

**A Study of Online Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong and Their
Experiences of Online Racial Discrimination**

Research Report

May 2022

Members of the Research Team

Principal Investigator

Dr. Yuan WANG

Assistant Professor

Department of Media and Communication, City University of Hong Kong

Co-Investigators

Professor Wing Hong CHUI

Professor and Department Head

Department of Applied Social Sciences, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Dr. Xiang MENG

Post-doctoral Fellow

Department of Media and Communication, City University of Hong Kong

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	4
Chapter 1. Introduction and Background.....	10
Chapter 2. Literature Review.....	13
Chapter 3. Methodology.....	21
Chapter 4. Results.....	26
Chapter 5. Discussion.....	40
Chapter 6. Conclusion and Recommendations.....	47
Acknowledgements.....	51
References.....	52
Appendix.....	64

Executive Summary

Project Title: A Study of Online Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities and Online Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong

Reference No.: R-2020/21-112

Principal Investigator: Dr. Yuan WANG, Assistant Professor, Department of Media and Communication, City University of Hong Kong

Co-Investigators: Professor Wing Hong CHUI, Professor and Department Head, Department of Applied Social Sciences, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University;

Dr. Xiang MENG, Post-doctoral Fellow, Department of Media and Communication, City University of Hong Kong

Background

This research project titled “A Study of Online Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities and Online Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong” is funded by the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC). The objectives of this project are:

- a. To analyze how online news articles and their reader comments portray ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong during the COVID-19 pandemic and whether this portrayal involves racial bias, stereotypes, or discrimination;
- b. To gain original insight into whether and how people from ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong experience online racial discrimination;
- c. To examine the effect of social media use for race-related purposes on ethnic minority group members’ experiences of online racial discrimination and their impact on depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior;

- d. To study the moderating roles of ethnic identity, self-esteem, and time spent online in the relationships between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior;
- e. To provide practical strategies and suggestions for the EOC, the Hong Kong Government, and online media platforms to reduce online racial discrimination in Hong Kong; and
- f. To offer suggestions for ethnic minority group members in Hong Kong to tackle online racial discrimination and protect them from its negative outcomes.

To realize these objectives, the research team conducted (1) a content analysis to examine how online news articles and their readers' comments portray ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong during the COVID-19 pandemic and whether this portrayal involves racial bias, stereotypes, or discrimination, and (2) a survey to examine whether and how people from ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong experience online racial discrimination and to explore the antecedents (i.e., race-related social media use), moderators (i.e., ethnic identity, self-esteem, and length of time spent online), and outcomes (i.e., depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior) of this discrimination.

The research team analyzed 341 news articles related to ethnic minority groups and racial issues published on online media platforms in Hong Kong during the COVID-19 pandemic (between 23 January and 1 September 2020) and the 7,381 comments left by their readers. The team also recruited 250 Hong Kong residents belonging to ethnic minority groups to participate in the survey in June 2021 to complete questionnaires online.

Key Findings

Online Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong

1. This project collected and analyzed 341 online news articles (not including commentaries and editorial pieces). Only 0.3% of the sampled articles ($n = 1$) contained racial bias, stereotypes, or discrimination in their reporting of race-related issues and 0.9% of those articles ($n = 3$) used pejorative or stereotypical terms. By comparison, out of 7,381 reader comments, while 4.7% of them ($n = 348$) contained racial bias, stereotypes, or discrimination, 4.3% ($n = 315$) adopted pejorative or stereotypical terms when describing ethnic minorities groups.
2. Concerning the tone of news articles and their reader comments, over 90% of them (96.2% of news articles and 94.2% of reader comments) adopted a neutral tone. Having said that, it is more likely to find a negative tone being used in reader comments than in news articles. While only 1.2% of race-related news articles were found to utilize a negative tone, 4.9% of reader comments adopted a negative tone. In addition, 2.6% of those articles ($n = 9$) adopted a positive tone, whereas comments with a positive tone only accounted for 0.9% of the total comments ($n = 64$).
3. Among the ethnic minority groups, Filipinos and Indonesians were most frequently referred in reader comments. Nepalese were most frequently mentioned in negative reader comments.
4. Over half of the sampled news articles (58.7%) mentioned the COVID-19, whereas 41.3% of them did not mention that. Nearly half of the race-related news articles (49.6%) discussed health and crime issues. In particular, the most frequent topic of COVID-19-related news articles was “health,” whereas that of non-COVID-19-related articles was “crime/police.” On average, each of the non-COVID-19-related news articles received more “dislikes” ($M = 10.0$, $SD = 25.7$) from their reader comments than their COVID-19

counterparts ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 9.3$). More reader comments of non-COVID-19-related news articles used pejorative or stereotypical terms (1.4%) and the negative tone (1.4%) compared with their COVID-19 counterparts.

5. The observable amount of discriminatory and detrimental expressions in news reports and reader comments generally alerts us to an unfriendly, if not hostile, (online) public opinion toward ethnic minorities in Hong Kong.

Online Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong

1. Ethnic minorities in Hong Kong felt they experienced online racial discrimination at times. People from ethnic minority groups using social media for race-related purposes (e.g. commenting about high-profile incidents related to race) were more likely to experience more online racial discrimination.
2. Ethnic minorities' experience of online racial discrimination can significantly induce their depressive symptoms.
3. The effect of online racial discrimination on depressive symptoms was weaker among ethnic minorities with higher self-esteem.
4. Ethnic minorities who experienced online racial discrimination were more likely to have aggressive behavior, such as verbal or physical fights with other people. It should be noted that the level of aggressive behavior reported by our EM survey respondents is low.
5. The positive relationship between online racial discrimination and aggressive behavior was found to be weaker among ethnic minorities who spent more time online. Online communities provide a virtual dwelling place for interaction and social support within ethnic minority groups.
6. In conclusion, this online survey documented that many ethnic minorities in Hong Kong experienced online racial discrimination, which was influenced by their use of social media

for race-related purposes and led to their depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors. Furthermore, the effect of online racial discrimination on depressive symptoms was weaker among those with higher self-esteem, and its impact on aggressive behaviors became weaker for those who spent more time online.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Online Media Companies in Hong Kong

1. Online media corporations in Hong Kong are encouraged to provide training to their new journalists and editors on how to prevent racism in reporting. Reporters and editors should learn how to portray ethnic minority groups in news reports in an objective way, how to avoid racist terminologies in reports, and how to deal with reader comments that involve racism.
2. Online media platforms should closely monitor the reader comments on their online reports and consider deleting reader comments that may amount to racial vilification. They can also adopt anti-discrimination and anti-harassment policies and ask their members and readers to agree with those terms and conditions.

Recommendations for Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong

3. People from ethnic minority groups may take a more proactive role in reacting to online racism. They are suggested to report to the online media companies if they come across any abusive contents, discriminatory comments, and misinformation in news articles and reader comments. Furthermore, they may consider filing complaints in writing to the EOC when they identify news articles and reader comments posted on online media platforms which may amount to racial vilification under the Race Discrimination Ordinance.

4. The findings of this study suggests that people from ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong should use social media for race-related purposes (e.g., joining discussions about race-related issues on social media) less frequently when they experience depressive symptoms due to online racial discrimination.

Recommendations for the Hong Kong Government

5. The Hong Kong Government is recommended to plan and implement public communication campaigns to promote a better understanding of different ethnic groups.
6. The Government may consider offering more resources to Support Service Centres for Ethnic Minorities to provide courses or activities for enhancing the self-esteem of ethnic minorities, with a view to protecting them from negative outcomes of online racism, such as depressive symptoms.
7. The Government might consider launching public consultation with a proposal to prohibit speech that maintains or normalizes racial hatred, in addition to speech that incites or stirs up racial hatred and expand the coverage of communicating speech to those by electronic means with reference to the recent action taken by the Government of New Zealand (Ensor, 2021).

Recommendations for the EOC

8. As a statutory body tasked to enforce the Race Discrimination Ordinance (Cap. 602), the EOC may consider taking action against online racial discrimination in Hong Kong.
9. The EOC should plan and implement public relations campaigns against online racial bias, stereotyping, and discrimination and promote equal opportunity. They can also strengthen website and social media efforts to inform the public and the media about ethnic minority groups to debunk the stereotypes and misunderstandings.

Chapter 1. Introduction and Background

Hong Kong has been branded as “Asia’s World City” due to its ethnic and cultural diversity. According to the Census and Statistics Department (2017), there were 584,383 people from ethnic minority groups living in Hong Kong in 2016, including Filipinos (31.5%), Indonesians (26.2%), South Asians (e.g., Indians, Nepalese, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis) (14.5%), and Caucasians (10.0%), accounting for 8% of the entire population of Hong Kong. The total ethnic minority population increased by 70.8% from 2006 to 2016 (Census and Statistics Department, 2017).

Despite an increasing ethnic minority population in Hong Kong, they do not receive sufficient attention from mainstream society (Jackson & Nesterova, 2017). They are generally presented as transient populations by Hong Kong media outlets, and their demands for equal opportunities and education are overlooked (Baig & O’Connor, 2015; Kapai, 2015). Furthermore, they experience racial discrimination and inequality in education and employment (Census and Statistics Department, 2017; Lam et al., 2019; Shum et al., 2016; Thapa & Adamson, 2016), which have been identified as major causes of poverty among these ethnic groups (The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2018).

The recent COVID-19 pandemic has worsened the situation of ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong and has increased the extent of racial discrimination. In early May 2020, for example, more than 300 Hong Kong residents returned from Pakistan and undertook a 14-day quarantine after their arrival (Chu, 2020). In the first few days of quarantine, during the month of Ramadan, they were supplied with ham sandwiches and cups of noodles containing pork (Chu, 2020). The Hong Kong Government was also accused of being selective and sluggish in providing critical health information in multiple languages and distributing surgical masks among ethnic minority groups during the initial outbreak of the pandemic (Ting, 2020). This

study therefore examined the experiences of racial discrimination among ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong during the COVID-19 pandemic and explored the antecedents and outcomes of these experiences.

As ethnic minority groups, by definition, make up a small proportion of the population, members of the majority ethnic group may have limited experience of contact with them and little knowledge about them. Therefore, media representation of people from ethnic minority groups is a crucial information source for determining how the majority ethnic group recognizes and perceives ethnic minority groups. Media representation can help ethnic minorities integrate into society, thereby facilitating social cohesion (Trebbe et al., 2017). It could also influence public preferences for different racial policies (Kellstedt, 2000). In particular, online media sources frequently cover ethnic minority groups. However, racial discrimination and prejudice, which undermine democratic values, are present in online articles and reader comments (Harlow, 2015). The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) noted an increase in racial vilification cases targeting ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong (Chan, 2018). Given that online media are the primary source of information for the public in Hong Kong (Chan et al., 2020), it is worthwhile to study ethnic minority representation and discrimination in online media sources in Hong Kong.

This study conducted (1) a content analysis to examine how online news articles and their readers' comments portray ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong during the COVID-19 pandemic and whether this portrayal involves racial bias, stereotypes, or discrimination, and (2) a survey to examine whether and how people from ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong experience online racial discrimination and to explore the antecedents (i.e., race-related social media use), moderators (i.e., ethnic identity, self-esteem, and length of time spent online), and outcomes (i.e., depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior) of this discrimination. We analyzed 341 news articles related to ethnic minority groups and racial issues published on

online media platforms in Hong Kong during the COVID-19 pandemic and the 7,381 comments left by their readers. We also invited 250 Hong Kong residents belonging to ethnic minority groups to participate in an online survey. This study advanced the growing body of knowledge on the media representation of ethnic minority groups and online racial discrimination. It was one of the first studies to examine online racial discrimination in Hong Kong. It provided practical recommendations to the EOC, ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Government, and local online media companies for addressing racial discrimination.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Racial Discrimination

According to the United Nations (1969), racial discrimination denotes any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life (Article 1).

The Race Discrimination Ordinance was enacted in 2008 (Hong Kong e-Legislation, 2020), which aims to protect individuals from discrimination, vilification, and harassment on the basis of their race and protect them from victimization.

Online Media in Hong Kong

Online media have grown in popularity in Hong Kong. According to the *Digital 2020: Hong Kong* report, Internet penetration in Hong Kong reached 91% (6.79 million Internet users), with 5.8 million (78%) social media users in January 2020 (Kemp, 2020). Recent statistics have shown that online media (including social media) are the primary source of information for the public (82%), followed by television (75%) and print media (57%) (Chan et al., 2020). The top five online news brands (sorted by most often viewed) are TVB News online, Apple Daily online, Yahoo! News, Headline Daily online, and HK01.com (Chan et al., 2020). It is therefore meaningful to examine how online media platforms in Hong Kong portray ethnic minority groups.

Media Representation of Ethnic Minority Groups

There are two major streams of research on the relationship between media and ethnic minority groups. The first stream involves the study of negative generalization or negative stereotyping, which generally refers to the attribution of negative characteristics, roles, or behavior to ethnic or racial groups or their individual members (Trebbe et al., 2017). Early studies of U.S. television shows have shown that Black characters are more likely to be portrayed as having personal problems and a lower social position than Anglo-American characters (Banks, 1977).

Negative generalizations about other ethnic groups have also been identified in recent studies. For instance, Latino characters are more likely than their White counterparts to be depicted as immoral (Monk-Turner et al., 2010). In a series of studies about Latino representation on U.S. television programs (e.g., Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro et al., 2008; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000), Mastro and colleagues found that Latinos were not only underrepresented in general but also usually depicted in negative roles, such as criminals or sex objects, and characterized as lazy, limited in intelligence, and verbally aggressive. In Mastro and Sink's (2016) recent work examining 89 primetime television programs across nine broadcast and cable networks (e.g., ABC, CBS, and NBC) in 2013, they discovered that most of the Latino characters were phenotypically homogeneous (in terms of skin tone, facial features, and body type), despite the actual phenotype diversity of Latino groups. Latino characters were also found to have been given the features of verbal aggression and speaking with an accent (Mastro & Sink, 2016). A similar absence of phenotypic diversity was also found among Black and Asian characters (Mastro & Sink, 2016).

The second stream of research in this field examines negative contextualization, which refers to "an overrepresentation of minorities in negative thematic contexts" (Trebbe et al., 2017, p. 5). For example, based on a content analysis of U.S. television news programs, Dixon

and Williams (2015) found that Latinos were overrepresented as illegal immigrants and that Muslims were portrayed as terrorist suspects. In a study of 55 U.S. local newspapers in 2015, Sui and Paul (2017) found that Latinos remained underrepresented in local news, and when they were represented it was mostly in the context of negative news, especially related to immigration and crime. Analyses of television news programs in European countries have also suggested that ethnic minorities are often thematized in negative contexts, such as crime (Ter Wal et al., 2005). Based on content and discourse analyses, Zhao and Postiglione (2010) reported that campus newspapers in China tended to depict ethnic minority groups as distinctive and potentially separatist and to describe Han people as normative and patriotic.

Despite the findings of these two research streams, little is known about the media representation of ethnic minority groups in online news articles and their associated reader comments. Therefore, this study examined whether and how racial bias, stereotypes, and discrimination are present in news articles and reader comments that mention race posted on online media platforms. The tone of these articles and their associated comments were also evaluated. Although Harlow (2015) examined the ethnic group in the U.S. which attracted most of the comments on online newspaper websites, no empirical studies have focused on the relationship between ethnic groups in Hong Kong and reader comments posted on online media platforms. Accordingly, the following research questions were addressed in this study:

RQ1a: What percentage of news articles mentioning race published on Hong Kong online media platforms involve element(s) of racial discrimination?

RQ1b: What percentage of reader comments about online media articles mentioning race involve element(s) of racial discrimination?

RQ2a: What tones are adopted in news articles published on Hong Kong online media platforms that mention race?

RQ2b: What tones are adopted in reader comments about online media articles that mention race?

RQ3: Which ethnic group in Hong Kong is the subject of the most comments and the most negative comments?

Media and Racial Discrimination

The relationship between media use and racial discrimination has received scholarly attention. This research area records an evolving trajectory of racism along with the evolution of digital media technology, from the Internet (Back, 2002), chat rooms (Tynes et al., 2004), online fora (Steinfeldt et al., 2010) to emerging social media platforms (Kettrey & Laster, 2014; Rosino & Hughey, 2017). According to an early survey of students from two U.S. universities, Tynes et al. (2008) discovered that around 71% of African American students reported having experienced online racial discrimination. Studies have suggested that the anonymity afforded by online media platforms is the main reason for the emergence and prevalence of online racism (Hughey & Daniels, 2013; Keum, 2017; Tynes et al., 2004).

Furthermore, as social media enable multi-modal communication (i.e., text, image, video, audio, document, contact, location, and emoji), forms of online racism are also evolving. For instance, Al-Natour (2021) investigated 3,000 Internet memes from multiple Aboriginal memes' social media pages from 2012 to 2018 and unraveled the relentless efforts that some social media users had put into communicating the colonial racialization of Aboriginality. Using a longitudinal experiment, Schmuck and Tribastone (2020) found that exposing young Muslim immigrants residing in Austria to anti-Islamic populist videos on social media could immediately provoke their perceived discrimination. Maxwell (2016) examined the relationship between social media use, perceived racial discrimination, and health outcomes (e.g., stress and anger) and found that among young African American adults, interactive

Facebook use positively influenced their perceived racial discrimination and everyday discrimination. Similarly, we expect that people belonging to ethnic minority groups who make more frequent use of social media for purposes relevant to their racial identity (e.g., consuming race-related news and discussing racial issues) may experience more online racial discrimination. Thus, the following hypothesis is posited.

H1: Social media use for race-related purposes is positively associated with online racial discrimination.

Online Racial Discrimination and Depressive Symptoms

Discrimination has long been considered a risk for psychological well-being (Tynes et al., 2012). Studies have commonly differentiated two forms of online racial discrimination: vicarious and individual (Tynes et al., 2008). According to Tynes et al. (2008), vicarious racial discrimination refers to “discrimination on the Internet aimed at same-race as well as cross-race peers” (p. 566), whereas the individual form refers to online discrimination against the focal person.

Depressive symptoms are an aggregate construct consisting of multiple components, including feelings of guilt, worthlessness, helplessness, and hopelessness (Radloff, 1977). Studies have consistently shown a positive relationship between online individual racial discrimination and depressive symptoms among young people (English et al., 2020; Tynes et al., 2008; Tynes et al., 2012; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015). Furthermore, there is recent evidence that the detrimental role of online racial discrimination in psychological health is also present among adults. From an analysis of Hispanic emerging adults (aged 18 to 25), Cano et al. (2021) demonstrated that exposure to racial discrimination on social media (in both the vicarious and individual forms) increased symptoms of depression. In a survey of 395 people from ethnic minority groups (including Black/African American, Asian/Asian American, and

Hispanic/Latinx American) aged 18 or above, Keum and Cano (2021) found a positive association between perceived online racism (indicated by individual and vicarious exposure to racial cyber-aggression and online-mediated exposure to offline racism) and symptoms of psychological distress, such as depression and anxiety. Therefore, in this study, we posit that individuals who experience online racial discrimination are more likely to have depressive symptoms. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed.

H2: Online racial discrimination is positively associated with depressive symptoms.

Studies have suggested that self-esteem and ethnic identity may moderate the effect of online racism on depressive symptoms. Ethnic identity is the component of an individual's identity that emphasizes the values and attitudes of his/her racial heritage culture (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Racial and ethnic identity is considered a critical protective asset for young people from ethnic minority groups (Phinney, 2003). If people from ethnic minority groups perceive a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group, they are more likely to use active coping strategies (e.g., facilitating understanding among individuals from different ethnic groups) to deal with discriminatory experiences and therefore lessen their potential depressive symptoms (McMahon & Watts, 2002). Therefore, in this study, we assume that the impact of online racial discrimination on depressive symptoms is more salient among those who have a weaker ethnic identity. Thus, we propose the following hypothesis.

H3: The relationship between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms is stronger among those with a weaker ethnic identity.

Self-esteem generally refers to an individual's concepts and feelings about himself/herself (Tynes et al., 2012). In their survey of the self-esteem of Black adults, A. Tan and G. Tan (1979) concluded that "constant exposure to white-oriented TV entertainment programs or those which depict blacks in low status social roles causes low self-esteem in black

audiences” (p. 134). As with ethnic identity, self-esteem is thought to be an important protective asset against various risks (Tynes et al., 2012). Those with high self-esteem are more “likely to have control or mastery over their environment and are more likely to use adaptive coping strategies, such as engaging in instrumental efforts (e.g., searching for information that will help deal with the problem), to reduce or manage stress” (Tynes et al., 2012, p. 346). Therefore, in this study, we propose that the effect of online racial discrimination on depressive symptoms is less salient among those who have higher self-esteem. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed.

H4: The relationship between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms is weaker among those with higher self-esteem.

Online Racial Discrimination and Aggressive Behavior

Apart from psychological consequences, researchers have also been interested in the behavioral outcomes of online racial discrimination. This study examined one aspect of externalizing behavior, namely aggressive behavior. Previous studies have demonstrated that online individual racial discrimination can significantly promote the externalizing behavior of young people, as indicated by aggressive behavior (Tynes, et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015). In addition, Gross (2004) indicated that increased Internet use affected personal well-being. Tynes et al. (2014) further investigated this phenomenon and found that time spent on the Internet increased the impact of online racial discrimination on aggressive behavior. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed.

H5: Online racial discrimination is positively associated with aggressive behavior.

H6: The positive relationship between online racial discrimination and aggressive behavior is stronger among those who spend more time online.

To address the research questions and hypotheses above, this research project conducted a content analysis of online news articles and a survey of ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong. Thus, it aimed to achieve the following six objectives.

Specific Objectives

- a. To analyze how online news articles and the related reader comments portray ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong and whether this portrayal involves racial bias, stereotypes, or discrimination,
- b. To gain original insight into whether and how people from ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong experience online racial discrimination,
- c. To examine the effect of social media use for race-related purposes on ethnic minority group members' experiences of online racial discrimination, depressive symptoms, and aggressive behavior,
- d. To study the moderating roles of ethnic identity, self-esteem, and time spent online in the relationships between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms and aggressive behavior,
- e. To provide practical strategies and suggestions for the EOC, the Hong Kong Government, and online media platforms to reduce online racial discrimination in Hong Kong, and
- f. To offer suggestions for ethnic minority group members in Hong Kong to tackle online racial discrimination and protect them from its negative outcomes.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Study 1: Content Analysis

Research Design

A content analysis of news articles and reader comments posted on online media platforms in Hong Kong was conducted. This study focused on online media platforms, which are considered to be a major source of information regarding ethnic minority groups and diversity in Hong Kong (Jackson & Nesterova, 2017). We first obtained a list of 26 online media platforms in Hong Kong from the Hong Kong Journalists Association (HKJA) via <https://www.hkja.org.hk/en/media-link/local/>. To understand the whole picture of the online media in Hong Kong, all 26 media platforms were included in the sampling frame. The languages used by those online media platforms are Chinese and English. We then visited the sites of these media platforms by clicking the hyperlinks on the HKJA website. All of the online media platforms were accessed around the same time, from May to June 2021. Some of the platforms (e.g., 852 Post and LinePost) had terminated their normal operations when we collected the data, and were therefore excluded from the sample.

To locate news articles published on online media platforms, we used a Boolean search for keywords related to ethnicity and race in Hong Kong, such as “race” (種族), “ethnic minority” (少數族裔), “racial discrimination” (種族歧視), “South Asian” (南亞裔), “Filipino” (菲裔), “Indian” (印裔), “Indonesian” (印尼裔), “Pakistani” (巴基斯坦裔), “African” (非裔), “Middle Eastern” (中東裔), “foreign domestic helper” (外傭), “Filipino maid” (菲傭), and “Indonesian maid” (印傭). We searched for these keywords on each media platform’s official website and via Factiva, a global news database owned by Dow Jones (Dow Jones, 2021). Our search located all relevant news articles published on the sampled online media platforms. We collected articles published during the COVID-19 pandemic between January 23, 2020, when

the first COVID-19 case was confirmed in Hong Kong, and September 1, 2020, which was the deadline for data collection in this study. Because ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong have experienced more discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic than usual (IDWFED, 2020), the related issues have drawn more attention from online media platforms. As this study focused on media representation of ethnic minority groups and racial issues in Hong Kong, we reviewed each article and excluded those related to ethnic minority groups and racial issues in other countries and regions. Articles without reader comments were also excluded from the sample. There were two units of analysis: (1) news articles published on online media platforms and (2) their accompanying reader comments. The analytic sample comprised 341 qualified news articles (excluding commentaries and editorial pieces) along with 7,381 reader comments made by the time of data collection.

Measures

The basic information coded for each news article included the article's title, date of publication, and topic, and the online media platform on which it was published. We also coded whether each article and reader comment mentioned the COVID-19 or not. The number of comments, "likes," and "dislikes" that each article had received by the time of data collection were also recorded. To answer RQ1a and RQ1b, we assessed whether each article and reader comment involved racial discrimination based on the definition provided in the Race Discrimination Ordinance in Hong Kong (Hong Kong e-Legislation, 2020). According to the Race Discrimination Ordinance, "a person (the discriminator) discriminates against another person if on the ground of the race of that other person, the discriminator treats that other person less favourably than the discriminator treats or would treat other persons ..." (Hong Kong e-Legislation, 2020, Part 2). We further adopted Harlow's (2015) approach to code whether each article or comment placed blame on, used pejorative terms for, or reiterated stereotypical views of people of any minority race or ethnicity (e.g., that people from ethnic minority groups are

lazy or criminals). Racial stereotypes refer to “the widely shared perceptions that people have about certain social groups and the individuals who are members of those groups” (Hamilton & Trolie, 1986, p. 133; Hogg & Vaughan, 2002, p. 483; MacDonald & Zanna, 1998). To address RQ2a and RQ2b, we coded each reader comment for whether it included racial terms, such as race, ethnic minority, or racial discrimination. News articles or comments that presented a negative view of an ethnicity were coded as negative, those that presented a favorable view were coded as positive, and other articles whose tones were neither positive nor negative and were not ascribed to a valence were coded as neutral (Bleich et al., 2015). For example, news articles using a negative tone might report crime cases involving people from ethnic minority groups, whereas those adopting a positive tone could describe favorable activities or events conducted by ethnic minorities that are helpful for other people or the society. To answer RQ3, the specific race and ethnicity (e.g., Filipino and Indian) mentioned in each article was coded (Harlow, 2015).

Intercoder Reliability. Coding was based on a codebook containing descriptions and examples. To test intercoder reliability, a subsample of 15% of the news articles and the related reader comments was generated at random and coded by two coders. According to Riffe et al. (2014), a data overlap of 10%–20% is acceptable for assessing intercoder reliability. Cohen’s kappa index is commonly used for testing intercoder reliability in content analysis studies (Gore et al., 2011). The Cohen’s kappa scores for each variable ranged from 0.79 to 1.0, which indicated a high intercoder reliability level (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

Study 2: Survey

Sample

The respondents of this study were Hong Kong residents from ethnic minority groups. Specifically, the ethnicities of our survey participants included South Asian, Southeast Asian,

African, and multiracial, who are more likely to be subject to racial discriminatory experiences. A leading research company based in Hong Kong was appointed to collect data for this study because this company offers professional sampling services to researchers and has an online panel. Given that ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong are relatively difficult to reach, the research firm used snowball sampling method to recruit the participants, which was used in many studies targeting ethnic minority groups (e.g., Hughes et al., 1995; Mohammadi et al., 2008; Perez et al., 2013). We ensured that participants had diverse socio-demographic characteristics in terms of ethnicity, gender, age, education level, duration of stay in Hong Kong, and employment status.

Procedure

After obtaining ethical approval from the University Research Committee, data collection was undertaken using a Web-based survey in June 2021. The questionnaire was posted on QuestionPro, a survey administration platform, and a link was sent to the research company. The questionnaire indicated that participation was voluntary and assured the participants that their responses would be kept confidential. The company asked the participants to participate in the 10-minute survey by clicking on the link. The responses were recorded via QuestionPro and data were stored on a secure server. The research firm was paid for its role in recruiting participants and provided a monetary incentive to each participant completing the survey. Two hundred and eighty-three participants were recruited by the firm, of whom 250 completed all of the questions in the survey and were therefore included in the sample. The response rate was 89%.

Measures

Items of each variable and their descriptive statistics are provided in the Results section. A copy of the survey questionnaire is provided in the Appendix. Mean scores were calculated to form composite variables (Wang, 2022). *Race-related social media use* was measured with

four items adapted from Maxwell's (2016) scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$). *Online racial discrimination* was gauged using the scale developed by Keum (2021). The participants were asked to indicate the frequency of their experience of eight individual race discrimination matters on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *always*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$).

Adapted from Roberts and Sobhan's (1992) scale, *depressive symptoms* were captured with five items. The participants were asked to indicate how often they had each of the five feelings during the past week on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often or always* [five to seven days]) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .67$). Drawn from Phinney and Ong's (2007) scale, *ethnic identity* was gauged using four items on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$). Using a previous scale (Ellison et al., 2007), *self-esteem* was gauged by five items on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .63$). Adopting Yeh et al.'s (2010) scale, participants were asked to report the frequency of their *aggressive behavior* since they were 18 years old on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *10 times or more*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$). Following Kardefelt-Winther et al. (2020), *length of time spent online* was measured by asking "How many hours do you spend on the Internet on an average day?"

This study treated offline racial discrimination and demographic variables as control variables. Using the same 5-point scale, *offline racial discrimination* was gauged by six items adopted from Feng et al. (2021) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$). The participants' socio-demographic information (i.e., racial/ethnic identity, gender, age, place of birth, educational background, monthly income, and language proficiency) and knowledge of the EOC were measured.

Chapter 4. Results

Findings from Content Analysis

Overall Findings of the Content Analysis Study

Among the 341 news articles in the sample, the most frequently covered topic was “health” (27.3%, $n = 93$), followed by “crime/police” (22.3%, $n = 76$) and “political/government” (5.3%, $n = 18$). On average, each of these articles received 21.5 comments ($SD = 50.2$), 9.8 “likes” ($SD = 41.1$), and 6.6 “dislikes” ($SD = 18.2$). Among the 7,381 comments attached to the 341 news articles, only 18.4% ($n = 1,357$) included terms related to race.

The following research questions were addressed in this study:

RQ1a: What percentage of news articles mentioning race published on Hong Kong online media platforms involve element(s) of racial discrimination?

RQ1b: What percentage of reader comments about online media articles mentioning race involve element(s) of racial discrimination?

RQ2a: What tones are adopted in news articles published on Hong Kong online media platforms that mention race?

RQ2b: What tones are adopted in reader comments about online media articles that mention race?

RQ3: Which ethnic group in Hong Kong is the subject of the most comments and the most negative comments?

In response to RQ1a, our analysis showed that only one of the sampled news articles (0.3%) involved racial discrimination. Only 0.9% of the articles ($n = 3$) were found to use pejorative or stereotypical terms in their descriptions of ethnic minority groups. RQ1b probed

into the reader comments on these articles. Our results showed that 4.7% of the 7,381 reader comments ($n = 348$) included expressions of bias, stereotypes, and discrimination based on ethnicity. Furthermore, 4.3% of the reader comments ($n = 315$) adopted pejorative or stereotypical terms when describing ethnic minority groups. One example reader comment that involved racial bias was: “呢班無文化南亞人是高危一族！” Another example comment involving racial stereotyping was: “南亞籍，拿綜緩，香港人養，破壞香港” In addition, an example comment about racial discrimination, likely to involve elements of vilification and harassment, was: “賓妹中招，應立即逐出境”

RQ2a investigates the tone of the news articles related to race. The results showed that the vast majority of the news articles that mentioned race ($n = 328$, 96.2%) used a neutral tone, which reflected the journalistic objectivity. For instance, “外傭僱主憂欠足夠酒店房檢疫 促政府協助” (Bastille Post, 2020). In addition, 2.6% of those articles ($n = 9$) adopted a positive tone, whereas 1.2% ($n = 4$) used a negative tone. One example article that used a positive tone was titled “印度超市免費派30萬個口罩 負責人：只是做份內事” (Tang & Tsang, 2020). Another article using a negative tone was titled “外傭疑「吐口水」落奶樽報復 自拍短片 網上瘋傳 網民：好恐怖！” (Lin, 2020). Regarding the reader comments of those news articles (RQ2b), 94.2% ($n = 6,956$) adopted a neutral tone, whereas 4.9% ($n = 361$) adopted a negative tone. Comments with a positive tone only accounted for 0.9% of the total comments ($n = 64$).

Regarding the distribution of ethnic minority groups in the 7,381 reader comments (RQ3), the most frequently mentioned ethnic minority group was Filipino ($n = 1,748$, 23.7%), followed by Indonesian ($n = 1,329$, 18.0%) and Indian ($n = 945$, 12.8%). The ethnic group with the most negative comments was Nepalese ($n = 5$, 23.8%), followed by Thai ($n = 13$, 18.1%), Pakistani ($n = 52$, 14.1%), and Indian ($n = 84$, 8.9%). Table 1 showed the percentages of reader

comments with positive, neutral, and negative tones that mentioned some major ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong.

Table 1

The Percentages of Reader Comments with Different Tones for Major Ethnic Minority Groups

Ethnicity	Positive Tone	Neutral Tone	Negative Tone
Filipino	0.1%	96.5%	3.4%
Indonesian	0.5%	94.8%	4.7%
Indian	2.5%	88.6%	8.9%
Pakistani	1.4%	84.5%	14.1%
Thai	0%	81.9%	18.1%
Nepalese	0%	76.2%	23.8%
Overall	0.9%	94.2%	4.9%

Comparing the Findings between COVID-19-Related and Non-COVID-19-Related News Articles and Their Comments

This study also compared the results between COVID-19-related and non-COVID-19-related news articles and the related reader comments. Among the 341 news articles in the sample, 58.7% of them ($n = 200$) mentioned the COVID-19, whereas 41.3% ($n = 141$) did not mention it. Regarding the related reader comments, only 8.3% of them ($n = 610$) mentioned the COVID-19. The most popular topic of COVID-19-related news articles was “health” (44.5%, $n = 89$), followed by “other topics” (37.5%, $n = 75$) and “political/government” (5.5%, $n = 11$). By comparison, the most popular topic of non-COVID-19-related news articles was “crime/police” (51.1%, $n = 72$), followed by “other topics” (29.8%, $n = 42$) and “feature story” (5.7%, $n = 8$).

On average, each of the COVID-19-related news articles received 25.3 comments ($SD = 61.7$), 7.5 “likes” ($SD = 17.0$), and 4.2 “dislikes” ($SD = 9.3$). By comparison, each non-COVID-19-related article received an average of 16.1 comments ($SD = 25.8$), 13.0 “likes” (SD

= 60.6), and 10.0 “dislikes” ($SD = 25.7$). A one-way ANOVA indicated that there was a significant difference in the means of “dislikes” between the two article categories, $F(1, 339) = 8.5, p = .004$.

The presence of racial discrimination, pejorative or stereotypical terms, and negative tone in COVID-19-related and non-COVID-19-related news articles and their comments were shown in Table 2. More non-COVID-19-related news articles used pejorative or stereotypical terms, and used the negative tone than COVID-19-related articles. Results from a series of chi-squared tests revealed that significant differences were found between reader comments of the COVID-19-related and non-COVID-19-related news articles in their use of pejorative or stereotypical terms [$\chi^2(1, N = 7,380) = 15.9, p = .003$] and negative tone [$\chi^2(99, N = 7,380) = 7.6, p = .023$]. As indicated in Table 2, compared with COVID-19-related articles, a greater proportion of pejorative or stereotypical terms and negative tone were found in their non-COVID-19-related counterparts.

Table 2

Characteristics of COVID-19-Related and Non-COVID-19-Related News Articles and Their Comments and Results of Chi-square Tests

Category	Variable	COVID-19-Related	Non-COVID-19-Related	Chi-square (χ^2)
News Articles	Racial discrimination	0.5%	0%	0.7
	Pejorative or stereotypical terms	0.5%	1.4%	0.8
	Negative tone	1.0%	1.4%	5.2
Reader Comments	Race-related terms	18.9%	18.3%	0.2
	Racial discrimination	3.1%	4.9%	4.9
	Pejorative or stereotypical terms	2.8%	4.4%	15.9**
	Negative tone	3.3%	5.0%	7.6*

Note. Statistically significant differences. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Findings from Survey

Descriptive Statistics for Each Key Variable

Of the 250 participants who completed the survey, 26% ($n = 65$) were women and 74% ($n = 185$) were men. All of the participants were aged 18 or above. Table 3 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of the 250 participants.

Table 3

Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Characteristics	Frequency (%)
Gender	
Female	65 (26)
Male	185 (74)
Age group	
18-29 years old	85 (34)
30-39 years old	88 (35.2)
40-49 years old	54 (21.6)
50-59 years old	19 (7.6)
60-69 years old	2 (0.8)
70 years old and above	2 (0.8)
Educational level	
Secondary education or below	159 (63.6)
Vocational level (including Diploma, Higher Diploma, and Associate degree)	20 (8)
Some college, no degree	30 (12)
A Bachelor's degree	34 (13.6)
A Master's degree	6 (2.4)
A Doctoral degree	1 (0.4)
Income	
Less than HKD \$10,000	118 (47.2)
\$10,000 to under \$20,000	89 (35.6)
\$20,000 to under \$30,000	25 (10)
\$30,000 to under \$40,000	8 (3.2)
\$40,000 to under \$50,000	4 (1.6)
\$50,000 to under \$60,000	1 (0.4)
\$60,000 or more	5 (2.0)
Ethnicity	
South Asian	130 (52)
Southeast Asian	92 (36.8)
East Asian	16 (6.4)
Middle Eastern	3 (1.2)
Black or African	4 (1.6)

Hispanic	1 (0.4)
White or Caucasian	1 (0.4)
Mixed; parents are from two different groups	2 (0.8)
Other	1 (0.4)
Place of birth	
Hong Kong	54 (21.6)
Other countries and regions	196 (78.4)
Proficiency in Cantonese	
Cannot understand Cantonese	63 (25.2)
Elementary level	90 (36)
Intermediate level	51 (20.4)
Advanced level	19 (7.6)
Fluent	27 (10.8)

Race-Related Social Media Use. The participants were asked how often they had used social media to engage in each of four activities (see Table 4) in the past six months. As shown in Table 4, more than half of the participants reported that they had *never* or *rarely* participated in these four activities in the past six months. The participants gave the highest score (based on a 5-point scale) to “use social media to read about high-profile incidents related to race (e.g., Black Lives Matter)” ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.15$). The participants sometimes used social media to read race-related messages, but they rarely clicked “like” or “dislike,” commented, or joined relevant discussions on these.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Race-Related Social Media Use

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation
Use social media to read about high-profile incidents related to race (e.g., Black Lives Matter)	2.30	1.15
Use social media to comment about high-profile incidents related to race	2.02	1.11
Join discussions about race-related issues on social media	1.88	1.05
Click “like” or “dislike” for social media posts on race-related issues	2.08	1.09

Online Racial Discrimination. The participants were asked to report how often they had encountered each of eight types of situations that may amount to race discrimination in online settings in the past six months. Table 5 shows the descriptive data for each type of online racial discrimination. The participants gave the highest scores, ranging from 1 to 5, to “see other ethnic minority users receive mean or rude comments online” ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 1.18$), “see online news articles that describe your racial/ethnic group negatively” ($M = 2.34$, $SD = 1.17$), and “see photos that portray your racial/ethnic group negatively” ($M = 2.24$, $SD = 1.15$). The participants sometimes felt they were discriminated online by seeing ethnic minority groups receive disparaging comments online and viewing news articles and pictures that portrayed their racial group negatively.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Personal Experiences of Online Racial Discrimination

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation
See other ethnic minority users receive mean or rude comments online	2.43	1.18
See online news articles that describe your racial/ethnic group negatively	2.34	1.17
See photos that portray your racial/ethnic group negatively	2.24	1.15
Be shared or tagged in racist content (e.g., messages, photos, and videos) insulting your race/ethnicity	1.97	1.07
See online videos (e.g., on YouTube) that portray your ethnic group negatively	2.15	1.13
See online hate speech concerning yourself due to your race/ethnicity	2.01	1.16
Receive messages with racist comments	1.81	1.02
Feel insulted or threatened online because of your race/ethnicity	1.81	1.03

Depressive Symptoms. The extent of the participants’ depressive symptoms is shown in Table 6. The participants were asked to report how often they had experienced five types of feelings during the past week. They gave the highest score (based on a 5-point scale) to “I felt

hopeful about the future” (reverse coded) ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.30$). Although most of the participants rarely had depressive symptoms, 11.6% of all participants ($n = 29$) often or always found it difficult to keep their mind on what they were doing, and 16.8% ($n = 42$) never felt hopeful about the future.

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics for Depressive Symptoms

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	2.07	1.11
I felt depressed.	1.95	1.01
I felt hopeful about the future. (reverse coded)	2.80	1.30
People were unfriendly.	2.05	1.03
I felt that people disliked me.	1.95	1.02

Ethnic Identity. The participants were asked about the extent to which they identified with their own ethnicity. As shown in Table 7, they gave the highest scores (based on a 5-point scale) to “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group” ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.05$) and “I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me” ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.00$). In summary, most of the participants had a strong identity toward their ethnicity.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics on Ethnic Identity

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	3.20	1.01
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	3.52	1.05
I often do things to help me better understand my ethnic background (e.g., read books, search the Internet, and attend events).	3.32	1.02
I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.	3.52	1.00

Self-Esteem. Table 8 displays the degree of self-esteem of the participants. They gave the highest scores (ranging from 1 to 5) to “On the whole, I am satisfied with myself” ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 0.91$) and “I have a positive attitude toward myself” ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 0.92$). In general, they had a high level of self-esteem.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics on Self-Esteem

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	3.37	0.95
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	3.42	1.01
I feel that I do not have much to be proud of. (reverse coded)	3.40	1.12
I have a positive attitude toward myself.	3.70	0.92
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	3.71	0.91

Aggressive Behavior. The participants were asked to report how many times they had engaged in each of five types of aggressive behavior since they reached the age of 18. The participants generally had never behaved aggressively or done so only once since they reached the age of 18. Over half of them had never engaged in any of the types of aggressive behavior. As shown in Table 9, among the various listed aggressive behaviors in the questionnaires, the most common act they did was to “get into verbal fights or arguments with other people” ($M = 1.83$, $SD = 1.06$) (based on a 5-point scale).

Table 9*Descriptive Statistics on Aggressive Behavior*

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation
Throw a temper tantrum (e.g., screamed, slammed doors, and thrown things)	1.75	1.05
Get into verbal fights or arguments with other people	1.83	1.06
Deliberately strike or break objects (e.g., windows and dishes) in anger	1.59	0.99
Get into physical fights with other people	1.53	0.95
Deliberately hit another person or an animal in anger	1.46	0.90

Length of Time Spent Online. Most of the participants ($n = 151$, 60.4%) spent two to four hours on the Internet on an average day. Only 2% of the participants ($n = 5$) did not use the Internet at all, whereas 12% ($n = 30$) spent seven hours and above online per day. The participants generally spent considerable time online in their daily lives.

Offline Racial Discrimination. The participants were also asked to indicate their frequency of encountering offline racial discrimination in the past six months based on a 5-point scale. In general, the results showed that they rarely experienced any of the six types of racial discrimination listed on the questionnaire. According to the participants (shown in Table 10), being treated unfairly ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 1.11$), feeling stressed ($M = 2.02$, $SD = 1.08$), and being treated poorly due to race/ethnicity ($M = 2.12$, $SD = 1.07$) were more likely to occur than being teased ($M = 1.88$, $SD = 1.08$), feeling uncomfortable ($M = 1.90$, $SD = 1.05$), and feeling unsafe because of their race/ethnicity ($M = 1.82$, $SD = 1.04$).

Table 10*Descriptive Statistics on Offline Racial Discrimination*

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation
Been treated unfairly because of your race/ethnicity	2.15	1.11
Felt stress because of your race/ethnicity	2.02	1.08
Been treated poorly because of your race/ethnicity	2.12	1.07
Been teased because of your race/ethnicity	1.88	1.08
Felt uncomfortable because of your race/ethnicity	1.90	1.05
Felt unsafe because of your race/ethnicity	1.82	1.04

A series of analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to examine how demographic variables, namely a participant's gender, age, educational level, income, ethnicity, birthplace, and language proficiency may have influenced their experiences of online and offline racial discrimination. The results shown in Table 11 indicated that the female participants were significantly more likely than their male counterparts to be discriminated racially online [$F(1, 248) = 16.98, p < .001$] and offline [$F(1, 248) = 16.90, p < .001$]. Additionally, participants who had different ethnicities [$F(7, 242) = 2.29, p < .05$], birthplaces [$F(1, 248) = 6.72, p < .05$], and proficiency levels in Cantonese [$F(4, 245) = 2.70, p < .05$] reported significantly different levels of online racial discrimination.

Table 11*Demographic Differences in Online and Offline Racial Discrimination (ANOVA)*

Variable	Online Racial Discrimination		Offline Racial Discrimination	
	M (SD)	<i>F</i>	M (SD)	<i>F</i>
Gender		16.98***		16.90***
Female	2.48 (.91)		2.36 (.90)	
Male	1.96 (.87)		1.85 (.84)	
Age group		2.09		1.85
18-29 years old	2.27 (.92)		2.04 (.88)	
30-39 years old	1.94 (.82)		1.87 (.86)	
40-49 years old	1.99 (.97)		1.94 (.89)	
50-59 years old	2.36 (.97)		2.41 (.99)	
60-69 years old	1.25 (.35)		1.17 (.24)	
70 years old and above	2.38 (.88)		2.58 (.59)	
Educational level		1.01		.84
Secondary education or below	2.02 (.88)		1.92 (.86)	
Vocational level (including Diploma, Higher Diploma, and Associate degree)	2.47 (1.08)		2.11 (.82)	
Some college, no degree	2.17 (.93)		2.12 (1.08)	
A Bachelor's degree	2.14 (.88)		1.95 (.76)	
A Master's degree	2.21 (.90)		2.50 (1.32)	
A Doctoral degree	1.88 (.76)		2.50 (1.33)	
Income		.92		.69
Less than HKD \$10,000	2.16 (.98)		1.99 (.94)	
\$10,000 to under \$20,000	2.05 (.83)		1.99 (.84)	
\$20,000 to under \$30,000	1.90 (.83)		1.99 (.79)	
\$30,000 to under \$40,000	2.38 (.99)		1.63 (.63)	
\$40,000 to under \$50,000	1.44 (.39)		1.54 (.42)	
\$50,000 to under \$60,000	2.75 (1.03)		1.67 (.46)	
\$60,000 or more	2.23 (.99)		2.50 (1.52)	
Ethnicity		2.29*		1.50
South Asian	1.98 (.85)		1.87 (.89)	
Southeast Asian	2.24 (.93)		2.12 (.86)	
East Asian	1.84 (1.10)		1.82 (1.02)	
Middle Eastern	1.58 (1.01)		1.72 (.69)	
Black or African	3.03 (.49)		3.04 (.55)	
Hispanic	2.63 (.56)		2.50 (.46)	
White or Caucasian	1.03 (.36)		2.17 (.43)	
Mixed; parents are from two different groups	3.25 (.18)		2.42 (.35)	

Other	3.00 (.17)		2.17 (.32)	
Place of birth		6.72*		1.40
Hong Kong	2.37 (.94)		2.11 (.85)	
Other countries and regions	2.01 (.89)		1.95 (.89)	
Proficiency in Cantonese		1.50		2.70*
Cannot understand Cantonese	1.96 (.85)		1.96 (.98)	
Elementary level	2.25 (.97)		2.19 (.91)	
Intermediate level	1.95 (.76)		1.72 (.77)	
Advanced level	2.03 (.81)		1.97 (.66)	
Fluent	2.21 (1.08)		1.84 (.80)	

Note: * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$.

Knowledge of the EOC. Most of the participants (70%) reported that they had never heard of the EOC in Hong Kong.

Use of EOC Service. Only 10% of the participants reported having “sought help from the EOC regarding racial discrimination by filing complaints, seeking legal assistance, or attending EOC’s workshops.”

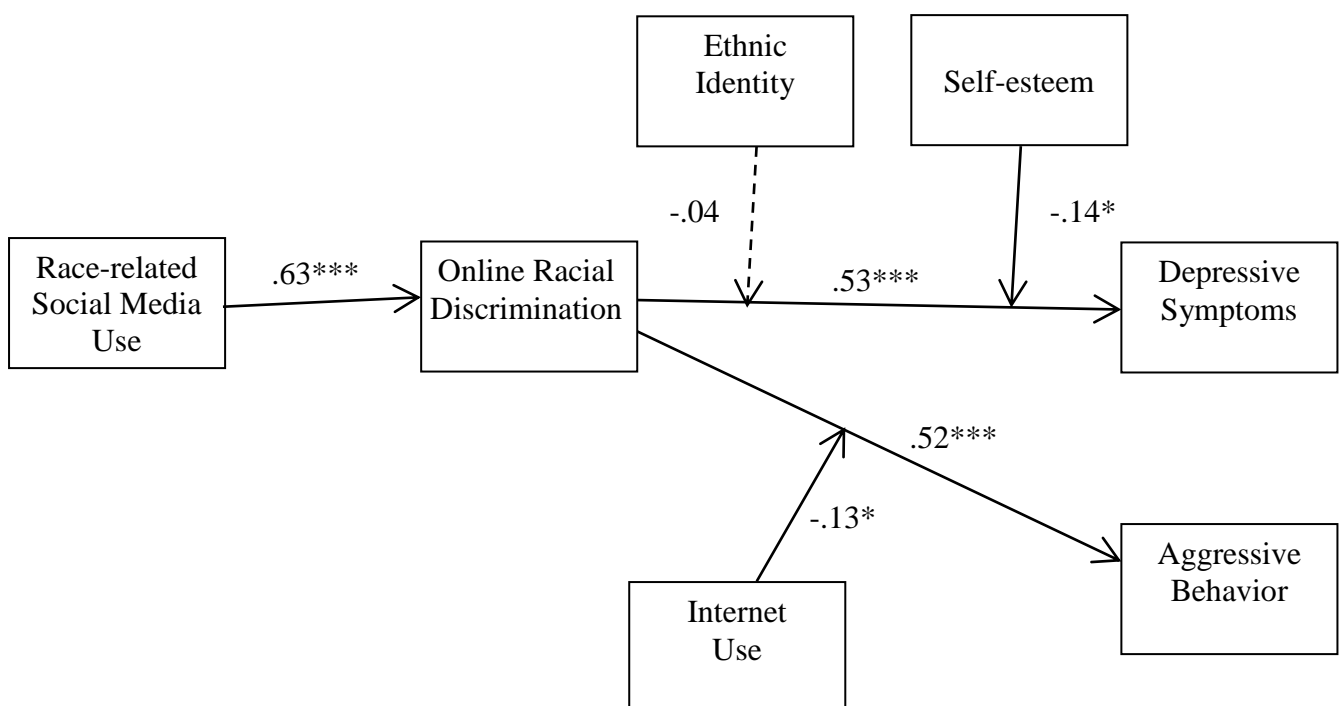
Model Testing

To test our hypotheses, SEM (Structural Equation Modeling) was performed with the data (model fit indices: $\chi^2(57) = 238.140$, $p < .001$, CFI = .838, GFI = .939, SRMR = .050, and RMSEA = .113). The SEM results were displayed in Figure 1. H1 predicts a positive effect of social media use for race-related purposes on online racial discrimination. Our results showed that social media use for related-related purpose was indeed positively associated with online racial discrimination ($Beta = .63$, $p < .001$), supporting H1. H2 predicts that online racial discrimination is a cause of depressive symptoms. This hypothesis was also supported by the positive association between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms ($Beta = .53$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, H3 predicts a moderating effect of ethnic identity on the relationship between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms. However, this hypothesis was not supported by the findings ($Beta = -.04$, $p = .556$). H4 predicts a moderating effect of self-

esteem on the relationship between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms. Our results suggested that self-esteem negatively moderated the relationship between online racial discrimination and depressive symptoms ($Beta = -.14, p = .048$). Thus, H4 was supported. H5 predicts that more experience of online racial discrimination leads to more aggressive behavior. This hypothesis was supported by our finding of a positive relationship between the two variables ($Beta = .52, p < .001$). Finally, H6 predicts that the positive effect of online racial discrimination on aggressive behavior is stronger for those spending more time on the Internet. The results showed a significantly negative moderating effect of time spent online on the association between online racial discrimination and aggressive behavior ($Beta = -.13, p = .019$). As this effect was in the opposite direction to that hypothesized, H6 was not supported.

Figure 1

Results of the SEM



Note. Coefficients indicated standardized regression weights. Age, gender, education, income, ethnicity, place of birth, length of time living in Hong Kong, and offline racial discrimination were controlled in model fitting.

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Chapter 5. Discussion

Online Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong

Our content analysis of a full sample of online race-related news and associated reader comments (Study 1) provides multiple insights into how Hong Kong digital media portray ethnic minority groups and how the public responds to such media representation, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. In general, the results suggest that there is a practice of negative contextualization of ethnic minority groups, given that almost half of the race-related news articles in our sample discussed health (e.g., COVID-19 issues) and crime/police in Hong Kong. For example, some news articles reported that a few ethnic minorities transmitted the COVID-19 or robbed a jewelry store in Hong Kong. This finding was similar to previous studies that found that ethnic minorities (e.g., Latinos in the U.S.) were often represented in newspaper and television news with negative topics such as crime (e.g., Sui & Paul, 2017; Ter Wal et al., 2005). Our project extended previous literature by studying ethnic minority representation in online media and identifying the “negative contextualization” of ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong.

One major finding was that a handful of news articles contained racial discrimination in their reporting of race-related issues by using pejorative or stereotypical terms, though most articles did not have that issue. More disquieting is that about 4.7% of the reader comments underneath those articles involved racial discrimination. These findings were consistent with a U.S. study documenting racial discrimination in online newspaper articles and readers’ comments (Harlow, 2015). One possible explanation was that the major topics of news articles about ethnic minorities in Hong Kong were health (e.g., transmitting the COVID-19) and crime/police (e.g., robbery cases) issues, which might motivate readers to form negative impressions of ethnic minorities. This might account for more racist comments about such

news articles than those covering other general topics (e.g., economics and politics). Our findings also suggested that online media portrayed ethnic minorities in a more objective way than their readers. Having said that, the findings suggest that online media companies in Hong Kong should pay more attention to whether there is an overrepresentation of ethnic minorities in crime and health stories as lawbreakers as media reports of these negative issues may shape public opinion towards ethnic minorities in the wrong direction. Also, the findings suggest that media editors should deal with reader comments involving racial bias, stereotyping, and discrimination proactively. For instance, online media companies can consider deleting reader comments that may amount to racial vilification.

The tones utilized by race-related news articles were rarely found to be negative (1.2%) and most of them (96.2%) used a neutral tone. By comparison, more reader comments (4.9%) talked about ethnic minorities in a negative tone, whereas fewer reader comments (94.2%) attached to those articles adopted a neutral view. Although most online media platforms in Hong Kong maintained a neutral tone in their news articles covering ethnic minorities and racial issues, some of their readers tended to post negative comments about these articles. One possible reason was that some readers may have a negative stereotype about ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong. Thus, even if they read a news report related to ethnic minorities that is written in a neutral tone, they may still make negative comments about it.

Among the ethnic minority groups, Filipinos and Indonesians were most frequently referred to in reader comments. As these two ethnic groups predominate in the minority population in Hong Kong (Immigration Department, 2021), they are more likely to be covered by race-related local news reports and mentioned by accompanying reader comments compared with other ethnic minority groups. Our results also demonstrated that Nepalese were most frequently mentioned in negative reader comments. This finding reflected the negative stereotype that the majority population in Hong Kong may have over Nepalese or their negative

view of Nepalese after reading online news about crime cases. Thus, Hong Kong online media need to pay more attention to reader comments mentioning Nepalese. Furthermore, the potential disproportionate resentment towards Nepalese, compared to Filipinos and Indonesians, is worthy of special attention from the EOC and the Hong Kong Government. A possible reason behind this phenomenon was the relatively insufficient intergroup contacts between Nepalese and the majority population, because social interactions across boundaries were proved to be particularly effective to diminish bias towards out-group members (Allport, 1958; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It is probably true given that most of the domestic helpers working in local families are from the Philippines and Indonesia (Immigration Department, 2021). Therefore, official efforts should be dedicated to promoting social interactions across boundaries between the mainstream society and ethnic minorities, especially Nepalese.

This study went a step further to compare the results between COVID-19-related and non-COVID-19-related news articles and the related reader comments. We found that over half of the sampled news articles mentioned COVID-19. The most frequent topic of COVID-19-related news articles was “health,” whereas that of non-COVID-19-related articles was “crime/police.” On average, each of non-COVID-19-related articles received significantly more “dislikes” from their readers than COVID-19-related articles. Furthermore, more reader comments of non-COVID-19-related articles used pejorative or stereotypical terms and the negative tone compared with their counterparts. These findings suggested that the non-COVID-19-related news articles and the related reader comments seemed to portray ethnic minority groups in a more negative way than COVID-19-related articles. One possible reason was the difference in topics covered by COVID-19-related news articles and the non-COVID-19 ones. Ethnic minority groups also suffered under the pandemic, which was similar to the local majority group, but they were more likely to be portrayed as lawbreakers in non-COVID-19-related news articles. The readers of race-related online news articles in Hong Kong might be

more tolerant of ethnic minorities regarding COVID-19-related issues compared with other issues (e.g., crime) covered by online media.

In sum, the findings of our content analysis study prompt the need to pay attention to race-related online news articles and the related reader comments. The observable amount of discriminatory and detrimental expressions in reader comments in particular, alerts us to an unfriendly, if not hostile, (online) public opinion towards ethnic minorities in Hong Kong.

Online Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong

Align with the findings of content analysis (Study 1), our survey study found that ethnic minorities in Hong Kong also reported experiences of online racial discrimination, especially in form of seeing other ethnic peers receiving mean or rude comments and seeing negative description of their racial group in online news articles. Furthermore, some ethnic minorities even experienced treatment that might amount to racial harassment (e.g., receiving online messages with racist comments) and vilification (e.g., being shared or tagged in racist content such as messages, photos, and videos that insulted their race/ethnicity), which may have/is likely to have violated the Race Discrimination Ordinance. Their experiences of online racism, especially on social media, were found to arouse their agitation, anger, and even intention to make tie dissolution (e.g., deleting a friend), suggesting detrimental consequences at both attitudinal and behavioral levels as Study 2 further revealed.

Results of our survey (Study 2) showed that people from ethnic minority groups who used social media for race-related purposes were more likely to experience more online racial discrimination. This finding can be partially explained by the results of our content analysis that indicated a hostile local online environment in which public discourse about ethnic minorities and/or racial issues features biased opinions and expressions of discrimination, including reader comments of online news. Another possible explanation was that ethnic

minority groups who are heavy social media users for race-related purposes may be flooded by tons of negative messages about them on social media, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, and therefore be more sensitive to racial issues. Therefore, they are more likely to experience online racial discrimination.

Furthermore, our results suggested that the experience of online racial discrimination can significantly induce depressive symptoms, which coincided with prior studies solely targeting young people in the U.S. (e.g., English et al., 2020; Tynes et al., 2012; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015). More specifically, the results demonstrated that the detrimental impact of online individual racial discrimination on people's psychological well-being can be found across all age groups and social contexts. This also warned of the necessity of low-cost psychological counseling for members of minority groups, which can be provided by non-governmental organizations, local community groups, or the Hong Kong Government.

The inclusion of self-esteem as a moderator also advanced our understanding of the condition that regulates the above effect of online racial discrimination. Our results showed that the vicious role of online racial discrimination in arousing depressive symptoms was weaker among those with higher self-esteem. This finding supported the notion regarding self-esteem as a protective resource that enables individuals to have more adaptive coping strategies and to detach and reframe the events (e.g., online racial discrimination in this study) to their advantage (Rector & Roger, 1996; Tynes et al., 2012). Therefore, improving self-esteem is one way of reducing negative impact of online racial discrimination on depressive symptoms for ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong.

In addition to the above psychological consequences, our findings showed that ethnic minorities who experienced more online racial discrimination were more likely to have aggressive behavior, such as verbal or physical fights with other people. This finding was consistent with that of American studies (Tynes et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015).

Similar to its impact on depressive symptoms, the effect of online racial discrimination on aggressive behavior was found to be generalized across age groups. This suggested a strong adverse impact of online racial discrimination at the behavioral level, such that even adult members of ethnic minority groups, who have completed their socialization processes long ago, can have socially undesirable behavior that may be triggered by their experiences of online discrimination. This issue could be particularly problematic when this behavior takes place in interactions between members of majority and minority groups, as this may drastically impair social cohesion and exacerbate the existing prejudices against the minority groups.

Furthermore, the above effect of online racial discrimination on aggressive behavior was found to be weaker in ethnic minorities who spent more time online. A possible explanation was that some online communities provide a virtual dwelling place for interaction and social support within ethnic minority groups. Those online interactions may increase ethnic minorities' sense of belonging towards and attachment to their own ethnic community, which may reduce the negative impact of online racial discrimination, such as aggressive behavior. In addition, according to the uses and gratifications theory, individuals can use the Internet to satisfy their various gratifications, such as social support, information seeking, entertainment, and relationship maintenance (Song et al., 2004). Thus, ethnic minorities who spend more time on the Internet and therefore satisfy their various needs are less likely to perform aggressive behaviors even if they experience racial discrimination online.

Limitations and Future Research

This study had several limitations. First, our content analysis study only focused on online media platforms in Hong Kong. As a result, its findings might not be generalizable to local traditional media and online media in other countries and regions. Future research is suggested to examine race-related news articles published in other media platforms (e.g.,

newspaper, television, and social media) in other countries and in languages other than Chinese and English. Second, the levels of reliability for some measurements were relatively low, though they were adopted or adapted from previous scales. Future researchers may need to refine the measurement items based on the study context or develop new measurement scales. Third, because of the cross-sectional data we use, this study had limited ability to discern the causal relationships among race-related social media use, online racial discrimination, ethnic identity, self-esteem, depressive symptoms, and aggressive behavior. Future scholars can utilize longitudinal data or conduct experimental research to re-estimate those relationships.

Chapter 6. Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The experiences and identities of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong have not received enough attention from mainstream society (Jackson & Nesterova, 2017). This research project conducted a content analysis to examine how online news articles and their readers' comments portray ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong and a survey to investigate whether and how those groups experience online racial discrimination and explore its antecedents and outcomes. It was found that race-related news articles published in local online media mainly discussed health and crime. While a few of the news articles used negative tones, many reader comments included racial discrimination using a negative tone. The survey study documented that many ethnic minorities in Hong Kong experienced online racial discrimination, which was influenced by their use of social media for race-related purposes and led to their depressive symptoms and aggressive behaviors. Furthermore, the effect of online racial discrimination on depressive symptoms was weaker among those with higher self-esteem, and its impact on aggressive behaviors became weaker for those who spent more time online. Based on the findings of this project, the following recommendations were provided to online media companies, ethnic minority group members, the Hong Kong Government, and EOC.

Recommendations for Online Media Companies in Hong Kong

Online media corporations should report on ethnic minority communities more accurately and thoughtfully (Harlow, 2015). They are also encouraged to include sessions on online racism in their training for new journalists and editors. Reporters and editors should learn how to portray ethnic minority groups in news articles reports in a more objective way, how to discuss race relations, and how to deal with reader comments that involve racial bias

and discrimination. They should avoid overgeneralizing the negative image of ethnic minority groups in relevant news articles (Ng et al., 2019). In addition, they should consider including equal opportunities and anti-discrimination values in their editorial policy and appointing a designated person to ensure such policy is being implemented in their daily operation of news reporting.

It is important to deal with racist reader comments because they may cause people from ethnic minority groups to lose their confidence in online media, which would ultimately result in a decrease in readership numbers and advertising income (Harlow, 2015). Online media platforms should consider deleting some reader comments that may amount to racial vilification if necessary. Furthermore, they can simply post a notice to remind their members and audiences that it is against the Race Discrimination Ordinance to make racially derogatory comments. Online media companies should adopt anti-discrimination and anti-harassment policies and ask their members and readers to agree with those terms and conditions.

Recommendations for Ethnic Minority Group Members in Hong Kong

People from ethnic minority groups are suggested to report to the online media companies if they come across any abusive contents, discriminatory comments, and misinformation in news articles and reader comments. Furthermore, they may consider filing complaints in writing to the EOC when they identify news articles and reader comments posted on online media platforms which may amount to racial vilification under the Race Discrimination Ordinance.

The findings of this study suggests that people from ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong should use social media for race-related purposes (e.g., joining discussions about race-related issues on social media) less frequently when they experience depressive symptoms due

to online racial discrimination. Instead, they can use social media mainly for other common purposes, such as connecting with their friends, seeking information, and having fun.

Recommendations for the Hong Kong Government

The Hong Kong Government is recommended to plan and implement public communication campaigns to promote a better understanding of different ethnic groups. For example, they might consider holding an exhibition on the theme of ethnic minority groups and Hong Kong to highlight the contributions of these groups to Hong Kong society. They can also organize activities and events to facilitate interactions and understanding between ethnic minority groups and ethnic Chinese residents. In addition, they can promote the EOC's work on anti-online racial discrimination by using their websites and social media pages.

The Government may consider offering more resources to Support Service Centres for Ethnic Minorities to provide courses or activities for enhancing the self-esteem of ethnic minorities, with a view to protecting them from negative outcomes of online racism, such as depressive symptoms.

Given the negative consequences of online racial discrimination (e.g., racist comments and hate speeches online) in Hong Kong, the Government might consider launching public consultation about prohibiting speech related to racial hatred with reference to the recent action taken by the Government of New Zealand. Specifically, in 2021, the Ministry of Justice in New Zealand published six proposals against incitement of hatred and discrimination for public consultation to expand protection from racial disharmony. One of the proposals would replace the criminal provision in the Human Rights Act 1993 with a new criminal offence in the Crimes Act (Ministry of Justice, 2021). The proposal would prohibit speech that maintains or normalizes racial hatred, in addition to speech that incites or stirs up racial hatred and expand the methods of communicating speech to those by electronic means (Ensor, 2021).

Recommendations for the EOC

As a statutory body tasked to enforce the Race Discrimination Ordinance, the EOC might consider taking action against online race discrimination in Hong Kong. For instance, the prevention of online racism and its relevant knowledge can be included in their training courses about equal opportunities and anti-discrimination.

The EOC and local nonprofit organizations can plan and implement public relations campaigns against online racial bias and racial stereotyping and online race discrimination and promote equal opportunity. For example, they might organize an awards ceremony to recognize achievements in combatting online racial discrimination in Hong Kong. They should also consider working with community leaders and university professors to hold public talks against online racial discrimination within local communities. In addition, they could invite journalists and editors from local online media companies to participate in training workshops on minimizing online racial discrimination.

The EOC can strengthen website and social media efforts to inform the public and the media about ethnic minority groups to debunk the stereotypes and misunderstandings. Two Facebook pages administered by the EOC, namely “Embrace Campaign” and “Uniquelyme Hk,” have been promoting racial equality and diversity. Building upon these initiatives, the EOC could design multiple Facebook messages and activities about anti-online racism to increase public awareness. For example, it might encourage the public to share positive comments about ethnic minority groups on its Facebook page and invite them to participate in lucky draws.

Acknowledgements

The project titled “A Study of Online Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities and Online Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong” is funded by the Equal Opportunities Commission. The research team sincerely appreciates all the ethnic minority groups who participated in our survey.

References

- Allport, G. W. (1958). *The nature of prejudice*. Doubleday.
- Al-Natour, R. (2021). The digital racist fellowship behind the anti-Aboriginal internet memes. *Journal of Sociology*, 57(4), 780-805. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1440783320964536>
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2002). *Racial vilification law in Australia*. <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/racial-vilification-law-australia#37>
- Back, L. (2002). Aryans reading Adorno: Cyber-culture and twenty-first century racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(4), 628-651. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870220136664>
- Baig, R.B., & O'Connor, P. (2015). Hong Kong Muslim representations in Cantonese media: An oriental orientalism? *Asian Anthropology*, 14(1), 67-78. doi:10.1080/1683478X.2015.1025590
- Banks, C. A. (1977). A content analysis of the treatment of black Americans on television. *Social Education*, 4, 336-339.
- Bastille Post. (2020). 外傭僱主憂欠足夠酒店房檢疫 促政府協助 [Employers of domestic helpers were worried about a shortage of hotel rooms for quarantine and urged the government to assist them]. <https://www.bastillepost.com/hongkong/article/6735958-%e5%a4%96%e5%82%ad%e5%83%b1%e4%b8%bb%e6%86%82%e6%ac%a0%e8%b6%b3%e5%a4%a0%e9%85%92%e5%ba%97%e6%88%bf%e9%96%93%e4%be%9b%e6%aa%a2%e7%96%ab-%e4%bf%83%e6%94%bf%e5%ba%9c%e6%8f%90%e4%be%9b%e5%8d%94%e5%8a%a9>
- Bleich, E., Stonebraker, H., Nisar, H., & Abdelhamid, R. (2015). Media portrayals of minorities: Muslims in British newspaper headlines, 2001–2012. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(6), 942-962. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002200>

- Cano, M. Á., Schwartz, S. J., MacKinnon, D. P., Keum, B. T., Prado, G., Marsiglia, F. F., Salas-Wright, C. P., Cobb, C. L., Garcini, L. M., De La Rosa, M., Sánchez, M., Rahman, A., Acosta, L. M., Roncancio, A. M., & de Dios, M. A. (2021). Exposure to ethnic discrimination in social media and symptoms of anxiety and depression among Hispanic emerging adults: Examining the moderating role of gender. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 77(3), 571-586. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.23050>
- Census and Statistics Department. (2017). *Thematic report: Ethnic minorities*. <https://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B11201002016XXXXB0100.pdf>
- Chan, C. (2018, January 4). *EOC article: Hong Kong has no place for racial discrimination*. <https://www.eoc.org.hk/en/PressRelease/Detail/15355>
- Chan, M., Lee, F., & Chen, H. (2020). *Digital news report 2019: Hong Kong*. <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/hong-kong-2019/>
- Chu, M. (2020, May 31). *How the coronavirus pandemic has exposed Hong Kong's insensitivity to its ethnic minorities*. South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3086531/how-coronavirus-pandemic-has-exposed-hong-kongs-insensitivity-its>
- Dixon, T. L., & Williams, C. L. (2015). The changing misrepresentation of race and crime on network and cable news. *Journal of Communication*, 65(1), 24-39. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12133>
- Dow Jones. (2021). *Factiva & curation services*. <https://professional.dowjones.com/factiva/>
- Ekeland, E., Heian, F., Hagen, K. B., Abbott, J. M., & Nordheim, L. (2004). Exercise to improve self-esteem in children and young people. *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*, 1, Article No. CD003683. <https://doi.org/10.1002/14651858.CD003683.pub2>
- Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The benefits of Facebook “friends:” Social capital and college students’ use of online social network sites. *Journal of Computer-*

- Mediated Communication*, 12(4), 1143-1168. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00367.x>
- English, D., Lambert, S. F., Tynes, B. M., Bowleg, L., Zea, M. C., & Howard, L. C. (2020). Daily multidimensional racial discrimination among Black US American adolescents. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 66, 101068. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2019.101068>
- Ensor, J. (2021, June 25). *Hate speech explainer: The six key proposed changes Government wants public's feedback on*. Newshub. <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2021/06/hate-speech-explainer-the-six-key-proposed-changes-government-wants-public-s-feedback-on.html>
- Feng, Y., Cheon, Y. M., Yip, T., & Cham, H. (2021). Multilevel IRT analysis of the Everyday Discrimination Scale and the Racial/Ethnic Discrimination Index. *Psychological Assessment*, 33(7), 637-651. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0000906>
- Gore, M. L., Nelson, M. P., Vucetich, J. A., Smith, A. M., & Clark, M. A. (2011). Exploring the ethical basis for conservation policy: The case of inbred wolves on Isle Royale, USA. *Conservation Letters*, 4, 394-401. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-263X.2011.00191.x>
- Gross, E. F. (2004). Adolescent Internet use: What we expect, what teens report. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 25(6), 633-649. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2004.09.005>
- Harlow, S. (2015). Story-chatterers stirring up hate: Racist discourse in reader comments on US newspaper websites. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 26(1), 21-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2014.984795>

- Hamilton, D. L., & Trolie, T. K. (1986). Stereotypes and stereotyping: An overview of the cognitive approach. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 127-163). Academic Press.
- Hogg, M. A., & Vaughan, G. M. (2002). *Social psychology* (3rd ed.). Prentice Hall.
- Hong Kong e-Legislation. (2020). *Race Discrimination Ordinance*.
<https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/cap602!en>
- Hughes, A. O., Fenton, S., & Hine, C. E. (1995). Strategies for sampling black and ethnic minority populations. *Journal of Public Health*, 17(2), 187-192.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.pubmed.a043091>
- Hughey, M. W., & Daniels, J. (2013). Racist comments at online news sites: A methodological dilemma for discourse analysis. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(3), 332-347.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443712472089>
- Hulme, N., Hirsch, C., & Stopa, L. (2012). Images of the self and self-esteem: Do positive self-images improve self-esteem in social anxiety? *Cognitive Behaviour Therapy*, 41(2), 163-173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16506073.2012.664557>
- IDWFED. (2020, June 28). *Hong Kong: FADWU survey on Disability Discrimination Ordinance*. Website of the International Domestic Workers Federation.
<https://idwfed.org/en/updates/hong-kong-fadwu-survey-on-disability-discrimination-ordinance>
- Immigration Department. (2021). *Statistics on the number of foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong*. DATA.GOV.HK. https://www.immd.gov.hk/opendata/hks/law-and-security/visas/statistics_FDH.csv
- Jackson, L., & Nesterova, Y. (2017). Multicultural Hong Kong: Alternative new media representations of ethnic minorities. *Multicultural Education Review*, 9(2), 93-104.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2017.1313021>

- Kapai, P. (2015). *The status of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, 1997 to 2014*. Hong Kong: Centre for Comparative and Public Law.
- Kardefelt-Winther, D., Rees, G., & Livingstone, S. (2020). Contextualising the link between adolescents' use of digital technology and their mental health: A multi-country study of time spent online and life satisfaction. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 61(8), 875-889. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.13280>
- Kellstedt, P. M. (2000). Media framing and the dynamics of racial policy preferences. *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(2), 245-260. doi:10.2307/2669308
- Kemp, S. (2020). *Digital 2020: Hong Kong*. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2020-hong-kong>
- Kettrey, H. H., & Laster, W. N. (2014). Staking territory in the “World White Web”: An exploration of the roles of overt and color-blind racism in maintaining racial boundaries on a popular web site. *Social Currents*, 1(3), 257-274. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496514540134>
- Keum, B. T. (2017). Qualitative examination on the influences of the Internet on racism and its online manifestation. *International Journal of Cyber Behavior, Psychology and Learning (IJCBL)*, 7(3), 13-22. doi:10.4018/IJCBL.2017070102
- Keum, B. T. (2021). Development and validation of the Perceived Online Racism Scale short form (15 items) and very brief (six items). *Computers in Human Behavior Reports*, 3, 100082. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chbr.2021.100082>
- Keum, B. T., & Cano, M. Á. (2021). Online racism, psychological distress, and alcohol use among racial minority women and men: A multi-group mediation analysis. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 91(4), 524–530. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000553>
- Lam, B. O. Y., Byun, S. Y., & Lee, M. (2019). Understanding educational inequality in Hong Kong: Secondary school segregation in changing institutional contexts. *British Journal*

of Sociology of Education, 40(8), 1170-1187.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2019.1642736>

Lin, Y. T. (2020, August 21). 外傭疑「吐口水」落奶樽報復 自拍短片網上瘋傳 網民：

好恐怖！[A domestic helper was suspected to spit saliva into a milk bottle to retaliate whose self-shot video was spread online virally, and netizens said it was horrible]. HK01.

<https://www.hk01.com/%E7%AA%81%E7%99%BC/513629/%E5%A4%96%E5%82%AD%E7%96%91-%E5%90%90%E5%8F%A3%E6%B0%B4-%E8%90%BD%E5%A5%B6%E6%A8%BD%E5%A0%B1%E5%BE%A9-%E8%87%AA%E6%8B%8D%E7%9F%AD%E7%89%87%E7%B6%B2%E4%B8%8A%E7%98%8B%E5%82%B3-%E7%B6%B2%E6%B0%91-%E5%A5%BD%E6%81%90%E6%80%96>

MacDonald, T. K., & Zanna, M. P. (1998). Cross-dimensions ambivalence toward social groups: Can ambivalence affect intentions to hire feminists? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 24*(4), 427-441. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167298244009>

Mastro, D. E., & Sink, A. C. (2016). Phenotypicity bias on television? A quantitative content analytic examination of primetime programming. In M. Cepeda & D. Casillas (Eds.), *Routledge companion to Latina/o media* (pp. 72-87). Routledge.

Mastro, D. E., & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005). Latino representation on primetime television. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 82*(1), 110-130. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900508200108>

Mastro, D. E., Behm-Morawitz, E., & Kopacz, M. A. (2008). Exposure to television portrayals of Latinos: The implications of aversive racism and social identity theory. *Human*

- Communication Research*, 34(1), 1-27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2007.00311.x>
- Mastro, D. E., & Greenberg, B. S. (2000). The portrayal of racial minorities on prime time television. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 44(4), 690-703. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4404_10
- Maxwell, M. L. (2016). *Rage and social media use: The effect of social media consumption on perceived racism, stress appraisal, and anger expression among young African American adults* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Virginia Commonwealth University.
- McMahon, S. D., & Watts, R. J. (2002). Ethnic identity in urban African American youth: Exploring links with self-worth, aggression, and other psychosocial variables. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 30(4), 411-431. doi:10.1002/jcop.10013
- Ministry of Justice. (2021). *Incitement of hatred and discrimination in Aotearoa New Zealand*. <https://consultations.justice.govt.nz/policy/incitement-of-hatred/>
- Monk-Turner, E., Heiserman, M., Johnson, C., Cotton, V., & Jackson, M. (2010). The portrayal of racial minorities on prime time television: A replication of the Mastro and Greenberg study a decade later. *Studies in Popular Culture*, 32(2), 101-114.
- Mohammadi, N., Jones, T., & Evans, D. (2008). Participant recruitment from minority religious groups: The case of the Islamic population in South Australia. *International Nursing Review*, 55(4), 393-398. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1466-7657.2008.00647.x>
- Ng, S. M., Law, T., & Yeung, T. (2019). *Study on the discrimination experience based on residency status of asylum seeker/refugee in Hong Kong*. Equal Opportunities Commission's Website. <https://www.eoc.org.hk/EOC/Upload/UserFiles/File/Funding%20Programme/policy/1>

- Perez, D. F., Nie, J. X., Ardern, C. I., Radhu, N., & Ritvo, P. (2013). Impact of participant incentives and direct and snowball sampling on survey response rate in an ethnically diverse community: Results from a pilot study of physical activity and the built environment. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 15*(1), 207-214. doi:10.1007/s10903-011-9525-y
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751>
- Phinney, J. S. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement and applied research* (pp. 63-82). American Psychological Association.
- Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. D. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(3), 271-281. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.271>
- Radloff, L. S. (1977). The CES-D scale: A self-report depression scale for research in the general population. *Applied Psychological Measurement, 1*(3), 385-401. <https://doi.org/10.1177/014662167700100306>
- Rector, N. A., & Roger, D. (1996). Cognitive style and well-being: A prospective examination. *Personality and Individual Differences, 21*(5), 663-674. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-8869\(96\)00124-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-8869(96)00124-9)
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (2014). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research* (3rd ed.). Routledge.

- Roberts, R. E., & Sobhan, M. (1992). Symptoms of depression in adolescence: A comparison of Anglo, African, and Hispanic Americans. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 21(6), 639-651.
- Rosino, M. L., & Hughey, M. W. (2017). Speaking through silence: Racial discourse and identity construction in mass-mediated debates on the “War on Drugs”. *Social Currents*, 4(3), 246-264. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496516663223>
- Schmuck, D., & Tribastone, M. (2020). Muslims take action. How exposure to anti-Islamic populist political messages affects young Muslims’ support for collective action: a longitudinal experiment. *Political Communication*, 37(5), 635-655. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2020.1736700>
- Shum, M., Gao, F., & Ki, W. W. (2016). School desegregation in Hong Kong: Non-Chinese linguistic minority students’ challenges to learning Chinese in mainstream schools. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 36(4), 533-544. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2015.1005048>
- Song, I., Larose, R., Eastin, M. S., & Lin, C. A. (2004). Internet gratifications and Internet addiction: On the uses and abuses of new media. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 7(4), 384-394. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cpb.2004.7.384>
- Steinfeldt, J. A., Foltz, B. D., Kaladow, J. K., Carlson, T. N., Pagano, L. A. Jr., Benton, E., & Steinfeldt, M. C. (2010). Racism in the electronic age: Role of online forums in expressing racial attitudes about American Indians. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16(3), 362-371. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0018692>
- Sui, M., & Paul, N. (2020). Latinos in Twitter news: The effects of newsroom and audience diversity on the visibility of Latinos on Twitter. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 31(1), 50-70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2019.1608480>

- Tan, A. S., & Tan, G. (1979). Television use and self-esteem of Blacks. *Journal of Communication*, 29(1), 129-135. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1979.tb01691.x>
- Tang, W. C., & Tsang, S. M. (2020, January 27). 印度超市免費派30萬個口罩 負責人：只是做份內事 [An Indian supermarket distributed 30 million masks for free, and its manager said they just did their job]. HK01. <https://www.hk01.com/18%E5%8D%80%E6%96%B0%E8%81%9E/426940/%E6%AD%A6%E6%BC%A2%E8%82%BA%E7%82%8E-%E5%8D%B0%E5%BA%A6%E8%B6%85%E5%B8%82%E5%85%8D%E8%B2%BB%E6%B4%BE30%E8%90%AC%E5%80%8B%E5%8F%A3%E7%BD%A9-%E8%B2%A0%E8%B2%AC%E4%BA%BA-%E5%8F%AA%E6%98%AF%E5%81%9A%E4%BB%BD%E5%85%A7%E4%BA%8B>
- Ter Wal, J., D'Haenens, L., & Koeman, J. (2005). (Re)presentation of ethnicity in EU and Dutch domestic news: Quantitative analysis. *Media, Culture & Society*, 27(6), 937-950. doi:10.1177/0163443705057681
- Thapa, C. B., & Adamson, B. (2016, November). *Language policy, ethnicity and educational inequity in Hong Kong: The case of Nepalese*. Paper presented at the 2016 CESHK Autumn Forum: Hong Kong in Comparative Perspectives, The Education University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.
- The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. (2018). *Hong Kong poverty situation report on ethnic minorities 2016*. <https://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B9XX0004E2016XXXXE0100.pdf>
- Ting, V. (2020, February 9). *Coronavirus: Hong Kong's ethnic minority leaders slam government over handling of outbreak*. South China Morning Post.

<https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/health-environment/article/3049683/coronavirus-hong-kongs-ethnic-minority-leaders>

- Trebbe, J., Paasch-Colberg, S., Greyer, J. and Fehr, A. (2017). Media representation: Racial and ethnic stereotypes. In P. Rössler, C. A. Hoffner, & L. Zoonen (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of media effects* (pp. 1-9). John Wiley & Sons.
- Tynes, B. M., Giang, M. T., Williams, D. R., & Thompson, G. N. (2008). Online racial discrimination and psychological adjustment among adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 43*(6), 565-569. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2008.08.021>
- Tynes, B., Reynolds, L., & Greenfield, P. M. (2004). Adolescence, race, and ethnicity on the Internet: A comparison of discourse in monitored vs. unmonitored chat rooms. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 25*(6), 667-684. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2004.09.003>
- Tynes, B. M., Rose, C. A., Hiss, S., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Mitchell, K., & Williams, D. (2014). Virtual environments, online racial discrimination, and adjustment among a diverse, school-based sample of adolescents. *International Journal of Gaming and Computer-Mediated Simulations (IJGCMS), 6*(3), 1-16. doi:10.4018/ijgcms.2014070101
- Tynes, B. M., Umana-Taylor, A. J., Rose, C. A., Lin, J., & Anderson, C. J. (2012). Online racial discrimination and the protective function of ethnic identity and self-esteem for African American adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 48*(2), 343-355. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027032>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2011). Ethnic identity. In: S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 791-809). Springer.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Tynes, B. M., Toomey, R. B., Williams, D. R., & Mitchell, K. J. (2015). Latino adolescents' perceived discrimination in online and offline settings: An

- examination of cultural risk and protective factors. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(1), 87-100. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038432>
- United Nations. (1969). *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*.
<https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cerd.aspx#:~:text=In%20this%20Convention%2C%20the%20term,footing%2C%20of%20human%20rights%20and>
- Wang, Y. (2022). When relationships meet situations: Exploring the antecedents of employee communication behaviors on social media. *Social Science Computer Review*, 40(1), 77-94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439320904719>
- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2011). *Mass media research: An introduction* (9th ed.). Wadsworth.
- Yeh, M. T., Coccaro, E. F., & Jacobson, K. C. (2010). Multivariate behavior genetic analyses of aggressive behavior subtypes. *Behavior Genetics*, 40(5), 603-617. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10519-010-9363-z>
- Zhao, Z., & Postiglione, G. A. (2010). Representations of ethnic minorities in China's university media. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 31(3), 319-334. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596301003786928>

Appendix

Survey Questionnaire on Online Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong

Dear Participant:

You are invited to participate in a study of online racial discrimination in Hong Kong. The purpose of this survey is to examine whether and how ethnic minorities in Hong Kong experience online racial discrimination and to explore the antecedents, moderators, and outcomes of this discrimination.

To participate in this survey, you should be a member of an ethnic minority (e.g., of South Asian, Southeast Asian, African, or multiracial background) and be currently living in Hong Kong. Taking part in this study will involve completing a 10-minute online survey. You will receive monetary incentives in appreciation of your time and effort, and your answers may help increase your awareness of online racial discrimination in Hong Kong and improve your well-being.

There are no anticipated risks to participants. Your answers will be kept confidential. All data collected are for research purposes and all results will be presented in aggregate form. Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from participation at any time. Thank you.

1. Are you a member of an ethnic minority (e.g., of South Asian, Southeast Asian, African, or multiracial background) who is currently living in Hong Kong?

- a. Yes
- b. No

2. Have you used any social media platform (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, or WhatsApp) in the past month?

- a. Yes
- b. No

3. In a typical week, which of the following social media platforms do you use? (Multiple options are allowed)

- a. Facebook
- b. Twitter
- c. WhatsApp
- d. Instagram
- e. LinkedIn
- f. Pinterest
- g. YouTube
- h. Flickr
- i. Snapchat
- j. Blog
- k. Weibo
- l. TikTok/Douyin
- m. Other _____

4. We are interested in your engagement with race-related issues on social media. In the past six months, how often have you:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Used social media to read about high-profile incidents related to race (e.g., Black Lives Matter).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Used social media to comment about high-profile incidents related to race.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Joined discussions about race-related issues on social media.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clicked “like” or “dislike” for social media posts on race-related issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement on your engagement with race-related issues on social media.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
It upsets me when people make rude or disrespectful comments on social media about race-related issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There have been times when I have felt personally insulted or angered by social media posts about race-related incidents.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There have been times when I have wanted to delete or have actually deleted a friend on social media because of negative statements he/she had made about race.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. We are interested in your personal experiences of racial discrimination in online settings (e.g., on online news media and social media). In the past six months, how often have you:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Seen other ethnic minority users receive mean or rude comments online.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Seen online news articles that describe your racial/ethnic group negatively.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Seen photos that portray your racial/ethnic group negatively.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Been shared or tagged in racist content (e.g., messages, photos, and videos) insulting your race/ethnicity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Seen online videos (e.g., on YouTube) that portray your ethnic group negatively.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Seen online hate speech concerning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

yourself due to your race/ethnicity					
Received messages with racist comments.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Felt insulted or threatened online because of your race/ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. We are interested in your personal experiences of racial discrimination in daily life (offline). In the past six months, how often have you:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Been treated unfairly because of your race/ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Felt stress because of your race/ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Been treated poorly because of your race/ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Been teased because of your race/ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Felt uncomfortable because of your race/ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Felt unsafe because of your race/ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Please indicate how often you have felt the following ways during the past week.

	Never	Rarely (less than one day)	Sometimes (one to two days)	Often (three to four days)	Always (five to seven days)
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt depressed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt hopeful about the future.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People were unfriendly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I felt that people disliked me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement on your ethnic identity. We would like you to think about what YOU consider your ethnicity to be.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often do things to help me better understand my ethnic background (e.g., read books, search the Internet, and attend	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

events).					
I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement on your self-esteem.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have a positive attitude toward myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Since you were 18 years old, how many times have you done the following?

	Never	Once	Two or three times	Four to nine times	10 times or more
Thrown a temper tantrum (e.g., screamed, slammed doors, and thrown things).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gotten into verbal fights or arguments with other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deliberately struck or broken objects (e.g., windows and dishes) in anger.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gotten into physical fights with other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deliberately hit another person or an animal in anger.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. How many hours do you spend on the Internet on an average day?

- 0 minute
- 1-59 minutes
- 1 hour
- 2 hours
- 3 hours
- 4 hours
- 5 hours
- 6 hours
- 7+ hours

13. Have you heard of the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) in Hong Kong?

- Yes

- b. No
14. Have you sought help from the EOC regarding racial discrimination by filing complaints, seeking legal assistance, or attending EOC's workshops?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
15. Finally, we have a few questions about your demographic status. The information will be used for statistical purposes only and will be kept strictly confidential. What is your gender?
- a. Male
 - b. Female
16. Please select your age from the following choices.
- a. 18-29 years old
 - b. 30-39 years old
 - c. 40-49 years old
 - d. 50-59 years old
 - e. 60-69 years old
 - f. 70 years old and above
17. Were you born in Hong Kong?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
18. How long have you been living in Hong Kong?
- a. Less than 1 month
 - b. 1-11 months
 - c. 1 to less than 2 years
 - d. 2 to less than 3 years
 - e. 3 to less than 4 years
 - f. 4 years or longer
19. What is your level of Cantonese fluency?
- a. I cannot understand Cantonese
 - b. Elementary level
 - c. Intermediate level
 - d. Advanced level
 - e. Fluent
20. Which of the following best describes your racial/ethnic identity? (Please choose only one)
- a. South Asian
 - b. Southeast Asian
 - c. East Asian
 - d. Middle Eastern
 - e. Black or African
 - f. Hispanic
 - g. White or Caucasian
 - h. Mixed; parents are from two different groups
 - i. Other _____

21. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
- a. Secondary education or below
 - b. Vocational level (including Diploma, Higher Diploma, and Associate degree)
 - c. Some college, no degree
 - d. A Bachelor's degree
 - e. A Master's degree
 - f. A Doctoral degree
22. What was your total monthly income from all sources before taxes last year?
- a. Less than HKD \$10,000
 - b. \$10,000 to under \$20,000
 - c. \$20,000 to under \$30,000
 - d. \$30,000 to under \$40,000
 - e. \$40,000 to under \$50,000
 - f. \$50,000 to under \$60,000
 - g. \$60,000 or more