, she hung up on us. It's scary to realize that racism is in the larger government system." (William, Man, California)



4.2 BUSINESS

The category of *business* includes commercial spaces operated by a company or individual. Encounters in which workers or customers are harmed would both fall in this category. Within the category of business, there are seven subcategories: restaurant or cafe; retail or grocery store; gas station; hotel, motel, or inn; event venue; gig economy; and other business.

BUSINESS: Subcategories and Examples

CATEGORY	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
RESTAURANT OR CAFE	"I waited on a table of four regulars, and after they paid their bill one man was talking about massages in Thailand. ... Then he looked straight at me as I was bussing tables and said, "Two dolla make you holla!" (Eileen, Woman, Oregon)
RETAIL OR GROCERY STORE	A manager at the local [grocery store] accused me of shoplifting, violently grabbed my lunch from me, and muttered racial slurs under his breath as he left. (Kyle, Man, Florida)
GAS STATION	"At a gas station in [a city], another customer got angry that I didn't back my car away from a gas pump to allow him to leave. He launched into a series of verbal attacks, calling me a f-king Indian; an Arab; and Saddam Hussain." (Arjun, Man, California)
HOTEL, MOTEL, OR INN	"Hotel clerk was rude to our Asian group while being courteous to other ethnicities. The conflict arose after a reservation error which resulted in the hotel clerk canceling our reservations unjustly. The disparity between treatment due to ethnicities is absolutely unacceptable and disgusting." (Rene, Gender not specified, Colorado)
EVENT VENUE	"Attending a [major league baseball team] game. Standing in line and a woman pointed at me and said, 'You people belong at the back of the line,' then ran off." (Mark, Man, Illinois)
GIG ECONOMY (E.G., RIDESHARE SERVICES, HOMESTAYS)	"I was taking a [rideshare service] to a medical appointment ... [The driver] asked if I was from here [a city in the South] and I said no, that I was from CA, which made him ask more questions. The questioning led him to start screaming at me about communist CA. I told him I just wanted to ride in peace, but he ignored me and kept yelling. So I asked him to let me out, which made him even more upset, so he started driving erratically in pulling over. As I got out of the car, he screamed at me to go back to my country and go back to China, though I was born and raised in CA." (Stacey, Woman, South)
BUSINESS: OTHER (E.G. BANK, GYM, TYPE UNSPECIFIED)	"Middle-aged ... male paced back and forth in front of nail salon where Asian American women were working. He leaned into the open doorway several times and coughed very hard into the salon. He came back multiple times and continued coughing into the salon until an employee closed and locked the door." (Melanie, Woman, Massachusetts)

4.3 RESIDENCE

The category of *residence* does not have any sub-categories but includes private homes, townhomes, apartments, mobile homes, housing complexes, and other living communities. Many of these acts of hate tend to involve negative interactions with neighbors, some of which are ongoing, which makes them potentially more life altering than a solitary encounter in public spaces or businesses. For example, Ron shared with us this hate act that occurred in the South: "Someone shot a bullet into a house from a rifle or handgun into the living room of the only Chinese family in [a city in the South]. Fired at midnight and drove away. Two family members were in the room. No one was hurt."

4.4 ONLINE OR MEDIA

The category of *online or media*⁶⁰ includes acts of hate that occur online or in the media. It is an important area of exploration for contemporary social interaction since so much of it occurs online rather than in person. Moreover, online interactions and mass media are less space-bound, and, therefore, have potentially greater public reach and ripple effects on our communities. The category of online or media includes three subcategories: online or phone; social media or gaming; and mass media.

ONLINE OR MEDIA: Subcategories and Examples

CATEGORY	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
ONLINE OR PHONE (E.G., EMAIL, VIRTUAL MEETINGS, TEXT MESSAGES)	"During a Zoom event [for an Asian museum], two individuals typed the previously mentioned slur [ch-nk] into the chat box with random letters in rapid succession as if to assist those typing the slurs so that other messages could not be easily seen." (Minh, Man, Online)
SOCIAL MEDIA OR GAMING (E.G., INSTAGRAM, ROBLOX)	"I have been harassed online for a year by the same perpetrator. They make multiple accounts on [a social media platform] to harass me using racial slurs and rhetoric. They have followed me from [one social media platform] onto other platforms ... and have also harassed my friends and acquaintances who are Asian identifying." (Julie, Woman, Online)
MASS MEDIA (E.G., NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, SHOWS)	"I was listening to [a radio station] after dropping my son off at school and heard a segment ... that mocked Asian people. I have complained about the program before because it dehumanizes Asian people and this encourages violence. The segment is heard all over the country as part of a morning show." (Gerald, Man, Massachusetts)

4.5 EDUCATION

The category of *education* includes acts of hate occurring in educational spaces. Like the events that happen in private residences, school events can be ongoing and hard to escape given the difficulties associated with changing schools and required attendance. The category of education includes three subcategories: K-12 school; university or college; other educational institution.

EDUCATION: Subcategories and Examples

CATEGORY	REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE
K-12 SCHOOL	"[A high school] is teaching a history section where the classes are divided and there is a debate about whether or not the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, which killed Japanese children and other civilians were 'ethical' with half of each class arguing in favor." (Vivian, Woman, Northeast)
UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE	"I was on my university campus and leaving one of my classes, which was held in a large auditorium-style room. I waited for most of the crowd to leave first. When I was in the doorway, a guy came up from behind, shoulder-checked me into the wall, and called me a 'Chinese b-tch' over his shoulder." (Sophia, Woman, South)
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION: OTHER (E.G., PRESCHOOL, RECREATIONAL CLASS, TYPE OF SCHOOL UNSPECIFIED)	"My instructor called me Chinaman." (Zhiyuan, Man, California)

4.6 WORKPLACE

The category of *workplace* denotes someone's place of employment. It does not have any subcategories but can be used in conjunction with other settings to indicate the type of workplace. As with hate acts occurring in residences and schools, hate in the workplace can be persistent and difficult to avoid.

This category includes actions from supervisors, colleagues, clients, customers, vendors, and other people encountered through the workplace. For example, Charmaine shared with us this encounter she had at work: "Older ... lady came into my work mad already. I tried to help her find something to work with her budget. She took this the wrong way and started yelling at me, cursing, saying racist comments while poking my face and actually struck me in the face twice for no reason. Everyone heard in the store and management did nothing to stop the situation. They actually made me go back to her and cut her price in half to make her happy. My managers made jokes about what happened and failed to make an incident report." In this case, Charmaine experienced discriminatory treatment from the customer and managers at her workplace.

4.7 PLACE OF WORSHIP

The category of *place of worship* does not have any subcategories and includes any space used for religious or spiritual worship. This includes hate acts directed towards a place of worship or hate acts within a religious or spiritual site. Valerie from Washington reported this act of vandalism to us: "An act of hate and racism on our local church in [a city]. Someone left a message written in hay on the parking lot, which read offensive slurs 'F-k China,' 'You will pay,' and 'Go Home.' Our church congregation is predominantly [Asian], though we are pretty diverse, and have members of different races and many ethnicities ... This completely unprovoked attack was the fourth this year."

4.8 HEALTHCARE

The category of *healthcare* does not have any subcategories and includes any setting in which healthcare is provided, such as hospitals, medical practices, nursing homes, or healthcare clinics. It encompasses hate experienced as healthcare providers, patients, and those accompanying patients. Isabel shared this experience at a hospital in Florida: "A male student ultrasound tech started asking inappropriate questions and making statements assuming I must have been a bargirl in the Philippines."



Photo submitted by Valerie of vandalism at her church

CONCLUSION

These hate acts are not isolated events. Seeing them together paints a fuller picture of the environment of hate that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders must navigate in their daily lives. This is what collective harm, dehumanization, and degradation looks like. We have seen community members experience hate as they go to the post office, attend a Zoom webinar, go grocery shopping, play golf, watch videos, get an ultrasound, call the Social Security office, go to class, take a walk, dine at a restaurant, and even when they stay at home. We view these occurrences as interconnected, linked to larger root causes, and requiring systemic social change.

We have learned that our communities adopt a broad understanding of “hate” to mean any encounter that is shaped by racial bias, including harassment, physical attacks, and unfair treatment. Our updated classification system has highlighted the many different shades of hate our communities experience which allows us to craft more effective and tailored solutions. As we continue to receive community reports, as research on racism grows, and as conversations about hate expand and deepen, we hope that this classification system can be a living project that grows with the movement to end hate towards Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and all people.

Key Takeaways

1. Hate is not only confined to interpersonal interactions but exists and is bred within a larger environment of societal hate. Harmful public narratives are hazardous to Asian American and Pacific Islander lives as they contribute to interpersonal hate acts.⁶¹ For the innumerable community members exposed to it, racist content increases race-based trauma symptoms over and above the effect of interpersonal experiences with racism.⁶² Therefore, it is important to hold those who produce these narratives accountable. Moreover, it is necessary to change the narratives.⁶³
2. Hate is not just explicit, but also coded and hidden. Recognizing non-explicit hate is important because it is a “wolf in sheep’s clothing” – harder to detect but potentially more pervasive and just as impactful. If we only track acts that can be legally proven as hate crimes because there are explicit indicators of bias, we miss much of what Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders experience. We must pay attention to the less obvious acts of hate that impact our communities’ lives.
3. Offenders are not just individuals but also institutions and institutional representatives. Recognizing how race-based hate manifests within institutions is important because it allows us to see how racism is embedded within institutions and animated by those with the power to deny resources, access, privileges, or services to others. Discrimination by institutional actors means the loss of jobs and opportunities and exclusion from essential services and full participation in social life. Institutional hate also calls for different solutions, like civil rights remedies.

Learn More and Take Action

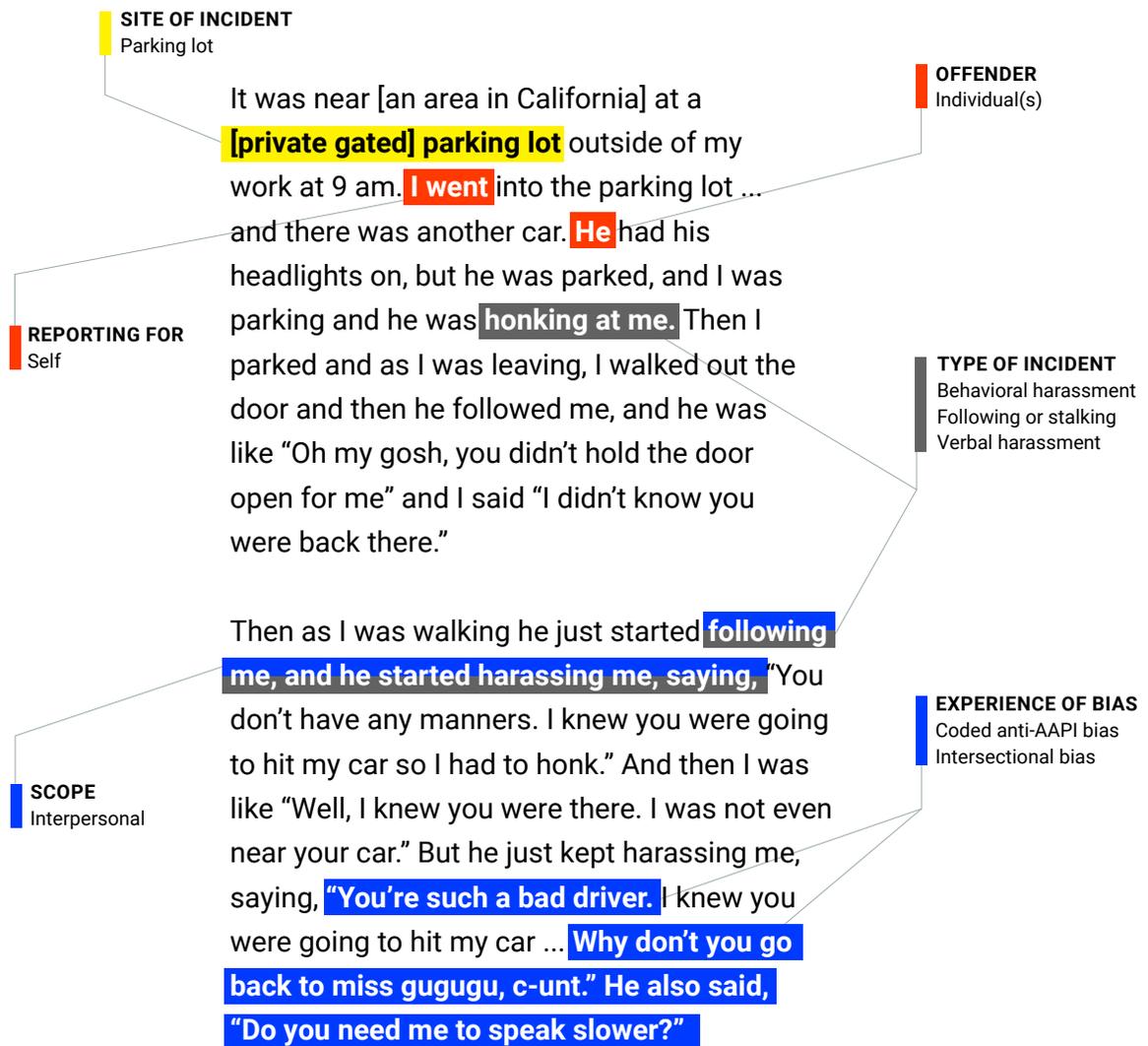
1. **Report hate acts:** Add to our collective understanding of hate by sharing stories of hate you have experienced or witnessed. Report hate acts against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders at [our reporting center](#).
2. **Explore our data:** Our data can now be explored through Stop AAPI Hate’s interactive [data visualization tool](#). This tool allows you to explore the breakdown of hate acts by the categories introduced in this report, compare data across different subgroups, and filter the data in a variety of ways.
3. **Advocate:** Support holistic solutions to hate that get at the root causes like education equity, community-driven safety solutions, and civil rights enforcement.⁶⁴ See what campaigns we are actively working on by visiting the [campaigns page](#) on our [website](#).

APPENDIX A- HOW WE CODED RACHEL'S STORY

DIMENSIONS OF HATE

LEGEND

- How is hate experienced?
- Who is involved?
- What happens?
- Where does it happen?



APPENDIX B- LIMITATIONS

Limitations

This classification system has some limitations that we recognize and seek to improve upon.

- This classification system was constructed by analyzing community reports submitted to Stop AAPI Hate. The reports we receive are not representative of the racial and ethnic distribution of the U.S. Asian American and Pacific Islander communities. East Asian ethnicities are vastly overrepresented, Southeast Asian ethnicities are moderately underrepresented, and South Asian and Pacific Islander ethnicities are vastly underrepresented. Therefore, the experiences presented and the categories adopted are not fully representative of all Asian American and Pacific Islander communities. We want to better understand what is happening in these communities and will actively seek out ways to do so.
- This classification system is limited in its ability to capture some forms of institutional and systemic racism that are not centered on a specific hate act. For example, people may not think to report a racist bill like Florida Senate Bill 264 which restricts citizens from China, Cuba, Venezuela, Syria, Iran, North Korea, and Russia from purchasing property in the state of Florida because they do not recognize this as an act of hate. Thus, the types of hate in this classification system tend to be event-centered. While racist policies are typically not reported to us, Stop AAPI Hate's policy and advocacy team tracks these bills as they are institutional forms of hate. To learn more about how we are fighting against discriminatory legislation, visit our [Stop the Blame campaign website](#).

Endnotes

- ¹ Carolyn A. Fan, "Beyond #StopAAPIHate: Expanding the Definition of Violence against Asian Americans." *American Journal of Public Health* 112, no. 4 (2022): 604-606, <https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/full/10.2105/AJPH.2022.306740>.
- ² In this report, we sometimes abbreviate "Asian American" as "AA" and "Pacific Islander" as "PI." We prefer the abbreviations "AA & PI" and "AA or PI" rather than "AAPI" to heighten the visibility of Pacific Islander communities since they are often invisibilized when lumped together with Asian Americans.
- ³ This classification system has been informed by reports to Stop AAPI Hate from a broad range of AA & PI ethnic subgroups. However, there is a low percentage of reports from South Asians and Pacific Islanders compared to the amount of hate they experience as revealed in national surveys. This indicates a need for additional research led by these communities and other sources of data on the specific forms of hate they experience that may be distinct from that of East and Southeast Asians.
- ⁴ For example, see Amy Farrell and Sara Lockwood, "Addressing Hate Crime in the 21st Century: Trends, Threats, and Opportunities for Intervention," *Annual Review of Criminology* 6 (2023): 107-130, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-030920-091908>.
- ⁵ Psychologist David Wing Sue and his colleagues define microaggressions as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group" (273). David Wing Sue et al., "Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice," *American Psychologist* 62, no. 4 (2007): 271-286, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271>. See also Monnica T. Williams, "Racial Microaggressions: Critical Questions, State of the Science, and New Directions," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 16, no. 5 (2021): 880-885, <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916211039209>.
- ⁶ Sociologists Mario Small and Devah Pager define institutional discrimination as "differential treatment by race that is either perpetrated by organizations or codified into law" (52). Mario Small and Devah Pager, "Sociological Perspectives on Racial Discrimination," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 34, no. 2 (2020): 49-67, <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257%2Fjep.34.2.49>. Scholars Mahzarin R. Banaji, Susan T. Fiske, and Douglas S. Massey define systemic racism as "occur[ing] when racially unequal opportunities and outcomes are inbuilt or intrinsic to the operation of a society's structures" (2). Mahzarin R. Banaji, Susan T. Fiske, and Douglas S. Massey, "Systemic Racism: Individuals and Interactions, Institutions and Society," *Cognitive Research: Principles and Implications* 6, no. 82 (2021): 1-21, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41235-021-00349-3>.
- ⁷ Our original system of classification is documented in Section 3 "Definitions Related to Incident Reporting" of the [Documenting Anti-AAPI Hate Codebook](#), a collaboration between Stop AAPI Hate and The Asian American Foundation (TAAF) published in 2021. Since then, we have had an opportunity to further develop and refine the coding schema. We incorporated the recommendations from that codebook to focus on the position of offenders rather than their demographic characteristics and to collect information on who is reporting.
- ⁸ We only share stories in which we have been given consent to share anonymously. We use pseudonyms when sharing stories to protect the identities of those who report to us. To preserve anonymity, we only identify geographies where 100 or more reports have been submitted. If we have received fewer than 100 reports from a state, we report the U.S. region. Accounts of hate acts have been lightly edited for clarity.
- ⁹ See Amy Farrell and Sara Lockwood, "Addressing Hate Crime in the 21st Century: Trends, Threats, and Opportunities for Intervention," *Annual Review of Criminology* 6 (2023): 107-130, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-030920-091908>. They call on researchers to "broaden their inquiry beyond traditionally defined hate crimes and the criminal justice response to examine a wider range of behaviors that signal the exclusion of groups, foster fear, and threaten civil rights" (123).
- ¹⁰ Mica Pollack and Mariko Yoshisato, "#USvsHate: The Power and Core Tensions of Using an 'Anti-Hate' Onramp for K12 Antiracism Today," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 25, no. 4 (2022): 461-486, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2022.2033195>.
- ¹¹ Lu-in Wang, "Reframing Hate," *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology* 112, no. 4 (2022): 847-873, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4422656.
- ¹² U.S. Department of Justice, "Learn About Hate Crimes," <https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/learn-about-hate-crimes>. States also define hate crimes in laws that go beyond the federal definition.
- ¹³ Definition comes from U.S. Department of Justice, "Learn About Hate Crimes," <https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/learn-about-hate-crimes>. This represents a departure from our past use of the term "hate incident" to mean any hate-related event, including both criminal and non-criminal events. We now use the term "hate incident" in a more narrow sense to refer to non-criminal bias-motivated events in order to align with conventions used by most community organizations, scholars, and government entities working in the realm of hate. When referring to hate crimes and hate incidents together, we will now use the terms "acts of hate" and "hate acts."
- ¹⁴ Stop AAPI Hate, "Righting Wrongs: How Civil Rights Can Protect Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders Against Racism," May 2023, <https://stopaapihate.org/civil-rights-report/>. In some cases, a hate act may violate both civil and criminal law, and, therefore, be both a civil rights violation and a hate crime. For example, graffiti on an AA or PI business with a racial slur violates both civil and criminal law in California.
- ¹⁵ For more information about our research methodology, see "Stop AAPI Hate Community Reports: Data and Methods" (2023). <https://stopaapihate.org/methods-pdf>.
- ¹⁶ See the social-ecological model of hate-motivated behavior in Robert J. Cramer et al., "Hate-Motivated Behavior: Impacts, Risk Factors, and Interventions," *Health Affairs Health Policy Brief*, November 9, 2020, <https://www.healthaffairs.org/doi/10.1377/hpb20200929.601434/>.
- ¹⁷ Scholars have also adopted a delineation between interpersonal and societal forms of discrimination. See Nasheed Ahmed, "Measurement of Perceived Interpersonal and Societal Anti-Muslim Discrimination in the United States," *Assessment* 28, vol. 2 (2021): 668-681, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191120973388>. Hyeouk Chris Hahm et al., "Experiences of COVID-19-Related Anti-Asian Discrimination and Affective Reactions in a Multiple Race Sample of U.S. Young Adults," *BMC Public Health* 21, 1563 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-11559-1>.
- ¹⁸ This category is similar to what Melissa Borja and Jacob Gibson called "stigmatizing and discriminatory statements, images, policies, and proposals" and defined as "statements and actions by an individual or group of individuals that reproduced anti-Asian stereotypes and harmed Asian and Asian American people as a community." Melissa Borja and Jacob Gibson, "Anti-Asian Racism in 2020," May 2021, <https://virulenthate.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Virulent-Hate-Anti-Asian-Racism-In-2020-5.17.21.pdf>.

- ¹⁹ Haunani-Kay Trask, "The Color of Violence," *Social Justice* 31, no. 4 (2004): 8-16. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29768270>.
- ²⁰ Abdelrahman ElTohamy et al., "Effect of Vicarious Discrimination on Race-Based Stress Symptoms Among Asian American Young Adults During the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* (2023), <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2023-75113-001>.
- ²¹ Stop AAPI Hate, "The Blame Game: How Political Rhetoric Inflames Anti-Asian Scapegoating," May 2022, <https://stopaapihate.org/anti-asian-scapegoating/>.
- ²² See the structural level factors of hate-motivated behavior in Kramer et al., "Hate-Motivated Behavior."
- ²³ If a hate act contains explicit and coded bias, we only code it as explicit.
- ²⁴ Since it can be difficult to differentiate between explicit and coded bias, we decided to draw the line at whether the words, actions, or symbols used by the offender contain an explicit reference to race, ethnicity, or nationality or a very well-known racial or xenophobic slur.
- ²⁵ For a good list of these terms, see Committee of 100, "We Belong: A Glossary of Anti-Asian Terms and Tropes," 2022, https://www.committee100.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Anti-Asian-Glossary-v2_Updated-Late-2022.pdf.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ NEA Center for Social Justice, "7 Harmful Racial Discourse Practices to Avoid," January 2021, National Education Association, <https://www.nea.org/professional-excellence/student-engagement/tools-tips/7-harmful-racial-discourse-practices-avoid>.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ See, for example, the "Everyday Discrimination Scale" developed by David R. Williams, <https://scholar.harvard.edu/davidwilliams/node/32397>.
- ³⁰ See scholarship on covert racism in Rodney D. Coates, ed., *Covert Racism: Theories, Institutions, and Experiences* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
- ³¹ Rodney D. Coates, "Covert Racism: An Introduction," in *Covert Racism: Theories, Institutions, and Experiences*, ed. Rodney D. Coates (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1.
- ³² Audit studies are also referred to as field experiments. Lincoln Quillian and Arnfinn H. Midtbøen, "Comparative Perspectives on Racial Discrimination in Hiring: The Rise of Field Experiments," *Annual Review of Sociology* 47 (2021): 391-415, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-090420-035144>.
- ³³ Lincoln Quillian, Devah Pager, Ole Hexel, and Arnfinn H. Midtbøen, "Meta-Analysis of Field Experiments Shows No Change in Racial Discrimination in Hiring over Time." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114, no. 41 (2017): 10870-10875, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1706255114>.
- ³⁴ Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism," in *A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies*, ed. David T. Goldberg and John Solomos (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 211.
- ³⁵ Rachel L. Finn, "Surveillant Staring: Race and the Everyday Surveillance of South Asian Women after 9/11," *Surveillance and Society* 8, vol. 4 (2011): 413-426, <https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v8i4.4179>.
- ³⁶ Essed, "Everyday Racism," 210.
- ³⁷ Kate Nemarich, "Fresno Thai restaurant forced to close after threats and rumors spread online," ABC30, May 22, 2023, <https://abc30.com/tasty-thai-fresno-restaurant-racist-claims-online-threats/13272004/>.
- ³⁸ "Jim Crow and Segregation," Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/jim-crow-segregation/>.
- ³⁹ Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1 (1989): 139-167, <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8/>.
- ⁴⁰ Quoted in Katy Steinmetz, "She Coined the Term 'Intersectionality' Over 30 Years Ago. Here's What It Means to Her Today," *Time*, February 20, 2020, <https://time.com/5786710/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality/>.
- ⁴¹ Committee of 100, "We Belong." Propelled by sexualized views of Asian women, the Page Act of 1875 "effectively banned the immigration of Chinese women by portraying most of them as arriving in the U.S. solely to work as prostitutes." National Park Service, "Ulysses S. Grant, Chinese Immigration, and the Page Act of 1875," <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/ulysses-s-grant-chinese-immigration-and-the-page-act-of-1875.htm>.
- ⁴² Penn State Law, "The NSEERS Effect: A Decade of Racial Profiling, Fear, and Secrecy" (Report, Penn State Law, Rights Working Group, May 2012), https://pennstatelaw.psu.edu/_file/clinics/NSEERS_report.pdf.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Matthew Desmond and Mustafa Emirbayer, "What is Racial Domination?," *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 6, no. 2 (2009): 335-355, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X09990166>.
- ⁴⁵ Jane Shim, "To Stop Anti-Asian Violence, Invest in Communities, Not Police," American Constitution Society Expert Forum, May 22, 2023, <https://www.acslaw.org/expertforum/to-stop-anti-asian-violence-invest-in-communities-not-police/>.
- ⁴⁶ Stop AAPI Hate, "Righting Wrongs"; 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 & Delinquency* 68, no. 8 (2022): 1292-1319, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00111287211041521>.
- ⁴⁷ David S. Curtis et al., "Highly Public Anti-Black Violence Is Associated with Poor Mental Health Days for Black Americans," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118, no. 17 (2021): e2019624118, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2019624118>; Brittany N. Morey, "Mechanisms by Which Anti-Immigrant Stigma Exacerbates Racial/Ethnic Health Disparities," *American Journal of Public Health* 108, no. 4 (2018): 460-463, <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2017.304266>; Barbara Perry and Shahid Alvi, "We Are All Vulnerable: The In Terrorem Effects of Hate Crimes," *International Review of Victimology* 19, no. 1 (2012): 57-71, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758011422475>.
- ⁴⁸ Shelly Galasso Bonanno, "The Power and Strength of Bearing Witness," *Psychology Today*, December 3, 2013, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/meaningful-you/201312/the-power-and-strength-bearing-witness>.
- ⁴⁹ We also analyze the demographics of the person harmed to discern groups within our communities that may be more vulnerable. This is not discussed here because in this report we are only describing categories we use to code report descriptions. We gather data on the targeted person through demographic questions on the reporting form, not through the hate act descriptions.

- ⁵⁰ OED Online, s.v. “harassment,” <https://oed.com> (accessed May 19, 2023).
- ⁵¹ Introducing this category represents the largest departure from our previous coding schema as documented in the Stop AAPI Hate-TAAF “[Documenting Anti-AAPI Hate Codebook](#)” (2021). In that codebook, there are two categories for institutional discrimination: “job discrimination/ hostile work environment” and “denial of service.” We created these new institutional discrimination categories to capture other forms of unfair or inferior treatment and other environments in which these occur.
- ⁵² OED Online, s.v. “harassment,” <https://oed.com> (accessed May 19, 2023).
- ⁵³ U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, <https://civilrights.justice.gov>.
- ⁵⁴ To learn more about hate that constitutes a civil rights violation, see Stop AAPI Hate, “Righting Wrongs.”
- ⁵⁵ Dounia Bourabain and Pieter-Paul Verhaeghe, “Everyday Racism in Social Science Research: A Systematic Review and Future Directions,” *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 18, no. 2 (2021): 221-250, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X21000102>.
- ⁵⁶ Stop AAPI Hate, “Two Years and Thousands of Voices: What Community-Generated Data Tells Us About Anti-AAPI Hate,” July 2022, <https://stopaapihate.org/year-2-report/>.
- ⁵⁷ U.S. Department of Justice, “Know Your Rights: Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,” U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/page/file/1251321/download#:~:text=YOUR%20RIGHTS%20UNDER%20TITLE%20II&text=You%20have%20the%20right%20to,any%20place%20of%20public%20accommodation.&text=You%20cannot%20be%20treated%20differently,%2C%20religion%2C%20or%20national%20origin>.
- ⁵⁸ See Stop AAPI Hate, “Righting Wrongs,” 20.
- ⁵⁹ Some parking lots are privately-owned, but since many are publicly accessible, we put them in the broader category of public space. When the type of parking lot is specified, we code for the type of parking lot by applying multiple codes. For example, for a grocery store parking lot, we code the site as both “retail or grocery store” and “parking lot.”
- ⁶⁰ The categories of “online or phone” and “social media or gaming” are mutually exclusive, but the categories of “online or phone” and “mass media” are not mutually exclusive (e.g., a newspaper article read online).
- ⁶¹ Stop AAPI Hate, “The Blame Game”
- ⁶² Abdelrahman ElTohamy et al., “Effect of Vicarious Discrimination”
- ⁶³ For examples of narrative change, see Define American, “Change the Narrative, Change the World 2022,” December 2022, <https://defineamerican.com/research/change-the-narrative-change-the-world-2022/>; ChangeLab, “A Different Asian American Timeline,” <https://aatimeline.com/>.
- ⁶⁴ See our reports, “Two Years and Thousands of Voices,” “The Blame Game,” and “Righting Wrongs” for more information about the solutions we propose for stopping hate at <https://stopaapihate.org/reports/>.

ABOUT *STOP AAPI HATE*

Stop AAPI Hate is a coalition co-founded by AAPI Equity Alliance, Chinese for Affirmative Action, and the San Francisco State University Asian American Studies Department. Created amid the rise of COVID-19-related anti-Asian racism, our coalition has since joined a nationwide movement for a safer, more equitable future for Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and other communities grappling with systemic racism, injustice, and harm.

Grounded in tackling the root causes of racism, our work includes research and data analysis, policy development and advocacy, narrative change, and community capacity building. We focus on issues including education equity and advancing ethnic studies, building community safety and resilience, and enhancing civil rights protections and racial justice.

ABOUT THE COVER

The photograph was taken by Erich Martin and used with permission from the ACLU. It shows protestors rallying outside of a courthouse in Tallahassee in opposition to Florida Senate Bill 264 which restricts Chinese citizens from purchasing property in the state of Florida.

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We are grateful to the thousands of individuals who have shared reports of hate against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders on behalf of themselves or others, especially the individuals who gave us their consent to share their stories in this report. Without you, this work would not be possible. If you or someone you know experiences anti-AA or anti-PI hate, please report to stopaapihate.org.