Communists, Double Agents, Bats, and Other Inanities of Allusive Racism:

Anti-Asian Mis/disinformation on Social Media During the COVID-19 Pandemic

> S. Harris Ali Fuyuki Kurasawa

Department of Sociology
York University





Research Assistants:

Jana Borras

Yuly Chan

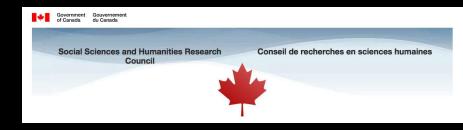
Janice Phonepraseuth

Stefan Treffers

Government of Canada

Canadian Institutes
of Health Research

Instituts de recherche en santé du Canada



Data scientist: Luna Kwan

Project manager: Mark Abraham

Three Crises of Current Moment in the Informational Age

- 1. Pandemic
- 2. Infodemic
- 3. Racist epidemic







Allusive Racism

Racially referential ambiguity:

- a) racialization of the virus and the pandemic without explicit racism
- b) signifiers with ambiguous referents (Chinese, China, #chinaflu, #chineseflu, #wuhanflu)
- c) metonymic conflation and ambiguity ('CCP' and 'China')
- d) morally charged codes and historically embedded racist tropes (Yellow Peril, etc.)





Allusive Racism: Racially Referential Ambiguity

Rhetorical Mechanisms

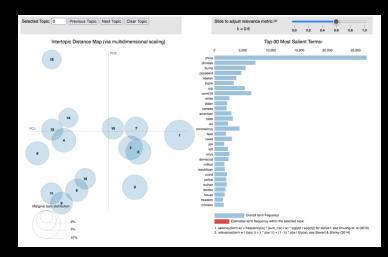
- a) categorical conflation
- b) symbolic extension
- c) dog whistling
- d) hypertextual recontextualization

Discursive Tropes

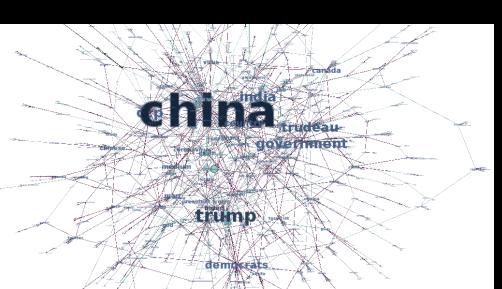
- a) cultural barbarism
- b) divided loyalties
- c) bioracial contagiousness

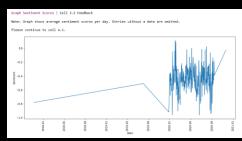
Mixed Methods: Computational and Qualitative

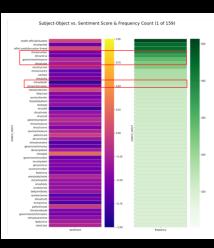
		be start (-0.983), be take (-0.982)		2020-03-24 21:24:16	2020-04-05 09:57:19	-0.982777
		take (-0.980), be fudge (-0.964), have be eat (-0.984)	3	2020-01-31 14:22:04	2020-03-30 02:32:12	-0.975763
706 - chinese	2139 - kill	continue (-0.976), want (-0.962)	3	2020-02-29 15:34:47	2020-03-19 04:34:21	-0.971481
706 - chinese	3032 - racism	do not cry (-0.954), cry (-0.966), use (-0.955), face (-0.957)		2020-02-27 08:20:11	2020-04-22 14:21:09	-0.957263
706 - chinese	3033 - racist	call (-0.935), be know (-0.976)	3	2020-04-01 20:57:16	2020-04-30 15:28:36	-0.948718
706 - chinese	2198 - learn	need (-0.941), forget (-0.930)	3	2020-02-04 14:51:04	2020-04-01 18:26:46	-0.937424
706 - chinese	474 - bioweapon	to release (-0.846), do not eat (-0.980), do not make (-0.929), steal (-0.967)	4	2020-02-18 08:51:17	2020-03-26 18:38:35	-0.930419
706 - chinese	1055 - death	be fake (-0.852), will record (-0.962), be underreporte (-0.953), do not count (-0.909), suffer (-0.975)	6	2020-02-01 02:18:26	2020-03-28 08:03:52	-0.928345
706 - chinese	186 - america	do not like (-0.866), will invade (-0.950), troll (-0.967)	3	2020-03-19 00:19:56	2020-07-27 05:49:59	-0.927442
706 - chinese	2314 - market	scrub (-0.946), ban (-0.899), raze (-0.882)	3	2020-02-14 17:58:06	2020-04-16 16:27:04	-0.909078
706 - chinese	130 - africans	target (-0.867), be treat (-0.959), be kick (-0.809), have be kick (-0.988)	6	2020-04-10 11:27:39	2020-06-27 09:28:25	-0.90695
706 - chinese	187 - american	use (-0.840), kick (-0.883), bring (-0.972)	3	2020-03-03 19:44:28	2020-05-01 06:50:41	-0.898456
706 - chinese	2935 - problem	would not have have (-0.627), have cause (-0.972), hide (-0.946), will cause (-0.897)	4	2020-02-16 14:33:58	2020-05-05 09:55:21	-0.860286
706 - chinese	2223 - lie	do know (-0.805), would have tell (-0.931), be push (-0.727), want (-0.953)	4	2020-02-22 04:26:07	2020-04-02 13:59:43	-0.854043
706 - chinese	637 - cat	eat (-0.763), can eat (-0.964), do eat (-0.978), skin (-0.971)	7	2020-01-29 16:00:59	2020-05-04 09:21:11	-0.852415
706 - chinese	3551 - street	spray (-0.947), have be disinfect (-0.848), disinfect (-0.754)	3	2020-03-06 05:16:57	2020-04-25 05:26:55	-0.849777
706 - chinese	571 - bury	prefer (-0.802), be go (-0.943)	3	2020-02-03 05:07:21	2020-05-13 02:04:56	-0.848938
706 - chinese	3706 - thousand	cost (-0.966), have kill (-0.983), can not handle (-0.908), be test (0.006), kill (-0.979)	8	2020-03-02 00:17:08	2020-04-19 12:53:05	-0.840948
706 - chinese	706 - chinese	avoid (-0.504), hate (-0.982), treat (-0.954), do not trust (-0.843)	4	2020-01-29 06:58:19	2020-04-10 03:38:26	-0.820527
706 - chinese	2874 - ppe	have (-0.659), to give (-0.822), have sell (-0.813), make (-0.985)	4	2020-03-30 01:26:23	2020-08-26 00:55:14	-0.81984
706 - chinese	274 - attack	make (-0.959), start (-0.718), will launch (-0.778)	3	2020-02-27 02:29:35	2020-04-10 20:50:57	-0.816471
706 - chinese	1461 - factory	attack (-0.921), will not close (-0.868), do not steal (-0.638)	3	2020-02-26 00:39:04	2020-04-07 18:49:04	-0.809099
706 - chinese	1215 - dog	eat (-0.838), use (-0.853), be kill (-0.970), call (-0.160), can eat (-0.507)	18	2020-01-23 22:58:54	2020-05-20 12:51:29	-0.805503
706 - chinese	2156 - lab	destroy (-0.959), have be infiltrate (-0.543), fund (-0.866)	3	2020-03-11 07:34:47	2020-04-13 10:47:36	-0.789475
706 - chinese	189 - americans	call (-0.888), mock (-0.976), have overtake (-0.580), be not tell (-0.630)	4	2020-01-30 20:21:38	2020-05-09 22:24:42	-0.768645
		have flood (-0.767)	3	2020-05-15 15:42:28		-0.766722
	3009 - quarantine	have implement (-0.852), be shoot (-0.953), impose (-0.162), dodge (-0.889)	5	2020-01-27 03:06:16		-0.741396
	3267 - sample	steal (-0.786), destroy (-0.548)	4	2020-02-09 02:11:28	2020-07-20 06:13:54	-0.72684
706 - chinese	1608 - game	kick (-0.648), not eat (-0.714), allow (-0.811)	3	2020-02-03 04:14:36	2020-04-28 19:03:22	-0.724308
706 - chinese	1210 - doctor	lose (-0.959), visit (-0.978), can not murder (-0.882), approach (-0.061)	4	2020-02-10 02:21:04	2020-03-16 01:01:41	-0.720331
		escape (-0.013), shut (-0.919), lock (-0.968), describe (-0.962), run (-0.756)	18	2020-02-10 20:26:39	2020-08-01 19:41:11	-0.717487
706 - chinese	3723 - time	lie (-0.980), have have (-0.638), have do (-0.060), waste (-0.930), may have lie (-0.968)	5	2020-01-30 22:12:19	2020-07-06 22:20:59	-0.715162
706 - chinese	2921 - price	have pay (-0.941), jack (-0.942), bring (-0.808), be pay (-0.163)	4	2020-04-01 22:16:30	2020-07-06 23:59:25	-0.713437
706 - chinese	953 - cover	would have tell (-0.817), try (-0.514), want (-0.644), lie (-0.875)	4	2020-01-28 16:23:00	2020-05-24 14:38:04	-0.71251
706 - chinese	1288 - eat	stop (-0.882), want (-0.550), like (-0.872), keep (-0.543), can not stop (-0.962)	15	2020-01-30 08:00:58	2020-06-09 19:29:20	-0.709527



topic modeling: Gensim LDA (Python)







Digital Data







File: /project/def-

kurasawa/data/extracted/disinfo_keyword.h5

Corpus Type: keyword Version Code: 20201109 Total # of entries: 2524577

Start date of entries: 2019-12-31 19:23:08 End date of entries: 2020-10-23 06:47:26

Total # of unique users: 635518

File: /project/def-

kurasawa/data/extracted/disinfo_reddit.h5

Corpus Type: keyword Version Code: 20201109 Total # of entries: 1417682 Total # of unique users: 65923

Start date of entries: 2020-01-20 09:39:52 End date of entries: 2020-10-07 19:57:46







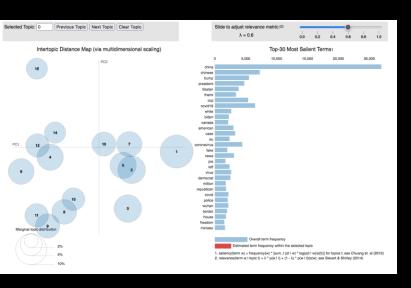
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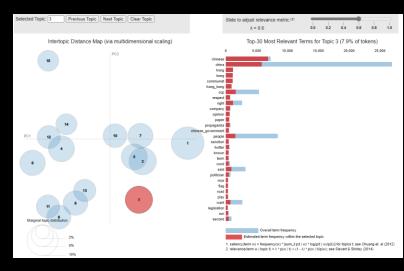
kurasawa/data/extracted/covid19.h5

Corpus Type: actor Version Code: 20201109 Total # of entries: 186382 Total # of unique users: 175

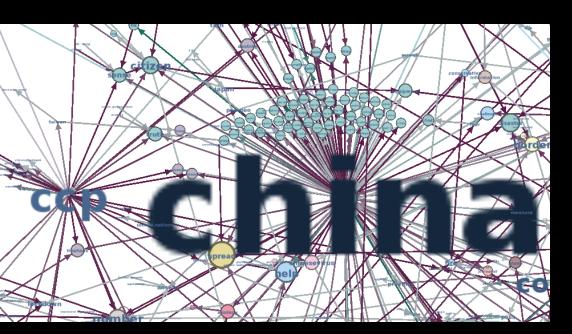
Start date of entries: 2020-01-01 19:42:54 End date of entries: 2020-12-02 00:00:00

Rhetorical Mechanism 1: Categorical Conflation





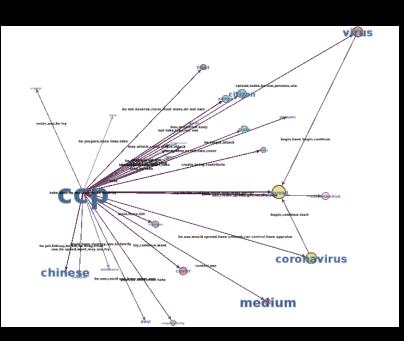
Multiplatform aggregate



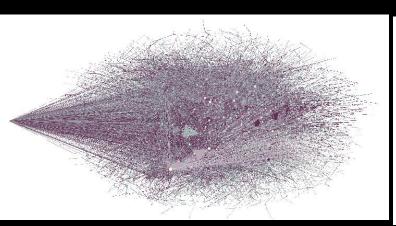
Multiplatform Topic 3

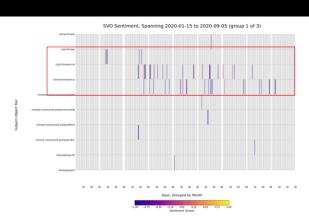


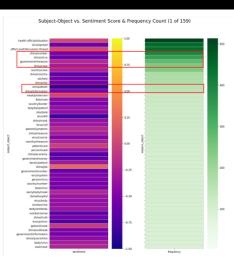
Rhetorical Mechanism 1: Categorical Conflation



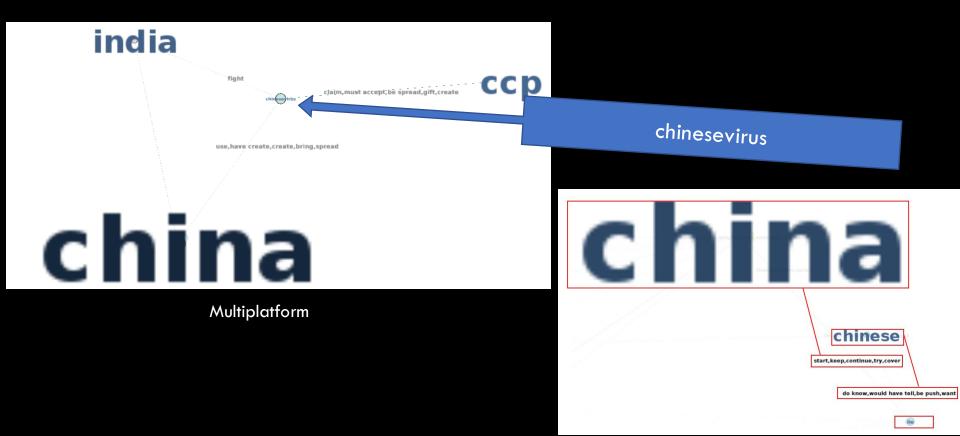








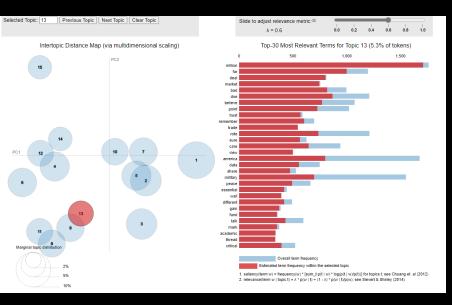
Rhetorical Mechanism 1: Categorical Conflation



Reddit

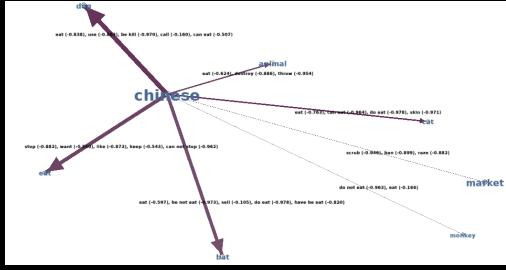
"Peddling China means result this, as CCP gifting ChineseVirus around the World, UK people must wake up!" Tibetpeople_twitter.csv: @globaltimesnews The World is not same as one year before, after #China created #ChineseVirus & spreading around the globally, today International community hate Chinese people for its destructive ideology, #CCP's narratives has no place today's society.

Rhetorical Mechanism 2: Dog Whistling



Multiplatform Topic 13

gatewaypundit_document_12.txt:The coronavirus now sweeping the world came from a "wet market" in Wuhan, China, which sells all kinds of exotic animals like bats, pangolins, live wolf pups, salamanders, civets, and bamboo rats.



Reddit

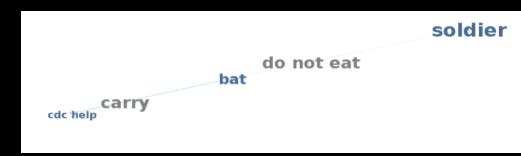
woppal woppa_twitter.csv: "Not only are they mass killing dogs as food, it's also sold as poisoned meat from the darts.
#JustChinaThing"

Rhetorical Mechanism 2: Dog Whistling



Reddit

pauljosephwatson_twitter.csv: Is it racist to think that Chinese people eating bats is gross, despite scientists linking it to the coronavirus outbreak?



Multiplatform



Discursive Tropes of Allusive Racism

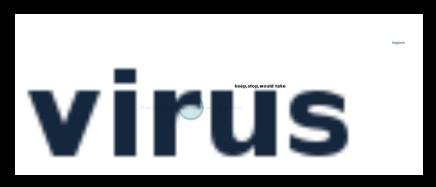
1. Cultural barbarism

2. Divided loyalties

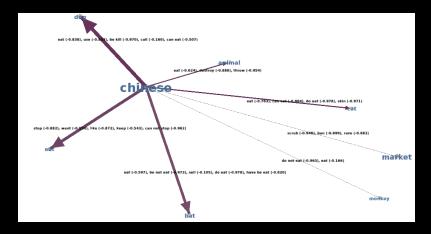
3. Bioracial contagion

Discursive Trope 1: Cultural Barbarism







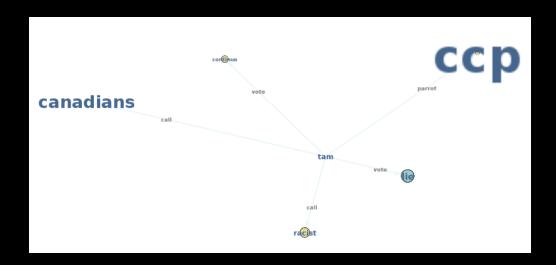


Chinaflu_reddit_3.csv: Any country which eats whatever creeps, crawls and flies or eat things alive or eat pets, is barbaric. Likewise countries which shit openly or piss and spit and curse. Ask the Hong Kong chinese what they think of mainlanders.

woppal woppa_twitter.csv: Put down the bat soup, watch some livestreams and educate yourself

tibetpeople_twitter.csv: @chinaxizang86
@tibet_online @cn_humanrights We know
#China's motive, #CCP spreading #ChineseVirus,
millions of cheap Chinese Tourist are coming in
#Nepal without restriction & to Tibetans
more & to Tibetans

Discursive Trope 2: Divided Loyalties



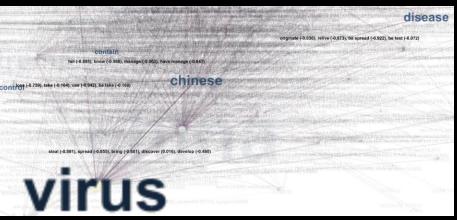


dereksloan_twitter.csv: Yes. Knowingly or unknowingly, Tam parroted the WHO and, ultimately, the CCP. Even with the best of intentions, her advice to Trudeau helped further the aims of these groups. Intentions are irrelevant—her conduct has served Canada poorly & likely cost Cdn lives. #cdnpoli



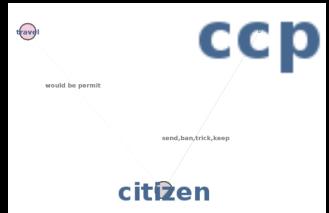
Discursive Trope 3: Bioracial Contagiousness





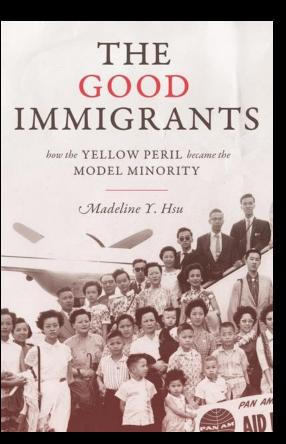
Donaldtrump_twitter.csv: Fake News got it wrong again, as always, and tens of thousands of lives were saved by my EARLY BAN of China into our Country. The people that we're allowed were heavily scrutinized and tested U.S. citizens, and as such, I welcome them with open arms!

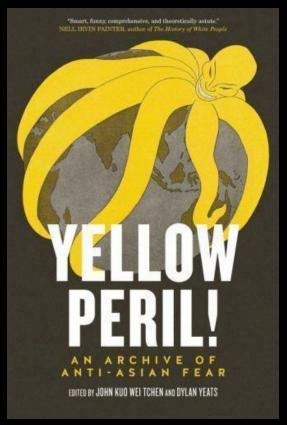


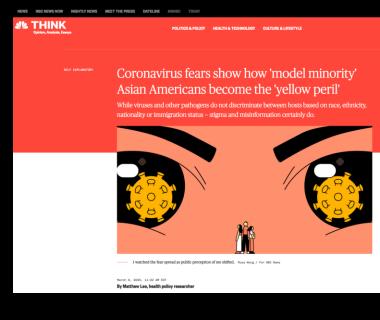


Jkylebass: US Department of Education sends letter to Congress with findings of China's collegiate "indoctrination program". China has infected US colleges with its donations. US colleges accepted billions in unreported foreign donations from China #ChinaPaytoPlay https://t.co/B55KezM4Yc,original,,ChinaPaytoPlay

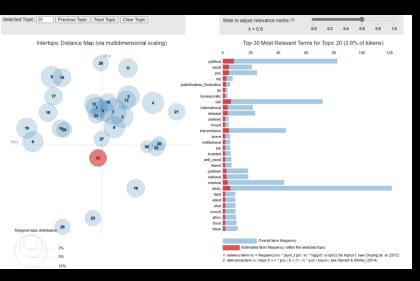
Discursive Trope 3: Bioracial Contagiousness







Rhetorical Paradox 1: Anti-Anti-Racism

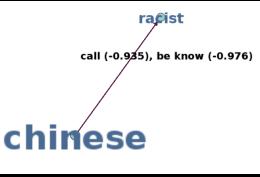


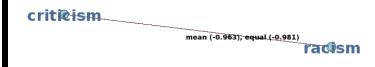


Reddit

Multiplatform Doctors Topic 20



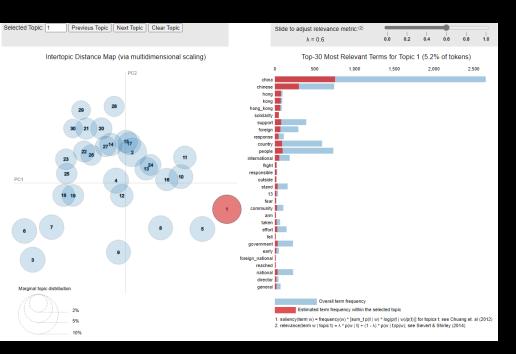




Reddit

kulvinderkaur_twitter.csv: True racists in CA: white politicians, partisans & media who repeatedly use POC as pawns for political gain by divisively labelling valid criticisms/actions as "racist". Virtue signalling manipulators then silent when their dangerous identity politics leads to harm/death of POC.

Rhetorical Paradox 2: Anti-Sinophobic Categorical Conflation



Multiplatform Politicians Topic 1



Replying to @MFA_China

If anybody thought they could use some ludicrous lawsuits to undermine China's sovereignty and dignity or to deprive the Chinese people of their hard-won gains, they'd be daydreaming and bring disgrace to themselves.

4:30 AM · May 24, 2020 · Twitter Web App

18 Retweets 3 Quote Tweets 103 Likes

Qualitative Analysis

27 semi-structured interviews lasting 45 to 60 minutes completed on Zoom from August 2021 to April 2022

Actors for interviews identified through social media presence as well as through snowball sampling

Attempted to get representation from the different types of actors involved in combatting online anti-Asian racism during the pandemic

Type of Actor	Journalist/Fact-Checker	Civil Society Organization	Public Health Official	Academic
Frequency	7	5	10	5

Organizational Objectives

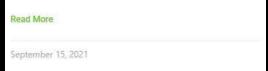
Documenting Self-Reporting Incidents of Anti-Asian Racism

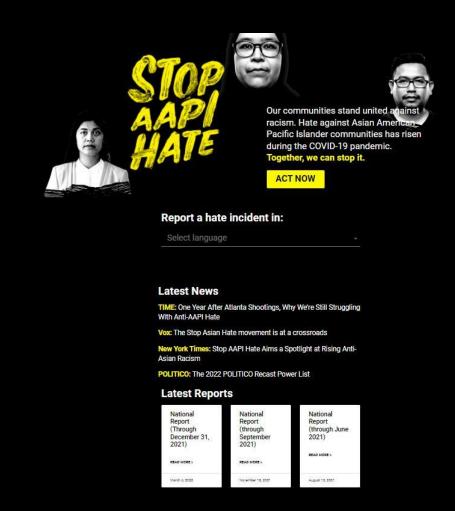
Providing Resources for Combatting Anti-Asian Racism



TIME100 Most Influential People of 2021

In a turbulent year, as the U.S. has seen a surge in racist, anti-Asian attacks—from terrifying assaults on senior citizens to the tragic mass shooting in Atlanta—no coalition has been more impactful in raising awareness of this violence than Stop AAPI Hate. Since its start, the organization has logged more than 9,000 anti-Asian acts of hate, harassment, discrimination and assault across the country.





Organizational Objectives

One member of an Asian-Canadian group (#2) made the following comment concerning the influence of #STOP AAPI Hate:

"I think once hashtag STOP Asian Hate came out, suddenly, it [anti-Asian racism] became a mainstream issue. And in a way, like even for me, kind of like speaking with the team, it felt like our work was done... I'm just thinking about like our work and the whole process in the year and a half. Oftentimes, we're doing like... our organization has always done work with the marginalized, where people don't know these issues."

Online Activism

The act of fighting for, or supporting a cause, through the use of hashtags and other technical affordances of social media as the primary channel to raise awareness of an issue and encourage public debate.

(i) Compile Evidence for Advocacy Work

"We knew that we needed to document the racism and the first-hand accounts in order to get government to respond and the approaches are very community based participatory research project. Knowing that historically there's been this pattern of blaming Asians for diseases coming will be wanted to pre-empt that type of surge of racism, as we began to see the rise in racism."

(Co-founder, Asian-American civil society group #1)

"And so with some elders in the community, being that they were sort of our age at the time of SARS really gave us the idea that you need to start tracking this so that we because this is going to blow up and also with data with evidence that's only going to make your case stronger later on for advocacy."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #2)

(i) Compile Evidence for Advocacy Work

(i.a) Importance of Self-Reporting

"Now, when in terms of the stories that we include it is extremely important. If we've learned anything from any of the social movements that we see today, especially from Black Lives Matter, and especially from the Truth and Reconciliation Act, it is that we need to provide that truth in order to understand reconciliation. And so that is what we do in terms of the Asian-Canadian communities. We ensure that their stories are there, we ensure that they understand their impact. We also ensure their well-being and their mental health is looked after."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)

(i) Compile Evidence for Advocacy Work

(i.b) Limitations of Self-Reporting

"They're highly educated. We had a real high number of a first essential workers."

(Co-founder, Asian-American Civil Society Group #1)

"I actually think the biggest thing that you should take away is that self-reporting is ultimately very, very low. Self-reporting that you got from that report, from [Asian-Canadian Group], essentially, it's people who somehow have heard of us, who have somehow heard that you could submit an incident reports and took the time to go on the websites fill in the form and give us that data. That's self-reported data. It's not as though we have millions of dollars in marketing to let that be known. It really is very small scale and it depends on, the social media reach, depends on who feels inclined to report. I know a lot of people in my own personal circle, who have encountered various instance of anti-Asian racism and they didn't make any reports."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)

(ii) To Lobby and Push for Legislative Change

"We partnered with the Federal Government as well. We sat on some meetings with MPs, Minister Guilbeault, who is really kind of heading that push for online hate and social media regulations on that end to help them develop that legislation."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)

"We didn't engage so much on social media campaigns, as we engaged in the data analysis on the policy advocacy, so we felt that that was our realm and there were other groups for a better position to do social media."

(Co-founder, Asian-American Civil Society Group #1)

(iii) To work with social media corporations

"So we've been working with partners like the platform companies themselves to help them identify what are the less explicit but still really threatening phrases or words or patterns that we are seeing that we're concerned about that they should be aware of. "

"Right, I think I think they're [i.e. social media corporations] very receptive because they realized, you know they're not neutral in this. And you know they don't want to be known as the reason anti-Asian sentiment was amplified right and all these people were attacked. So they take it seriously, they're receptive, and we talked to like almost all of the mainstream social media platforms."

"But I personally... I have a lot of empathy for their situation, because you know they're the tech experts, they're not folks who are trained on Asian-American history and dog whistles and all of this, and so they're trying but... if even like Asian-Americans who are victims of this like don't want to talk about it, don't want to learn about it, of course the tech companies are going to struggle with it."

(Member of Asian-American Social Justice Group #2)

(iv) To Provide Online Resources to Combat Anti-Asian Racism

"Our goal was to centralize the resources that all of these community groups pretty much have produced to talk about anti-Asian racism and also to provide the resources on a national scale and make it more accessible. We're actually still in production and making that website a lot more accessible to Asian communities by getting it translated."

"That's one thing I really want to stress, this is also a class issue. Those who cannot afford schooling, obviously, will be disengaged with that critical thinking, and so, therefore, we want to be able to bring those resources to those communities, so that they can engage so they're not left out in any way and so they can actually form independent opinions about these issues."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)

(v) Combatting Anti-Asian Racism through Bystander Intervention

"Certainly. Bystander intervention is mostly, it's a community-based type of practice and it's to ensure that you're reaffirming each other and your allies within the context of violence. For instance, if somebody is a victim of a hate crime in the moment, by bystander intervention is to reaffirm and reassure and also to confront the problem. It's to also redirect that anger and that aggression and that hate somewhere else. But it's to ensure that you're having allyship within that context, at the moment, to ensure that the victim is protected by the community that they're in at the moment."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)

"We've had thousands of people sign up for this bystander intervention training, we've had a lot of folks want to learn more about the history, we've been able to launch you know, a new program to support inclusion of AAPI history in the curriculum and K through 12 schools."

(Member of Asian-American Social Justice Group #2)

(vi) To Promote Greater Sensitivity in the Use of Terms/Language in the Public Forum

"Yes, so that's, the first thing that we've been advertising, we keep telling people and we keep telling governments everywhere, please make sure when you talk about China, you mean Chinese government. But I can definitely, yes, that there is a strong relationship that the criticism, whether it's from Trump or from even Biden, the criticism towards the Chinese Government definitely has a strong relation, actually in our latest report we found approximately 50 percentage of the anti-Asian hate incidents are related to anti-China politics."

(Member of Asian-American Social Justice Group #3)

(vii) To Build Networks to Combat Anti-Asian Racism

"Throughout my entire life social justice has been very, very dominant and I've been very engaged in the conversations in the rhetorics on how to really combat systemic change. We do a lot of conversations with Indigenous communities along with BLM, along with communities as well. I do work quite a bit with BIPOC."

"We work very closely with #Elimin8Hate, Project 1907, CCNC-TO. They're really very much on speed dial. We do a lot of coordinating and cooperate on a lot of projects. That's kind of where we get our broader action because everyone has their connections and piece to play."

"I will definitely champion Black Lives Matter and what they've done with social media in terms of how they've utilized it as their platform to really gain traction on the movement. Really organized themselves by taking advantage of those algorithms and that's another thing we have a, because this is so new to me a media alternative just to mainstream audiences, in general, we lack digital literacy."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)

(viii) Learning To Recognize Anti-Asian Racism

"One of my staff every time he does any mental health intake, we kind of asked him to ask, have you experienced any anti-Asian racism? And the answer is always no, so I'm like this is a flawed question. The youth aren't recognizing that maybe they are really experiencing racism, but then in actual counseling sessions, when you start diving into it, then they talk about it just more. When you're giving the youth more time, they get it, they know what it is, but when we just straight up ask the question, no they don't ..."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #2)

Online controversies help people recognize allusive forms of anti-Asian racism

Examples: Bryan Adams, Derek Sloan, Trump/Pelosi

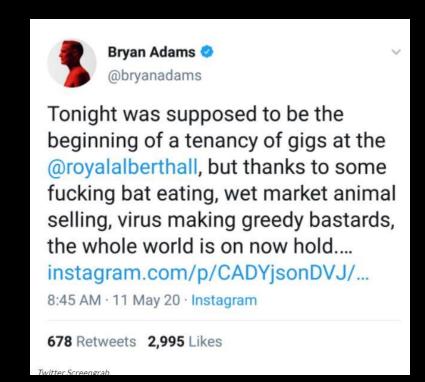
Online Controversy 1

"I mean it's funny. I guess we're all fine for the fancy academic term [i.e. "Racially Referential Ambiguity"], we cited that point in our paper back in October, called it fringe racism, just because, again kind of our biggest one was actually our encounter with Bryan Adams."

"We actually got a lot of hate, because we were one of the first people to help call him out. For like two weeks our mailboxes were flooded, the phones were ringing, with all these people. Because he came out, he said these very overtly racist things and then until now he got a lot of flack for it, and he was like, "but I was talking about veganism"."

"I think there's like a general thought that racism is bred through passing on extremist messages. That's actually not very accurate. More so it's born from controversy and incremental exposure to increasingly radical views. That's why we are focused on the role of social media because YouTube is primarily dictated by recommendations. We know that Facebook and Instagram, they do like an incremental gauge of your engagements and they're selling more towards whatever you identify."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)



Online Controversy 2

"Not as much backlash as the Bryan Adams one. I think there is something about celebrities that, either they just have more exposure. Or perhaps, as I said with my theory, that it's one thing to criticize politicians, but when we're now delving into the private sphere that people get more triggered. That's maybe my hypothesis to it."

"But certainly we got a lot of backlash. I felt that it was much quieter because at that point in time, there was beginning to be more of a backlash on Trumpstyle politicians. A surge of Trump-style politicians."

"Then when Derek Sloan came out and did his thing, there was a push back on that. Not so much like hate and whatever. We still got some, we still made new cycles, but nowhere near as much attention as they paid us during the Bryan Adams [episode]."

(Member of Asian-Canadian Social Justice Group #1)



Online Controversy 3

"I mean one specific example that comes to mind that I thought was a really powerful one, is when Trump tweeted, Facebook everything on his social media, about Nancy Pelosi going to visit SF Chinatown at the very time... you know when the US started panicking about the COVID. There was this rhetoric of like "oh look at Pelosi, like we're trying to fight COVID it and what does she do, she goes straight to Chinatown to like support the other side"."

"And it was not you know, this was explicit, like oh Chinese people are responsible, it was an attack on Pelosi. But you know the underlying argument was like Chinatown is somewhat responsible for this, or like Chinatown carries the disease because of their association with China. So, while it wasn't like explicitly racist it was encouraging this rhetoric where we see a certain area or certain people were seen as being responsible [for COVID], which I thought was interesting."

"And you know, like afterwards they're like "oh no we're not saying like Chinese Americans are responsible, we're just saying like it came from Wuhan, it came from Chinese people, so like we want to be extra careful."

(Asian-American Social Justice Group #2)



Concluding Remarks