

**Perpetual Foreigner as Pandemic Scapegoat:
Post COVID-19 Anti-Asian Racism in the United States**

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Introduction

Since the outbreak of COVID-19 in 2020, racism against Asian Americans has escalated, manifesting as verbal harassment, physical violence, and abuse. A tragic example is the Atlanta spa shootings on March 16, 2021, in which eight people were killed, six of whom were Asian women. Although the pandemic officially ended after several years, hate acts targeting Asian American communities have remained pervasive and damaging.

This phenomenon of racism and fractured communities demands critical examination from multiple perspectives, including theological reflection. In recent years, some scholarship has sought to examine and challenge anti-Asian racism in the United States theologically. These scholars have helpfully exposed and critiqued the structural and discursive forces that perpetuate racism. However, previous research has tended to focus primarily on the historical or rhetorical dimensions of these causes, while analyses from social psychology, particularly concerning the mentality underlying this specific form of racism, remain relatively underdeveloped.

This paper seeks to bridge this gap by introducing the mimetic theory of the French anthropologist René Girard into the examination of anti-Asian racism in the United States. Girard's theory provides a valuable framework for understanding the twofold vulnerability of Asian Americans during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. First, Asian Americans have often been perceived as perpetual foreigners in the United States. Second, they have been stigmatized as those responsible for bringing the pandemic into the country. This dual vulnerability exposes Asian Americans to scapegoating, as they become the group held responsible for the nation's economic decline and public health crisis during the pandemic. Asian women, moreover, experience an added layer of vulnerability arising from the intersection of racism and sexism.

This paper is organized into four parts. First, it briefly outlines racism against Asian Americans before, during, and after the COVID-19 pandemic, alongside a review of existing theological scholarship addressing this issue. Second, it introduces Girard's mimetic theory and explains its relevance to the problem of racism. Third, it applies this theoretical framework to the analysis of anti-Asian racism in recent years. Finally, it offers a theological engagement through the work of theologian James Alison, who interprets the cross and resurrection of Jesus as a means of dismantling the scapegoat mechanism. Through this analysis, the paper aims to illuminate how Christian community might contribute to healing and transformation rather than perpetuating harm.

Post-Pandemic Anti-Asian Racism Phenomenon

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the term "yellow peril" was employed to describe the migration of Asians into the United States. These immigrants "were described as being

inassimilable aliens who brought economic competition, disease, and immorality.”¹ For instance, the massive migration of Chinese workers to the United States in the late nineteenth century “were blamed for competing unfairly with white workers.”² Gary Y. Okihiro helpfully identifies fear as the core mentality underlying the “yellow peril” label: “[t]he fear, whether real or imagined, arose from the fact of the rise of nonwhite peoples and their defiance of white supremacy. And while serving to contain the other, the idea of the yellow peril also helped to define the white identity, within both a nationalist and an internationalist frame.”³ This form of yellow perilism persists today, alongside other manifestations of racism in the United States, fueled by a persistent fear that Asians threaten the job market of white Americans.

The COVID-19 outbreak exacerbated anti-Asian racism. Between March 19, 2020, and June 30, 2021, there were 9,081 reported hate incidents against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) across the United States.⁴ Of these, 63.7% involved verbal harassment, such as “COVID is all because of you!” or “Everyone in your country is spreading the virus, killing millions of people”, often laced with foul language. Physical assaults were also reported, including one of the most violent incidents: the Atlanta spa shootings on March 16, 2021, in which six Asian women were killed. Healthcare research indicates that COVID-19-related discrimination has inflicted psychological distress and mental health symptoms on targeted Asian Americans, including sleep disturbances, poor psychological and physical health outcomes, increased pain, and disability.⁵

Although the COVID-19 era has passed, anti-Asian racism persists. According to the 2024 AAPI Report on the State of Anti-AA/PI Hate, over half (53%) of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AA/PI) adults surveyed reported experiencing a hate incident due to their race, ethnicity, or nationality.⁶ The report’s title, “Still Under Fire: Relentless Racism against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in a Heated Election Year”, captures the enduring nature of this racism, even after the pandemic’s end. FBI annual hate crime statistics confirm that 2024 recorded the third-highest number of anti-Asian incidents on record, occurring at nearly three times the pre-pandemic average.⁷ The pandemic’s conclusion thus failed to halt the escalation of anti-Asian racism, demanding sustained scholarly investigation and constructive responses.

Christian theologians have addressed this issue alongside scholars from other disciplines. A prominent example is the edited volume *Embodying Antiracist Christianity*, which examines anti-Asian racism during COVID-19 across three parts: (1) diagnosing contributing factors, (2) identifying barriers to cross-racial and cross-border solidarity, and

¹ Erika Lee, ‘The “Yellow Peril” and Asian Exclusion in the Americas’, *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (2007): 537.

² Lee, ‘The “Yellow Peril” and Asian Exclusion in the Americas’, 538.

³ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (University of Washington Press, 1994), 138.

⁴ AAPI Equity Alliance, ‘New Data Shows That Asian Americans Remain Under Attack — Over 9,000 Anti-Asian Incidents Reported – AAPI Equity Alliance Website’, accessed 5 January 2026, <https://aapiequityalliance.org/new-data-shows-that-asian-americans-remain-under-attack-over-9000-anti-asian-incidents-reported/>.

⁵ Hyeouk Chris Hahm et al., ‘Perceived COVID-19-Related Anti-Asian Discrimination Predicts Post Traumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms among Asian and Asian American Young Adults’, *Psychiatry Research* 303 (September 2021): 114084.

⁶ Stop AAPI Hate, *The State of Anti-AA/PI Hate in 2024*, 2 June 2025, <https://stopaapihate.org/2025/06/02/state-of-hate-june25/>.

⁷ Asian Americans Advancing Justice, ‘Asian American Hate Incidents Remain Alarming High According to Newly Released FBI Hate Crime Data’, 5 August 2025, <https://www.advancingjustice-aajc.org/press-release/asian-american-hate-incidents-remain-alarming-high-according-newly-released-fbi>.

(3) reflecting on Asian American complicity in other forms of racism.⁸ In the first section, editors Keun-joo Christine Pae and Boyung Lee trace the historical “problematization” of Asian Americans, portraying them as perpetual threats that justified the *Page Act* and *Chinese Exclusion Act*.⁹ Yii-Jan Lin analyzes how American identification with the New Jerusalem has oppressed U.S. minorities, including Asian Americans.¹⁰ While these historical and rhetorical analyses prove valuable, they leave underdeveloped the question of how anti-Asian racist mentalities formed and intensified among the general public during the pandemic. This paper argues that René Girard’s mimetic theory offers a compelling framework for such analysis.¹¹

Mimetic Theory and Its Relevance to Racism

René Girard developed mimetic theory in the mid-twentieth century. It comprises two primary components: mimetic desire and the scapegoat mechanism. Girard argues that all human desire operates triangularly, mediated by a third party.¹² In addition to the desiring subject and the desired object stands a mediator, whose influence often remains concealed.¹³ For example, when one desires economic success, a mediator, such as wealthy individuals who possess it, invariably shapes that aspiration. Girard explains, “[t]he Mediator’s prestige is imparted to the object of desire and confers upon it an illusory value. Triangular desire is the desire which transfigures its object.”¹⁴ When sufficient distance separates the subject from the mediator (external mediation), rivalry remains minimal. Proximity, however, transforms this into internal mediation, fostering rivalry between subject and mediator. Like a contagion, desire spreads mimetically: individuals unwittingly become mediators for one another, escalating mimetic rivalries within communities and culminating in mimetic crises.¹⁵

To resolve mimetic crises within communities, the scapegoat mechanism operates unconsciously. This scapegoating mechanism is the second major component of Girard’s theory. He first distinguishes between two forms of mimesis: acquisitive and conflictual.¹⁶ Acquisitive mimesis refers to the rivalry between desiring subjects and their mediators over possession of the desired object. Conflictual mimesis emerges when this rivalry intensifies to the point that rivals forget the original object and fixate solely on their adversary.¹⁷ Attention then shifts toward identifying responsibility for the crisis, leading the community, according

⁸ Keun-Joo Christine Pae and Boyung Lee, *Embodying Antiracist Christianity: Asian American Theological Resources for Just Racial Relations*, 1st ed. 2023. (Springer Nature Switzerland, 2023).

⁹ Pae and Lee, *Embodying Antiracist Christianity*, 1–12.

¹⁰ Pae and Lee, *Embodying Antiracist Christianity*, 15–38.

¹¹ Although some studies apply Girard to anti-Asian racism, most remain nontheological. Jaeyeon Chung’s paper is an exception, yet the current essay’s integration of James Alison’s theological interpretation of the scapegoat mechanism can offer fresh resources for resistance. Paula D. McClain, ‘Crises, Race, Acknowledgement: The Centrality of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics to the Future of Political Science’, *Perspectives on Politics* 19, no. 1 (2021): 7–18; Kedi Zhao and Tracy K. Wong, ‘Conceptualizing Anti-Asian Bullying Faced by East Asian Adolescents in Canadian Schools Arising from the COVID-19 Pandemic: The Roles of Social Workers’, *International Social Work*, 31 March 2025, 0; Jaeyeon Lucy Chung, ‘When Xenophobia Spreads Like a Plague: A Critical Pastoral Theological Reflection on Anti-Asian Racism During the COVID-19 Pandemic’, *Journal of Pastoral Theology* 31, nos 2–3 (2021): 159–74.

¹² René Girard, *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), 7.

¹³ Girard, *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*, 12.

¹⁴ Girard, *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*, 17.

¹⁵ Girard, *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*, 99.

¹⁶ René Girard, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, trans. Stephen Bann and Michael Metteer (Stanford University Press, 1987), 26.

¹⁷ Girard, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, 26.

to Girard, to select an arbitrary victim as the cause.¹⁸ This victim absorbs collective rage: the community “satisfies its rage against an arbitrary victim in the unshakable conviction that it has found the one and only cause of its trouble.”¹⁹

Human sacrificial rituals across primitive societies exemplify this scapegoating process. The chosen individual is deemed responsible for societal crises and conflicts; sacrificing them restores communal harmony. Girard observes, “[t]he sacrifice is simply another act of violence, one that is added to a succession of others, but it is the final act of violence, its last word.”²⁰ Post-sacrifice reconciliation ensues, rendering the mechanism so effective that communities routinely identify replacement victims during subsequent crises.²¹

Girard’s mimetic theory has generated widespread interest across disciplines, including racism studies. Julia R. Moore highlights its strong relevance to racism, noting that the anti-Black violence and racism Girard encountered in North Carolina during the 1950s enabled him to “further form his arguments around the surrogate/scapegoat mechanism.”²² During this period, Girard observed the lynchers’ violent imaginaries, the destructive dynamics of rivalry, and the process by which scapegoats are rendered monstrous.²³ These first-hand witnesses in the Southern U.S. strengthen Girard’s formulation of mimetic desire and the scapegoating mechanism. Moore thus argues that mimetic theory effectively illuminates racist mentality, while studying racism deepens understanding of the scapegoating mechanism.²⁴ This paper builds on Moore’s insights by applying mimetic theory to analyze anti-Asian racism in the United States.

Asian Americans’ Twofold Scapegoat Vulnerabilities

Applying Girard’s mimetic theory reveals the twofold vulnerability, exacerbated during COVID-19, that renders Asian Americans prime scapegoats. First, as foreigners and community outsiders, they align with Girard’s archetype of scapegoats: “exterior or marginal individuals, incapable of establishing or sharing the social bonds that link the rest of the inhabitants.”²⁵ Such figures risk scapegoating because their deaths provoke less retaliatory violence than those of insiders.²⁶ Historical precedents abound, such as Jews during the fourteenth-century Black Death plague, scapegoated as outsiders blamed for the catastrophe.²⁷ From a white supremacist perspective, Asian Americans, as foreigners, likewise bear a “victim’s sign,” heightening their exposure to blame for social crises.²⁸

Second, Asian Americans emerged as pandemic-associated targets amid acute social disruption. COVID-19 imposed quarantines and mask mandates that upended established orders, while supply shortages triggered panic buying that stripped shelves bare. Under Girard’s mimetic theory, such rivalrous behaviors signal escalating mimetic crises.²⁹ As distinctions between rich/poor and healthy/sick dissolved, all became equally vulnerable to disease and scarcity; in Girard’s words, “the community members are transformed into

¹⁸ Girard, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, 24.

¹⁹ Girard, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, 27.

²⁰ Girard, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, 24.

²¹ Girard, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, 28.

²² Julia Robinson Moore, ‘The Frontier of Race in Mimetic Theory: American Lynchings and Racial Violence’, *Contagion: Journal of Violence, Mimesis, and Culture* 28, no. 1 (2021): 3.

²³ Moore, ‘The Frontier of Race in Mimetic Theory’, 24.

²⁴ Moore, ‘The Frontier of Race in Mimetic Theory’, 24.

²⁵ René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 12.

²⁶ Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 269.

²⁷ René Girard, *The Scapegoat*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 16.

²⁸ Girard, *The Scapegoat*, 16.

²⁹ Girard, *The Scapegoat*, 14.

‘twins’.”³⁰ Mimetic crisis thus proved inevitable, prompting scapegoat searches. Rhetoric like “Chinese virus”, coupled with debates over the disease’s origins, channeled blame toward Asian Americans, especially Chinese, as unproven perpetrators: people “lay the responsibility for real disasters on people whose activities have not been really proven to be criminal.”³¹ This constitutes Asian Americans’ second vulnerability, persisting post-COVID as unconscious scapegoating recurs and new crises (social or personal) reattribute blame to them.

Asian American women experience an additional layer of vulnerability. Data indicate disproportionate targeting: from March to October 2020 in Georgia, female Asian American victims tripled male victims.³² The Atlanta spa shootings claimed seven women among eight victims. Unlike those traditional hate crimes targeting males, anti-Asian incidents fixate on females. One of the reasons for this targeting arises from the intersectionality of racism and sexism.³³ As noted by Celine Parreñas Shimizu, Asian American women “are tied to a tradition of excessive and perverse hypersexuality in representation,” as reflected historically on screen and stage.³⁴ Common stereotypes such as the submissive “Lotus Blossom” and the seductive “Dragon Lady” turn into a restrictive binary that defines Asian American women’s racial and gendered ontology. The “Lotus Blossom” frames Asian women as passive, virginal, and self-sacrificing objects of war, while the “Dragon Lady” casts them as treacherous, cold, and predatory vixens. As Shimizu argues, this tradition of “excessive sexuality” renders them pathologically perverse “others” against white female norms, effectively stripping them of autonomous subjectivity through a “bind of representation.”³⁵ It can be deduced that both the “Lotus Blossom” and “Dragon Lady” stereotypes heighten scapegoat suitability because they portray Asian women either as vulnerable and non-retaliatory or as instruments for fulfilling the desires of white males. In either case, this heightens their scapegoat suitability.

Cross and Resurrection Depower Scapegoating

In this paper’s final section, James Alison’s theological reading of Girard’s mimetic theory will be employed to illuminate pathways for subverting anti-Asian racism. In *The Joy of Being Wrong*, Alison posits that Christ’s resurrection unveils the humanity’s predicament.³⁶ We gain access to the nature of the mess not through knowledge of Adam’s fall, but through Christ’s resurrection. The traditional view assumes that we must first recognize our predicament and then seek God’s help in Christ as the solution. In reality, however, this predicament blinds us epistemologically, making us unable to discern our true condition. Therefore, it is through Christ’s resurrection, the new possibility opened for humanity, that we come to understand how deeply entrenched our original condition is. Specifically, the risen Christ appears as the self-giving victim who forgives humanity: “the shape of his forgiveness stretches further than that, into what we are: we are humans tied into the human

³⁰ Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 79.

³¹ Girard, *The Scapegoat*, 16.

³² Stop AAPI Hate, ‘Georgia Report (3.20.20 - 10.28.20)’, accessed 6 January 2026, <https://stopaapihate.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Stop-AAPI-Hate-Report-Georgia-201228.pdf>.

³³ For the concept of intersectionality, which describes the intersection of multiple forms of oppression such as racism and sexism, see Kimberle Crenshaw, ‘Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics’, *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1, no. 8 (1989), <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>.

³⁴ Celine Parreñas Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality of Race: Performing Asian/American Women on Screen and Scene* (Duke University Press, 2007), 15.

³⁵ Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality of Race*, 16.

³⁶ James Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong: Original Sin through Easter Eyes* (Crossroad Pub. Co., 1998), 115.

reality of death.”³⁷ Through this forgiveness, humanity perceives its condition in death and sin.

This condition is aptly portrayed by the apostle Paul in Romans. In Romans 6:15-23, Paul contends that humans are either slave to sin or to righteousness, implying every “I” is “formed by our relationality with that which masters us, be it God or the sinful order following on from Adam’s sin (5:12).”³⁸ Alison calls this kind of relationality “a mimetic interdividuality,” in which the “I” is moved and formed by the “others.” If we follow the Adamic sinful order, then we imitate distorted desires that divinize what is not God. In contrast, the righteous order revealed in Christ calls us to imitate Christ. Alison discerns profound resonance between Girard’s mimetic theory and the above-mentioned Pauline anthropology. Both thinkers discuss the distorted desire and mimetic interdividuality of humanity, the way we are formed by one another. In Girard’s words, we become the “double” of our mediators. The consequence of this distorted desire is death, as revealed in the repeated scapegoating mechanism of violence. This is the meaning of “Death reigns by means of sin” (Romans 5:17), that scapegoating is the end point of distorted mimetic desire, which decisively marks all human culture.³⁹

Nevertheless, the forgiveness of the self-giving victim not only reveals the gravity of the human predicament but also opens transformative possibilities. The resurrected Christ embodies the “intelligence of the victim,” dismantling the logic of the scapegoat mechanism.⁴⁰ As a victim vindicated through resurrection, Christ exposes scapegoating as violence against the innocent, violence that need not persist. Christ’s forgiveness demonstrates alternatives to mimetic rivalry and vengeance. Christ furthermore forges a new identity and community rooted in himself, “a new unity that is not based over against any other, but receives its identity as given from the self-giving victim.”⁴¹ With walls between Jew and Gentile demolished in Christ, believers no longer define themselves against others. This Christocentric identity, marked by self-giving rather than scapegoating death, subverts the reign of scapegoating.

James Alison’s theologization of Girard’s mimetic theory equips the church to resist anti-Asian racism. As a community marked by the resurrected scapegoat, the church must vigilantly discern scapegoating mechanisms in U.S. culture and refuse complicity. Girard warns that such processes “are reproduced unconsciously, from generation to generation,” underscoring the need for deliberate awareness.⁴² In this process of resistance, Alison describes the church as an “un-foundation,” that it is not another social order secured by the expulsion of a fresh set of victims, but a community in the process of being constantly unbound from the human compulsion to found itself over against others.⁴³ The church “lives perpetually from forgiveness” and is constituted not by its own virtue but by the ongoing gratuity of the self-giving victim. This carries a sobering implication for the church’s engagement with anti-Asian racism: the appropriate response is not a form of moral triumphalism such as declaring, “we stand against racists,” which would fall into the risk of relocating the scapegoating logic onto a new target, but a posture of genuine humility rooted in the acknowledgment that the church too has been and can be complicit in the scapegoating structures it seeks to critique.

³⁷ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 118.

³⁸ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 150.

³⁹ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 118.

⁴⁰ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 82.

⁴¹ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 93.

⁴² Girard, *The Scapegoat*, 22.

⁴³ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 175. The quotation “lives perpetually from forgiveness” is drawn from Alison’s citation of J. Ratzinger at *ibid.*

Alison's ecclesiology carries direct practical implications. For him, acknowledging complicity in scapegoating is not merely a moment of intellectual clarity but a first step toward "concrete acts of solidarity" with victims.⁴⁴ The church's ongoing vocation, in his words, is one of "un-covering the presence of the Other as victim" and simultaneously "serving the victims which the old other, in ourselves and in others, constantly creates and covers."⁴⁵ It is precisely this twofold vocation, prophetic unmasking and concrete service, that grounds the two responses proposed in the following.

First, the church should reshape its preaching to expose and confront the scapegoating mentality underneath anti-Asian American racism. By embodying Christ's grace, the Christian community counters the reign of death by exposing the violence of scapegoating, manifested on the cross of Christ and in our daily lives, and by empowering contemporary victims. Kwok Pui Lan in her work *Postcolonial Politics and Theology* suggests the need for postcolonial preaching in intercultural contexts. She defines this kind of preaching as "a locally rooted and globally conscious performance that seeks to create a Third Space so that the faith community can imagine new ways of being in the world and encountering God's salvific action for the oppressed and marginalized."⁴⁶ Unlike the traditional homiletical preaching that centers on transmission of a message to the congregation, preachers in postcolonial preaching are performers who make use of liturgical texts, symbolic contexts, hymnody, Scripture, and time and space to challenge existing ideologies that shape gender, race, and class and to create a third space for the marginalized to share their stories of God's action in their midst.⁴⁷ We can employ this kind of postcolonial preaching in the effort to confront anti-Asian American racism by challenging stereotypes and creating space for victims to share their stories, both of wounding and of healing.

Second, the church has to stand in solidarity with scapegoated Asian Americans through education and advocacy. Such solidarity not only provides comfort to the victims but also functions as a collective force resisting further victimization. After the Atlanta Spa shooting tragedy, several churches in the area exhibited this kind of solidarity. For instance, Passion City Church, which is near the shooting site, held a prayer rally for the victims, and several hundred people attended and expressed collective mourning.⁴⁸ Some other Asian American church leaders organized a vigil at the shooting site, stating that the event "was intended not only to offer a space of 'healing' for the community, but also to decry the rise in hate crimes against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders over the past year."⁴⁹ These are acts of solidarity, and we need them not only in response to tragedy, but as a continued attitude and practice in the face of persistent hate crimes against Asian Americans, as shown in the statistics.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has examined anti-Asian racism in the United States through two interlocking lenses: the perpetual foreigner stereotype and the scapegoating dynamics unleashed by the COVID-19 pandemic, both analyzed through Girard's mimetic theory.

⁴⁴ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 62.

⁴⁵ Alison, *The Joy of Being Wrong*, 61.

⁴⁶ Pui-lan Kwok, *Postcolonial Politics and Theology: Unraveling Empire for a Global World*, First edition. (Westminster John Knox Press, 2021), 156.

⁴⁷ Kwok, *Postcolonial Politics and Theology*, 157–58.

⁴⁸ Maina Mwaura and Bob Smietana, 'Atlanta Churches Near Spa Attacks Pray for Victims, Community', Word&Way, 21 March 2022, <https://publicwitness.wordandway.org/embed>.

⁴⁹ Hanna Park, 'Atlanta Korean Community Is Outraged, Says Issue Isn't Actually "Complex"', NBC News, 22 March 2021, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/atlanta-korean-community-outraged-says-issue-isnt-actually-complex-rcna466>.

Together, these analyses expose the distinctive vulnerability of Asian Americans: cast as perpetual foreigners already stamped with the “victim’s sign,” and as pandemic scapegoats onto whom a nation in mimetic crisis displaced its fear and rage. For Asian American women, this vulnerability is most acutely visible, situated at the intersection of racism and sexism in ways that demand both analytical precision and pastoral care.

However, scapegoating is not inevitable, and anti-Asian racism, like all forms of racism, is not inescapable. Alison’s Girardian theology reveals the resurrection as a form of divine intelligence that exposes and dismantles the scapegoat mechanism marking Asian Americans, unveiling it as both destructive and unjust. The resurrection of the scapegoated Christ also inaugurates a new logic of community, one grounded not in the expulsion of others but in the self-giving of Christ. This Christocentric vision calls the church not simply to condemn racism in the abstract but to engage in the deeper work of discerning, unveiling, and standing in solidarity with those who continue to be scapegoated. It is hoped that this paper can provide an additional layer of understanding of the social psychology behind anti-Asian American racism and open new possibilities for imagination and practice.