

**Asian Minorities in Canada:
Focusing on Chinese and Japanese People**

by

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Abstract

Canada consists of immigrants from all over the world - and it creates diverse cultures in one society. Among them, Asian immigrants from China and Japan have especially experienced many difficulties in the early period. However, they overcame those obstacles and are now spend their lives in the new land. How Chinese and Japanese minorities created their lives from the early period to present interests me because I am also a member of a minority, as a Korean resident in Japan. Also, I would like to examine how the policy of multiculturalism has contributed to the lives of those minorities in Canada.

This thesis looks at the period of the early immigrants from China and Japan before World War II, and how they have created a new life in a new land far from their home countries. I also look

briefly at the history of multiculturalism and how multiculturalism
functions in Canada.

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Introduction

Canada's Diverse Ethnic Groups

Canada is regarded as one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world and has been called the nation of "the ethnic mosaic". Another country in North America, the United States, whose population also consists of immigrants from many countries, is called "the nation of the racial melting pot". The difference between the two nations in terms of the relationship of various ethnic groups and the government is that the Canadian government more positively allows people in the country to maintain and live in their own cultures brought from their home countries.

In order to distinguish them further, Canada's 1971 multiculturalism policy initiated by the Trudeau government cannot be ignored. The policy tolerates people possessing many different cultures, even though it may face some serious issues on accepting "other things". There are many ethnic groups around this country and many particular communities. Take the city of Toronto, said to be "Little Canada", for example. Many ethnic villages exist everywhere in the city, and many different languages can be heard on every street. Toronto would never stand out without those villages, which double the attractiveness of the city.

According to Ramsey Cook, one of the co-authors of Canada: A Modern Study, "...Instead hard work, careful thought, and tolerance were the ingredients that went into the building of the country."¹ Indeed, the Canadian government has accepted many immigrants from the world over, but at the same time, the government met many conflicts between those members. In other words, the history of Canada can be said to be a history of both toleration and conflicts between majority and minority. The members were called "immigrants" in the first place; they have become "minorities" after the first generation entered the country despite numerous barriers.

The government of Canada started to accept more immigrants from all over the world in 1896 when Sir Wilfrid Laurier from the Liberal Party became the Prime Minister in the same year. At that time, the Laurier government wanted to reclaim the western land, and the government needed to have more people to do so. Since then, immigrants from Britain and France as well as many other immigrants from every country, including a number of immigrants from East Asian countries, have come to Canada and set up their communities to seek a new and better life.

I am very interested in the history of Asian minorities in

¹ Cook, Ramsey and et al. Canada: A Modern History. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1963. Preface

Canada because I am also a minority, the third generation (strictly speaking 2.5 generation) of a Korean resident in Japan. My father went from the northern part of Korea when he was in his 20s to attend a Japanese university, and my mother was born in Japan and grew up there her entire life. My father set up his own business in Tokyo, and my mother worked as one of the assistant accountants in a Korean-owned office in Tokyo.

From my parents' youth, foreigners in Japan have experienced much inconvenience in daily life. In the TV interview I saw one day, one of the foreign students from Thailand accused a local landlord of discrimination. When he tried to rent an apartment near his school and talk to a landlord, he was denied a room (I believe the landlord denied him was because he was from Asian country). After an argument, the landlord asked him what he was doing in Japan. He replied he was a graduate student at the University of Tokyo, one of the best universities in Japan. After that, the landlord suddenly changed his mind and said "Oh, I think there is only one room available".

The government of Japan, proudly claiming itself a "racially homogeneous nation", enforces unjust treatment of foreigners. For instance, the government of Japan never allows students from foreign

high schools in Japan, such as Korean schools and international schools, to take the entrance exams of the national universities although their curriculums are equal to Japanese high schools. Moreover, those students never get an ordinary student discount commuter pass, but have to pay a higher rate. It seems that the government still treats foreign systems as a cause for exclusion.

However, the government of Japan has gradually become more open to "outsiders" (non-Japanese), and its policies towards foreigners have slowly tended to loosen. A few years ago, the notorious fingerprinting on the certificate of alien registration, which must be carried all the time, was abolished only for Korean residents who were born and brought up in Japan. However, all foreigners of temporary residence still need to fingerprint (left forefinger) it. Even though there are some improvements towards foreigners, many issues still confront them.

Unlike the government of Japan, the government of Canada has actually been facing many issues of minorities for more than decades; therefore, Canada's policies towards minorities are one of the best examples of how to accept those new members, systems, and live together. Those relations between Canada's open policies, represented as multiculturalism and the minorities attract me

showing in how people are able to develop their own lives under the policy.

On the other hand, the government still has many issues to solve with regard to minorities. Although the government makes every effort to accept cultural difference, bias against "visible minorities" still exists in the society. There rarely exist any noticeable conflicts such as the Vancouver Riot in September 1907 between Japanese immigrants and people who sought governmental restriction of immigrants from Asian countries, but the racial issues are still here.

For instance, even on multiculturalism, Canada's distinguishing policy, people think that it may not be well functioning. Some people insist that multiculturalism would divide the nation and remove individual freedom because the policy strengthens the rights of the group. Furthermore, the others fear that the priority of multiculturalism is always only for cultures of minority groups, so it may threaten the maintenance dominance of English and French culture and language. However, Canada currently attempts the challenge of making an ideal society - peaceful coexistence in mutual prosperity of all people possessing difference. It is certainly difficult to achieve such society,

but it is worth trying for the future.

This thesis will be extensively examined by looking at the background of Asian minorities, particularly Chinese, Korean, and Japanese people, with respect to their prospects for the future. In addition, the thesis will also look at the transition of Canadian policy towards minorities and will be mainly focused on multiculturalism, the functions it plays and what changes it has brought for minorities.

I. Early Immigrants from China and Japan

1. Worldwide situation of migration

After the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom in the middle of the 18th century, production technology using steam engines developed rapidly, and advanced industries began to introduce it all over the world. Transportation systems, especially seacraft development, also showed much progress at the same time. Many more people were able to travel across the oceans and go to further places.

Ambitious people began to compete in finding new lands over the oceans to expand their territories, influence their "civilized" power over the native people, and seek more wealth on the lands. At the same time, some people started to move out from their native countries and look for a better life and in a new land to settle down.

Consequently, many people started to emigrate to Canada from Europe. Full-scale immigration to Canada was from France in the 17th century.² At the same time, English people also came to Canada to claim that Canada was their territory. Discord between French

² Ohara, Yuko and Banba, Shinya. Gaisetsu Kanada Shi. Tokyo: Yūhinkaku, 1984, pp.24

and English brought about several wars in the struggle for supremacy in Canada. After the French and Indian War (1754-63), which finalized English dominance, England began to increase its power over Canada.

2. Situation in Canada: active recruitment of immigrants

The history of Asian emigrants to Canada seems to be one of the most dynamic stories in Canadian history because many people from Asian region and culture moved to the new land far away from their native place over the Pacific Ocean. Until the middle of the 18th century, most emigrants in Canada were from Europe, and they had already started to settle in before the Asian emigrants; it could be assumed that Asian emigrants might face conflicts between "aborigines" from Europe who possessed a different race and social background.

The Canadian government at that time wanted to develop central and western regions and took a positive attitude toward recruiting many immigrants (capable and devoted farmers) from other countries to let them reclaim the western land. Because most of Canada's population was concentrated in the east (Upper and Lower Canada)³,

³ Upper and Lower Canada were divided by the River of Ottawa. In 1791, the British government acceded to their demands and passed the Constitutional

and most of the central and western lands were not developed enough at that time, the government aimed to cultivate the fertile western land with those immigrants' help, increase more population in the wider area, and get more wealth from those areas.

In order to attract many more immigrants to the central and western regions, the Canadian government attempted to commercialize itself. In 1896, Clifford Sifton, an able Canadian Minister of the Interior at that time, vigorously acted to recruit more farmers to settle in those regions.⁴ Millions of posters and brochures to advertise the regions were published and described them as "the land of full opportunities", "a home of millions". Every effort was made because the government sought more people to cultivate the lands, to get further resources, and to strengthen the nation itself.

3. Asian Values

The reasons why many people from Asia emigrated to Canada were various. Those emigrants might have felt that the communities to

Act which replaced the province of Quebec with the province of Upper Canada in the west and Lower Canada in the east. The western region was an English-speaking province and the east was dominated by French-speaking people (quoted from Ramsey, and et al. pp.17)

⁴ Francis, Douglas, and Kimura, Kazuo, eds. The Regions and People of Canada: A Historical Approach. Tokyo: Dobunkan Shuppan, 1993. pp.168

which they belonged were not sufficient to enjoy their lives because of Asian "old values". Because of the old values, some people suffered, and they had sometimes been humiliated in their life. Unfortunately, those "old traditions" are still regarded as valuable in most of the Asian countries.

For instance in Korea, because of the strong influence in Confucianism, the first son is regarded as the inheritor of his family tree. Due to this value, almost all Korean families are congratulated when a boy is born, rather than a girl. If a female baby is born, the people of the older generation particularly sometimes blame the daughter-in-law for giving birth to a girl.

Also, in the case of Japan, the value of social class still exists even at this moment. People from *Burakumin*,⁵ being used to rank the lowest in the Japanese society until the modern period, are still regarded as "untouchables" in the society. *Burakumin*, who are of absolutely Japanese origin (neither foreign nationals nor born in foreign countries), have been discriminated against

⁵ *Burakumin* (being called "Eta" in old time) used to hold the job of butchers, tanners and shoemakers, some occupations related to animal skins. In the Edo period, the social hierarchy system called *Shinokosho* (in descending order: warriors (*samurai*), peasants, artisans, and merchants) existed. Merchants superficially were placed in the bottom by *Shi-no-ko-sho*; however, *Burakumin* were regarded as the lowest strata of the society. In general, this old exercise still exists below the surface at this moment, and people still have discrimination against them even though the class system was totally abolished in 1872.

in most cases in employment and marriage.

It would be probable that the emigrants to Canada wanted to settle in the new land to escape from those "old traditions" and to seek more freedom there. At the same time, it is also possible that emigrants from Asian countries tried to stay temporarily in the foreign countries to gain more wealth that they were not able to make in the native countries. At any rate, emigrants sought and expected more chances in every way in the unseen land.

II. Chinese Immigrants

1. Situation in China in the late 17th Century

China faced a critical moment from the middle of the 17th Century: both domestically and internationally. At that time, the Chinese imperial government neither functioned well nor were there capable civil servants. Disturbances from foreign countries and the domestic situation severely threatened China's sovereignty.

First of all, international disorders around China were serious at that moment and affected the lives of the local people. In particular, the southern part of China was strongly influenced by the British forces. In 1839, China fought the Opium War against Britain and lost in 1842; consequently, China was forced to open

five ports, pay huge indemnities, give Hong Kong and China's tariff autonomy to Britain. From that time on, every authoritative policy in Hong Kong was made by British people, not by Chinese themselves.

Secondly, China faced much disorder in diplomatic relations with Japan. Particularly in Japan, imperialism from Europe was on the rise. Japan, strongly influenced by Western ideas, tried to expand its territories in Asia. Similarly to the Opium War (1840-42), China fought the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and again lost the war. Japan's victory in the war gave Japan confidence, and the Japanese government began to believe that it might be able to catch up to those Western countries. After the victory, the Japanese government desired to establish a huge empire under the slogan of *Fukoku Kyôhei*.⁶ Japan as a nation rapidly modernized itself on the one hand; other Asian countries seriously suffered from Japanese troops during World War II on the other hand.

Thirdly, there were several Chinese domestic problems, particularly regarding its political weakness. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the imperial government no longer functioned competently in every state affair. Because of the intervention of

⁶ In English, translated as "rich country and strong army". In the Meiji period, capitalism/imperialism from the West influenced in Japan, and the government tried to show its "equal" power to the Great Power nations, such as the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands. At that time, Japan

foreign powers whose various influences included Christian missionaries, opium traffic, and limitations of China's sovereignty,⁷ the Chinese imperial state itself was severely impoverished.

Fourthly, dense population pressure in Southern China caused many local people to emigrate overseas. Most of the Chinese emigrants were from rural areas in the Southern part and worked there as peasants. At that time, peasants were overcrowded in the area, and many of them abandoned farming. When many peasants grew in limited areas, farming land became less available, and consequently poverty and hunger increased.⁸ The population pressure was especially severe in the Guandong delta. By the late 19th century overall densities were about 600 persons per square kilometer, although density variations within the region and per unit of crop land were enormous.⁹

Lastly, the burden of taxation was too harsh to pay for those peasants. The land ownership in Guandong as a whole, and in the delta in particular, was concentrated in the hands of the few

quickly began to establish military forces.

⁷ Wickberg, pp.6

⁸ Ritchie, Neville A. Archeology and History of the Chinese in Southern New Zealand During Nineteenth Century. Dunedin: Ph.D. thesis. The Univesity of Otago, 1986.

⁹ Fu-keung Ip, David, The Design of Rural Development: Experience from South China: Ph.D. thesis. University of British Columbia, 1979. pp.22-97

landlords:¹⁰ that means rich people became richer, poor people became poorer. About taxation for peasants in Guandong, Chen Han-seng notes:

The rent, which is usually paid in grain, together with all its consequent burdens, crushes the peasant 60-90% of all the peasant families are in debt... The usual interest charged on a loan in grain is 30% for six months...¹¹

From those critical situations such as domestic/international disturbances, too large population, heavy taxation in local areas in China, it would not be a very difficult decision for the people going overseas to settle in the new country.

2. Hard work and discrimination in Canada

Emigration from China to Canada, especially to British Columbia, began in the 1850's.¹² At that time, those Chinese people expected that Canada had much better job opportunities than the U.S. In the middle of the 19th century, California in the United States attracted many people because of the gold rush. Because of the rush, California was overpopulated with many gold hunters from in and outside of the States; the gold seekers gathered in California

¹⁰ Wickberg, pp.5

¹¹ Chen, Han-seng. Landlord and Peasant in China. New York: 1936. pp.ix-x

to dream of making their fortune. But some people felt that finding other job opportunities in other areas was crucial, and began came up to the far north.

Chinese people were no exception. At that time, most Chinese people in the States were from the southern coastal province of Guandong and the neighboring coastal province of Fujian,¹³ that were known as rural areas full of poverty. They went across the ocean to find more job opportunities; they must have found jobs to feed their families. Many Chinese people came up to the north, Victoria, to seek better employment opportunities and more wealth, as other emigrants from other countries did.

The first full-scale group of Chinese people arrived in Victoria on June 28, 1858.¹⁴ One of the reasons why many Chinese traveled north was that a Chinese merchant, Ah Hong, an agent from a Chinese company in San Francisco, advertised a "hopeful" picture in Canada (he claimed to have been offered a job as a cook at twenty dollars per day).¹⁵ This optimistic advertisement attracted more Chinese from California to British Columbia. In 1860-61, about

¹² Wickberg, pp.5

¹³ *ibid*, pp.7

¹⁴ *ibid*, pp.13

¹⁵ Francis and Kimura, pp.197

4,000 Chinese swept into Victoria.¹⁶ Subsequently, more than 15,000 Chinese laborers were lured to Canada by a contract labor system connecting Hong Kong and Victoria in the 1880s.¹⁷ At that time, many Chinese immigrants served as coolies,¹⁸ manual laborers. When the Chinese laborers arrived in Canada, they had to pay the transportation fee from their home country to Canada, along with food and lodging costs.¹⁹

One of the Chinese emigrants from Hong Kong told his background in an interview.²⁰ Dock Yip, from Guangdong province, who later became the first Asian Canadian called to the bar, devoting himself to changes in the Chinese Immigration Act, said his great grandfather came to Canada at the time of the gold rush in the 1850s. His father looked after his cousins well and brought many relatives over from China. As many Chinese people respect receiving higher education, Dock Yip, born in 1905 in Vancouver, also went to university to study law. He experienced much discrimination in Vancouver when the Chinese Immigration Act came into effect in 1923²¹,

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 198

¹⁷ Chan, Antony B. Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World. Vancouver: New Star Books Ltd., 1983. pp.43

¹⁸ The term comes from the Chinese word *kuli*, meaning "bitter strength". (quoted from Chan, pp.39)

¹⁹ *ibid*, pp.43

²⁰ Huang, Evelyn. Chinese Canadians: Voices from a Community. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1992. pp.4

²¹ No more Chinese emigrants were allowed to immigrate to Canada during

and he fought against the unfair treatment later on.

The increase of Chinese immigrants had an important reason: the strength of kinship relations. Chinese relatives called their relatives from their home region, and they came to Canada subsequently, relying on relatives' help. This "chain emigration" enabled more Chinese to go across the ocean. In Asian countries generally, family relationship is very close, and relatives take care of weaker members of the family or relatives. Because of this cultural value, more Chinese came to Canada.

Once Chinese immigrants settled in the new land, they worked diligently and played an important role in Canada; Building the Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR) is one of the most distinguished achievements of Chinese immigrants. On October 7, 1877, the *Victoria Colonist*, a local newspaper, announced that the Canadian government had at last called for tenders for construction of the railroad that had been promised six years before, when British Columbia entered the Confederation.²²

After the construction began, some 1,500 experienced Chinese railroad workers came from the United States in 1880 and 1881.²³ In 1881, Andrew Onderdonk, an American contractor hired by the

1923-1947.

²² Wickberg, pp.20

federal government, arranged for two thousand more workers from Hong Kong for the CPR construction.²⁴ Onderdonk, a capable man who believed in Chinese capability in construction, hired White workers from San Francisco in the first place. After the Whites gave up due to severe working conditions, he then hired more Chinese workers from San Francisco and Portland, Oregon.²⁵ Henry Cambie, the surveyor and engineer for the CPR, later described them as "trained gangs of rockmen, as good as I ever saw."²⁶

During the CPR construction, Chinese workers suffered from many accidents in the construction sites, in addition to racism. Some people such as Onderdonk trusted the diligence of the Chinese people in construction on the one hand; others were hostile to wards diligent Chinese people on the other hand. Not only the working environment, but also the living conditions, caused much suffering and some deaths along the railway.²⁷ Moreover, conflicts with white railway workers were not rare. In a race riot in Lytton in 1880, a Chinese man was beaten to death when the Chinese village was set afire.²⁸ Wickberg argues on racism towards Chinese workers

²³ *ibid*, pp.21

²⁴ *ibid*, pp.21

²⁵ Francis and Kimura pp.198

²⁶ Wickberg, pp.21

²⁷ *ibid*, pp.23

²⁸ Wright, Richard, Thomas. In a Strange Land: a Pictorial Record of the Chinese in Canada 1788-1923. Saskatoon: Western Proucer Prairie Books,

as follows:

..Accidents were frequent, with many more Chinese than whites as victims, a fact that manifests the racist approach of the railway company. The company even issued accident figures that excluded the Chinese. (23)

Today, the Chinese in Canada have a saying that a Chinese worker died for every foot of railroad through the canyons.²⁹ Though the deaths did not reach the oft-quoted one Chinese for every foot or tie, there were over six hundred deaths, more than one per mile on the section they worked.³⁰ Many Chinese immigrants performed great service for the completion of the CPR until many Chinese were dismissed from the railroad construction companies.³¹

Immigrants from China had a more difficult time because of several provincial/federal policies against Chinese immigration. In particular, many Chinese faced considerable racism in British Columbia where more Asian immigrants resided due to the proximity to their homeland. As Chinese immigrants arrived there, there was no doubt that there was a conflict between "aborigines" from Europe and "new comers" Chinese (Asian immigrants). The completion of

1988. pp.7

²⁹ Wickberg, pp.24

³⁰ Wright, pp.7

³¹ Wickberg, pp.36

railroad construction around in 1886³² caused massive unemployment for the Chinese labourers.³³ One of the reasons of conflict was because those unemployed Chinese workers might take over all the jobs which white people were "supposed" to receive.

The Canadian government once positively recruited immigrants not only from China but also from other Asian countries. However, after the number of Asian immigrants increased, especially in British Columbia, whites' hostility against Asian immigrants became stronger. Whites in British Columbia feared that "new comer" Asian immigrants, who did not share their cultural background or race, might occupy their "territory" where they had already settled down. The British Columbia parliament submitted a bill in 1894 to the federal government to limit numbers of emigrants from China.³⁴ Consequently, the federal government allowed British Columbia to revise the parliamentary policy on Chinese head-tax in 1885,³⁵ which prevented the increase of Chinese and other Asian immigrants as well.

Chinese paid a heavy tax for themselves. Stanislaw Andracki

³² Roy, Patricia E. A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989. pp.61

³³ Wright, pp.7

³⁴ The bill, was presented from British Columbia to the government several times; however, it was rejected by the federal government.

³⁵ Francis and Kimura pp.200

argues on the head-tax system that "The period of unrestricted immigration ended 1885; the period of the head-tax system from 1885 to 1923."³⁶ Under the Dominion Chinese Immigration Act of 1885, the head-tax was raised year after year: \$50 in 1885, \$100 in 1901, and \$500 in 1904.³⁷ In 1908, Chinese paid \$500 tax plus \$200 more for deposit per Chinese.³⁸ As mentioned before, Chinese people have strong kinship relations - when one went to overseas, he eventually called for his family/relatives after he settled down. The head-tax system functioned so that no more chain emigration to Canada was allowed across the ocean.

Chinese people faced a most severe time. In 1923, the House of Commons discussed a Chinese Immigration Act that would virtually terminate further Chinese immigration.³⁹ The Act, undoubtedly, was aimed only at Chinese. Even before 1923, several Immigration Acts were enforced against the Chinese: 1885, 1900, and 1903 (those acts included such as the Chinese head-tax system). A bill was presented that would exclude all Chinese except consuls, merchants, and

³⁶ Andracki, Stanislaw. Immigration of Orientals into Canada: with Special Reference to Chinese. New York: Arno Press Inc., 1978. Preface

³⁷ Francis and Kimura pp.200

³⁸ *ibid.* pp.201

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp.141, 145

The Chinese Immigration Act went into effect on Canada Day, July 1, 1923. The Chinese marked the day as "Humiliation Day".

students:⁴⁰ no more blue-collar workers allowed. Soon after this Act became effective, the growth of the Chinese communities ended in Canada for the next 25 years.⁴¹ For instance, in 1922, 810 Chinese immigrated to Canada, down from the high immigration years of 1911-13 which each brought over 6,000. In 1923 there were 811 immigrants, but by 1924 there were only 15.⁴² From the government point of view, the Act successfully worked for the termination of further Chinese immigrants.

The Act seriously humiliated Chinese ethnic identity and communities. Only Chinese people had to register, and acquisition of Canadian citizenship would be more difficult for Chinese than for any other immigrant groups. An article in the *Chinese Times* on June 17, 1923 pointed out the discrimination against Chinese naturalization into Canada as follows:

...Chinese had first to present evidence of registration in the special Chinese registration drive of 1923, then to submit to an investigation by the Immigration Department and provide information about their personal histories and conduct before being allowed to complete the usual naturalization formalities.

⁴⁰ Wright, pp.12

⁴¹ Wickberg, pp.148

The Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 was repealed in 1947.

⁴² Wright, pp.12

As mentioned above, the Act was also regarded as "an act of betrayal" against Chinese. The Canadian government had actively promoted people from Asia to immigrate and welcomed them; however, the unexpected "gift" from the government to Chinese immigrants was definitely not a sweet one. Not only the government, but also the attitudes of other communities in British Columbia were harsh to Chinese. During the economic slump in all of Canada, proposals for the exclusion of Chinese were part of a general campaign in Vancouver.⁴³ Much agitation against Chinese became the trend, and visible minorities such as Asians were always made the scapegoat for economic depression, layoffs, and lack of jobs.

3. The struggle against unfair treatment

Chinese people were not always passive toward such trends; they also showed a strong spirit against the anti-Chinese (anti-Asian) atmosphere. At the end of the 1800s, most of the Chinese immigrants resided in Vancouver and Victoria. Especially in Victoria, the scale of Chinatown was rapidly booming. The population of Chinese further increased; consequently, there were many disputes among the community and outside. There was a

⁴³ Wickberg, pp.137

desperate need for an organization or a leader that would represent and take care of a number of Chinese immigrants. The political unfair treatment against Chinese was accompanied by organizational growth in Chinese communities across Canada.⁴⁴ There were four basic kinds of Chinese communities: the community-wide body, the fraternal-political association, the district association, and the clan association.

With the demands, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) of Victoria was established in June 1884. This Association served not only to protest against the anti-Chinese mood but also to make elaborate efforts to settle social problems between Chinese immigrants in the community. The purpose of the CCBA was as follows:

This association has been established in order to express our feelings of unity, to undertake social welfare, to settle disputes, to aid the poor and the sick, to eliminate evils within the community, and to defend the community against external threat.⁴⁵

Before the formal inauguration of the CCBA, the organizational committee members appealed for donations of two

⁴⁴ Wickberg, pp.106

⁴⁵ Lee, Tung-hai (David T.H.Lee), Jianada huaqiao shi. Taipei: 1967. pp.179-186 (translated by Wickberg, pp.38)

dollars per person to assist in the founding of the Association and in campaigning against discriminatory legislation. In all, over 5,000 men paid their two dollars, representing about a third of the Chinese population in Canada at that time.⁴⁶ This enthusiastic attitude of Chinese immigrants shows us how they devoted themselves to and long waited for the establishment of the organization that represented Chinese themselves as Canadian citizens. The establishment of the CCBA was very sensational even outside of the Chinese community, and it was said to be "a de facto Chinese government in Canada".⁴⁷

Furthermore, several new Chinese associations also emerged at the time the CCBA was established. There were three other kinds of Chinese associations established: the community-wide body, the fraternal-political association, the district association, and the clan association.⁴⁸

Although those associations were smaller in size than the CCBA, they also served Chinese immigrants on a local basis. However, there were several large-scale associations established in the

⁴⁶ Wickberg, pp.38

⁴⁷ Lai, Chuen-Yan, David. "The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Victoria: Its Origins and Functions". *BC Studies*, 15. (Autumn, 1972)

⁴⁸ Wickberg, pp.106

early 20th Century, such as the clan associations,⁴⁹ the religion-affiliated Chinese Christian Association and the Chinese Canadian Club.⁵⁰ Those associations also fought the government's unfair treatment of Chinese.

In particular, those associations strongly protested against the Chinese Immigration Law of July 1, 1923. By this time, a general headquarters of Chinese associations was formed to involve many more Chinese communities in an attempt to amend the bill, and finally the Chinese Association of Canada was established in Toronto that represented several major Chinese communities across the country.⁵¹ On April 29, 1923, over 1,000 Chinese held a meeting in Toronto to protest the Act, and those participants went to Ottawa to lobby against it. Although every Chinese and community made as much effort as possible, the notorious Act eventually came into effect on July 1. However, the effort against the Act taught the Chinese an opportunity that their communities in Canada should be more consolidated and unified against every unfair treatment.

After the Act, Chinese communities became more mature. Even

⁴⁹ These are organizations of people of the same surname. Their major functions are concerned with social service and the welfare needs of the members. (quoted from Ujimoto, K. Victor and Hirabayashi, Gordon. Eds. Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism in Canada. Toronto: Butterworth and Company (Canada) Limited, 1980. pp.24)

⁵⁰ Wickberg, pp.97

⁵¹ *ibid*, pp.142

though they faced worldwide economic depression in the 1920s-30s, the Chinese organizations strove to look after their own, particularly in the areas of education, welfare, and social services.⁵² First of all, Chinese schooling for the younger generation was newly instituted. According to one survey, there were twenty-six Chinese part-time schools with forty-seven teachers in eleven locations across the country during the 1930's and 1940's to teach Chinese language and cultural heritage.⁵³ Secondly, the churches for Chinese were newly established in the late 1920's and the 1930's. Those churches played an important role taking the leadership in the community and played the key role in uniting the Chinese-born (old generation) and Canadian-born (new generation) Chinese. Thirdly, the members of the churches were involved with hospital service to take care of sick and elderly persons. A hospital committee of the Chinese Association was responsible for funds raised throughout the Chinese community on a regular period to keep these hospitals for smooth running.⁵⁴

With these efforts made by Chinese, the Chinese communities became more solid in spite of their struggles in the new land. They vigorously acted to protect their rights as Chinese-Canadians, and

⁵² *ibid*, pp.170

⁵³ *ibid*, pp.170

their protests against the government's unfair treatment continued until the Chinese Immigration Act was abolished in 1947. By that time, a generation shift had occurred among the communities, from older leaders (the first generation of Chinese-born people) to the younger generation (Canadian-born people) who possessed new ideas far from the old values and a good command of English so they could fluently argue their own opinions with "white" Canadians. These changes are inevitable; at the same time, it is also an important factor to live in the new land, not in China. The new generation still continues to protect its communities and rights in Canada.

⁵⁴ *ibid*, pp.173

III. Japanese Immigrants

1. Reasons to emigrate

Japanese began to emigrate to Canada from 1887 after the Edo period.¹ Japan enforced the *Sakoku* policy for more than 250 years to prevent any interference from outside countries, especially from the West during the Tokugawa Shogunate.² Japanese people were prohibited going outside from Japan or trading with Western countries.³ Also, the Westerners such as traders and missionaries were forbidden to enter Japan at that time.

One of the reasons why the Tokugawa regime prohibited the interaction of the West was because the Shogunate feared the adoption of Christianity among ordinary people. Christian missionaries, who preached that people were equal under the God, would cause the demise of a government that enforced the *Shi-no-ko-sho*⁴ class distinction. Moreover, the government was

¹ Francis and Kimura, pp.202

² *Sakoku* is translated as "the official isolation policy" in English. After Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) seized the power and instituted his military government (*Bakufu* in Japanese) in 1603, Japan enforced the policy that was announced in 1637. Even after Ieyasu's death, the Tokugawa regime lasted until 1886 when the Meiji government, Japan's first modernized (westernized) government, was established.

³ However, only the Dutch people were able to enter into only one place in Nagasaki (called *Dejima*), Japan. Also, both Chinese and Korean were allowed trading, cultural and intellectual interactions between Japan during the Tokugawa regime.

⁴ See footnote 4.

frightened that those Christians in Japan (both Christian foreigners and Christian Japanese) would rebel against the Tokugawa government and bring in the Western troops to overthrow the government. For these reasons, any interactions between Japanese and foreigners from the West were terminated by the Tokugawa's *Sakoku* policy.

After the repeal of the *Sokoku* policy that also meant the demise of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan completely changed its mind. Japan quickly modernized the nation; absorbed the knowledge of law, technology, military forces/training methods from the western countries, and instituted compulsory mass education. In the Meiji period, Japan rapidly expanded its industries to catch up with and eventually wanted to surpass the "industrialized" Western countries.

On the one hand, the Japanese government was too focused on expanding its industries; on the other hand, Japan neglected further agrarian interests. The living standard of the peasants was still unimproved during the Meiji period. Even in the former period, peasants were actually placed in the lowest class by the *Shi-no-ko-sho* class system. Peasants, the most numerous members in Japan, still suffered from overwork and onerous taxes by landlords.

Consequently, they began to search for a place to live and to break every old rule as well.

At that time, the Meiji government encouraged those people to work in the foreign countries because the government expected more people who went overseas would eventually bring foreign money to Japan; the money would help the government expand more industries.⁵ In these drastic changes of modernization from the outdated feudalist policy, some people were confounded by those rapid changes and started to look for more opportunities to find a job and to settle outside Japan.

At the end of the 19th century, Canada actually needed Japanese labor. Canadian employers still sought a cheaper labor force like the Chinese. Although the Chinese head-tax system was exercised at that time, many employers were willing to hire more Chinese than Canadian laborers because of Chinese' lower salary. When the number of Chinese immigrants decreased due to the Immigration Act, the employers sought alternative laborers who would work diligently and cheaply; Japanese immigrants were the best labor force to fulfill their wishes.

Early Japanese emigrants were also from rural areas, like

⁵ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project. A Dream of Riches: the Japanese Canadian. Toronto: Gilchrist Wright Inc., 1977. pp.12

Chinese people: from Saga, Wakayama, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto prefectures, located in the southwestern part of Japan.⁶ Most of the early Japanese immigrants came to Canada to search for temporary jobs, not on a permanent basis. In 1897, when the CPR started a direct service to Japan (the port of Yokohama) from Vancouver, the number of the Japanese immigrants increased.⁷ By 1901, the population grew to 4,138, mostly single men, who intended to return to Japan after they made a certain amount of money.⁸ Moreover, British Columbia was the most popular place for many Japanese emigrants to Canada because the mild climate and geography resembled their home country.⁹

In particular, Steveston, a small fishing village in British Columbia, became the first frontier village of the Japanese emigrants. A man from Wakayama wrote a letter to his native village on the abundance of salmon in the Fraser River after he first settled in Steveston in 1889.¹⁰ After his letter, many men from Wakayama followed there after him and served as fishermen. Later on, the village became known as "America-mura" or American village.¹¹ As

⁶ Francis and Kimura, pp.202

⁷ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.13

⁸ *ibid*, pp.13

⁹ Makabe, Tomoko. The Canadian Sansei. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998. pp.19

¹⁰ Francis and Kimura, pp.202

¹¹ Adachi, Ken. The Enemy That Never Was: a History of Japanese Canadians.

the community grew in Steveston, several organizations were instituted such as the Japanese Fishermen's Hospital in 1895 to cure the yellow fever and typhus patients. The hospital was said to be perhaps the first form of medicare in the American Continent.¹² From this small fishing village, Japanese immigrants gradually formed a community.

Later on, many Japanese immigrants began to live in the inner city area, especially in the city of Vancouver. They began to seek to run their own businesses or small shops rather than rough work. By 1900, a cluster of barber shops, blacksmithies, candy stores, dry goods shops, cleaners, fish markets, greengroceries, restaurants and lodging houses around Powell Street were run by Japanese.¹³ Also, some Japanese engaged in the import-export trade between Canada and Japan.

2. The Japanese society in Canada

As the number of Japanese immigrants increased, several associations were formed. In 1934, there were approximately 84 Japanese association units in British Columbia,¹⁴ and most of them

Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976. pp.19

¹² The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.24

¹³ Adachi, pp.50

¹⁴ Young, Charles B. and Reid, Helen R. Y. The Japanese Canadians. Toronto:

were organized from the end of the 1800s to the early 1900s. Province-wide associations were as follows: Canadian Japanese Association, Canadian Japanese Citizens' League, Canadian Japanese Educational Association, and so forth. Among those units, the Canadian Japanese Association was one of the major associations organized in 1897 starting with 50 members; its aim was to act as a social, political, economic, and educational society for all Japanese in Canada.¹⁵ Later on, the second generation (translated as *Nisei* in Japanese) of Japanese immigrants formed the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League in 1938 to secure political and economic rights and to fight discriminatory legislation.¹⁶ In the same year, the first English-language newspaper, *The New Canadian*, was published in 1938.

Furthermore, there were several kinds of specialized associations such as religious, trade, and prefectural associations.¹⁷ Those associations were specialized based on education, age, occupation, sex, and education, etc. For example, women's associations (*fujin-kai*) which consisted of wives were

The University of Toronto Press, 1938. pp.108

¹⁵ *ibid*, pp.111

¹⁶ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.65

¹⁷ Young, pp.109 Prefectural associations were formed by people from same region (prefecture, called *ken* in Japanese) in Japan. There were several those associations (called *kenjinkai*) existed. i.e. *Ehime-kenjinkai*, *Hiroshima-kenjinkai*, and *Kumamoto-kenjinkai*, etc

active. Although their members mainly interested themselves in cooking methods and housekeeping in Canadian ways, they were willing to take care of the elderly persons and to prepare their meals.

In particular, Japanese schooling was more actively exercised than for any other immigrants from Asia. Japanese immigrants set up several language schools for students who attended after regular school. By 1938, there were more than 40 schools and more than 3,000 students. According to Young, "the Japanese in British Columbia present a picture of a remarkably efficient and strongly cohesive institutional structure".¹⁹

Due to the strong ties between associations and Japanese immigrants, some public opinion in British Columbia was critical of the Japanese community, claiming "they always stick together and never try to see outside of their community". However, the whites tended to be very aggressive against Asian immigrants; forming strong organizations among the community was one of the most important factors to keep their safety and prevent outside threats. Furthermore, making harmony with others is still regarded as a virtue in the Japanese cultural value system; it resulted in stronger ties between Japanese immigrants.

3. The Vancouver Riot in 1907 and its aftermath

Minorities, particularly visible minorities like Asian people, usually become "scapegoats" especially when some unexpected incidents such as economic depression or natural/artificial disasters hit a country or a community. In general, serious aftereffects remain after those incidents. Some people, even the government, begin to wonder why those difficult things happen only to them; consequently, people set a certain group of people (usually members of minorities) as scapegoats so that people are able to voice their frustration at them. Even good citizens are agitated by a piece of propaganda that does not make any common sense in most cases. Afterwards, they eventually start to believe in the propaganda, and some people start to attack the scapegoats.

Koreans in Japan were faced with a severe situation. A strong earthquake (the Great Kanto Earthquake) hit the eastern part of Japan in 1923, particularly the Tokyo metropolitan area. Many people in Tokyo lost all their properties and family members in the earthquake. The people were confounded why the disaster hit them and became very frustrated afterward. At the time, some people

¹⁸ *ibid*, pp.115

claimed the cause of the earthquake was "Koreans threw poison into every well in Tokyo". Afterwards, Japanese people were moved to kill many Koreans by the agitation. According to one source, about 10,000 Koreans were abused at that time.¹⁹ While many Koreans suffered greatly, the Japanese government did not act to help them at all.

Canada was no exception. When immigration from Asian countries began to increase in the late 19th Century, white people in British Columbia felt a sense of insecurity. Because those immigrants were from a different culture and different race and would occupy every place, their hatred gradually began to grow. In September 1907, the big riot against Asian minorities finally occurred. Although the riot was aimed against Chinese and Japanese immigrants, the riot had significant meaning especially to Japanese during World War II. According to Adachi, he quoted how the white people thought of Japanese immigrants as follows:

...Of the three groups of immigrants from Asia - Japanese, Chinese, and Hindus - the Japanese were considered the most "aggressive" and as therefore constituting a far greater threat than the other newcomers... Behind the fear of the Japanese immigrants rose the spectre of Japan, the new military power of the East, who had recently

¹⁹ Even at this time, the exact number of abused Koreans is not yet confirmed.

defeated Russia in the war of 1904-05, whose shadow, it seemed, already was cast over not only the Pacific but the world.²⁰

Unlike other Asian countries, Japan was suddenly awakened from a feudalistic society to modernized development; at the same time, Japan was only country who became ready to possess the strongest military forces in Asia. Not only whites in British Columbia but also immigrants from other Asian countries would have feared that people from Japan had imperialistic thought or behavior. It was easily assumed that it was only the first difficult step for Japanese immigrants.

On the day of the Vancouver riot, anti-Asian feelings surfaced fully. Crowds of 5,000-8,000 gathered in front of city hall screaming "Down with the Japs", and demanding "Let us have a White Canada".²¹ The outbreak of the riot was without any leaders or disciplined organization, but the mob certainly knew its targets to attack - Asian immigrants. When the uncontrollable mob went on to Carrell Street and Pender Street, where many Chinese immigrants resided, they began to break windows and ransack stores.²² Later on the mob swept on to "Little Tokyo", and the people in the mob

²⁰ Adachi, pp.67

²¹ Vancouver *World*, September 9, 1907.

²² Adachi, pp.73

did the same things as they did in Chinatown. According to Kosaburo Ichino, who confronted the mob at that time, "the riot was real war."²³ The cause of the riot was probably the longstanding racial cleavage which was rooted in west coast society and the psychological tensions - particularly the fear of racial heterogeneity.²⁴ After the riot, the situation became harder against the Japanese. Prime Minister Laurier sent his minister of labour, Lemieux, to Japan to conclude the 'gentlemen's agreement' of 1908, placing Japanese immigrants on an annual quota system.²⁵ This agreement regulated no further increase in immigration from Japan.

Japanese immigrants were in a complicated situation because of the relations between Japan and Britain in the early 20th century. Under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, Japan and Great Britain had a close diplomatic relationship as trading partners and a military alliance; in other words, the Canadian government was not able to oppose the "boss" Britain and to ban immigrants from Japan. However, the Canadian government finally decided to end further immigration from Japan in deference to public opinion.

²³ *ibid*, pp.74

²⁴ Ward, W Peter. White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978. pp.69

4. As enemies of Canada

Japanese immigrants in Canada were suffered from unfair treatment by the government, as Chinese people did. However, the situation of Japanese immigrants was different from Chinese people because of World War II. Japan was the only Asian country that "ravaged" other Asian countries during the war. Not only that, but Japan also fought against the United States from 1941 when the Pacific War began. This situation in the middle of the 20th century seriously impacted the life of Japanese immigrants in Canada.

When the Japanese troops seized Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese government announced the creation of the new "independent" state of Manchukuo in northeastern China, which many other countries never approved. Also, the troops went on into Inner Mongolia and soon compelled the Chinese government to accept a large demilitarized zone between Beijing and the Manchurian border.²⁶ Subsequently, Japan's continuous attack on China in 1937 brought Japanese immigrants in Canada into even sharper relief.²⁷

As Japan rapidly increased its military forces, Japanese immigrants suffered from anti-Japanese feelings among other people,

²⁵ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.30

²⁶ Adachi, pp.179

²⁷ Ward, pp.142

including immigrants from other Asian countries. Whether Japanese immigrants liked it or not, they became the "representative" of Japan in Canada. Because of the expansion of Japanese imperialism in Asia, those good people in Canada became a target. Although there were no conspicuous conflicts between Japanese and other Asian immigrants (especially Chinese), it may be assumed that some tensions might exist because of the Japanese invasion to Asia, and Japanese immigrants became the targets of rumor, suspicion, and criticism.²⁸

The suffering of Japanese immigrants reached a peak when the Japanese government declared war against the United States by attacking Pearl Harbor in Hawaii in 1941. Right after the attack, Canada also declared war against Japan. After the attack by the Japanese army, every Japanese immigrant in Canada became an "enemy alien". The federal government took immediate action to arrest and subsequently to intern 38 Japanese who were deemed "dangerous" to national security by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP),²⁹ which played an important role in the custody of the Japanese in Canada during the war period. All Japanese were unable to travel more than 12 miles from their residence or change their address

²⁸ *ibid*, pp.144

²⁹ Adachi, pp. 199

without permission.³⁰ When Japanese went out, they also needed to register with and report to the RCMP every two weeks.³¹ In addition, all Japanese, unlike the Germans and Italians, were required to observe a dusk-to-dawn curfew and to abandon their homes, farms, and businesses for an unknown place.³²

During this difficult situation for the Japanese, the Canadian government finally approved a sanction to remove "any people" (Japanese) from the "protected area" (the Pacific Coast) and to arrest anti-governmental persons without trial.³³ Among those arrested people, many Japanese intellectuals were immediately caught and imprisoned in the Immigration Building by the RCMP. Those intellectuals were thought to have some connection with the intelligence operation in Japan.³⁴ According to the government, these actions were held because of the public response (anti-Japanese feelings among other Canadian citizens).

After the Canadian government declared war against Japan, other Asian immigrants began to distinguish themselves from

³⁰ Sunahara, Ann Gomer. The Politics and Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1981. pp.52

³¹ *ibid*, pp.52

³² *ibid*, pp.52

³³ Ujimoto and Hirabayashi, pp.93

³⁴ Broadfoot, Barry. Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame: The Story of the Japanese Canadians in World War II. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1977. pp.61

Japanese. At that time, white people usually thought that Japan was closely identified with China and both were considered part of the larger Asia as a whole, a mysterious, overcrowded, and backward society when judged by western standards.³⁵ When anti-Japanese feelings grew, Chinese people started to have badges on which were written "I am a Chinese" - Chinese stores also had cards in the windows to tell other people that it was a Chinese store.³⁶

Even among the members of parliament, anti-Japanese feelings became stronger. Thomas Reid, a member of the Liberal party, stated in 1942 about Japanese immigrants as follows:

Take them back to Japan. They do not belong to here, and there is only one solution to the problem. They cannot be assimilated as Canadians for no matter how long the Japanese remain in Canada they will always be Japanese.³⁷

According to Ward, "...the most dramatic expression of racism in Canadian history is the Japanese evacuation of 1942". In February 1942, about 22,000 Japanese were forced to move from the Pacific Coast area to inland Canada, such as Alberta and Manitoba, to undertake road construction and farming under the name of "the

³⁵ Ward, pp.98

³⁶ Broadfoot, pp.71

sugar beet projects". Not only men, but also women, children and elderly people were forced to move into the inland camps. Also, they were not allowed to possess most of their property inland. At the same time, people were also moved to one of the 8 inland camps in British Columbia.³⁸ After the mass evacuation in 1942, Japanese were not allowed to come back to British Columbia during the next 7 years.³⁹

The camps were set in severe conditions. Because of the drastic difference of temperature in inland areas, they needed to withstand the inflexible climate especially in summer time and winter time. Furthermore, their accommodations were usually overcrowded. For instance, fourteen Japanese families had to cook on one stove in an old hotel (Later on, the Royal Commission⁴⁰ supplied more stoves there).⁴¹ The BC Security Commission (BCSC), which was formed in March 1942 to carry out the uprooting of Japanese from the coastal area,⁴² expected the Japanese to support themselves in the camps. "All" property, though most of their property was

³⁷ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.77

³⁸ Broadfoot, pp.57

³⁹ Ujimoto and Hirabayashi, pp.93

⁴⁰ The Royal Commission supervised and investigated immigration from China and Japan.

⁴¹ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.30

⁴² Sunahara, pp.55

in the hands of the Custodian of Alien Property,⁴³ was exchanged for money to survive.

Many Japanese men were forced to go to work camps. However, some of them refused to be separated from their family. If they refused, the RCMP sent them to a concentration camp in Angler, Ontario.⁴⁴ In the concentration camp, those men wore special issue uniforms - the circles on the men's back were targets in case of escape attempts. Takeo Nakano, who was in the camp, wrote a poem as follows:

Shirt of the rising sun
My heart stirs
So red and full on my back
A moving target.⁴⁵

Japanese obediently accepted those severe conditions; they did not rise up against the government. According to Adachi, this reflects a Japanese value:

The lack of aggressive behaviour and high dependency was part of the *enryo* (restraint) or *gaman* (bearance) syndrome which explains much of Japanese behavior. Not

⁴³ In 1943, the Custodian liquidated all Japanese Canadian property without the consent of the owners. (quoted from The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.117)

⁴⁴ Sunahara, pp.78

⁴⁵ *ibid*, pp.91

to conform was really unthinkable, for it meant cutting oneself off from the emotional security of (Japanese) identification.⁴⁶

That tendency was shown especially among the first generation of Japanese immigrants, who were born and spent most of their time in Japan. The Second generation Japanese, however, tried to show their identities as "Canadian"; they attempted to volunteer for the Canadian Army. Second generation Buck Suzuki, who eventually joined the Canadian Army, recalls:

Many of us had volunteered for the Canadian Army. But we had been refused till finally the British got desperate and they sent a man out from England to see if they could recruit *Nisei* [second generation]... So, that's fine, if we can't go as a Canadian we'll go in British uniform..⁴⁷

The second generation wanted to show its loyalty to Canada by joining the Canadian forces. Under a quota system 150 second generation Japanese were allowed to enlist and many of these volunteers were assigned to a special language unit of the Canadian Intelligence Corps.⁴⁸ On the other hand, some of the second generation reluctantly accepted under the deportation orders⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Adachi, pp.225

⁴⁷ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.102

⁴⁸ *ibid*, pp.103

⁴⁹ Before the Prime Minister King repealed the deportation order in 1947, there were more than 4,000 Japanese immigrants "repatriated" to Japan.

because they were disappointed with the bitter treatment of the Canadian government during the war. However, most of people who signed the order wanted to avoid the further persecution and hostility in Canada.

Japanese laborers who were sent to the camps in inland areas diligently worked for more crops in spite of the severe working conditions. By 1945, the Japanese in Alberta comprised 65% of the beet labor and became indispensable to the economy of the province.⁵⁵ Later on, these Japanese in Alberta received the legal right of residence in 1948. Japanese who went to Manitoba also played an important role harvesting sugar beet.

5. Fighting back against the unfairness

The Japanese were not passive under this unfairness, like the Chinese. Japanese *Nisei* especially were involved with activities against unfairness. After the mass evacuation in 1942, the Japanese population moved eastward; consequently, more Japanese began to reside in the east. In Particular, Toronto gradually became a center of the Japanese population as well as for political activities among the Japanese *Nisei*. In 1943, the

⁵⁵ The Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, pp.117

Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy (JCCD) was organized by *Nisei*.⁵⁶ The JCCD tried to relax the ban on more Japanese entering Toronto, argued for the right of *Nisei* to enlist in the Canadian Army, and fought against the federal government's orders.⁵⁷ After those vigorous efforts made by the JCCD,⁵⁸ the Canadian government finally allowed *Nisei* to enlist as interpreters in the Canadian Army for service with British force in Asia in the spring of 1945.⁵⁹

Not only the JCCD, but also other groups put much effort into the improvement of their treatment. The Japanese committees of the five camps in inner British Columbia areas united to attack the repatriation issue by authorizing a lawyer to lobby against the validity of the repatriation survey in the Supreme Court of British Columbia in 1945.⁶⁰ During the wartime, Japanese were denied the right to legal counsel.⁶¹ Even though the action in the Court turned out to be a failure, this incident encouraged more Japanese people to believe that they could act against unfairness with legal procedures.

Moreover, in Winnipeg, the Japanese committees concentrated

⁵⁶ *ibid*, pp.123

⁵⁷ *ibid*, pp.123

⁵⁸ The members of the JCCD submitted a brief statement to Parliament in June 1944 to enlist in the Canadian Army. (quoted from Sunahara, pp.134)

⁵⁹ Sunahara, pp.135

⁶⁰ *ibid*, pp.135

⁶¹ *ibid*, pp.136

on organizing petitions to the government against deportation. Behind their activities, the influential local newspaper *the Winnipeg Free Press*, which possessed strong anti-deportation opinions, supported those Japanese.⁵⁹ In Toronto, although public opinion was anti-Japanese, the Japanese coordinated fund-raising activities to support themselves and against unfair treatment.⁶⁰ During the war period, overall, Canadians had strong ill-feelings about the Japanese, and every procedure that was made by Japanese to improve their life failed. However, those activities gave them the hope that they were still able to fight against unfairness and the belief that they would also have a better life in the future after their efforts to alter the policies of the Canadian government.

These difficult situations continued until the Second World War ended. In 1949, the Japanese were finally allowed to return to British Columbia; at the same time, the Canadian government in June 1948 gave them the right to vote in the Federal election. Consequently, the province of British Columbia also gave them the right to vote in the Provincial Election in March 1949, 2 years

⁵⁹ *ibid*, pp.135

⁶⁰ *ibid*, pp.136

later than the province offered the right to Chinese.⁶¹ However, it would be easily assumed that even after the war, Japanese still suffered much from the discrimination as "enemy aliens", even up to recent times.⁶²

⁶¹ *ibid*, pp.138

⁶² In 1988, the Canadian government formally apologized the unfair treatment against Japanese and the confiscation of their property during World War II.

IV. To the New Era

1. Chinese minorities after World War II

After World War II, the treatment of visible minorities rapidly improved. In particular from the early 1970's, the Canadian government officially encouraged possessing distinctive ethnic identity under the policy of multiculturalism.¹ Moreover, with the 1967 changes in immigration policy the Chinese were eventually allowed to be admitted under the same conditions as other people who want to immigrate Canada.² These political considerations encouraged the growing of Chinese communities to generate an ethnic identity and allowed them greater opportunity to contribute to Canada, which rarely seemed possible for an earlier generation.

As the number of Chinese continues to increase, one of the most important changes in the Chinese community is generation shift, especially from the first generation (earlier immigrants from China) to the second generation (Canadian-born). The other is the rapid growth of Chinese communities (Chinatowns) in Canada. Those Chinatowns began to spread all over the cities in Canada: Vancouver,

¹ Wickberg, pp.254

² Li, Peter S. The Chinese in Canada. Toronto: Oxford University

Toronto, Calgary, Winnipeg, and Victoria. It shows that more Chinese people began to live not only on the West and East coasts but also in inland areas, and each Chinatown started to possess its own ethnic identity within Canadian society.

2. Generation changes within the Chinese community

As of 1981, 224,030 Chinese minorities resided in Canada:³ 75% of the overall Chinese population resides in Toronto and Vancouver,⁴ and the number of Chinese-Canadians in 1981 represents an increase of about 2.5 times that of 1971.⁵ As time goes by, generation change continues. About three-quarters were foreign-born in 1981, as compared with 62% in 1971.

Generation change became crucial issue among Chinese communities. Clanship and locality associations, which used to play an important role in the community in the early 20th century, have declined in importance because they can no longer use shared surname or locality to appeal to the new Chinese immigrants who came from diverse social and geographical origins.⁶ Currently, the members in these associations mainly perform social functions for

Press, 1988. pp.99

³ *ibid*, pp.99

⁴ *ibid*, pp.100

⁵ *ibid*, pp.99

⁶ *ibid*, pp.104

aging members.⁷

In the 1960's, there were two versions of power balance in Canadian Chinese communities. One version, the older generations, who had experienced a bitter life in the early period in Canada, tried to accommodate the existing social structure, and rarely confronted the authorities. The other, people who were professionally oriented members in the communities, were willing to challenge the system.⁸ The younger generations tended to the latter, and they tried to be active against everything they felt unfair. However, the older generations tended to keep "silent" attitudes towards the unfairness although they were treated in a discriminatory manner.

Generation difference became more visible in the 1970's. There were two opinions among the community; one was the need to integrate more into Canadian society, and the other was to use their talents/abilities within Chinese communities to develop a sense of ethnic identity.⁹ The Chinese community faced a turning point in the 1970's: to become more Canadian or to preserve their ethnic identity by serving the community.

In other aspects, several more changes regarding generation

⁷ *ibid*, pp.104

⁸ Wickberg, pp.256

shift were apparent within the Chinese community. Before World War II, there was a conspicuous absence of Chinese influence in Canadian politics.¹⁰ It is only recently that Chinese have begun to organize protest movements for social equality. Younger Chinese generations, had begun to organize many protest movements for social equality.¹¹ However, the older generations were not pleased with the behavior of the younger ones, because the old leaders have not yet prepared to abandon their positions and accept the changes in the Chinese community.¹² This shows that forms of leadership prevailed within Chinese communities in Canada with little change, even in the post war period.¹³ However, eventually every Chinese community was in need of new leaders, who would handle problems in the communities more effectively. A new type of Chinese people, younger, sophisticated, bilingual (or multilingual) and well-educated began to be involved in building new community associations.¹⁴ They helped to "re-educate" older generations (less educated and unilingual) to cope with the demands of the Canadian environment.

⁹ *ibid*, pp.256

¹⁰ Li, pp.102

¹¹ *ibid*, pp.103

¹² Wickberg, pp.260

¹³ *ibid*, pp.260

¹⁴ *ibid*, pp.262

Chinese younger generations currently play an important role in serving members of the communities. They have formed new organizations among the communities and dealt with many activities: child care, youth activities, activities for the elderly, employment, English language classes, legal aid, income tax preparation, and immigration issues.¹⁵ They seek funding from for these activities from a variety of government agencies committed to multiculturalism.¹⁶ In other words, the younger generations are essential "moderators" and "bridges" between the Canadian government and large numbers of immigrants Chinese coping with the demands of new social expectations.

3. Chinatowns in Canada

Chinatowns in Canada are still growing, and the number of immigrants from China makes the communities bigger and more solid. Take Chinatown in Toronto, for example. The Toronto community in the 1970's demonstrated new changes. Prior to the post-war period, Toronto's Chinatown was a tiny group of stores, a few shops, a collection of association headquarters, and some Chinese

¹⁵ *ibid*, pp.262

¹⁶ *ibid*, pp.263

churches.¹⁷ Currently, Toronto's Chinatown is still growing and playing an important role as a thriving commercial section with a wide variety of stores and restaurants, and a new residential part.¹⁸ According to Wickberg, the transformation in Toronto's Chinatown is both astounding and impressive.¹⁹

It can also be said that Chinatown today has become more of a commercial district marketing ethnic goods, and services, but less a cultural community.²⁰ The case of the Vancouver Chinatown, the other major Chinese community in Canada, suggests that the major value of the Chinese business is its commercial appeal as a tourist attraction, which is a good strategy to sell/produce ethnic goods and services.²¹ Today, Chinatown as a commercial area appeals more to Chinese business than to cultural interactions among the members of the community.

Another aspect of Chinatown is that its population is formed by recent immigrants.²² In terms of maintaining social interactions within the ethnic group, reports said that 79.7% of the Chinese maintained close friendship ties and a high level of social visiting

¹⁷ *ibid*, pp.261

¹⁸ *ibid*, pp.261

¹⁹ *ibid*, pp.261

²⁰ Li, pp.104

²¹ *ibid*, pp.104

²² *ibid*, pp.104

with members of the same ethnic group.²³ In other words, Chinese who try to integrate more into Canadian society tend to be outside of the community, not sticking together with their "fellow Chinese". New members tend to gather in the Chinese community, because they would rather integrate in the community than the "outside" Canadian community, which has totally different cultures or backgrounds.

The other significant thing in Chinatown is that there is not only the Hong Kong influence, but also a new cosmopolitanism in Chinese-Canadian communities.²⁴ Many businessmen in the community are involved in trading with Hong Kong or Mainland China, and they also play an important role in stimulating the economy not only for Chinese but also for Canada. Moreover, under the multiculturalism policy, the spectacular immigration of Chinese from all over the world between 1967 and the middle of 1970's has enhanced more cosmopolitanism in the Chinatowns as well.²⁵

Chinatowns and Chinese communities are still growing. There are struggles between the old and young generations; however, this also means that the difference of old and new mixes and creates a unique harmony. The merchant became the developer or investor,

²³ *ibid*, pp.104

²⁴ Wickberg, pp.268

²⁵ *ibid*, pp.268

and the poor laborer or peasant became the working class.²⁶ Moreover, recent Chinese generations are more sophisticated and well-educated, challenge the unfairness in the country, and try to improve their life by speaking out to the community. As long as Chinese are here, I believe that Chinese communities in Canada will continue to flourish.

4. Japanese minorities after World War II: obstacles

Japanese minorities were regarded as second-class citizens in Canada in the war period and before. During World War II, in particular, they suffered as "enemy aliens", because the Japanese government participated in the war against the "world". Japanese properties were frozen by the Canadian government right after the war began, and they were forced to move away from the west coast to live inland for several years. Those people who suffered were mainly the first generation; they needed to obey the government's order although it was mistreatment. Even after the war, when the treatment of Japanese improved, there was still a bias against the Japanese.

Due to the governmental excuse of "national security",

²⁶ Chan, Anthony B. Gold Mountain: the Chinese in the New World. Vancouver:

Japanese Canadians in British Columbia could not appeal to fellow Canadians for help to fight the unfair treatment.²⁷ Because other ethnic minorities still thought of Japanese as an "enemy group" even after the war, Japanese was unable to ask for help from outside forces, leaving them virtually friendless. Under such harsh circumstance, *Nisei* tried to reorganize the Japanese community; they tried to ask for help from other sympathetic "fellow Canadians" to build a power base for protest against their bitter treatment during the war.²⁸

By 1949, Japanese Canadians achieved full citizenship, and they were allowed to return to British Columbia.²⁹ Even though they were allowed to go back to the West Coast, a number of Japanese people still remained where they were forced to move, especially on the East Coast.³⁰ In the early postwar period, new immigrants from Japan went to Ontario, to avoid the considerable discrimination against visible minorities on the west coast. Japanese people still faced discrimination as "enemies", but they were gradually recognized as diligent people, and they began to play an important role in the community and economy for the local regions. However,

New Star Books Ltd, 1983. pp.156

²⁷ Sunahara, pp.162

²⁸ *ibid*, pp.163

²⁹ Francis and Kimura, pp.215

it was not the end of the battle for unfair treatment.

With the promotion of multiculturalism in the 1970s, the Canadian government faced the problems of compensating the Japanese for their expropriated property. Japanese people began to demand compensation of for their "frozen properties" taken by the government during the war period.³¹ This movement was successful: the Canadian government officially apologized for the evacuation during the war and decided to pay compensation in September, 1988.³² Prime minister Mulroney formally apologized to the Japanese people who were in labor camps during the war period.

The government decided to pay a total amount of three hundred million dollars; 12,000 survivors during the evacuation period were able to receive 21,100 Canadian dollars, and more than ten million dollars was paid for development of Canadian-Japanese communities in Canada.³³ Before Canada, the government of the United States in August, 1988, decided to give the Japanese first generation compensation of 20,000 U.S. dollars per person.³⁴ Even though the action of the Canadian government may somewhat have been influenced

³⁰ *ibid*, pp.215

³¹ Francis and Kumura, pp.216

³² *ibid*, pp.216

³³ Yoshida, Tadao. Kanada Nikkei Imin no Kiseki (The Historical Track of Japanese-Canadians). Tokyo: Ningen no Kagaku sha. pp.307-317

³⁴ \$20,000 was also given to survivors of the concentration camps in the United States.

by the action of the United States, the movement of Canadian-Japanese for the compensation was worth trying, and it ended the discord between Japanese people and the government.

5. Generation changes among Japanese minorities

New generations, the second and third generations (*Nisei* and *Sansei*) currently play an important role in Canadian society. The generation change seen among Chinese minorities happened within the Japanese as well. Unlike the first generations, the second generations rapidly began to enter such secure and prestigious fields as medicine, engineering, dentistry, architecture, law and teaching.³⁵ According to Sunahara, the difference between generations is as follows:

...Japanese Canadians still carry the scars of their poverty of the Issei, the social silence of the Nisei, and the cultural ignorance of the Sansei are all legacies of the war. The Issei are poor because they were dispossessed. The Nisei are silent because they are good Canadians...³⁶

Although *Nisei* occupied prestigious positions and gained rapid success in Canada, their attitudes were still silent, avoiding

³⁵ Adachi, pp.359

³⁶ Sunahara, pp.166

involvement in complex things particularly politics. The bitter experiences during the war period made them avoid political involvement. Sunahara states that this political absence even at the present time comes from the Japanese virtue *enryo* (reserve or restraint) or *gaman* (patience and perseverance).³⁷ It is not certain that the virtue applies to younger generations, but it could be said that Japanese are still keeping a distance from involvement in policy-making organizations or from being politicians.

Unlike Chinese communities, Japanese communities were not firmly formed after the war. Currently, there are no "Japantowns" or Little Japans in Canada. One of the reasons is that Japanese intentionally tried not to inhabit one specific place (such as the Vancouver area) after the war, because they were cautious that they might again be accused and attacked by mobs if something happened. At this time, war between Canada and Japan is unrealistic, but the riots against Japanese may again happen due to economic conflicts between the two countries, etc. Again, the virtue of Japanese *enryo* may appear in this unwillingness to gather together.

Another difference from Chinese minorities is that Japanese tend to integrate more into Canadian society. For instance, many

³⁷ Sunahara, pp.167

Japanese *Sansei* tend to get married with people from other ethnic groups. In the 1980's, there was 75%-80% of *Sansei* had non-Japanese spouses.³⁸ Because the Japanese do not form their community like the Chinese, younger generations are able to get to know people from other ethnic groups. It could also be said that past experience during the war period -the evacuation- may make them more integrated into the Canadian society.

Nowadays, there are few Japanese immigrating to Canada. Instead, many tourists from Japan come to Canada each year, and many Japanese companies invest in Canadian enterprises. Japanese firms by 1974 had invested about \$300 million in the lumber, copper, and coal industries and in fish-processing plants.³⁹ The Seibu chain, one of the biggest enterprise complexes in Japan, built the Prince Hotel in Toronto in 1974. In 1974, for example, 90,000 Japanese visited Canada; among them, more than 5,000 skiers went to Banff and Jasper in Alberta.⁴⁰ According to a tourist who visited Banff, "Canadians were very friendly and tried to help us, too." Of course, tourism employees need to face many Japanese tourists who are able to spend more money there, and local Canadians consequently try to be nice to Japanese tourists. However, those

³⁸ Francis and Kimura, pp.216

³⁹ Adachi, pp.353

interactions would accelerate more cultural exchanges between Canadian and Japanese in many ways.

Although there were bitter past experiences among early immigrants from Japan, Japanese surely live in this country and make great contributions to their "two" home countries. Actually, many Japanese-Canadians today are proud of their involvement in important roles in Canada. At the same time, the relationship between Canada and Japan has become more solid, and they have built a good partnership in many ways, exchanging technology, resources, culture, and people. In this aspect, Japanese-Canadians will be able to play more important roles as a "bridge" between the two countries. In order to do that, it may be necessary that more politicians or civil servants come from the Japanese minority.

V. Multiculturalism in Canada

1. What is multiculturalism?

What does the enforcement of multiculturalism mean to Canada? The enforcement of multiculturalism has brought many issues into Canada itself. According to the national census in 1971, the percentage of major ethnic origins is as follows: English 44.6%,

⁴⁰ *ibid*, pp.353

French 28.7%, German 6.1%, Italian 3.4%, Ukrainian 2.7%, Chinese 1%, and Japanese 0.2%.⁴¹ There are of course more ethnic minorities living in Canada than listed above. Canada is a country of immigrants from all over the world. In order to live and cooperate together with people from other backgrounds and cultures, multiculturalism is crucial for Canada itself.

Because of the enforcement of multiculturalism as an act, the issue of compensation for early Japanese immigrants who suffered in the evacuation became a reality though it took more than 30 years after the war. Of course, the effort of Japanese-Canadians to lobby the government cannot be denied. Regardless, this is one of the most distinguished examples that the government's beginning to make an effort to solve the conflicts between ethnic minorities.

Multiculturalism has been one of the Canada's distinguished official policies since 1972,⁴² and it is regarded as a model policy by other multiracial/multicultural countries. In other words, the initiation of multiculturalism was inevitable for the Canadian government because Canada was trying to respect diverse ethnicity, culture, and languages. Under this policy, Canada has taken a positive attitude to accept immigrants from all over the world and

⁴¹ Ohara and Banba, pp.173

⁴² Canada is the first nation who constituted multiculturalism act in 1988

still tolerates "new members" to Canada at this moment. Moreover, Canada also accepts refugees from countries with political unrest and local wars.

As Canada itself is formed from people from every country, it is very important for the government to set up a policy like multiculturalism to treat those people without any favoritism. At the same time, Canada is also making an effort to get rid of racial discrimination in order to distribute "equality" to each member of the society. Under the policy of multiculturalism, it seems that the government of Canada is trying to experiment with the "ideal nation respecting differences". According to *Asahi Shinbun*, one of the major newspapers in Japan, "The Canadian government is currently in a big experiment of multiculturalism under drastic change of immigrant society".⁴³

According to Fleras, "Multiculturalism is arguably a central dynamic in Canadian society at present... The principles, policies, and practices of multiculturalism have catapulted Canada into the front ranks of societies in the management of diversity."⁴⁴ In other words, Canada has accepted the "difference" of each member of the

and instituted Minister of Multiculturalism and Citizenship in 1990.

⁴³ Tsumaru, Shūichi. "Jikken Shakai no Sugao (A Real Face of Experimental Society)." *Asahi Shinbun* (Newspaper). 30 Jun. 1998, sec. 8:B.

⁴⁴ Fleras, Augie. and Elliott, Jean Leonard. Multiculturalism in Canada:

society and has respected this difference. Even though it may cause conflicts between ethnic groups, at least the Canadian government is currently attempting to overcome every difficulty understanding and accepting the people who possess different backgrounds under this policy.

It may be too much of a compliment, but Canada is a current challenger for the "model country" of the world; even though there are many problems to solve, this is worth trying not only for Canada but also for other countries. Other countries who face the difficulties accepting other cultures/immigrants could follow Canada's peaceful way to manage and solve those issues without any violence. In this chapter, I will briefly indicate the history of Canada up to the beginning of multiculturalism and Canada's current situation with regard to multiculturalism.

2. Coexistence of English and French

Canada has long been regarded as a bilingual society. It can be said that Canada's multiculturalism began with the existence of two cultures in the first place: English and French. They had struggled for supremacy in Canada since they found the new land

the Challenge of Diversity. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1992. Preface

in North America, especially from the end of the 17th century to the 1760s⁴⁵. Even though English was formally adopted by Canada in the Proclamation of 1763,⁴⁶ it seems that the struggle the supremacy between them remains up to this time although they do not fight with arms.

For instance, the province of Quebec has maintained its own policy in Canada.⁴⁷ Even though the French lost supremacy over Canada in the 18th century, the French have kept their own culture and language mainly in the province of Quebec. In terms of respecting the French culture and language, the Canadian government in 1969 passed the Official Languages Act to ensure the coexistence of English and French as official and equal languages in the operation of federal institutions.⁴⁸ After this action, the 1982 Constitution Act entrenched the principle of linguistic duality as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society.⁴⁹

Consequently, in 1988, the Conservative government moved to bring the act into line with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, to acknowledge its supremacy over all federal legislation, to

⁴⁵ Ohara and Banba, pp.24

⁴⁶ The British government tried to design to transform Quebec into an English-speaking colony.

⁴⁷ In the province of Quebec, French has been the first language by the Quebec Language Laws in 1977.

⁴⁸ Fleras and Elliott, pp.152

⁴⁹ *ibid*, pp.152

guarantee the right for all public servants to work in the language of their choice, and to recognize the equal participation of French and English in all government settings.⁵⁰ These consequent acts for English/French bilingualism show one of Canada's particular ways to preserve the difference. This difference of cultural co-existence also shows Canada's tolerance of other cultures.

3. Multiculturalism: as official policies

The emergence of multiculturalism as official government policy is one of the most important features of Canadian society and will require more effort for its enforcement. At this moment, every effort for multiculturalism in Canada made at institutional levels has gathered momentum with the passage of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988.⁵¹ At this point, the current emphasis on multiculturalism of the Canadian government is mainly focused on race relations and the attainment of social and economic integration through removal of discriminatory behaviors, barriers, and affirmative action to equalize opportunity.⁵²

During 1971-1985, political considerations on

⁵⁰ *ibid*, pp.152-153

⁵¹ Fleras and Elliott, pp.216

⁵² *ibid*, pp.68

multiculturalism began to focus. There were two important political decisions at that time: the Canadian government set the policy of multiculturalism in 1971 and the Official Language Act in 1971. In particular, the 1971 policy of multiculturalism advocated a restructuring of the symbolic order to incorporate all identities of every different ethnic group on an equal basis.⁵³ Under this policy, no ethnic minorities would be treated as minor citizens in Canada, and no distinctive culture, which each ethnic minority possesses, would be denied by legitimate status.

Consequently, the Ministry of Multiculturalism was instituted in 1973 to monitor the implementation of multicultural activities within government and departments. In the following period, official linkages between the government and ethnic organizations were established.⁵⁴ Among those organizations, the Canadian Consultative Council on multiculturalism was established in 1973. These consecutive establishments of governmental organizations show Canada's solid decision to implement the policy of multiculturalism nationwide, the first country to do so.

On July 21, 1988, the Canadian government announced that a national multicultural law, called the Multiculturalism Act would

⁵³ *ibid*, pp.73

⁵⁴ *ibid*, pp.74

replace the multicultural policy in 1971. The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Multiculturalism in 1987 announced as follows:

The multicultural policy of 1971 is clearly insufficient and out-of-date. It does not have the ability to meet the needs of today's multicultural society. There is a sense that this 15-year-old policy is floundering. It needs clear direction.⁵⁵

The new law established multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society with a crucial role in the decision-making process of the federal government. Moreover, in early 1990, the Canadian government announced the formation of the Canadian Multicultural Advisory Committee to assist in the implementation of the Multiculturalism Act through public education and community programs.⁵⁶ Through education on multiculturalism, the government tries to remove the barriers between majority and minorities or one minority race and another race. At the same time, the government also accelerates more interactions among them.

⁵⁵ *ibid*, pp.74

⁵⁶ *ibid*, pp.74

3. Multiculturalism in Canada: education

In Canadian schools, the government mandates education for ethnic diversity. Multicultural education is defined as an organized effort to manage racial and ethnic diversity as an integral component of the school system.⁵⁷ In other words, multicultural education respects one's ethnic/cultural background. The goal of multicultural education is as follows: when one learns something from the education, one can utilize it to adapt other cultures as a basis for comparison, criticism, or involvement, and at the same time, each person is equipped with an understanding of cross-cultural alternatives that ideally prepares them for interaction with other cultural groups.⁵⁸

In those schools, there are many programs for multiculturalism. For instance, at a school in northwestern Ontario, many cultural activities are enforced to celebrate cultural diversity. Each class chooses a country to adopt for the five-day celebration. During the week, the class would study aspects of that country to share knowledge from students with other students. Moreover, classes invite guest speaker(s) who visited

⁵⁷ *ibid*, pp.187

⁵⁸ *ibid*, pp.193

certain countries (in general, a country was chosen where student (s) came from) to give a brief lecture in front of the classes.⁵⁹ It is one of the examples of helping every student to understand other cultures.

Canada's multiculturalism is still in progress; it is not yet perfect. Among the majority group, there are many complaints about multiculturalism. After 1971 when Canada declared the policy, most immigrants were from Asia, not from Europe. It is estimated that Toronto's non-Caucasian population in 2000 will be over 54%, most of whom are Chinese minorities.⁶⁰ Although visible objections or demonstrations against the increase in the Asian population have not yet appeared, it is assumed that there will be some degree of objection in the future.

Moreover, there is the challenge of how the Canadian government solidifies diverse ethnic groups as Canadian citizens. Because Canada admits multicultural and multiracial rights, it is a crucial issue how Canada will lead those multiracial members to "unity". At the same time, those members may also need to recognize that they are Canadian citizens in the first place, before thinking of themselves as a member of the ethnic group. In this aspect, the

⁵⁹ *ibid*, pp.200

⁶⁰ Tsumaru, Asahi Shinbun.

government may need to have more centripetal force to unify those members.

Conclusion

To the Future

Both Chinese and Japanese minorities now receive every benefit as Canadian citizens. There are many differences between Chinese and Japanese minorities as to why and how they went across the ocean to live in a different country and their cultural backgrounds. However, several common points can be found between them. Because of their valuing diligence, the economic situation of both minorities is very stable. Because of their respect for education and stable financial stability, the younger generations of both minorities are able to study at university and acquire high-level education. Because of the third/fourth generations' well-educated backgrounds, they currently play important roles in every field in Canadian society.

Those benefits that the younger generations of both minorities currently receive are built on the hardships of the early immigrants from China or Japan. Although they had faced much difficulty and bias when they arrived in Canada, they were very patient and eventually overcame their hard times. It took a long time for them to become recognized as Canadian citizens, but these hard times turned out to be fruitful because their offspring are

now playing active roles in Canadian society.

As I mentioned in the introduction, the Korean minorities in Japan also currently enjoy their lives as Chinese and Japanese minorities in Canada. Their rate of higher education goes up every year. My father, a first generation Korean resident, often told me "You need to study harder and make much more effort than Japanese. Because you compete with Japanese in every way, you need to be more outstanding than them. In a job interview, for instance, Japanese interviewers of course favor Japanese interviewees. In order to impress yourself on them, you must have something more remarkable than Japanese; otherwise, you cannot survive in the Japanese society." Needless to say, my father's words are still alive in my mind. I wonder if Canadian-Chinese and Japanese parents would have told their children the same words as my father did.

Nowadays, the "exclusive" Japanese society has changed little by little. Japanese companies have begun to give more employment opportunities Korean university graduates. There are many third and fourth generations working at first-rate companies and also playing an important role in those companies. From their ranks, some executive class personnel have been promoted to vice presidents. Moreover, a number of Koreans have passed the

examination for the local level of civil servants, and a few of them have started to work at the city hall of Yokohama. Also, Korean schools were recently admitted to the attend national high school sports competition in Japan.

Although Korean residents in Japan have made numerous achievements, they still face difficulties living in Japan; many more improvements for Koreans (or foreigners) are necessary. In particular, the Japanese society is recognized as one of the more foreign-exclusive countries, therefore it will take a longer time to change the society. With regard to the necessity for more improvements in society, this also applies to Canada. The Canadian government needs to make more efforts for the integration of each minority (or majority) group. "A country of mosaic" seems fine so far, but possessing a sense of solidarity is also required among those people in Canada.

However, the biggest difference between Canada and Japan is that Canada is a country of immigrants from all over the world, and Japan is a "homogeneous" country, according to some Japanese people. Japan has once accepted refugees, from Viet Nam in the 1970's. At that time, public opinion not only in Japan but also worldwide forced Japan to accept those refugees, so Japan had no

choice but to accept them under this pressure.

Also, the Japanese government has been accepting Japanese children left behind in China after World War II.¹ Even though they are pure Japanese, they were raised by Chinese and are fluent in Chinese, not Japanese, and their cultural habits are totally Chinese. The Japanese government enforces several programs such as Japanese language courses, cultural explanation, and vocational training to accustom them to Japanese society. However, some of the children (but they are already grown up when they came to Japan) cannot become accustomed to the life in Japan and eventually go back to China again. It shows Japan's lack of experience in accepting people from other cultural backgrounds, and the government should deepen understanding of difference to live together.

Canada's multiculturalism is the most distinguished policy probably in the world, and the government makes every effort to treat all people in Canada equally. Such tolerance and experience to have accepted immigrants from every country will definitely help

¹ After World War II when Japan lost the war, those parents of the children tried to escape from "Manchukuo" (current northeastern China), which Japan proclaimed as an independent state in 1932. Those children at that time were still babies or small children who might be a burden when they were escaping to Japan. Therefore, some of the parents left their children to the local people to raise. In 1981, the Japanese government initiated the program to let those children search for their parents or relatives in Japan.

the policies of other countries to accept more people with different backgrounds. It cannot be denied that many improvements are still necessary for multiculturalism; however, it seems that Canada is still experimenting with how multiculturalism should be maintained and how it can effectively work better.

It is commonly said that the Act of Bilingualism aims for the rights of English and French people on one hand, the Act of Multiculturalism aims for those of visible minorities on the other hand. The two different Acts have worked well; however, there is a problem to solve. In the name of multiculturalism, it seems as if people in Canada are completely divided into ethnic group units. The government needs to find how majority people (English and French) and other ethnic groups can unify, integrate, and cooperate with one group and another as Canadian citizens.

At any rate, multiculturalism is very important for visible minorities in Canada. Of course, the lives of both Chinese and Japanese minorities are under the protection of multiculturalism. The lives of the two minorities are expanding and striving, and they are spending their lives as Canadian citizens. To be born as a member of minority is not a shameful matter; if anything, it is a matter for pride. Minority members may be able to possess

a keener sense of feelings for others such as thoughtfulness, humor, compassion, anger, friendship, etc that people from majority group(s) may not easily acquire. I believe that the future of Chinese and Japanese minority people is as bright as Canada's future.

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