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Richard Charles Lee Chair in Chinese Canadian Studies

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Ph.D., Toronto, 2002 Immigration, Asian American, U.S. & Canada, 20th century

About: Lisa Rose Mar's fascination with immigration began with her childhood as the Chinese-European daughter of Canadian immigrants to the United States. Intrigued by her family's stories of migrations from China, England, Eastern Europe, Canada, and South Africa--and puzzled by the often limited conceptions of immigrants in public school curricula--she became a story-teller of immigrant lives which cross oceans and continents. Her work joins histories of the United States, China, and Canada, as well as interdisciplinary immigration and ethnic studies.

Before accepting the Richard Charles Lee Chair in Chinese Canadian Studies, Dr. Lisa Rose Mar taught about immigrants and Asian Americans, in the past and present at the University of Maryland. Her research interests are in immigration, politics, and culture. She often employs transpacific and transnational perspectives that bring together the United States, China, and Canada.

Publications

Dr. Mar is the author of the book, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885-1945* (Oxford University Press, 2010). *Brokering Belonging* traces several generations of Chinese "brokers," ethnic leaders who acted as intermediaries between the Chinese and Anglo worlds of Canada. Before World War II, most Chinese could not vote and many were illegal immigrants, so brokers played informal but necessary roles as representatives to the larger society. Dr. Mar's study of Chinatown leaders shows how politics helped establish North America's first major group of illegal immigrants. Drawing on new Chinese language evidence, her dramatic account of political power struggles over representing Chinese Canadians offers a transnational immigrant view of history, centered in a Pacific World that joins Canada, the United States, China, and the British Empire.

Review of *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885-1945* by Lisa Rose Mar. Reviewed by Lawrence Lam.

From: *Canadian Ethnic Studies* Volume 44, Number 2, 2012 pp. 162-164 | 10.1353/ces.2012.0004 In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content:

The author has provided an engaging and insightful analysis of the pivotal roles of the Chinese brokers and how the process of brokerage has mitigated the adverse impact of Canada's racial policies on this disenfranchised group during the exclusion era, 1885-1945. Drawing upon various sources of documents, especially the underutilized Chinese language historical documents such as the Chinese language newspapers, the author shows how these Chinese brokers with their acquired Chinese and English capability, acting as leaders and intermediaries, operated, navigated, and negotiated with the Anglo constituencies. These interactions and transactions revealed that the politics of the Anglo and Chinese worlds were inextricably linked. The Chinese did not merely and passively react to the discriminatory policies and practices. Instead, in their responses to the largely anti-Chinese era, they took action to shape and re-shape their own immediate living milieu and the surrounding society. The examination of these brokers' work shows that in spite of being defined and redefined by the Anglo hegemony as a uniquely Chinese race, marginalized and stigmatized inferior stock living in an ethnic ghetto, these brokers displayed ingenuity in responding actively to the "politically complex Anglo of prejudice" and reinserting "Chinese Canadians as part of a more integrated political history" (6). The author's analysis has also raised questions about the depiction of the Chinese as sojourners which should have been indelibly linked to European hegemony in an Anglo settler society.

Brokering Belonging is composed of five chapters.

Chapter 1—Negotiating Protections—documents the rivalry of two influential Chinese brokers and how they help the Chinese immigrants to evade the head tax by forming alliances with Canada's ruling political party.

Chapter 2—Arguing Cases—demonstrates these brokers, while being barred from practicing law, acted as "Chinese legal interpreters" in cases contending the discriminatory laws and justice system and appealing to the Canadian and British Empire courts for reification.

Chapter 3—Popularizing Politics—examines the emerging new generation of Chinese brokers (charismatic brokers who're intellectuals, labor leaders and civil rights activists) and how they, in addition to challenging the power of the traditional merchant brokers and legal interpreters, organized a year-long protest against the public school segregation and joined forces with other anti-colonial protests against the British colonialism in China and India. While the activities and organized and co-coordinated protests of these new Chinese had provoked backlashes from some Chinese and Anglo business leaders and elites, they had, nonetheless, effectively brought ordinary people into brokerage politics.

Chapter 4—Fixing Knowledge—provides a fascinating analysis of how these brokers managed to portray the Chinese as committed and dedicated to become settled and assimilated into the wider society. It reveals vividly how these new intellectual brokers attempted to reshape and reconstruct the discourse about the Chinese in Canada and the United States by taking an active role in the very first major academic survey of East Asian Immigrants' opinion in 1924 conducted by Robert Park, Chicago School of Sociology, University of Chicago. These brokers organized in a community campaign to strategically place themselves as interviewees for the study, and successfully convinced the researchers to see the Chinese, not as sojourners *per se*, but as "a patient and diligent model minority" (8) and as "tragic marginal men" (8).



Dr. Lisa Mar

Chapter 5—Transforming Democracy—examines the brokers' continuing negotiations and interactions with Anglos during the Second World War. With the unpopular war policies, contested issue of conscriptions, the brokers lobbied and mobilized Chinese Canadians to take part in the Canadian labor unions. By joining forces with other labor unions to protest tax regulations and to demand equal pay, and to boycott military services, the combined efforts have resulted in persuading the Canadian labor unions to combat racial discrimination, and with the political changes in China (the rise of political power of the Communist Party), a new era of Chinese Canadians—aliens to citizens—was on the horizon.

For those academic researchers interested race relations, ethnic studies, ethnic communities, and those interested in taking a critical look at the history of Chinese settlement in Canada in which different classes and sectors interact, interpret and manage their identity and the social construction of the vision and...

Current Research: Dr. Mar is currently working on two book projects related to Chinese immigrants: a study of Second World War experiences, and a history of Chinese American religious life. Dr. Mar has published articles relating to transpacific Chinese migration history, domestic violence in immigrant contexts, comparative U.S.-Canadian history, and immigrant family life. She is also involved in a digital initiative to document Maryland's immigrant history. She has held several prestigious fellowships, among them an Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship and The Queen's Fellowship of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

Teaching Interests Dr. Lisa Rose Mar taught at the University of Maryland about immigrants and Asian Americans, in the past and present. Her research interests are in immigration, politics, and culture. She often employs transpacific and transnational perspectives that bring together the United States, China, and Canada.

Selected Publications

Asian Canada: An "Alternate Asian America"?

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Lisa R. Mar

The history of Asians and Pacific Islanders in Canada closely resembles that of the United States. Indeed, Canada can be seen as both within Asian Pacific American history and beyond it. The two nations share a closely-related culture, society and politics. Despite their similar paths, their histories diverge as well. At times they follow parallel paths. Other times they take different forks in the road. To what extent are they similar and why do they differ? How can we reconcile evidence of common history with international variation?

As source material, this essay draws upon published scholarship in the field and the author's research. In the early 20th century, scholars often examined links within Asian North American experiences as a matter of course, though very few scholars published studies about Asians in Canada at that time.[1] During the past twenty-five years, Asian Canadian history has blossomed. Numerous community histories have been published in English, along with a growing number of academic monographs. These works provide reference points for exploring the relationship between the two nations.

Shared Histories, Greater Visibility

Because of Canada's proximity to the US, the history of Asian immigration closely resembles American patterns. However, Canada's Asian population is more visible than its US equivalent. In 2001, Asians numbered 9.4% of Canada's population, 2.8 million out of 29.7 million.[2] This is double the percentage of Asian Pacific Islander Americans. They comprised only 4.5% of the US population, 12.8 million out of 281.4 million in 2000.[3] At present, half of Canada's recent immigrants are from Asia, compared with a quarter of those in the US. Asian Canadians also have been more "visible" because of Canada's historically less diverse population. In the 19th and early 20th century, Canada had many fewer Blacks, Latinos, Southern Europeans and Eastern Europeans than the United States. Unlike the United States where African Americans were a major focus, racial discrimination in Canada tended to develop on regional lines, with a patchwork of laws and informal practices targeted at specific minorities in particular locales. As a result, Asian Canadians have held a prominent position in the history of Canadian race relations. The prominence of Asians in Canada continues into the early 21st century. In Canada today, Asians are the largest racial minority population, with Native Indians second, and African Canadians a distant third.[4]

First Wave: Sojourners and Settlers in the West

Starting in 1858, Asian mass migration to Canada's West Coast followed a similar pattern to that of the United States, with male laborers from China, Japan and India arriving in thousands in the late 19th and early 20th century.[5] Many Canadians desired Asians as useful temporary workers and providers of services, but felt more ambivalent about the possibility of their permanent settlement.[6] Asians became prized as workers whose wage competition could be used to tame restive European workers in the lumber, mining, fishery, railways and agriculture industries.

Hawaiians, who began arriving in the 1820s to work in the Fur Trade, were the precursors to Asian labor migration. The presence of these Hawaiians, called Kanakas, has been documented from British Columbia to as far east as Thunder Bay, Ontario on Lake Superior, as well as in the US Pacific Northwest.[7] Since the Fur Trade, Pacific Islander migration to Canada has been negligible so this essay will focus on Asians.[8]

The 1858 Cariboo Gold Rush in British Columbia attracted a wave of Chinese from California and China. Chinese workers, many from the U.S., built the transcontinental railroad through the Canadian Rockies from 1875 to 1885. After, Chinese arrived to work in the forests, canneries, mines, farms, ethnic retail, and service industries. Chinese men in Canada also entered "feminized" occupations—laundrymen, cafe owners, cooks and servants. A few more fortunate Chinese became successful entrepreneurs with European, Native and Asian clients, but most Chinese in B.C. remained workers. Lastly it should be noted that the Chinese population also included a small number of businessmen, students, religious leaders, political exiles, women and children.[9] The completion of the railway however, enabled easier British settlement, sealing British Columbia's destiny as a European province.

In 1885, thousands of Japanese immigrants arrived. They worked mainly on farms, in lumber mills, canneries and railways, though like the Chinese a number eventually established their own farms and other ethnic enterprises. Many Japanese only passed through Canada on their way to the United States. Thousands also came from Hawaii, pushed by planter attempts to depress wages.[10] The Japanese migrants included both sojourners and settlers. Those who stayed arranged marriages by mail and brought their "picture brides" to Canada where they established families.[11] Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese were universally literate. Once women arrived, families became treasured. Japanese and Chinese Canadian children assimilated rapidly, though racial prejudice constrained their adult horizons to their parents' limited occupations.[12]

From 1904 to 1908, thousands of Asian Indians from the Punjab came to British Columbia. One half were former British military veterans and policemen familiar with British culture. The other half came straight from rural India. Most headed to the United States. Many of those

who stayed in Canada found work in lumber mills. The majority were bachelor men, some with families in India. They lived in all-male boarding houses, with local Sikh Temples as their most important community centers. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Canada admitted a few wives and children of early immigrants, enabling a kernel of family life.[13]

All three Asian communities established a flourishing ethnic press, a variety of unions and political parties, and relations with their neighbors. Canadian scholars have examined these early communities as both Asian Diasporas and Canadian immigrant settlements. Still, much remains to be discovered about their lives, their social relationships and their ties to Asian places of origin. Gender, religion, class and youth experiences also could be further examined. A more copious literature examines racism in Asian-White relations. Alas, scholars know much less about how Asians interacted as members of the multiethnic communities in which they lived. Fortunately studies are in progress.[14]

Interethnic Relations: Antagonisms and Alliances

All three Asian groups—Chinese, Japanese and Asian Indians—were part of migrations that extended to America as well. Indeed, many British Canadians viewed them as part of the same menace. Union leaders denounced Asians as threats to white workers' standard of living. Social reformers and the popular media branded Chinese and Asian Indians as immoral, diseased, perpetually foreign, while intimating that Asian immigration would lead to Asian "conquest" of the province. While Chinese and Indians were scorned, many white British Columbians saw Japanese as "the British of Asia" and feared their supposed superior abilities.[15]

Canada's British political system though created a different legal structure for discrimination than the United States. Shortly after British Columbia joined Canada in 1871, the provincial legislature disenfranchised Chinese and Native Indians, the majority of the population in 1875. Other Asian groups lost the right to vote in turn: Japanese in 1895 and Asian Indians in 1907.[16] The voting ban was racial. Neither Asians born in Canada nor those who became Canadian citizens could vote. At the time, Canada had no constitutional Bill of Rights so court challenges to discrimination repeatedly failed in the 19th and early 20th century. Not until popular opinion changed after the Second World War did Canadian minorities successfully use the courts to overturn discrimination.[17]

Canada's early immigration policies towards Asians resembled those in the United States and Australia. In response to Asian immigration, Canada enacted severe restrictions that were not repealed until after the Second World War. Formal racial equality in immigration policy was not achieved until 1967.[18] In 1885, a U.S.-style exclusion law was not deemed feasible due to British Imperial relations with China, so the Canadian government instead instituted a deterrent: a head tax of \$50 per entering Chinese, which was soon increased to \$500. In 1924 Canada banned Chinese immigration outright. The head tax discouraged Chinese women and children, but not Chinese men. Thousands arrived and many crossed illegally into the United States. [19]

Canada's role as a point of entry for Chinese and Indian immigrants to America caused controversy. In 1907, a mob of angry white workers expelled several hundred Asian Indians from Bellingham, Washington. The Indians fled over the Canadian border. Shortly afterward whites in Vancouver, BC protested for a "white Canada" then rioted, damaging Vancouver's Chinatown and Japantown. After the riot, Canada and Japan made a Gentleman's Agreement to reduce the immigration of Japanese laborers.[20] The federal government also passed a regulation in 1908 that barred Asian immigrants unless they had traveled via "continuous journey" from their homeland. This policy stopped the flow of Japanese from Hawaii and barred all immigrants from India. To challenge the "continuous journey" policy, Gurdit Singh chartered a boat, the *Komagata Maru*, to bring 372 immigrants directly from India to Canada. Canada forced the *Komagata Maru* back to sea. The migration of Asian Indians would not resume until India won independence in 1947, though to appease public opinion within India, Canada permitted a small number of wives and children of Indians already in Canada to come in the 1920s and 1930s.[21]

Asians' presence as members of their communities also resulted in alliances. For example, Asian Indian military veterans found their British counterparts were sometimes sympathetic. On an individual ad-hoc basis, Japanese, Chinese and Native Indians cooperated in business and as workers even though they could also be competitors. Missionaries brought contact with white society.[22] Living in the same neighborhoods could create friendships among members of different ethnic groups, though relationships often varied by gender, age, and class. Sports such as baseball, soccer and field hockey provided a "level playing field" for players and spectators alike in an otherwise segregated society.[23] Chinese also co-habited with Native Indians, creating a tradition of shared Chinese-Native heritage. [24]

Despite alliances, antagonisms prevailed at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. In early 1942, the Canadian government sent all Japanese adult males from the West Coast to work on remote road camps. Those who refused were treated as "prisoners of war." Japanese Canadian women and children were then interned separately in B.C. interior ghost towns. Japanese Canadians were not permitted to return to the West Coast until 1949, so many never returned to BC.[25] Historians have debated reasons for Japanese Canadian internment, arguing that West Coast racist pressures, a desire to have "mutual hostages" to exchange for Japan's Canadian prisoners, and US influence played a role. Though security reasons were often cited at the time, no substantial evidence has been found of a Japanese Canadian security threat. In addition, under duress while interned, 10,000 Japanese Canadians of the total 22,000 interned had agreed that they would be repatriated to Japan. After the war, civil libertarians mounted a struggle against Japanese Canadian deportation, which was only partially successful.[26]

Late 20th Century: Race, Rights & Recognition

While the history of early Asian migration and anti-Asian racism in Canada appears similar to the United States, events in the postwar era would be remarkably different. Due to Canada's distinctive society, campaigns for domestic human rights and ethnic equality took an entirely different shape than in the US. Only in 1982 did Canada adopt a constitution guaranteeing human rights. Before constitutional guarantees of ethnic equality, parliament and the provinces could both establish rights and take them away. Defending Japanese Canadians against deportation became a signature event in the early development of human rights struggles in Canada. Also, many ethnic groups and organized labor combined to win the Asian franchise in B.C., to pass laws against discrimination, and to lobby against racial bias in immigration. Immigration advanced the cause of human rights as well. Great numbers of Southern and Eastern Europeans arrived after the Second World War, further diversifying the population. However, the geography of racial and ethnic issues continued to be regionally fragmented, so no one minority group became the public standard bearer for the cause.[27]

French-English relations also strongly influenced the shape of future ethnic politics and identities in Canada. Particularly, the French Canadian "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s helped shape the context for other ethnic movements. [28] When Canada instituted official biculturalism, other ethnic groups demanded to be acknowledged as well. As result, Canada started a multiculturalism policy in 1971. This policy encouraged voluntary private retention of ethnic cultures while stressing that French and English would be the official national languages. Public embrace of multiculturalism prompted a flourishing of community arts and writing, as well as the production of a considerable number of ethnic histories. The symbolism of the policy instigated fierce debate among critics about whether it went too far

in embracing an assimilation-oriented ethos. However, even after the flourishing of multiculturalism, social scientists have found that Canadian immigrants assimilated as rapidly as their U.S. counterparts. Canadian immigrants also ranked higher on measures such as civic participation and living in ethnically integrated settings. [29] In late 20th century Canadian culture, Asians, Blacks and European ethnics appeared mainly as "immigrant" groups.[30] As in the past, race continued to be salient, but it operated in a profoundly different political context than in the United States.

"Asian Canadian" as an intellectual and artistic identity unfolded in parallel with Asian American identities in the 1970s and 1980s, but pan-Asian frameworks were not as widely adopted in Canada. From the start, members of the Asian Canadian and Asian American movements directly interacted, a pattern that has continued today. Asian Canadians participated in the Asian American movement, interacted with the Asian American arts scene, and created parallel literary networks, most notably, the Asian Canadian Writers' Workshop in Vancouver and *The Asianadian Magazine* in Toronto. Over time the US and Canadian movements sharply diverged. Asian Canadian networks continued but the identity of "Asian Canadian" lacked institutional support and broad adoption.[31] For example, the Asian Canadian Symposium at the Learned's, Canada's annual gathering of scholarly conferences, met in the 1970s and 1980s. It then discontinued meeting, apparently because of lack of funds.[32] As Asian American and Asian Canadian movements' first impulse faded in the 1980s, *The Asianadian* folded. Pan-Asian identity continued to be a minority position among Chinese Canadians. [33]

At present, "Asian Canadian" as a category has not become a race-based political force, nor has any equivalent to Asian American Studies emerged. In Canada, policy makers have favored ethnicity as a category of political accounting. Race-based categories such as the U.S. vision of an "Asian" race have been far from inevitable social constructs for Canadian Asians' individual or group identity. Consequently, Asian Canadian history has mainly been studied within the broader rubrics of Canadian immigration and Asian studies.[34] It is questionable whether an Asian race-focused approach to inquiry about Asian Canadian ethnic groups will emerge as a dominant focus.[35]

At present, intra-ethnic struggles over identity often have been a more prominent theme within Canadian historical scholarship than "Asian Canadian" as a category of analysis about Asians themselves.[36] Pan-Asian networks of writers, artists, performers and professionals have influenced the arts and community heritage celebrations.[37] However, pan-Asian paradigms have had minimal political and scholarly impact on Canada as a whole.

Immigration is the greatest factor in shaping contemporary Asian Canada. In 1967, Canada changed its laws to admit all immigrants under non-discriminatory policies of merit and family reunion. Since then millions of Asians have arrived from East Asia, South Asia, the Philippines, Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean. New arrivals from the South Asia Diaspora have made Toronto a major center of South Asian literature, culture and the arts. Initially, South Asians in the 1970s and 1980s experienced hostility due to their race and religions; however they became more accepted over time. Toronto and Vancouver have also grown to be major Chinese centers in North America. Winnipeg boasts the largest number of Filipinos in the nation. Following the Vietnam War, South East Asian Refugees have settled in both English and French Canada. Many other refugees also have arrived from South East, South and Central Asia. Also, starting in the 1980s, programs to attract "investor" immigrants have garnered large numbers of well-off immigrants from Hong Kong, China, Taiwan and the Philippines. Immigrant capital and political power have since reshaped Toronto's and Vancouver's urban landscape, though not without controversy. Filipinos also came in large numbers to work at both ends of the class spectrum: from medical professionals to live-in caregivers. The sheer number of immigrants has led to distinct public perceptions of each major ethnic group—Chinese, South Asians and Filipinos—so it is difficult to generalize about a common contemporary Asian Canadian experience.[38]

By the late 20th century, Asians had reached the highest echelons of Canadian government, business and society. In 1999, Adrienne Clarkson, a Chinese refugee, became Governor General, the ceremonial head of state and Queen's Representative in Canada. Vivienne Poy was the first Chinese Canadian Senator in 1998. Many Asian Canadians have been elected to Parliament from parties across the political spectrum. The following have served as Cabinet Ministers: Herb Dhaliwal, Raymond Chan, Rey Pagtakhan, and Hedy Fry. Rahim Jaffer also served as interim Deputy Leader for the Canadian Alliance Party. Ujjal Dosanjh was Premier of British Columbia from 2000 to 2001. Asian Canadian men and women hold prominent roles in the media as well. For example, Ian Hanomansing, an Indo Caribbean Canadian, anchors the CBC early evening news. David Suzuki, a Japanese Canadian internee, is now Canada's most popularly recognized scientist and conservationist. Now that Asians are nearly a tenth of Canada's population, their prominence is likely to continue.

Asian Canada & Asian America as Sister Societies

What can scholars of Asian Pacific Canada and America learn from each other? Once the major differences and similarities are charted, the exchange can open up new vistas on familiar issues, giving research themes in both fields a more international, comparative focus. For example, the Canadian data suggests that much about early Asian migrations should be interpreted as part of a broader international pattern that involved both immigrant choices and white settler responses. The different emphases of the U.S. and Canadian fields regarding this era also highlight the broad historical contingencies that influenced each country. The Canadian field is substantially more closely integrated with immigration studies and Asian studies, with considerable strength in gender, interethnic relations, and Asian-language research about Asian Canadians. The Asian American field brings a copious published scholarship that analyzes race and examines many facets of U.S. Asian groups' experiences.[39] To an extent, each field's emphases complement each other.

Above all, the case of Canada and America shows how Asian Pacific North America can be examined as simultaneously global, local and nationally-specific. Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe and Australia offer similar sites of analysis, though U.S.-Canada links have the virtue of relative accessibility.[40] Knowing enough about both contexts to draw meaningful conclusions is a necessary first step. With background, we can discover links that enlarge Asian Pacific ethnic history. We can also explore the divergences that can show both countries' choices in a new light.

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Endnotes

- [1] Lisa R. Mar, "From Diaspora to North American Civil Rights: Chinese Canadian Ideas, Identities and Brokers in Vancouver, British Columbia, 1924-1960." PhD. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2002, 105.
- [2] Statistics Canada, "Ethnocultural Portrait of Canada, Highlight Tables, Provinces and Territories, Selected Ethnic Origins, for Canada, Provinces and Territories, 20% Sample Data," Date Modified: Jan. 18, 2003, <http://www.statcan.ca>, (June 10, 2004). Statistics Canada would also count West Asians (persons from the Middle East) as "Asian" but for reasons of comparison with American definitions of "Asian Pacific Islander" as a category, I have excluded them from this count. My figures include only Canadian ethnic groups with total response counts of 15,000 or more on the 2001 Census. No Pacific Islander group in Canada met these criteria.
- [3] U.S. Census Bureau. American Fact Finder. "DP-1: Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000," <http://factfinder.census.gov>, (June 11, 2004).
- [4] Statistics Canada, "Visible Minority Groups, 2001 Counts for Canada, Provinces and Territories, 20% Sample Data," Date Modified: March 30, 2004, <http://www.statcan.ca>, (June 10, 2004).
- [5] Anthony B. Chan, *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983); Harry Con, Ronald J. Con, Graham Johnson, Edgar Wickberg & William E. Willmott, ed. by Edgar Wickberg, *From China to Canada: A History of Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart in association with the Multiculturalism Program, Department of the Secretary of State, and the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1982); Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: Published by McClelland & Stewart for the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Assoc., 1976); Toyo Takata, *Nikkei Legacy: The Story of Japanese-Canadians from Settlement to Today*. (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1983); Buchignani, Norman, Doreen M. Indra, with Ram Srivastava. *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada*. (Toronto:

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[6] Canadian nativism has been extensively studied by historians, far more than the experiences and viewpoints of the early immigrants themselves. See: Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Patricia Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989); Patricia Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-1941* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003); Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia*. 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.); Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, James Morton, *In the Sea of Sterile Mountains: The Chinese in British Columbia* (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1974); Norman Buchignani and Doreen Indra with Ram Srivastava, *Continuous Journey*; Con et. al, *From China to Canada*; Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*; Chan, *Gold Mountain*.

[7] Tom Koppel, *Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*. Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1995, 41, 139.

[8] Pacific Islander migration to Canada has been very limited. Unlike the US, Canada did not have a Pacific Empire from which to attract Pacific Islander migrants, so aside from South Asians arriving from Fiji there have been few Pacific Islander arrivals.

[9] Chan, *Gold Mountain*; Con et. al, *From China to Canada*; Peter S. Li, *The Chinese in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998).

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[10] Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 67-68.

[11] Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*; Takata, *Nikkei Legacy*; Tomoko Makabe, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985).

[12] Charles H. Young & Helen R.Y. Reid, *The Japanese Canadians, with a second part on Oriental standards of living by W.A. Carrothers*; edited by H.A. Innis. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939.

[13] Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 2,4-5,6; . Jagpal, *Becoming Canadians: Pioneer Sikhs in Their Own Words* (Maderia Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1994),18.

[14] Patricia E. Roy, "Active Voices: A Third Generation of Studies of the Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 117, Spring 1998, 51-61.

[15] Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*; Buchignani et. al, *Continuous Journey*; Roy, *A White Man's Province*; Roy, *The Oriental Question*; Ward, *White Canada Forever*; Mona Margaret Pon, "Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in Jack Canuck," in *Gender and History in Toronto:Canada*, ed. Mark Rosenfeld and Joy Parr (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996); Lisa R. Mar, "The Tale of Lin Tee: Madness, Family Violence, and Lindsay's Anti-Chinese Riot of 1919," in *Sisters or Strangers?: Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, ed. Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta and Frances Swyripa (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 108-129; John David Meehan, "From Ally to Menace: Canadian Attitudes and Policies Towards Japanese Imperialism, 1929-1939," PhD. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000.

[16] Adachi, *The Enemy Who Never Was*, 41; Jagpal, *Becoming Canadian*, 23-24.

[17] Constance Backhouse, *Constance. Colour-coded : A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950*. (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History by University of Toronto Press, 1999); James W. St. G. Walker, "Race," *Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada : Historical Case Studies* (Waterloo, Ont.: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History : Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997.)

[18] Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Debates and Issues* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003) 17-37.

[19] Con et. al., *From China to Canada*; Roy, *A White Man's Province*; Ward, *White Canada Forever*.

[20] Patricia Roy, *A White Man's Province*, 185-226; W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 53-76; Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 63-85; Jane Singh, "The Gadar Party: Political Expression in an Immigrant Community" in *Asian American Studies: A Reader*, ed. Jean Yu-Wen Shen Wu & Min Song (New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers UP, 2000), 40-42.

[21] Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru*; Joan M. Jensen, *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press) 121-138.

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[23] Jagpal, *Becoming Canadian*, 122-123; Jacquelyn Gretsinger, "A Level Playing Field", Radio Documentary, *The Afternoon Show*, CBC Radio British Columbia, 1999.

[24] Lily Chow's *Sojourners in the North* contains accounts of Chinese-Native and Chinese-White families in Prince George area (Prince George, BC: Caitlin Press, 1996), 6, 108-11, 224-225. (Also noted by Roy, "Active Voices", 54-55.)

[25] Mona Gail Oikawa, "Driven to Scatter Far and Wide: The Forced Resettlement of Japanese Canadians to Southern Ontario, 1944-1949," M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1986; Mona Gail Oikawa, "Cartographies of Violence: Women, Memory and the Subject(s) of the 'Internment,'" Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1999.

[26] Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*; Takata, *Nikkei Legacy*; Patricia Roy, *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese During the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Anthony W. Rasporich, "Ethnicity in Canadian Historical Writing 1970-1990," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*, ed J.W. Berry and J.A. Laponce (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); "From Racism to Redress: the Japanese Canadian Experience," Canadian Race Relations Foundation, http://www.crr.ca/en/MediaCentre/FactSheets/eMedCen_FacShtFromRacismToRedress.htm (June 20, 2004).

- [27] Backhouse, Colour Coded; Walker, "Race", Rights and the Supreme Court of Canada; Ross Lambertson, "Activists in the Age of Rights: The Struggle for Human Rights in Canada, 1945-1960." Ph.D. diss., University of Victoria, 1998; Mar, "From Diaspora to North American Civil Rights"; Carmela Patrias and Ruth A. Frager, "'This is Our Country, These Are Our Rights': Minorities and Origins of Ontario's Human Rights Campaigns," *Canadian Historical Review* 82:1 (March 2001): 1-35; Stephanie D. Bangarth "'We are not asking you to open wide the gates for Chinese immigration': The Committee for the Repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act and Early Human Rights Activism in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 84:3 (September 2003): 395-422.; Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*; Con et. al, *From China to Canada*; Buchignani et. al., *Continuous Journey*.
- [28] For general overview of the history of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, refer to Paul-Andre Linteau, Rene Durocher & Jean-Claude Robert with Franois Ricard, *Quebec Since 1930* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1991).
- [29] Rasporich, "Ethnicity in Canadian Historical Writing," 152-178. The most notable set of community histories produced at this time was the Generations series, published by McClelland and Stewart under the auspices of Multiculturalism Canada, which resulted in a large number of monographs of varying quality about European and Asian immigrants in Canada. Many European ethnics had received little past attention under assimilation-oriented models of inquiry, so the development of ethnic studies in Canada blossomed along ethnic, rather than racial lines. The Generations series includes the definitive study of Japanese Canadians, Toronto reporter Ken Adachi's *The Enemy That Never Was*, the excellent Buchignani et. al.'s *Continuous Journey*, and one of the best joint academic-community studies of Chinese in North America, Con et. al.'s *From China to Canada*. On debates about Canadian multiculturalism, see Jeffrey G. Reitz and Raymond Breton, *The Illusion of Difference: Realities of Ethnicity in Canada and the United States* (Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute, 1994); Peter S Li, *Destination Canada*, 134-135; Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford, 1998), 15-24; Anthony B. Chan, *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), 183; Martin Loney, "A Political Economy of Citizen Participation," in *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*, ed. Leo Panitch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 456, cited in Chan, *ibid*; Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto: Penguin, 2002); Richard Gwyn, *Nationalism without Walls: the Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1996); Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*.
- [30] Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way*, 78-80.
- [31] Lisa R. Mar, "The Asian Canadian Movement," article in progress, 2004. Anthony Chan, *Gold Mountain*, 187-197; Anthony Chan, "The *Asianadian*: History, Mission & Vision, Content Analysis," <http://faculty.washington.edu/chanant/asianadian/addendum/history.html>, June 20, 2004; A. Chan, "The *Asianadian*: R&D, Product Line, Leadership and Organization," <http://faculty.washington.edu/chanant/asianadian/addendum/collective.html>, June 20, 2004; A. Chan, "The *Asianadian*: Conceptual Framework, Research Question," <http://faculty.washington.edu/chanant/asianadian/addendum/research.html>, June 20, 2004.
- [32] Victor Ujimoto, one of the Asian Canadian Symposium organizers, gave the reason for discontinuing the Asian Canadian Symposium as "lack of funds." Author's conversation with Asian Canadian Symposium organizer Victor Ujimoto, Association for Asian American Studies Conference, Toronto, Canada, March 21, 2001.
- [33] With the lessening of the political ferment of the 1970s, Asian North American culture was no longer what it once was. A. Chan, "The *Asianadian*: History, Mission & Vision, Content Analysis"; Ng points out though that pan-Asian identities were however a minority position among Chinese in Vancouver. Wing Chung Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80 : the Pursuit of Identity and Power* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).
- [34] The recent feminist anthology, *Sisters or Strangers?: Immigrant, Ethnic and Racialized Women in Canadian History* edited by Epp, Iacovetta and Swyripa, gives an example of how Canadian ethnic history tends to integrate the study of Asians, Blacks and European immigrants within similar thematic queries.
- [35] Very recent books in English that address Asian Canadian and Asian American history together and the anthologies following have mainly U.S. content, Josephine Lee, Imogene Lim & Yuko Matsukawa, eds., *Recollecting Early Asian America: Essays in Cultural History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002); Patricia Wong Hall and Victor M. Hwang, *Anti-Asian Violence in North America: Asian American and Asian Canadian Reflections on Hate, Healing and Resistance* (NY: Altamira Press, 2001). While cross-border inquiry is more common in literary studies, here too the number of comparative studies is small, despite the presence of a number of creative writing anthologies that encompass both countries. Eleanor Rose Ty, *Asian North American Identities: Beyond the Hyphen* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004); Rocio G. Davis, *Transcultural Reinventions: Asian American and Asian Canadian Short-Story Cycles* (Toronto: TSAR Publications, 2001); Sunaira Maira, ed. *Contours of the Heart: South Asians Map North America* (Asian American Writers' Workshop, 1996); Terry Watada, ed. *Collected Voices: An Anthology of Asian North American Periodical Writing* (HpF Press, 1997); Walter K. Lew, *Premonitions: The Kaya Anthology of New Asian North American Poetry*. (NY: Kaya Productions, 1995); Cyril Dabydeen, *Another Way to Dance: Contemporary Asian Poetry from Canada and the United States* (Toronto: TSAR Publications, 1996).
- [36] For example, Kamala E. Nayar, *The Sikh Diaspora in Vancouver: Three Generations Amidst Tradition, Modernity & Multiculturalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver*; Tomoko Makabe, *The Canadian Sansei* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).
- [37] "Asian Canadian" as a category continues to be salient in community arts networks. Starting in 1994, Asian Canadian activists started celebrating "Asian Heritage Month" in Toronto. It is now celebrated in many Canadian cities, including an especially elaborate annual program in Vancouver. More information on Asian Canadian arts activities can be found in the nationally distributed magazine, *Ricepaper Online*, whose website is here: <http://www.ricepaperonline.com/index.html>. The Asian American organization, NAAAP (US Name: National Association of Asian American Professionals; Canadian Name: North American Association of Asian Professionals) has also established Canadian branches that sponsor heritage events in addition to business activities. For more information, see <http://www.naaap.org>.
- [38] For an overview of the Canadian "points system" and recent immigration policies, see Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 358-360 and Peter Li, *Destination Canada*, 17-37.
- [39] The American field is much larger, so it offers a wide range of works which can be consulted beyond the indicated emphases, as noted by the other authors' essays on this website.
- [40] See for example: Tseen-Ling Khoo, *Banana Bending: Asian-Australian and Asian-Canadian Literatures* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) and Paul A. Singh Ghurman, *Coping with Two Cultures: British Asian and Indo-Canadian Adolescents* (Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, 1993).

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Established with a \$4 million anonymous donation and housed within the renowned Canadian Studies program at University College, the Richard Charles Lee Chair in Chinese Canadian Studies will be held by a rising star who will define the growing and dynamic field, said UC Principal Donald Ainslie. He added the Chair will enhance understanding of issues facing Chinese Canadians, as well as patterns of Canadian immigration, integration, multiculturalism, and belonging. The announcement of the Chair follows the establishment of the Asian Canadian Studies undergraduate minor program at UC earlier th Editors, Charles P. Chen, Wendy Lee as Want to Read: Want to Read savingâ€¦| Want to Read.Â This book examines a research study that describes the critical interaction between ethnicity and career development in lives of Chinese-Canadian young adults. Through an empirical inquiry following a qualitative research framework, the book provides an in-depth foundation for the scarcely researched area of career development of Chinese-Canadians, engendering original new This book examines a research study that describes the critical interaction between ethnicity and career development in lives of Chinese-Canadian young adults.