

COVID-19 RESEARCH SERIES

ASIAN AMERICANS
AND COVID-19:
ETHNIC IDENTITY,
ONLINE RACIAL
HATE SPEECH, AND
RESILIENCE

SPRING 2021

Stephanie Tong
Elizabeth Stoycheff &
Rahul Mitra

Dept. of Communication
Wayne State University
Detroit, MI

smart labs @ wayne state
<https://www.smartlabswayne.com>

PROJECT SUMMARY

As frustration with the COVID-19 pandemic has grown, so have hate crimes against Asian Americans, whom many people blame for causing the coronavirus. As a result, **online racial hate speech**-- which we define as language distributed via the Internet that discriminates against Asian Americans specifically because of their race or ethnicity--has also risen dramatically (see Bliuc et al., 2018). Since March 2020, on Twitter alone, tweets featuring anti-Chinese hate speech have skyrocketed 900% (Gilbert, 2020).

Recently, empirical studies have documented the increase in online racial hate speech during the pandemic, yet we know comparatively less about how Asian Americans themselves perceive this problem. For many minority groups (and Asian Americans especially), the COVID-19 pandemic has created a “synergistic” set of stressors that combines the trauma of racial harassment alongside the health and economic stressors that have upended daily life (Laurencin & Walker, 2020).

Though it may seem intuitive that Asian Americans would be more aware of threats against members of their own ingroups (Allport, 1954), we should not

expect all Asian Americans to perceive and react to the current problem of online racial hate speech the exact same way. That is, while some Asians may have heightened perceptions of online harassment, others may minimize such instances (Major et al., 2002; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

One factor that is expected to affect how targeted minority groups perceive and respond to acts of online racial harassment and hate speech is their sense of **ethnic identity**. As the “frame” through which individuals learn to identify themselves and their surrounding environment, ethnic identity can strongly influence how people interpret their larger social world and their place within it (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

We surveyed 269 Asian Americans in May 2020, and found that those who reported a stronger sense of **Asian American ethnic identity** also reported (a) **increased awareness** of the problem of COVID-19 online racial hate speech, and (b) stronger enactment of **resilience communication** during the pandemic.

ONLINE RACIAL HATE SPEECH

Language distributed via the Internet that **discriminates** against individuals specifically because of their **race** or **ethnicity**

THE RISE OF ONLINE HATE SPEECH DURING COVID-19



The rising tide of anti-Asian attitudes during the COVID-19 pandemic has been building steadily since early March 2020. Recent reports from Stop AAPI Hate collected between March 2020 and February 2021 tracked **3,795 incidents of racial hate** reported by Asian Americans of all ethnicities. The majority of these incidents have involved verbal racial hate speech (68.1%), shunning (20%), and physical assault (11%).

But the most startling reports reflect the increase in anti-Asian **online racial hate speech**. A recent study by Zannettou et al. (2020) examining “topic networks” on Twitter, Reddit, and the extremist site 4chan from November 2019 to March 2020 found a catalog of “ethnic hate toward Asians” (p. 1). On 4chan, the use of “chink” became contextually related to “virus,” suggesting “that the context for this increase in hate is the virus itself” (p. 3).

The authors note that increasing anti-Asian posts stood in stark contrast to hate speech targeting other groups (“k***”; “n****r”) that remained stable during the same period.

Investigating the issue of increased online racial hate speech during the pandemic is especially important as some have argued that anti-Asian activity online has paved the way for more **“real-world” violence** (Alba, 2021), including: several deadly attacks on Asian elders in Oakland, California; unprovoked and random physical assaults on Asian Americans in New York City; the murders of six Asian women in Atlanta, Georgia.

Such trends call into question how the pandemic has contributed to a rise in divisive rhetoric online, as well as an increase in xenophobia and racism towards Asian Americans, more generally.

Certain features of Internet technology (and **social media** more specifically) allow easy dissemination of hate speech. The relative *anonymity* of platforms like Twitter provides a sense of freedom and *disinhibition* to spew hatred (Suler, 2004). The *broadcast quality* of the Internet also allows people to spread hate speech to a bigger audience online (Barnidge et al., 2019). Further, the *networked structures* of social media allow users to collectively spread hate speech on mainstream platforms quite easily (Siegel, 2019).

According to a recent survey published by the Anti-Defamation League (2021), Asian-Americans have experienced the largest single year-over-year rise in severe online harassment in comparison to other targeted groups (e.g., LGBTQ, Jewish, etc.)

900%

INCREASE IN ANTI-ASIAN TWEETS

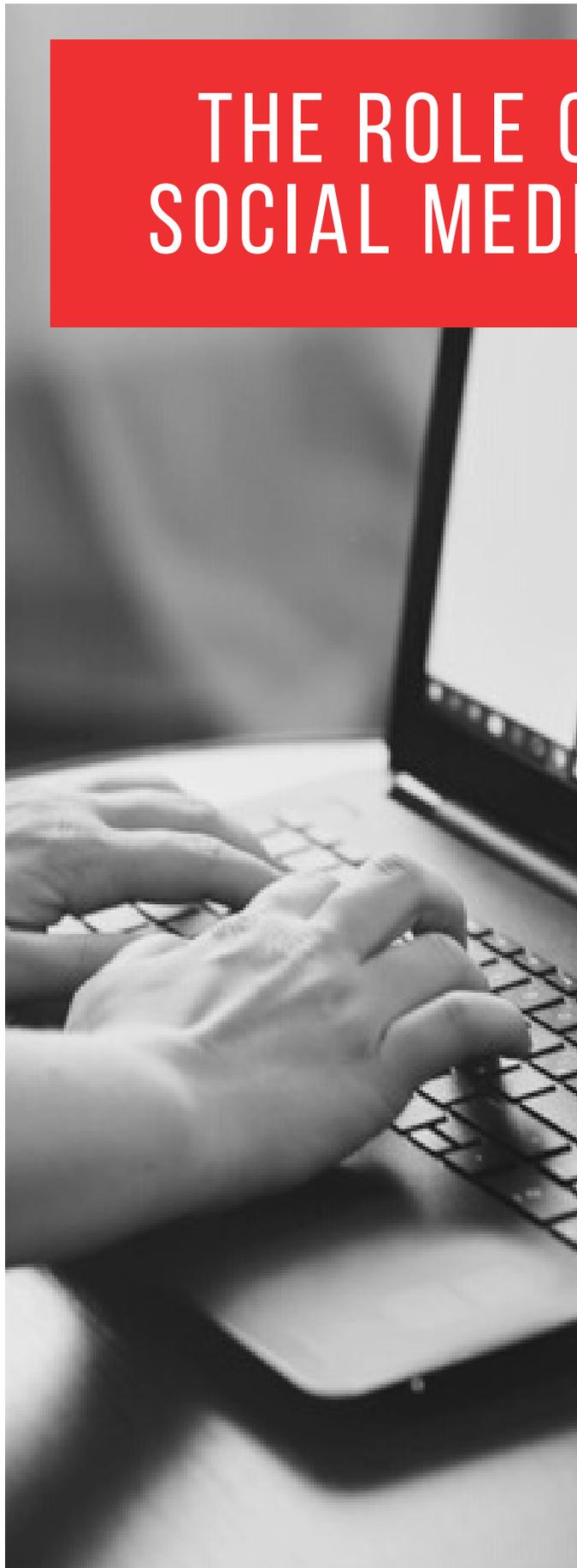
Tweets featuring anti-Chinese hate speech have skyrocketed 900% since March 2020 (Gilbert, 2020).

81%

AMERICANS WHO WANT SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS TO DO MORE TO COUNTER HATE ONLINE

Americans want companies such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube held to higher degrees of accountability regarding acts of online hate speech that occur on their platforms (Anti-Defamation League, 2021).

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA



RESEARCH QUESTIONS



Research Question 1: What are the key differences in Asian Americans' sense of ethnic identity?

Research Question 2: Is ethnic identity related to perceptions of pandemic-related online hate speech among Asian Americans?

Research Question 3: Is ethnic identity related to the enactment of resilience communication for Asian Americans?

Resilience refers to the ways in which people bounce back to overcome adversity (Buzzanell, 2010). Past research on resilience has focused primarily on specific nature or personality traits (called *assets*) that are aligned with their performance of resilience, like optimism or hope. But more recent thinking has begun to incorporate people's use of *resources* into resilience, such as their use of public programs and services, and social support from their networks of family and friends.

In this study, resilience is defined a product of individuals' inherent nature and access to and use of resources in their surrounding environment. Because these things can change over time, we treat resilience as a *process*--a pattern of behavior, as opposed to a stable or fixed set of traits or qualities.

INVESTIGATING THE ASIAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: A FOCUS ON WITHIN GROUP VARIATION

In past research studies, Asian Americans have often been thought of and treated monolithically, which has obscured investigation of latent group diversity, and how that diversity may shape their understandings of stress and trauma, as well as their response. That is, instead of expecting that all Asian Americans will perceive and react to pandemic-related online racial hate speech similarly, we focused our investigation on how they might differ--a concept known as *within-group variation*.

In our study, we predicted that a key factor affecting within-group variation in Asian Americans' perceptions and responses to online racial hate speech is their personal sense of **ethnic identity**.

ETHNIC IDENTITY



IN THIS STUDY, WE EXAMINED HOW ASIAN AMERICANS' SENSE OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AFFECTED THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF ONLINE RACIAL HATE SPEECH, AND THEIR LIKELIHOOD OF "BOUNCING BACK" FROM COVID-19 TRAUMAS THROUGH RESILIENCE COMMUNICATION.

In developing their ethnic identity, members of minority groups often have to confront conflicting, unflattering, or painful components about their self-concept, such as differences between their own cultural group and the dominant majority, or the lower status of their ingroups within the larger social hierarchy (Phinney, 1990). Additionally, some people come to understand their own ethnic identity through stereotypical lenses offered by the dominant majority. Although there is no agreed-upon set of definitional elements, we note **five components** that routinely shown up across theoretical explanations of racial/ethnic identity:

- **(a) self-categorization:** individuals' identification of and membership to the specific group of "Asian American"
- **(b) centrality:** the degree to which race/ethnicity is central to individuals' self-concept
- **(c) ethnic involvement:** individuals' reported participation in various cultural/ethnic practices, values, behaviors, and social networks
- **(d) group evaluation:** individuals' attitudes toward their ethnic group, which can be positive (acceptance, pride) or negative (inferiority)
- **(e) adoption of cultural stereotypes:** in this case, the *model minority* myth, which pertains specifically to Asian Americans as a group that has achieved quiet, consistent success through their hard work, perseverance, and intelligence (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Past research has shown that internalization of a stereotype--even one that casts a positive light--can impact how Asian Americans perceive themselves and others (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004)

RESEARCH METHOD

A PERSON-CENTERED APPROACH TO ETHNIC IDENTITY

Although it is often thought of as a multidimensional construct, ethnic identity has rarely been treated that way in previous research. To address this issue, we used a **person-centered approach (PCA)**, which allowed us to identify diverse patterns of within-group variation across the five dimensions of ethnic identity among Asians in our sample.

The main advantage of PCA is that it accounts for *individual differences* across a whole sample of Asian Americans, which is an improvement upon the "variable-centered" approaches of past research studies that have treated the entire group monolithically. As such, a clear advantage of PCA for examining ethnic identity lies in its ability to examine the presence and groupings of subpopulations within an observed sample (McLarnon & O'Neill, 2018).

269 ASIAN AMERICANS

SURVEY CONDUCTED IN MAY 2020

Age: $M = 51.32$, $SD = 14.71$

Sex: Female = 53.5%; Male = 46.5%

Locale: City = 35.5%; Suburbs = 58.5%; Rural = 4.8%

KEY MEASURES

- **Ethnic identity** dimensions were measured using 33 items from a variety of validated scales adapted for use in this study, including: *racial centrality* (see the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity by Sellars et al., 1997); *ethnic involvement* (see the SL-ASIA scale by Suinn et al., 1992); *group evaluation* (see the MEIM by Phinney, 1990); *model minority adoption* (see the IM-4 by Yoo et al., 2010). All ethnic identity questions used a 1 to 7 response scale.
- Respondents' **perceptions** of pandemic-related online hate speech was assessed by asking whether they thought that online harassment of Asian Americans had "increased, decreased or stayed about the same" on a 1 to 5 scale.
- **Resilience communication** was measured using the Communication Resilience Process scale (Wilson et al., 2021) that contains 39 items designed to capture self-reported estimates of resilience behaviors across **seven different categories** using a 1 to 7 scale.

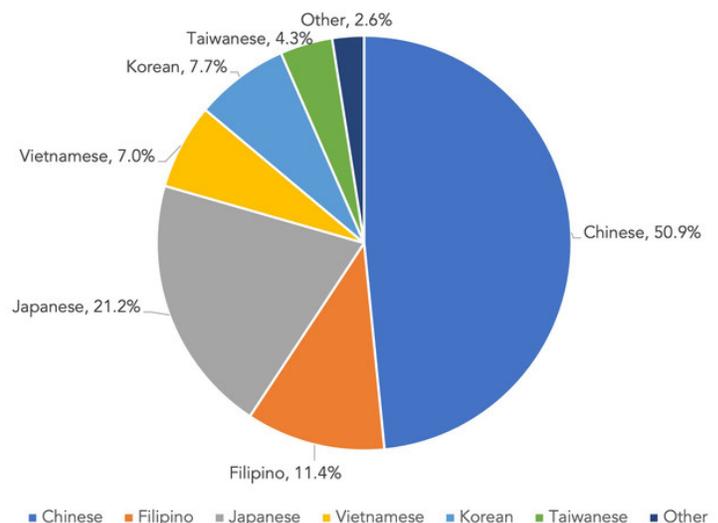


Figure 1. Asian American sample. Additional relevant categories included Asian Indian, Thai, Laotian, Indonesian, Malaysian and Pakistani (included in the Other category).

UNDERSTANDING ASIAN AMERICANS' ETHNIC IDENTITY



We used **latent profile analysis (LPA)** to uncover the differences in ethnic identity of Asian Americans. LPA is a powerful statistical tool that is useful for identifying the probability that certain individuals in a particular sample belong to different groups (Ferguson et al., 2020). In the current context, that means participants who shared a particular pattern of scores on the five measured ethnic identity dimensions would be classified as belonging to a specific identity "profile." In our analysis, **4 profiles** of ethnic identity emerged from our sample of Asian Americans.

Notably, **Profiles 3 and 4** seems particularly aligned with an *Asian American identity* in that those in this profile reported a strong sense of importance with respect to self-categorization and centrality, combined

with more positive group evaluations. All profile groups also showed relatively strong belief in the model minority stereotype, suggesting that those in this sample may have internalized Westernized views about their ingroup. These results suggest that members of Profiles 3 and 4 reflect greater acculturation toward American culture, as well as a strong affiliation with and positive attitudes toward the Asian American ingroup.

KEY FINDINGS

4 LATENT PROFILES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY EMERGED FROM THIS SAMPLE

- Differences in each dimension of ethnic identity reflect the within-group variation across the Asian Americans sampled in this study

	Profile 1: Moderate self-categorization, high racial centrality, average involvement, with average group attitudes	Profile 2: Low self-categorization and racial centrality, low involvement with negative group attitudes	Profile 3: High self-categorization and racial centrality, moderate involvement and positive group attitudes	Profile 4: Moderate self-categorization, high racial centrality, low involvement and positive group attitudes
Ethnic Identity Dimension	n = 62, 23.0%	n = 67, 24.9%	n = 33, 12.3%	n = 107, 39.7%
Self-Categorization	3.80	2.45	4.32	3.00
Racial Centrality	4.04	3.42	5.15	4.85
Ethnic Involvement	3.60	2.31	3.76	2.76
Group Evaluation	3.71	2.85	5.28	4.46
Model Minority Belief	4.79	4.74	5.67	4.70

Table 1. Higher scores indicating stronger category importance, centrality, ethnic involvement, positive evaluation, and model minority adoption. Each column represents a different ethnic identity profile and each row represents a specific identity dimension (scores ranged from 1 to 7).



ETHNIC IDENTITY AND PERCEPTIONS OF ONLINE HATE SPEECH

KEY FINDINGS

STRONGER ASIAN AMERICAN ETHNIC IDENTITY RELATED TO PERCEIVED SEVERITY OF ONLINE HATE SPEECH

Those whose ethnic identity reflects Asian *and* American elements are more attuned to the current rise in COVID-19-related racial hate speech being spread on social media.

Our **second research question** examined the relationship between ethnic identity and perceptions of online racial hate speech. In examining profile differences, it appears that those individuals in our sample whose ethnic identity contained *both* Asian and American elements (i.e., Profiles 3 and 4), found the problem of online racial hate speech to be most severe.

ARE THERE DIFFERENCES IN ASIAN AMERICANS' PERCEPTIONS OF HATE SPEECH?

Profile 1: Moderate self-categorization, high racial centrality, average involvement, with average group attitudes

3.62a

Profile 2: Low self-categorization and racial centrality, low involvement with negative group attitudes

3.78a

Profile 3: High self-categorization and racial centrality, moderate involvement and positive group attitudes

3.88ab

Profile 4: Moderate self-categorization, high racial centrality, low involvement and positive group attitudes

4.26b

“As a result of COVID-19, have you seen acts of race-based harassment or discrimination toward Asians and Asian Americans on social media increase, decrease, or stay about the same?”

- 1 = Decreased a lot
- 2 = Decreased a little
- 3 = Stayed about the same
- 4 = Increased a little
- 5 = Increased a lot

Table 2 shows the average scores of online hate speech perceptions across each profile group; means with different subscripts differ at $p = .05$. Scores ranged from 1 to 5.

THE RESILIENCE RESPONSE OF ASIAN AMERICANS



Our final analysis examined how Asian Americans' sense of ethnic identity was associated with their self-reported enactment of seven **resilience communication practices** including: (a) *maintaining routines*, (b) *creating new routines* during times of stress, (c) *affirming identity* by following core personal, spiritual, or cultural values, (d) *leveraging social networks* for support, (e) *reframing the stressful situation/disruption*, (f) *using humor* to make light of difficult events, (g) *foregrounding productive or positive actions*, while acknowledging the negative emotions that arise from trauma/stress (Wilson et al., 2021).

Our covariate analysis indicated that individuals in Profiles 3 and 4 who had a stronger sense of Asian American ethnic identity (i.e., greater importance/centrality and positive group attitudes) reported the strongest resilience response.

Across this sample, it seems that Asian Americans who ascribed greater overall importance to their Asian American group membership and held more positive evaluations toward the Asian American ingroup were more likely to report practicing resilience communication during COVID-19.

KEY FINDINGS

ASIAN AMERICAN ETHNIC IDENTITY ASSOCIATED WITH RESILIENCE

- Those who ascribed greater importance and held positive group attitudes toward Asian Americans as an ingroup reported a stronger resilience response
- Asian Americans who felt less drawn to their ethnic ingroup indicated less performance of resilience overall

Resilience Dimensions	Profile 1 <i>n</i> = 62, 23.0%	Profile 2 <i>n</i> = 67, 24.9%	Profile 3 <i>n</i> = 33, 12.3%	Profile 4 <i>n</i> = 107, 39.7%	Overall χ^2 (3)
Maintaining Routines	3.64a	3.75ab	4.34c	4.04bc	8.07, $p = .04$
New Routines	2.90a	3.37b	3.90b	3.38b	14.95, $p = .002$
Affirming Identity	3.23a	3.76b	4.48c	4.05bc	32.58, $p < .0001$
Leveraging Social Networks	2.43a	2.22ab	3.18c	2.74ac	12.43, $p = .006$
Reframing the Situation	3.00a	2.82a	4.03b	3.36ac	29.18, $p < .001$
Using Humor	3.23a	3.13a	3.80a	3.56a	7.26, $p = .06$
Foregrounding Productive Actions	3.12a	3.32ab	4.65c	3.60abc	9.39, $p = .024$

Table 3. Resilience behaviors measured on a 1 to 7 response scale. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$. Overall χ^2 (3) tests group equality across all four profiles.



IMPLICATIONS & FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Rather than reacting like a monolithic group, the results from this study suggest that Asian Americans' perceptions of and responses to the recent surge in online racial hate speech can vary significantly. A key finding that arose in our investigation was the unique role of *ethnic identity*. We saw four latent profiles of ethnic identity emerge from our sample, and deeper investigation indicated that those individuals who (a) ascribed greater importance to their racial group memberships and (b) held more positive attitudes toward the Asian American ingroup were more likely to view online racial hate speech as a problem. Additionally, the within-group variation in ethnic identity was related to the self-reported enactment of *resilience* during the COVID-19 crisis, particularly for those individuals in the Profile 3 grouping. We can conclude that within the context of online racial hate speech, Asian Americans' views of and responses to this particular pandemic-related stressor can indeed vary.

BEYOND ONLINE HATE SPEECH: ASIANS AMERICANS' PRACTICE OF RESILIENCE DURING COVID-19

The within-group variance documented in this study also suggests that Asian Americans may face distinct struggles and hold different advantages in their enactment of resilience communication during COVID-19. For example, Lee and Rose (2021) in their experience as social workers working with Korean clients living in the United States, describe how language barriers and lack of technological skill prevented older Koreans from obtaining health and social services during the pandemic. As bilingual service agencies became over-taxed, other citizens in the Korean community stepped in to help.

Specifically, it was Korean American middle school students who helped older generations navigate unfamiliar circumstances. As younger adults did so, they simultaneously learned about their own cultural heritage, creating a partnership that facilitated resilience for both groups.

Elsewhere, community groups have formed in response to the rise in anti-Asian attacks. For example, the group "Compassion in Oakland" consists of volunteers from many different Asian backgrounds. Groups of three or four volunteers respond to people who called their organization's hotline to provide services ranging from Mandarin or Cantonese interpretation, to street patrols and physical chaperoning for clients in primarily Asian American neighborhoods (Do, 2021). These examples of *communal resilience* (Houston, 2018) reflect the creative ways in which minority communities are coming together during the pandemic.

For the hard-working clinicians, service workers, and healthcare providers who are offering much-needed services during the pandemic, to be even more effective requires remembering that the variation in Asian Americans' sense of ethnic identity can affect their experiences during this difficult time. Some who feel less positively about their own ethnic groups, or who have internalized more negative cultural stereotypes may find it difficult to discuss the traumas of the pandemic and/or ask for help. Effectively engaging with Asian Americans, helping identify their needs, and finding creative solutions during this challenging time necessitates taking into account the variation across their identity and experiences.

ANALYSES AND REFERENCES

Analyses reported here were based on a sample of 269 participants. Results presented in Tables 2 and 3 included control variables of age, sex, education, and social media use. Analyses were conducted using SPSS and Mplus software. Zero order correlations are available upon request as a supplemental downloadable file.

1. Bliuc, A. M., Faulkner, N., Jakubowicz, A., & McGarty, C. (2018). Online networks of racial hate: A systematic review of 10 years of research on cyber-racism. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 87, 75-86. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.05.026>
2. Gilbert, D. (2020, March 27). Anti-Chinese hate speech online has skyrocketed since the Coronavirus crisis began. *Vice*. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/n7jywd/anti-chinese-hate-speech-online-has-skyrocketed-since-the-coronavirus-crisis-began
3. Laurencin, C.T. & Walker, J.M. (2020) A pandemic on a pandemic: Racism and COVID-19 in Blacks. *Cell Systems*, 11(1), 9-10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cels.2020.07.002>
4. Allport, G. A., (1954/1988). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison Wesley: Reading, MA.
5. Major, B., Quinton, W. J., & McCoy, S. K. (2002). Antecedents and consequences of attributions to discrimination: Theoretical and empirical advances. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (pp. 252-330). San Diego, CA: Elsevier Science.
6. Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(5), 1079-1092. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1079>
7. Chavez, A. F., & Guido-DiBrito, F. (1999). Racial and ethnic identity development. *New Directions for Adult & Continuing Education*, 84, 39-47. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ace.8405>
8. Stop AAPI Hate. (2021, March). New data on anti-Asian incidents against elderly and total national incidents in 2020. https://secureservercdn.net/104.238.69.231/a1w.90d.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Press-Statement-re_Bay-Area-Elderly-Incidents-2.9.2021-1.pdf
9. Zannettou, S., Baumgartner, J., Finkelstein, J., Goldenberg, A., Farmer, J., Donahue, J. K., Goldenberg, P. (2020). Weaponized information outbreak: A case study on COVID-19, bioweapon myths, and the Asian conspiracy meme. Retrieved from: <https://ncrri.io/reports/weaponized-information-outbreak-a-case-study-on-covid-19-bioweapon-myths-and-the-asian-conspiracy-meme/>
10. Alba, D. (2021, March 19). "How anti-Asian activity online set the stage for real-world violence." *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/19/technology/how-anti-asian-activity-online-set-the-stage-for-real-world-violence.html>
11. Suler, J. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 7(3), 321-326. <https://doi.org/10.1089/1094931041291295>
12. Barnidge, M., Kim, B., Sherrill, L. A., Luknar, Ž., & Zhang, J. (2019). Perceived exposure to and avoidance of hate speech in various communication settings. *Teleomatics and Informatics*, 44, 101263. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2019.101263>
13. Siegel, A. A. (2019). Online hate speech. In N. Persily & J. A. Tucker (Eds.), *Social Media and Democracy*, (pp. 56-88). Cambridge University Press.
14. Anti-Defamation League. (2021). *Online hate and harassment: The American experience 2021*. <https://www.adl.org/online-hate-2021>
15. Buzzanell, P. (2010). Talking, resisting, and imagining new normalcies into being. *Journal of Communication*, 60(1), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2009.01469.x>
16. Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(3), 499-514. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.108.3.499>
17. Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The "model minority": Bane or blessing for Asian Americans? *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 34, 38-49. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2006.tb00025.x>
18. Rosenbloom, S. R., & Way, N. (2004). Experiences of discrimination among African American, Asian Americans, and Latino Adolescents in an urban high school. *Youth and Society*, 35, 420-451. doi:10.1177/0044118x03261479.
19. McLarnon, M. J., & O'Neill, T. A. (2018). Extensions of auxiliary variable approaches for the investigation of mediation, moderation, and conditional effects in mixture models. *Organizational Research Methods*, 21(4), 955-982. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428118770731>
20. Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 73(4), 805-815. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.805>
21. Suinn, R. M., Ahuna, C., & Khoo, G. (1992). The Suinn-Lew Asian self-identity acculturation scale: Concurrent and factorial validation. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 52(4), 1041-1046. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013164492052004028>
22. Yoo, H. C., Burrola, K. S., & Steger, M. F. (2010). A preliminary report on a new measure: Internalization of the Model Minority Myth Measure (IM-4) and its psychological correlates among Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 57, 114-127. doi:10.1037/a0017871
23. Wilson, S. R., Kuang, K., Hintz, E. A., & Buzzanell, P. M. (2021). Validating the Communication Resilience Processes scale. *Journal of Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqab013>
24. Ferguson, S. L., G. Moore, E. W., & Hull, D. M. (2020). Finding latent groups in observed data: A primer on latent profile analysis in Mplus for applied researchers. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 44(5), 458-468. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025419881721>
25. Lee, S., & Rose, R. (2021). Unexpected benefits: new resilience among intergenerational Asian-Americans during the Covid-19 pandemic. *Social Work with Groups*, DOI: 10.1080/01609513.2020.1868705
26. Houston, J. B. (2018). Community resilience and communication: Dynamic interconnections between and among individuals, families, and organizations. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 46(1), 19-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2018.1426704>
27. Do, A. (2021, March 19). After attacks on Asians in Oakland's Chinatown, volunteers offer protection and support. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-03-19/anti-asian-racism-oakland-chinatown>