# History of Raising Self-Awareness and Historiography for Strengthening Connectedness : The Vancouver Chinese in Multicultural Canada

Senri Ethnological Studies 93: 15–48 ©2016
*Migration and the Remaking of Ethnic/Micro-Regional Connectedness*
Edited by Takako Yamada and Toko Fujimoto

# History of Raising Self-Awareness and Historiography for Strengthening Connectedness: The Vancouver Chinese in Multicultural Canada

**Setsuko Sonoda**
*University of Hyogo*

## 1. Introduction: The Significance of History-related Activities for Minority Groups

A variety of activities for discovering and learning about one's own social and cultural history are available to minority groups and immigrants worldwide, and compiling and writing one's own history is prevalent. For immigrant minorities, the process of discovering historical facts and recognizing the importance of one's own historiographies is directly linked to identity building because the historical and social position of these groups in mainstream society is constantly being updated as new historical facts are unearthed and collective memories shared.

As an example, various social and cultural activities were undertaken by Chinese Canadians in Vancouver, British Columbia (BC), after the Second World War and are still being conducted today. This study focuses on the long-term aspects of these history-preserving activities by discussing the meanings associated with excavating, preserving, and sharing history among minority populations within the multicultural landscape of Canada, and it presents this history-preserving movement as a medium for creating micro-regional connectedness among Chinese Canadians. Compared with other nations, Canada does not seem to be affected by overt ethnic divisions, conflicts, or violence. Although societal, institutional, and individual racism still exist there, society is responsive against racial abuses and reproves these. Civic, academic, or administrative organizations have implemented various cultural and educational activities or projects aimed at enhancing minorities' rights in daily life. Such a social and moral environment could be attributed to the consistent efforts of citizens or to a more meta-level condition resulting from Canada being the first nation in the world to adopt a policy of multiculturalism in 1971.

However, in Canada, some ethnic populations feel, consciously or subconsciously, as though their culture is being threatened or endangered by mainstream society. Also, they feel excluded or not fully accepted by mainstream society. This self-awareness has stimulated the development of historic recognition activities, especially when groups develop a critical sense that their next generations are being assimilated into mainstream

society and losing their distinctive identity. Historically, such awareness has been noticeably high among Vancouver's Chinese population.

This may sound like an exaggeration of the relationship between Chinese Canadians and mainstream Canadian society because the Chinese population in Canada appears to be a "mighty minority." Chinese residents, with a population of about 1,300,000, or 4% of the total Canadian population, in 2012, are currently the largest non-White ethnic group in Canada (Statistics Canada 2010)[1]. Furthermore, Chinese residents accounted for 14.8% of the total population of Metro Vancouver area in 2011, and are therefore more visible in this area (Statistics Canada 2012) (Fig. 1). The total number of Chinese-speaking residents in Vancouver is currently more than 340,000, including 133,405 Cantonese-speaking residents, 92,420 Mandarin-speaking residents and 115,635 residents who identify "Chinese" as their native language (Statistics Canada 2012); indeed, Chinese-speaking residents are the largest immigrant group among all non-English or non-French speaking groups in Vancouver. With the number of Chinese residents steadily increasing and the concept of multiculturalism becoming more familiar in Canadian society, Chinese-related cultural events and activities have started attracting attention. Chinese residents possess power in both the local economy and in their cultural self-

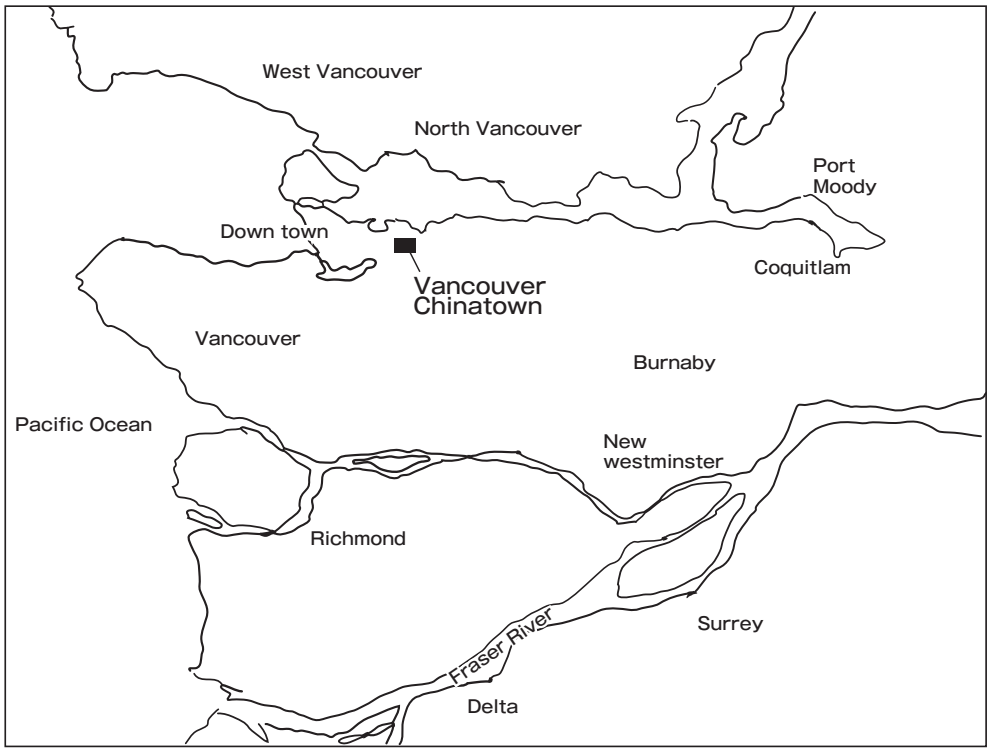


**Figure 1** Map of Metro Vancouver

expression, and recently their political clout has been growing and they are gaining a greater voice in Canadian society, as witnessed by their increased participation and sway in local elections. For example, in May 2013, a total of 22 Chinese Canadians stood as candidates in BC general elections.

In addition to the above conditions, the changing attitudes of Canadian federal, provincial, and municipal governments toward Chinese history also reinforce the image of the Chinese group as a mighty minority. On June 22, 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper offered a formal apology to Chinese Canadians for the country's historical treatment of Chinese immigrants, especially for the Chinese head tax. On May 15, 2014, the BC provincial government formally apologized to the Chinese community for 160 historical discriminatory policies imposed in BC. Twelve days later, the City of Vancouver council voted unanimously to prepare an official apology for historical discrimination against this community (CBC News 2014; Cole 2014). The concerted efforts of Chinese Canadian citizens bore fruit in a sequence of subsequent apologies issued by all three level of governments. This trend accelerated since the end of the Harper administration, and the Canadian government has officialy apologized to other communities for its historial wrongs, considering the rising public voice.

However, as argued by previous studies on the Chinese community and the history of their cultural activities, Chinese heritage—and the Chinese community itself—experienced difficulties at different stages in which they were marginalized, weakened, and diffused (Ng 1999; Wai 1998). These experiences led to efforts that aimed at increasing awareness of the importance of historic recognition and preservation among Chinese immigrants and their descendants in Vancouver. At the same time, these issues shed some light on the extent of the problem as well as the existence of long-lasting political and social pressure placed on minority groups by mainstream society to assimilate.

The tracing of Chinese immigrant history, historical collections, and oral information on minorities is a direct reflection of efforts to collect, salvage, compile, preserve, and share them within marginalized populations. It also reflects the strategy such groups use to cope with their vulnerable social status and increase their visibility in mainstream society. Therefore, knowing about minority or immigrant historiography consists of not only learning about actual history, but also analyzing status in present society. The phrase "Canadian multicultural landscape" therefore has a nuanced meaning that reflects both the richness of ethnic diversity and the challenge it presents to deeply rooted historical notions of white supremacy.

## 2. Chinese Canadians' Initiatives Aimed at Historic Activities in Vancouver

### 2.1 General history of the Chinese in British Columbia

Chinese immigrants first arrived at the Canadian Pacific coast on board Captain John Meares' ship, which landed at Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island, in 1788 and continuous immigration to BC started with the gold rush of 1858 (Fig. 2). Nearly 1000 more followed after being recruited as indentured laborers for construction of the BC section

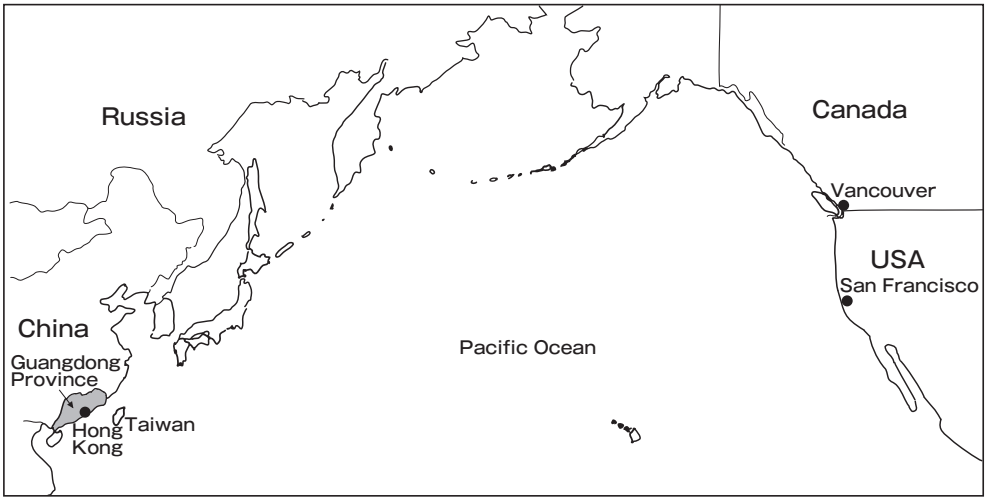


**Figure 2** Map of China and Canada

of the Transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railroad between 1881 and 1885. Although some Chinese laborers emigrated directly from China, a significant number re-migrated from California and Puget Sound. By the 1880s, they had scattered and settled in coal mining or lumbering communities on Vancouver Island. The Chinese also lived on the BC mainland in various small gold mining towns along the Fraser River Valley such as New Westminster, Yale, Lytton, Lillooet, Boston Bar, Barkerville, and Kamloops. The city of Victoria on Vancouver Island is the capital of BC and marks the initial landing point for immigrants to the province; therefore, the Chinese settled in Victoria and eventually formed Chinatown (Con 1982: 13–24; Lai 1988: 37–41) (Fig. 3).

In the early history of BC, the demographics of those Chinese communities show the vast majority of the Chinese population spoke Cantonese and various village dialects from Guangdong Province, southern China. In addition, the vast majority of the approximately 5000 Chinese immigrants in 1884–1885 came from 14 counties in this same province; nearly 64% came from Taishan, Kaiping, Xinhui, and Enping counties, 18% from Panyu, Shunde, and Nanhai counties, 8% from Heshan and Zhongshan counties, and 6% from the eastern side of the Peal River (Fig. 4). According to a Royal Commission Report in 1884, hundreds of Chinese immigrants lived in each of the gold mining towns along Fraser River. The largest Chinese communities were in Victoria, with 1767 immigrants, New Westminster, with 1680, and Nanaimo, with 969. Reflecting the conditions of their entrance into BC, 86% were laborers and less than 2% engaged in business or professional work (Lai 1988: 17–19, 41–45). The Chinese in other countries on the Pacific Rim also came from Guangdong Province and mostly worked as contract laborers. Thus, at that time, the Chinese communities in the Americas were characterized by predominantly single, working-class Cantonese men. These social characteristics remained largely the same up until the 1960s.

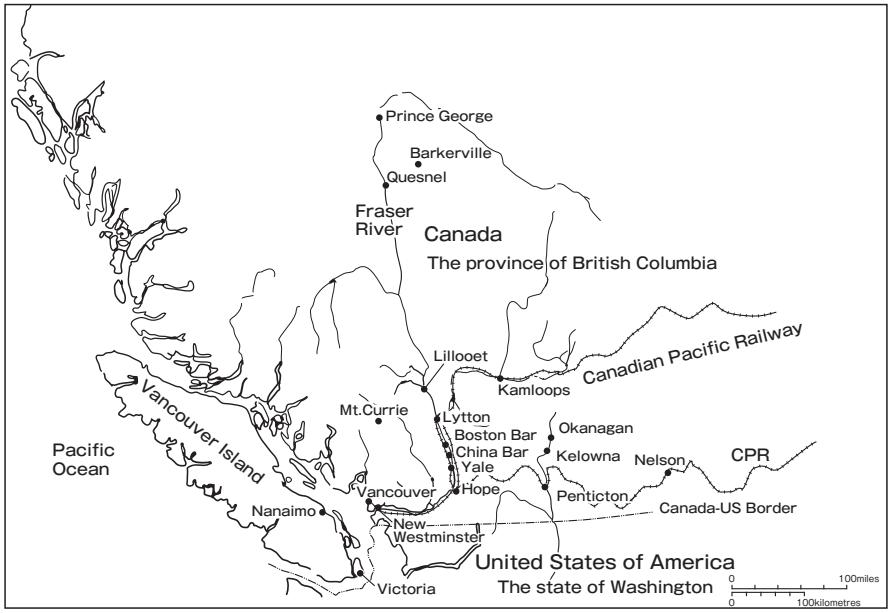


**Figure 3** Map of the early BC, Canada

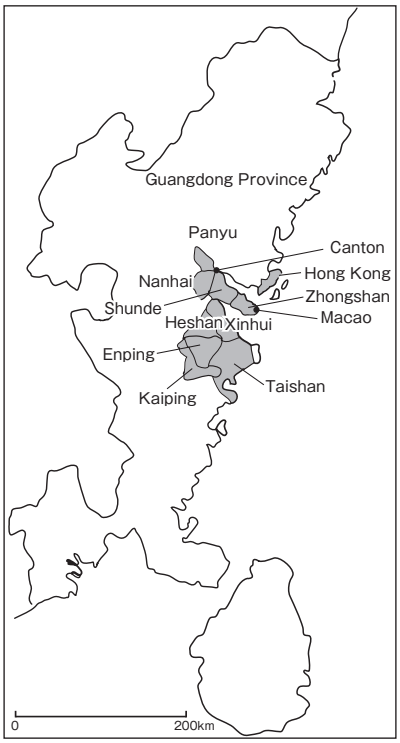


**Figure 4** Map of Guangdong Province, China

Changes in North American immigration policies affected the formation and social structure of Chinese communities from the 1880s to the 1960s. As Erika Lee argues, rather than restricting foreign immigration, American immigration laws before 1882 were aimed at recruitment (Lee 2002: 55). However, a growing awareness of and controversy surrounding race, immigration, and the modern nation-state in North America led to hostilities and discrimination; Chinese were being described as unassimilable aliens who were spreading immorality, disease, and economic competition. In 1882, the American federal government effectuated the Chinese Exclusion Act prohibiting Chinese laborers from entering the country and, for the first time in its history, barred specific immigrant groups based on race and class. Around the same time, in 1885, the Canadian government enacted a discriminatory anti-Chinese federal law that imposed a $50 per head tax on all Chinese immigrants; this amount was subsequently raised to $500 in 1903. Although the Canadian government abolished this tax in 1923, they continued to enforce the Chinese Immigration Act that prohibited not only Chinese laborers, but also anyone of Chinese origin or descent from entering the country.

During the Chinese Head Tax period of 1885−1923, every Chinatown in Canada was on the decline except for that in Vancouver. Vancouver's Chinatown actually grew during this period. It started growing rapidly in the 1890s due to the construction of an extended railroad track by predominately male railroad workers from Port Moody to Vancouver in 1887. The area became heavily populated with Chinese who were moving out of small suburban towns due to anti-Chinese threats, prejudice, and even attacks. Various Chinese businesses also moved out of Victoria's Chinatown. The population of Vancouver's Chinatown outnumbered that of Victoria's Chinatown from 1901 onward, reaching 13,011 by 1931 (Lai 1988: 79−85). Small Chinatowns in local communities and remote areas of Canada had all disappeared by the 1960s due to the discriminatory social atmosphere and the assimilation of the second generations (Roy 2007: 148−149). Vancouver's Chinatown began declining after enforcement of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, which prevented the inflow of Chinese immigrants. The population of this community steadily decreased thereafter, dropping to 7,174 by 1941 (Lai 1988: 85).

Although the "unique" environment of Vancouver's Chinatown has often been described as an overcrowded ethnic enclave or an unsanitary slum, these social features were largely the result of discriminatory laws and racial prejudice. The Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 was repealed in 1947, but this did not bring significant change to the Chinese community until the 1960s. For instance, when the Immigrant Act of 1947 was enacted, Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated that Canada's immigrant policy of population increase and economic development was to be achieved by accepting European immigrants, and essentially excluded further Asian immigrants. Old council orders maintained Canada's anti-Chinese exclusion system and prevented Chinese immigration by limiting the entry of Asians to the wives and unmarried children younger than 18 years of age of the Chinese who already had Canadian citizenship and right of residence. The Immigrant Act was revised in 1952 but European immigrants still retained the advantage of entering Canada because it was at the discretion of the chief of Department of Citizenship and Immigration (Triadafilopoulos 2013: 15−23).

The 1960s is the truning point for Asian immigration to North America. The United States' enactment of the Imigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was especially important for receiving various ethnic Asian populations.

In Canada, in an amendment of the Immigrant Act in 1962, a skills- and ability-based immigrant admissions system was adopted. However, citizens from non-European and nonwestern hemisphere countries were limited to sponsoring members of their immediate family and a narrower range of relatives. New immigration regulation policies in 1967 were recognized as a historical milestone that opened the door to Canada to prospective Chinese immigrants and changed the demographic structure of Chinese communities across Canada. The government introduced a Point System for admission criteria to qualify as a Canadian immigrant that considered age, education, linguistic ability, and skills. But the government was still reluctant to relax immigration laws, which were criticized by some as being part of the Cold War context that argued illegal immigrants and even subversive Chinese communists would enter the country (Triadafilopoulos 2013: 23–34; Roy 2007: 263–265).

However, in the 1960s, especially after the introduction of the Point System in 1967, more Asians appeared in the racial distribution of new immigrants, and diversification among ethnic Chinese communities also started to progress dramatically in Canada. Unlike their predecessors from poor farming areas in Guangdong Province, China, most of the Chinese immigrants after 1967 came to Canada for educational or business purposes, for themselves or for their children. They were different with respect to their origin, wealth, education, and motives. They came from various counties and cultures, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, mainland China, Southeast Asia, and the Americas, but particularly from Hong Kong and Taiwan, as shown in Table 1 (Lai 1988: 102–108; Ng 1999: 120–123).

Based on these changes, the Chinese population in Vancouver started to become more diversified from the 1970s. Chinese residential areas were no longer limited to those within old Chinatown. "New Chinatowns" in the suburbs emerged, such as that in Richmond, and the number of Chinese residents outside Chinatown increased, with the

**Table 1** Numbers of immigrants arriving in Canada from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, 1971–1980

| Year | China | Hong Kong | Taiwan |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 | 47 | 5009 | 761 |
| 1972 | 25 | 6297 | 859 |
| 1973 | 60 | 14662 | 1372 |
| 1974 | 379 | 12704 | 1382 |
| 1975 | 903 | 11132 | 1131 |
| 1976 | 833 | 10725 | 1178 |
| 1977 | 798 | 6371 | 899 |
| 1978 | 644 | 4740 | 637 |
| 1979 | 2058 | 5966 | 707 |
| 1980 | 4936 | 6309 | 827 |

Ng, Wing Chung (1999). *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945–80.* Vancouver: UBC Press; p. 122

Chinese becoming visible in West Vancouver, then North Vancouver, and eventually across the entire Metro Vancouver region.

### 2.2 Vancouver's old Chinatown as a stage for fostering Chinese identity

The general history of Chinese immigration in BC indicates the extensive influence stemming from the restriction period imposed on the Chinese by the head tax in 1885–1923, the exclusion period imposed on them in 1923–1947, and the restriction period imposed on Chinese, other Asian, Caribbean, and African immigrants in 1947–1967. The Canadian government basically limited Chinese immigration by federal law for more than 80 years, from the 1880s to the 1960s. As Patricia Roy argues, by the 1970s, discriminatory racial, social, and cultural mindsets against the Chinese were deeply rooted in Canadian society during the head tax and exclusion period. These mindsets were a challenge for Chinese residents and descendants to change. The Chinese in Vancouver now recognized the uniqueness of their historical heritage through political, social, and cultural actions that confronted their conscious or unconscious marginalization from Canadian mainstream society. Vancouver's Chinatown became the main stage of this civil movement, and the Chinese in that movement contextualized Chinatown as a historical icon of their integrity. The 1970s saw the start of crafting identity as a "Chinese Canadian" and there being a sense of a "Chinese Canadian community."

The political and social movement taking place in Chinatown had been underway since the Second World War, which was a turning point for Chinese in terms of their social status in mainstream Canadian society (Photo 1). During the wartime period,


**Photo 1** Vancouver Chinatown (September, 17, 2012).

joining the Canadian Armed Force became a controversial topic for both the Canadian government and Chinese communities. The Canadian government, at first reluctant to recruit Chinese immigrants for military service, considering that such service would lead to a demand for enfranchisement, started drafting Chinese citizens in 1944. In 1947, Chinese Canadian citizens achieved full citizenship rights, including enfranchisement that was connected with their patriotic cooperation during the war (Roy 2007: 152–155). The election to Parliament in 1957 of lawyer and veteran Douglas Jung, a Chinese descendant in Victoria, marked the first political victory of Chinese Canadians.

The most important decade of the upsurge of community movement in Vancouver Chinatown was the 1960s. Wing Chung Ng argues that a movement in defense of the Strathcona-Vancouver Chinatown from the late 1950s to the early 1970s as a critical event. Functioning to cultivate social and cultural consciousness among the Vancouver Chinese, this movement subsequently crafted a Chinese Canadian identity (Ng 1999: 108–109).

In 1958, the City of Vancouver adopted a comprehensive urban renewal plan and chose the entire Strathcona area for redevelopment. Following the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1947, most Chinese newcomers initially settled in Strathcona, a neighborhood of Vancouver's old Chinatown, and it thus became a place for family reunification and community settlement. The Chinese population in the Strathcona area rose from 25% to 50% between 1950 and 1960. Hayne Wai, who emigrated from Hong Kong in 1952, describes the neighborhood at that time as a low-income working class community and multinational immigrant district, neither a slum nor a high-crime area as suggested by the City of Vancouver to rationalize its urban renewal bulldozing of the community (Wai 1998: 5). Vancouver also developed a sequence of urban renewal projects throughout 1967–1972 that would all but destroy Vancouver Chinatown entirely or in part. For instance, the freeway project of 1967 was planned to cut through the western edge of Chinatown, requiring the bulldozing of the entire area, including the historic Shanghai Alley block.

Chinese residents in Strathcona and Chinatown rose up to protest these plans in the 1960s. Confronting the threat of elimination of their homes and neighborhood, the residents evoked ethnic sentiments and a sense of community in the Strathcona-Chinatown area, which included historic Chinatown. The social movement nurtured a sense of community, and Chinese residents were reminded that Chinatown was where their personal and collective identities were anchored.

The role of local-born Chinese in the protest movement should also be noted. The Strathcona Property Owners and Tenants Association (SPOTA), established in 1968 by a group of local residents, effectively and successfully spearheaded protest activities. SPOTA negotiated with the city government, organized public meetings to provide up-to-date information for the residents, elicited cooperation from the traditional representative body, the Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver (CBA, or often referred to as CCBA)[2], collected signatures from the Chinese community and beyond, and sought and achieved recognition from the provincial and federal governments (Photo 2). Wing Chung Ng highlights the crucial role played by the local-born Chinese generation in SPOTA in


**Photo 2** The protection activities of the Strathcona Property Owners and Tenants Association (SPOTA) for the Strathcona-Vancouver Chinatown area are displayed in a permanent exhibition at the Museum of Vancouver. The figure in the middle is Shirley Chan in 1979, SPOTA's organizer and a second-generation Chinese (September 25, 2013).

facilitating grassroots mobilization that included the participation of various Chinese sectors and a cross-generational, cross-cultural coalition of Chinese and non-Chinese supporters (Ng 1999: 100−101). As a result, unlike similar situations in the historic Chinatowns of Toronto and Montreal, which disappeared during urban renewal in the 1960s, Vancouver's Chinese successfully countered the city government's approach and eventually saved Chinatown (Wai 1988: 13).

In BC, however, Vancouver's Chinatown was preserved, as described in Section 3.1., Chinatown in New Westminster had been completely dismantled during the 1960s to early 1980s, leaving no sign of its past ethnic community. Chinatowns in Canada have been exposed to the crisis of being disappeared by mainstream society. It is through raising their voice and taking action that Chinatowns in Canada have been retained.

### 2.3 The local-born generation and Hong Kong immigrants in the movement

As indicated by SPOTA's networking, achieving cooperation with mainstream society was crucial for the success of the movement. The local-born Chinese and immigrants from Hong Kong did not have a language barrier; they had been educated in an English educational system either in Canada or Hong Kong, had been exposed to Western culture, and were therefore able to bypass the language and cultural barriers that had hindered their predecessors.

The key features of SPOTA's activities were that they acted as a liaison between multi-generational Chinese immigrants and between the ethnic community and

non-Chinese Canadian citizens. Direct access to mainstream society is a significant factor in the success or failure of minority movements. Chinese Canadian citizen groups and activists were challenged in this regard, but skillfully made mainstream society accept their community.

The 1960s marks the era when the Chinese were making professional advancements and starting to occupy higher roles in a variety of medical, judicial, financial, educational, and municipal government positions (Roy 2007: 178). According to an estimate by Ng, about 40% of the Chinese residents in Vancouver from the 1960s to the 1970s were local-born (Table 2). The development of the Strathcona-Chinatown defense movement was heavily based on the multi-generational aspects of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver. Among these varied Chinese populations, the connecting role of the local-born Chinese and Hong Kong immigrants was important for bringing about an ethnic civil movement.

Following the 1970s, Chinese movements in Vancouver became more cultural. Xiaoping Li refers to this as "Asian Canadian cultural activism," a comprehensive cultural upsurge based on immigrant experiences that aimed to foster Asian Canadians in the performing arts, music, film, painting, and literature. Asian Canadian intellectuals, scholars, students, community activists, and artists are grounded in the community from which they originally came, and their activities were thus proposed to express existing social problems and the unjust power structure (Li 2007).

Looking closely at the leadership within Chinese in Vancouver, those engaged in history-based activities around Chinese immigration to Canada were notably mainly second- or third-generation immigrants from Guangdong Province or intellectuals from Hong Kong. These individuals share a common language (Cantonese), an affinity for Guangdong history, and sympathy for the history of the Chinese in Canada, which is virtually identical or at least tied to the history of Cantonese immigrants.

Most notably, the leaders who were Canadian-born descendants of immigrants from Guangdong developed a remarkable process of maintaining and developing their cultural heritage from previous generations. One example of this is Beverly (Bev) Nann, a cultural activist and management consultant in social services. Active since the 1970s, she has been involved in the establishment and operation of many societies and institutes for advancing and disseminating awareness on Canada's multicultural diversity. She is well known for her directorship of the Pacific Immigrant Resources Society (PIRS, est. 1975), the Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of BC (AMSSA,

**Table 2** Estimate of the percentages of the three different groups in Vancouver's Chinese population, 1951–1971

| Groups | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Early generation immigrants | 55 | 23 | 9 |
| Post-1947 newcomers | 8 | 33 | 50 |
| Local-born Chinese | 37 | 44 | 41 |

Ng, Wing Chung (1999). *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945–80.* Vancouver: UBC Press; p. 43

est. 1977), the Multicultural Liaison Workers (est. 1977), the Laurier Institution (est. 1989), and the Asian Heritage Month Society in the early 1990s.

Bev Nann has stated that her work in founding the PIRS was motivated by the personal experience of her grandmother who arrived in Canada as a servant girl for a wealthy merchant family. She subsequently married and raised a family of eight children in Vancouver. Confronted with an English language barrier, she lived her daily life within the confines of Vancouver's Chinatown. With funding from Heritage Canada, the PIRS model of English as a Second Language (ESL) program for Cantonese-speaking mothers and a head-start preschool service was initiated in 1975 at Strathcona Community Centre based on what Bev thought would have helped her grandmother to integrate into the wider community[3]. In the following year, the PIRS program model expanded to include non-Chinese immigrant mothers and their preschoolers, supported by bilingual staff and community volunteers providing ESL, settlement support, and preschool services to facilitate their participation in Canadian society.

The story of Bev's father, Harry Chuck Lin Chin, and his actions to serve the community should also be considered a cultural heritage asset for the next generation. Harry Chin, a native of Zhongshan County in Guangdong Province, immigrated to Canada in 1920 and became a renowned community leader in Chinatown. He was a well-known proprietor of a wholesale florist business, donator, social benefactor, and director of Chinese organizations in Vancouver's Chinatown. Although his life was in some ways a typical success story of the first-generation Chinese immigrants that rose from poverty, struggled with racial prejudice, and became successful, a crucial aspect is that he sympathized with communist ideology from his youth, having joined the Chinese Labor Association, which advocated anarchism and communism (Chin 1983: 11). He apparently built a good relationship with the Chinese Communist Party, visiting his native birthplace in 1976 at the end of the Cultural Revolution and then the USSR in 1977 (Chin 1983: 29−30). In 1985, he took up residence in the middle of Vancouver's Chinatown for aged, Cantonese-speaking immigrants (Chin 1983: 35−36), another interesting example of his service to the community.

From Bev Nann's perspective, the succession of family legacies has revealed that the problem-solving approaches and their nurturing of strong community service of the local-born Chinese generation are due largely in part to their predecessors' personal experiences of immigrating and living in Canada (Photo 3). The parents and grandparents of Bev's generation were all facing a century-long period of racial discrimination in BC and were trying to be more cohesive while supporting each other and developing a sense of community.

This perspective also suggests that immigrants share numerous common experiences across communities in Canada. Although most of the local-born Chinese generation adopts a more westernized individualistic existence that had led to disintegration of the social sphere of old Chinatown, some in the generation responded to their predecessors' struggles and celebrated their community-serving attitude, becoming active from the 1970s onward. This development of ethnic leaders from within the ethnic community could be regarded as the most distinctive characteristic of immigrant-oriented social

**Photo 3** Beverly Nann with a 105-year-old woman from Taishan County, Guangdong, China, in the Golden Age Court, a senior care home in Vancouver's Chinatown that Beverly's father, Harry Chin, built in 1985 for elderly Chinese immigrants (September 5, 2012).

spaces—a micro-region in the multicultural landscape.

In addition to this, increasing awareness of multiculturalism in the 1970s provided financial support to crystalize the motivation to take practical actions. In Xiaoping Li's interview, Bev Nann points out that Asian Canadian heritage is a part of Canadian cultural and historical heritage as a whole, as it helped to create the uniqueness of the Canadian nation. She states that "in redefining Canada, we make sure that its Asian Canadian component is not marginalized and cast in the past" (Li 2007: 233). This discourse relocates ethnic heritage in the broader context of multicultural Canada.

In retrospect, Vancouver's Chinese leaders have shifted their approach from political to social to cultural movements and are developing a historical approach. Through these movements, ethnic Chinese leaders arose and reinforced their strong consciousness and self-definition of the Chinese as minority citizens of Canada, using the expression "Chinese Canadian." This was also accompanied by their awareness of creating connectedness between different generations and Canadian mainstream society.

## 3. Development of the Historiography of Overseas Chinese in Canada since the 1970s

### 3.1 The multicultural policy of 1971 and development of Chinese immigrant history studies in the 1970s

This section discusses meta-level knowledge and the influence of various factors on the history of minority groups, including state policy and university involvement, in the development of Chinese Canadian history studies in BC. In particular, multicultural policies introduced to the academic field of overseas Chinese studies in Canada since 1971 are discussed.

Multicultural policy in 1971 was introduced in response to the rising demands of the non-English and non-French white ethnic cultural communities for a more acceptable national policy than that led by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which recognized French as the other official language and culture alongside English. On October 8, 1971, in a statement to the House of Commons, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced multiculturalism as an official government policy, noting that the government would provide support to all Canadian cultural groups that helped them maintain their culture, enhance their full social engagement in Canadian society, and facilitate their acquisition of Canada's official languages. The Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, the agency that deals with the social integration of immigrants and the cultural activities of all ethnic groups, was responsible for implementing the cultural and linguistic programs for such groups (House of Commons 1971: 8545–8546).

The multicultural policy in 1971 directly triggered the development of an academic project that represented the first community-wide study of overseas Chinese in Vancouver, by stimulating a thorough review and collection of letters, correspondence, and memories that remained in Vancouver's Chinatown in the 1970s. The results of this research led to the publication of the first English book on Chinese immigration history in Canada and historical collections on the Chinese community in Vancouver, stored at the University of British Columbia (UBC).

Up until the 1970s, interest in historical studies on ethnic Chinese had been relatively limited in Canada. There were some attempts to research and write about Chinese immigration to Canada, but it was intermittent and personal, and often remained within the realm of the ethnic community. An example of this was by David T.H. Lee (1915–1988), an educator at the Chinese Public School, an editor and translator for the Chinese newspaper *New Republic*, and a community historian in Victoria Chinatown who was born in Taishan County, Guangdong Province, China. He received his training in history at Xiamen University and immigrated to Victoria in 1953 (Lee 1967: 1). With a critical feeling of the decline of Victoria Chinatown, Lee prepared a Chinese manuscript about the history of Chinese in Canada, which later became the first Chinese book published on Chinese Canadian history. In the early 1960s, Lee attempted to publish an English version, but it did not materialize due to low public interest among the Chinese at that time[4)].

Soon after the official announcement of the multicultural policy in 1971, specific financial aid for exploring ethnic history in Canada began, stimulating academic interest in projects related to Chinese immigrant history. The Canadian Citizenship Branch in the Department of the Secretary of State launched the Ethnic History Project in 1971, providing a total of $200,000 for a compilation of historiographies of 20 ethnic groups in Canada, including Arabs, Chinese, Dutch, East Indians, Germans, Hungarians, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Scotch, and Scandinavians, and then entrusted the resulting research and writing to related academic institutions[5]. In 1972, William Willmott, a sociologist who had begun conducting interviews with traditional leaders in the Chinese community in 1961, anthropologist Graham Johnson, and historian Edgar Wickberg of UBC received two major federal grants, one of which was for $16,000 from the Ethnic History Project[6].

The investigative approach for the project was distinctive for undertaking community-based, community-wide research in Vancouver's Chinatown. According to the contract between the Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State and UBC, UBC was first required to conduct basic research and preparation of a manuscript, and the Secretary of State expected UBC to publish the results as bilingual reports with additional funding[7]. The study was developed as a comprehensive sociohistorical research project on Chinese immigrants and their communities in Canada that could be published as an overall perspective and analytic history of the Chinese in Canada.

In the project, local Chinese played roles by facilitating smooth access to research materials and information in the Chinese community. The three UBC professors added the Con brothers, two Chinese from Vancouver's Chinatown community, as core members of the project. The Con brothers served as mediators between the ethnic Chinese community and Canadian mainstream society. Harry Con, a Chinatown businessman, was a member of the Chinese Freemasons (*Zhigongdang*) and a member of the Advisory Board on the Adjustment of Immigrants of Canada. Ronald J. Con was a Presbyterian minister, a member of the Chinese Freemasons, and an agent of the Citizenship Branch of the Department of Secretary of State. The Con brothers were responsible for collecting historical materials and introducing appropriate interviewees from the Chinese community (Con 1982: 2). They also provided information from inside the community that was nearly impossible to access by European Canadians. For example, in response to Edgar Wickberg's question, Harry provided information about Chinese business firms' consanguinity and listed the names involved in the establishment of the CCBA of Vancouver[8]. The research in Montreal, Toronto, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia was entrusted to university scholars and graduate students who were Chinese Canadians or Chinese descendants[9].

The result of this collection of activities in Chinese communities led to the publication of the first comprehensive English book on Chinese immigrant history in Canada in 1982, *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. The Chinese Canadian Research Collections in UBC, one of the earliest collections of Chinese historical archives in BC, was also formed through this project. As a consequence of the close cooperation among Chinese communities and of support from

Chinese Canadian scholars outside of BC, the collections included various materials produced inside the community, mostly from the CCBA of Vancouver: 1971 to 1979 and other Chinese organizations' papers, vernacular newspapers of the Chinese community such as *Chinese Times* (*Dahan Gongbao*), Chinese periodicals and printed material, financial ledgers of Chinese business firms, interviews with community leaders, and photographs. These resources also gave rise to the academic excellence of Canada's study of Chinese overseas associations. Canada's research in this field was far more developed than that in the United States in the 1970s.

As evidenced, the multicultural policy, which that became the federal policy of Canada in 1971, facilitated the development of Chinese immigrant history studies during the 1970s. The most significant aspect of this for the minorities in Canada, in terms of the political and social condition, and probably the most notably different aspect compared with the social environment for ethnic minorities in Japan, is that the acceptance of ethnic and cultural pluralism became the national credo. Based on this premise, more funds were accessible to launch various cultural and educational programs for exploring Chinese immigrant history in Canada. More chances for Chinese residents of Vancouver to access to their own histories also started being provided due to this academic project. The 1971 policy stimulated academic research and created a need for assistance in the Chinese language and in Chinese communities that could only be provided by the Chinese themselves.

Meanwhile, the start of historical collections on Chinese immigrants was not always dependent on state involvement. It should be noted that a few non-Chinese guardians were aware of the value of the materials on Chinese immigrants, as highlighted by the efforts of the New Westminster Museum and Archives (NWMA) to salvage the nearly abandoned Chinese records that eventually formed the collections created in the 1970s. The fonds of the CCBA of New Westminster (CCBA-NW) and the New Westminster Branch of the Chinese Nationalist League (Kuomintang [KMT]) housed at the NWMA are such examples.

Less well-known is the history of New Westminster, the second largest Chinatown after Victoria, in the nineteenth century. Despite being destroyed in the Great Fire of 1898, New Westminster was the largest inland Chinese community prior to the rise of Vancouver's Chinatown in the early twentieth century. The City of New Westminster ordered the dismantling of Chinatown in 1912, allegedly to prevent a fire risk, and it was relocated to the section bound by Carnavon Street, McNeely Street, Columbia Street, and 10th Street, where later the CCBA-NW and KMT buildings were built. This area and the Queensborough neighborhood, which had developed as a community for various immigrants from China, Japan, East India, Italy, and Scandinavia, were distinguishable ethnic areas in New Westminster by the 1960s.

From the 1960s to early 1980s, the city of New Westminster had infrastructure plans that involved building a freeway or a Sky Train station, and the ethnic area of Queensborough had been transformed into an area rife with shopping malls. Ethnic space in New Westminster completely vanished, transformed into featureless suburban quarters. Within the same period, the decrepit CCBA-NW building was given back to the City in

1979. The city chose to tear it down within a few months. But prior to its demolition, the Chinese records that remained in the building were rescued by Jim Wolf, the heritage planner of New Westminster who had visited the building to scrutinize the records after receiving information about them from individuals in the Chinese community. Archie Miller, an NWMA archivist, also visited the building to collect the records and made the decision to rescue and store them at NWMA. As a result, the fonds of CCBA-NW became one of three historical collections of CCBAs in BC, along with the fonds of CCBA-Victoria at the University of Victoria and those of CCBA-Vancouver at UBC. The KMT in New Westminster had become defunct by 1968, and NWMA saved its remaining Chinese records in 1981 in the same manner[10].

The custodial history described above shows that non-Chinese specialists in the humanities were well aware of the value of Chinese historical materials, prompting their salvage. As Archie Miller mentioned, there was a growing awareness of multiculturalism in the 1970s, and it could therefore be said that the multicultural mindset and social atmosphere at that time were also responsible for such actions.

### 3.2 Online resources and the multimedia approach to Chinese Canadian history

In 1995 during Jean Chrétien's prime ministership, the Canadian federal government launched a comprehensive review and renewal of the multiculturalism program, which led to a sequence of policy renewals regarding Canada's multiculturalism being discussed in the 1990s. This renewal proposed to respond to the ethnocultural diversification expected in the near future and to take countermeasures against the increasing occurrence of hate and bias-motivated crimes. Changes in the multiethnic composition of the major cities of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver by 1994, and a particularly sharp increase in minority populations, prompted this ministerial reaction aimed at maintaining integration in complex, diversified urban spaces (Takano 2000). Following this renewal, the history-preserving movement by Vancouver's Chinese started to develop in a new direction.

The historical compilation of the Vancouver Chinese has rapidly developed in cyberspace since the 2000s. In fact, Canada has the most highly developed use of online resources worldwide for the sharing of ethnic Chinese history. For example, in 2000, the Asian Library, the Centre for Chinese Research, UBC, and the David Lam Centre at Simon Fraser University collaborated to build a comprehensive inventory of archival materials related to Chinese history in BC entitled, "Historical Chinese Language Materials in British Columbia: An Electronic Inventory". Designed for access by academic researchers and Chinese communities, this online inventory offers searches in English, Chinese, and Pinyin, and allows access to scanned archival materials or images. It also maintains lists of related Chinese organizations in BC. One of the key characteristics of this database is that it contains materials from numerous individuals, pioneer families, and clan and community associations in BC.

This online system is considered the most appropriate tool for handling the steadily growing archival collections of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver. UBC, which is privileged to have historical materials being constantly donated by Chinese residents and communities, has developed an online search system for newly donated records and

artifacts related to Chinese immigrant history. As described previously, the Asian Library of UBC also received voluminous amounts of historical material from Chinese communities at the inception of the online inventory project in 2000. Materials have since been donated periodically, and by 2012 the Asian Library had received two major family collections, one from Henry Lok-tin Lee and the other from Ron Bick Lee.

The most typical case is the Wallace B. Chung and Madeline H. Chung Collection (henceforth the Chung Collection), which was donated by Dr. Wallace B. Chung in 1999 (Photo 4). Dr. Chung, a former professor of the Department of Surgery at UBC, has been known since the 1970s as the first Chinese-Canadian surgeon to be appointed to UBC Hospital and Vancouver General Hospital and as a member of the Canadian Multiculturalism Council, which provided input and reviewed the draft of the Multiculturalism Act in 1987. Accordingly, he is also known as one of the first Chinese Canadian intellectuals to climb the social ladder of Canadian mainstream society. The Chung Collection includes more than 25,000 documents and artifacts related to Chinese immigration and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company from Dr. Chung's personal collection in his boyhood days. Since the vast amount of items made it unsuitable as a paper inventory, the collection's online inventory and search capabilities have been well developed from the outset. New items are continuously being added to the collection with the cooperation of the collection's curator, and Dr. Chung continues to play a key role as benefactor of historical materials on Chinese immigrants in BC.

Chinese Canadian civic groups also use websites as their primary resource medium

**Photo 4** Dr. Wallace Chung, donator of the Chung Collection, at the University of British Columbia (September 12, 2012).

and have access to updated resources for academic and genealogical research, information regarding cultural events, and results of oral Chinese Canadian history projects available to the public. The Chinese Canadian Historical Society of British Columbia (CCHSBC) has informative resources, pictures, and scanned data for studying the history of the Vancouver Chinese on its website. On the website, Larry Wong, a civic historian and one of the founders of CCHSBC, constantly provides historical stories from old Chinatown and news from the Chinese community in BC. Moreover, another website "Victoria's Chinatown: A Gateway to the Past and Present of Chinese Canadians" that provides a concrete history of the various Chinatowns and Chinese communities on Vancouver Island was launched in 2011. This site was built by a group that includes university faculty members, librarians, and students, as well as activists from Asian Canadian communities across Vancouver Island. It provides current and historical information on Chinese immigrants and organizations on the island and contains numerous historical photos, especially of Victoria's Chinatown, the oldest in BC.

Although an inadequate amount of written documentation exists for some topics on the history of the Chinese in Canada, such as Chinese laborers in the nineteenth century, the website overcomes this by managing to provide concrete images. A web portal, "Ties that Bind: Building the CPR, Building a place in Canada," launched in 2010 on Chinese railroad workers, includes an audio gallery that provides oral testimonies of Chinese workers in the 1880s who came from China to help construct the transcontinental railroad. This is an especially effective way of sharing information on historical topics for which written documentation is lacking.

UBC is also the center of an ongoing new style of academic program on Chinese immigrant history. In 2007, the Department of History at UBC established a pilot history program INitiative for Student Teaching and Research in Chinese Canadian studies (INSTRCC) directed by Professor Henry Yu that encourages students to conduct community-based research in Asian Canadian history. In this program, students are encouraged to create a new style of research using various multimedia applications. The students conduct interviews and use digital media skills in their research on Asian Canadian families and communities to make a film, create a historical game, or build a database, which is then made available as an online resource. In 2011, the UBC Department of History opened the web portal site "Chinese Canadian Stories: Uncommon Histories from a Common Past" through funding by the Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Community Historical Recognition Program (CHRP) to share the outcomes of this and future projects.

### 3.3 Challenges in fostering the next generation of sustainable movements

However, in reality, the most challenging question in this movement among Vancouver's Chinese is how to encourage the participation of younger generations. Broad involvement of younger generations is necessary to carry on the project and foster successors; it can then be successful at sharing the stories among future generations. By examining how Chinese Canadian leaders have devised ways of encouraging younger generations to be involved, the leaders in the movement are seeking the most effective strategy.

CCHSBC has organized a summer youth camp aimed at teaching the history of Chinese Canadians to raise interest among school-aged children. The program is targeted at the youth, especially teenagers between the ages of 13 and 15 years of all backgrounds, including non-Asians, multiracial people, or new immigrants, and aims to encourage them to learn about the Chinese role in the history of Vancouver. The camp in 2011 offered five full program days over a four-week period and eight participants, including two non-Chinese children, visited main spots related to Chinese Canadian history, such as Chinatown, the Museum of Vancouver, the Chung Collection, and the Asian Garden in UBC. CCHSBC then planned a five-day youth summer camp entitled "Saltwater City for Youth: Vancouver's Chinese Roots Youth Summer Enrichment Camp" in August 2013. However, no youth expressed any interest in this camp and it was not held. CCHSBC must therefore consider holding a slimmed-down program and plan a shorter trip, perhaps just over a weekend. Ex-CCHSBC Chair Hayne Wai, one of the camp organizers, felt that a full one-week continuous camp did not meet the needs or interests of young teens, who preferred shorter day programs. There was also much competition with other summer sports, technology, and leadership programs for teens, such as basketball or river rafting, which attracted more westernized school-age Chinese Canadians[11].

As a general tendency, school-age Chinese Canadian children in Vancouver are passive when it comes to learning about Chinese language and culture. According to Vivian Lo's survey on student interests and needs in learning Chinese, which was implemented in Pui Ying Chinese Schools in Metro Vancouver in 2013[12], while 32% of the students responded "Yes" when asked if they enjoyed learning Chinese, about a quarter of the students answered "No," and about 40% could not clearly indicate how they felt. This student passivity can be attributed to the fact that learning Chinese is not voluntary: 54% of the students answered that they did so because their parents registered them for the classes. In addition, the children are losing interest in learning Chinese because English is predominantly used in the Canadian social and cultural environment. As for the reasons they do not enjoy learning Chinese, 35% of the students said it was too difficult, 30% said it was boring, 6% said that they rarely used Chinese in daily life, and 5% said it was because their friends did not speak Chinese. One student even said that students did not enjoy learning Chinese because they had been laughed at by their friends (Lo 2013: C14). It is well known that second- or later-generation immigrants in a host country prioritize assimilating to the norms of the dominant society over those of their parents. The results of this survey suggest that such generational change does not occur entirely as a natural, irreversible alteration, but rather as a partly accelerated acculturation that stems from children's daily lives and social relationships.

Leading Chinese academics and social activists have questioned that losing interest in Chinese immigrant history among Chinese youth would result in a loss of identity. The latest activity among Vancouver's Chinese involves discussions with and the lobbying of provincial government and school boards to acknowledge and teach Chinese immigrant history in BC's school curriculum. Through the political and social movement by Chinese or Japanese Canadians in the past, discriminative laws and treatment by the Canadian

government, such as the Chinese head tax or Japanese internment camps during the Second World War, have been brought to public attention in Canada. However, since there are few history books of an appropriate level for school learning that mention the history of minority groups, students in public schools in BC could not learn about the historical formation of racism against minorities and immigrants. In other words, current history education in public schools treats the history of immigrant and minority groups as a peripheral matter. Accordingly, racial prejudice persists among white-Canadians and mainstream society. Minority and immigrant history is missing from public education in Canada. Even though related ethnic institutes and communities cooperate with public schools in history education to provide supplementary learning experiences, minority and immigrant history still largely depends on individual teachers' efforts. For a new history textbook, leading Chinese Canadian academics and activists have sent their historians to provincial governments. This deliberately moves toward the realization of using a new history textbook with students in public schools so they can learn about the history of Chinese immigrants and minorities in BC.

## 4. New Approaches to the Untold History of the Chinese in British Columbia

### 4.1 Popularizing history: Talking about family history and sharing the past

One of the newest trends among Vancouver's Chinese is active history-preserving activities. In the field of overseas Chinese history studies, written historical materials produced inside the Chinese community are of particular value. Even though such materials have been fragmented and partially lost in most cases, they still provide abundant information regarding the vibrant social environment of immigrants. However, since the 2000s, historical memories recorded through oral histories have attracted the attention of academics and citizen groups. Various oral history projects have explored the facts and memories of Chinese individuals in Vancouver, and these projects have gained recognition as an effective method for exploring Chinese Canadian community history. These projects have been initiated by Chinese Canadian academics and citizens, and "family history" and "sharing a collective past" have been highlighted as distinctive approaches.

CCHSBC has conducted an oral history project utilizing such approaches. CCHSBC, established in Vancouver in 2004, is a broad-based membership society of Chinese Canadian citizens that operates for educational purposes and in close coordination with UBC scholars and Chinese community leaders in BC. Building cooperative ties between citizens, communities, and academics for history learning is a distinctive trend in ethnic societies of the North American West Coast and, indeed, CCHSBC was established using institutional examples from a Chinese American citizen and academic group, the Chinese Historical Society of America in San Francisco (Wickberg 2007). The CCHSBC's main objective is to reclaim untold, unfamiliar histories of ethnic Chinese in BC, and it carries out a variety of activities such as preserving historical materials on Chinese Canadian history, promoting public awareness, and meeting the needs and interests regarding the family genealogies of Chinese Canadians.

In 2006, CCHSBC sponsored a six-week Family History Writing Workshop. This workshop was unique in its writers and methodology. The eight participants were all holders of Chinese Canadian citizenship in their fifties or sixties who held influential positions in both Canadian society and the Chinese community. Among these participants were Hayne Wai, policy manager for the BC Ministry of Multiculturalism, and ex-student activist Shirley Chan in SPOTA. The distinctive method was to train Chinese Canadian leaders to write, not to conduct interviews with them. These leaders devoted all of their attention to writing about family histories, mostly about their parents' memories. Through this process, many aspects of Chinese Canadians were uncovered, including contributions to the Canadian economy, the hardships of female immigrants, the high mobility in their family history for generations between China and Canada, and experiences of living in both cultures. These aspects were intertwined with key historical events of the Chinese in Canada, such as the Chinese head tax, the Second World War, and the abolition of Chinese exclusion (Worrall 2006: iii–v).

The workshop participants were also advised to speak with their families to get them involved in the writing process, and to discuss their stories with other participants for feedback. Worrall, the workshop organizer, argues that immigrant-oriented minority communities can be identified essentially as marginalized communities. Having common experiences, but rarely given the opportunity to speak, it is indispensable for ethnic community members to have a safe space in which they can share their experiences, ideas, and expressions with others who understand (Worrall 2006: ix).

Through sharing stories, minorities discover common experiences, and their personal memories become collective historical memories that bring them closer to understanding and having confidence in their own history (Yu 2009: 61–62). While sharing within ethnic circles, the project was opened to larger circles. The written family histories of eight families were subsequently published in a book entitled *Finding Memories, Tracing Routes* in 2006, followed by the Chinese edition in 2007. Adding writers, content, and articles for the book above, the INitiative for Student Teaching and Research in Chinese Canadian studies (INSTRCC), an experimental course in the history department at UBC, published the bilingual English-Chinese edition *Leaning Chinese Canada* in 2009 in partnership with the CCHSBC (Yu 2009).

The growing interest in family histories seen among Chinese Canadians indicates that knowing, discussing, and sharing family stories and historical memories is an effective method to popularize the history of the Chinese in Canada among the general public. UBC professor Henry Yu has also mentioned the effectiveness of this method from the educational perspective. According to Professor Yu, family history is most approachable and persuasive to younger Chinese Canadian generations as a gateway to understanding themselves and connecting with the larger historical context of the Chinese in Canada. Born and raised in Canada, young Chinese Canadians are not typically interested in the history of the Chinese in Canada because they are disconnected from the bitter experiences and discriminative environments experienced by Chinese immigrants of the past. However, they are interested in the stories of their parents, grandparents, and other close friends and family members. Through family history, a sense of sympathy is

evoked, enabling them to relate to past experiences of ethnic Chinese[13].

Chinese Canadian writers, community historians, and cultural activists also implemented this memory-sharing method in an effort to revitalize Vancouver's Chinatown. Foo's Ho Ho, an old iconic Cantonese restaurant that opened in 1955, has operated as a hub for nurturing a sense of community in Chinatown. One event held at that restaurant on May 27, 2010 was called Chinese Laundry Kids Stories; it included a traditional Cantonese village meal accompanied by educational talks. This event was planned by the Friends of Foo's Ho Ho, a group that was formed by community historian Jim Wong-Chu in 2009 when the restaurant was confronted with closing due to the passing of the owner and chef and the gradual reclamation of Vancouver's Chinatown. The Friends of Foo's Ho Ho and Elwin Xie, who grew up in his family's laundry business in the 1960s, invited two writers on the history of Chinese hand laundries, Judy Fong Bates and John Jung, who were real laundry kids in Canada and United States. This event was then announced as open to the public in one of Vancouver's major English newspapers, apparently to attract educated non-Chinese citizens from outside the Chinese community. About 100 attendees listened to the writings, memories, and experiences of the three writers. The laundry business was a typical and historical job among Chinese immigrants in North America, and this was an attempt to understand its historicity by sharing oral histories with both Chinese and non-Chinese attendees[14].

In retrospect, oral historical information from Chinese immigrants has a dynamic nature. It is also expected to increase in volume as a reflection of social change. Chinese immigrants and Chinese Canadians in Vancouver are encouraged to talk more about themselves when they are familiarized with the idea of multiculturalism. Through various regular projects and communal activities on history-finding and preserving, Chinese Canadian leaders encourage, and are themselves encouraged to, record and share personal historical memories. These oral history activities contribute to the forging of a Chinese Canadian identity, in the sense of being a "community," and rebuild connectedness among Chinese immigrants and second and later generations.

### 4.2 "Beyond Chinatown": Uncovering a marginalized people

In the latest trend, scholars and cultural activists have become interested in exploring the intimate link between Chinese immigrants and indigenous peoples in BC history. The close relationship between Chinese immigrants and First Nation peoples began in the earliest period of Chinese immigration to BC. The early Chinese immigrants who came to BC were overwhelmingly single, male, manual laborers, such as miners in search of gold in and after 1858 or railroad workers for the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway in the early 1880s. They journeyed inland along Fraser River, where indigenous communities are located. Also, since few Chinese female immigrants landed in BC at that time, it is said that one in six Chinese men partnered with an indigenous woman in this early stage in BC. This situation often created children marginalized by both the Chinese and indigenous peoples from early on. Jean Barman suggests that Chinatowns did not represent the entire experiences of Chinese immigrants in early BC. She is critical that previous studies on the history of Chinese in BC disproportionately put

weight on Chinatown perspectives and argues that Chinese men in the BC hinterland of the time had a very different life and history, forming families with indigenous women (Barman 2013).

Intermarriages between Chinese and First Nation peoples are known to have occurred based on fragmented historical accounts or family stories; however, these experiences have not been a major area of concern for historians. In the past, due to mainstream society's disregard for Chinese newcomer-indigenous relationships and their prolongation, few first-hand historical accounts have been found and there are insufficient written materials for historical analyses (Barman 2013). Disdain toward Chinese manual labors and indigenous peoples, or low literacy rates among the Chinese and indigenous peoples of the day, also mean there are few records on the Chinese newcomer-indigenous relationships. However, historical experiences and stories of intermarriage or of mixed residence with Chinese immigrants in early BC have been preserved by individual indigenous families, reserves, and communities. Therefore, to approach the intertwined history of the Chinese and First Nation peoples, historians and activists need to examine multiple sources utilizing interviews, films, and other types of multimedia applications to directly access indigenous communities in the BC hinterland and record it.

After Chinese-indigenous relationships were explored, marginalized peoples, especially those of joint Chinese and indigenous descent, became more active in the media and public space, and reoriented themselves in Canada's multicultural society. By 2010, indigenous tribal elders who are Chinese on their father's side, such as Elder Rhonda Larrabee[15] of the Qayqayt or Elder Larry Grant of the Musqueam Indian Band in Coast Salish, were talking about their family history and describing their ambiguous identity as First Nation, Chinese, and Canadian (Marcoccia 2014a; 2014b).

Elder Larry Grant's process for discovering his ethnicity and identity indicates what made his in-betweenness visible. After his retirement, he relearned hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓, the Musqueam language from his maternal lineage in UBC, and became a sessional instructor in the First Nations language program. Although he was active as an aboriginal leader and language lecturer, he had only rarely discussed his paternal Chinese ancestry (Dowell 2013: 17–19; Zandberg 2007; Pemberton 2011; Young-Leon 2011). Direct approaches from scholars and activists of Chinese Canadian history eventually convinced him to discuss his Chinese lineage and in-betweenness. In 2012, Larry expressed his sense of not belonging while being interviewed by the Vancouver Dialogues Project, which was organized by the City of Vancouver in 2010 (Ling 2012; Chinese Canadian Stories 2012a; 2012b). The Vancouver Dialogues Project was launched to investigate the history of injustices perpetrated on both aboriginal peoples and non-white immigrants (Yu 2013: 301). Individual stories were gathered from both Chinese immigrants and aboriginal communities, and then shared between the two communities (Suleman 2011; Chinese Canadian Stories 2014a). Professor Henry Yu was involved in this project and encouraged Larry to talk about his life. Since 2012, Larry has been active in cultural and educational activities on Chinese-indigenous ties, such as giving tours of Chinese market gardens within Musqueam territory and authoring *Let's Take a Walk*, a hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓-Cantonese-Mandarin-English multilingual children's book (Photo 5). The book attaches the highest


**Photo 5** The multi-language children's book *Let's Take a Walk* carefully arranges the languages depending on its extent of the languages' involvement in describing the Chinese-Aboriginal people's life and identity in Canadian society.

importance to həṅq̓əmiṅəṁ: The Musqueam language comes first, followed by Cantonese and then English, the official language of Canada. This language order in the book reflects the languages spoken by the Musqueam-Chinese Elders when describing the story features, and they are ordered in terms of how they hope that children will be learning and celebrating these languages. First and foremost, it was developed as a resource to support həṅq̓əmiṅəṁ revitalization.

Elder Larry Grant's activities show us a single individual's personal quest for identity and highlight the processes of those who live in a multicultural society. He has made ceaseless efforts to contribute to the First Nation as a part of the quest for his own identity. However, what directly led him to uncover and talk about his Chinese ancestry was the upsurge in Chinese Canadian history-excavating activities since the 2000s. The development of Chinese Canadians' activities regarding their own histories has finally cast a spotlight on the lives of those in between Chinese and aboriginal peoples, two ethnic groups comprising historically oppressed minorities.

### 4.3 Other new approaches

Another notable approach to access to Chinese-indigenous history has been taken by Bill Chu, a chair of the Canadians for Reconciliation Society (CFRS) and a Chinese evangelical Christian. He is the only person, starting as early as 1990, who regularly takes general citizens to the indigenous reserves in mainland BC, organizing annual study tours on the history of Chinese and indigenous peoples there. According to him, his tours

have accommodated about 2000 Chinese Canadian learners, amounting to almost 60% of all tour participants since 1990 and who learned of the tour information mainly at church[16]. The tour participants can directly access the homes of indigenous peoples, which ensures a safe and relaxing environment for indigenous peoples who feel socially vulnerable (CBC News 2001; 2011). The CFRS's tour follows the old Cariboo Wagon Road route along Fraser River and takes the participants to reserves in Agassiz, Lillooet, and Mt. Currie. In those reserves, the participants hold discussions with the indigenous peoples and listen to family stories or historical memories from indigenous elders in the communities. Some indigenous members talk about the relationship between Chinese gold-miners and their tribe, while others mention their Chinese ancestry (Photo 6). To understand and respond to the poverty and typical social problems plaguing Canadian indigenous communities, the participants listen to stories about colonial dispossession or lawsuits to protect ancestral land while delivering groceries on behalf of a local food bank[17].

Bill Chu created this tour to challenge tour participants to reconsider common elements in the histories of both Chinese Canadians and indigenous peoples, such as unjust and oppressive policies rooted in notions of white supremacy and colonial prejudice from the Catholic Church and Ango-European sovereignties. He explains that his sense of being as a religious mission that is caused by the loss of identity among many Chinese and by the growing racial tension in Richmond, BC, where the Chinese

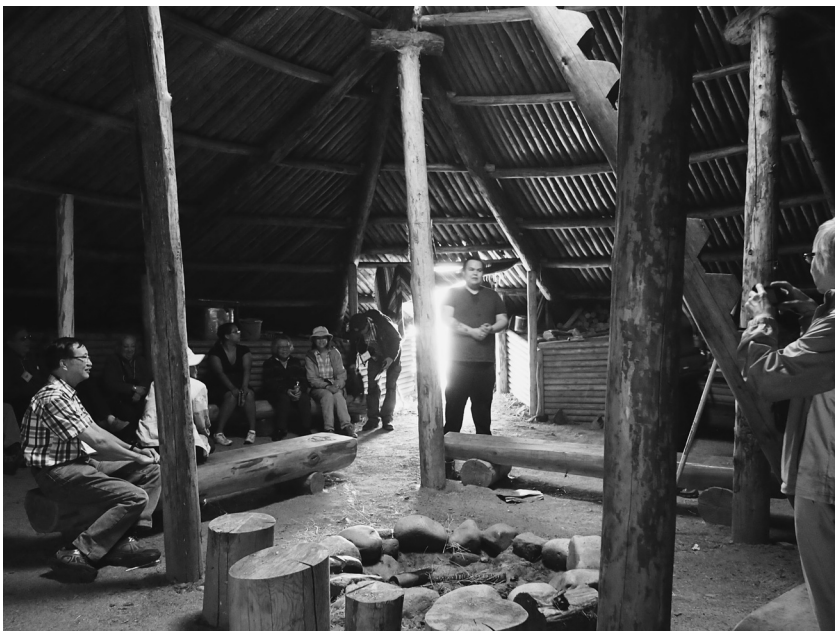

**Photo 6** Bill Chu (left) with one of his tour groups visiting T'it'q'et Community in Lillooet. They are being welcomed by a T'it'q'et representative and will listen to an elder's memories of her contacts with Chinese members of the community (September 14, 2014).

population exceeds 50%.

That and his Christian-based responsibility are what made him want to stand up against social injustice and historical wrongs. Soon after emigrating from Hong Kong in the 1970s, he became aware of the widespread poverty among indigenous people in Canada. Then he was also motivated to support socially oppressed minority group looking through a sequence of showdowns between authority and minorities: Crackdowns on pro-democracy demonstrators at Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989, the Oka Crisis in Quebec in 1990, and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff in BC in 1995 (Todd 1997)[18]. The exchange between CFRS and indigenous peoples was reinforced in 1996 when they began inviting each other to important celebrations, such as the Chinese New Year parade in Vancouver or the Nisga people's Hobiyee, a native New Year celebration featuring dancing and feasting[19].

In addition, Bill Chu of CFRS is a well-known social activist who lobbies and invites the City of New Westminster into a process of reconciliation. After a year of research, the City acknowledged its past history of discriminatory policies and mistreatments towards the Chinese population. His lobbying campaign materialized into the City's formal apology to the Chinese community on September 20, 2010. That was the first apology from any Canadian city to the Chinese community for its past discriminatory policies (Brethour 2010; Smith 2010).

Almost 20 years after than Bill Chu's first tours, Chinese Canadian academics have recently started to actively organize educational tours to learn about historical Chinese-indigenous ties. In one such instance, UBC students in the Chinese Canadian Stories Project arranged a raft expedition tour for educational purposes on Fraser River in 2013, visiting historical sites from the Gold Rush and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Chinese Canadian Stories 2014b). CCHSBC also implemented an educational tour in the Musqueam territory with Larry Grant's guidance in 2014[20].

Taiwanese Canadians have also started a history-preserving movement. The number of Taiwanese who have received Canadian citizenship and right of residency is extremely small—only about 15,200 in all of Canada, including 9,165 in BC and 2,600 in Vancouver, according to the 2006 Census (Statistics Canada 2008). The Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Society (TCCS) was established in Richmond in 1991 as an adaptive organization for Taiwanese newcomers. TCCS also provides various cultural, educational, and leisure activity programs at the Taiwanese Cultural Centre. The writing activities of Taiwanese are just beginning. Julia Lin, a Taiwanese immigrant who came to Vancouver in the late 1970s, authored the novel *Miah* (Destiny) in 2014. Describing a Taiwanese family in Vancouver, the novel explores the historical experiences of the Japanese colonial period, the White Terror by the KMT, and the 228 Incident.

According to Julia Lin, the Taiwanese community is currently planning to establish a Taiwanese historical society in a fashion similar to that of the CCHSBC's. Taiwanese history is vastly different from that of the Cantonese-speaking people who emigrated from Guangdong via Hong Kong and helped form the Chinatowns. The movement for Taiwanese immigrants is quite different from that of Cantonese-speaking immigrants, and they need to develop their own historical society in order to examine Taiwanese

immigrants' historical context in Canadian society[21].

## 5. Conclusion: Building a Collective History to Strengthen Connectedness as "Chinese Canadians"

The chronological process of the development of history recognition and preservation by Vancouver's Chinese population suggests that Chinese Canadians have been gradually empowered through both local events and state policy. It is hard to foster self-confidence and self-affirmation in minorities under the existing criteria of a dominant society's. In the case of the Chinese in Canada, the initial push for increased ethnicity and cultural diversity was based on a government policy of multiculturalism. This policy prepared the social space necessary to vitalize the activities of the minority.

In a multicultural society, knowing one's own family and ethnic history means to affirm your identity, where you come from, and how things came to be as they are. In the studies of the history of the Chinese in Canada, procuring archival collections, developing oral history projects, and compiling historiographies strengthen the connectedness among Chinese Canadians. "Sharing a collective past" or "sharing a collective history" forges a communal sense and reinforces this connectedness. History-preserving activities by Chinese Canadians represent the efforts of a minority group to craft connectedness in the multicultural Canadian landscape. Through discussing family histories and sharing a collective past, Chinese Canadians are reorienting themselves in Canadian society at large.

It should be kept in mind that non-Chinese intellectuals have been active in BC. The successful development of the Chinese Canadian civil movement in the 1960s was supported by numerous non-Chinese Canadians. In the more conservative academic field of history studies, Chinese descendants who first played peripheral roles in the academic projects in the 1970s advanced themselves so that they were able to take the initiative. The adoption of Canada's multiculturalism policy also helped determine how policy directly and indirectly influenced the development of the specific academic field of minority history at the macro-level. The vitality and positivity shown in the movement can be attributed to conditions at the macro level.

In local civil or community movements, Chinese Canadian social workers, cultural activists, and university scholars were active in the post-war period because they were grounded in the grassroots communities from which they originally came, and they are therefore now undertaking history-preservation activities. Their activities are visible and have achieved wide social recognition. The initiative and participation of Chinese Canadians in history-preservation activities is a distinguishing characteristic of the present-day Chinese in Vancouver. Generally speaking, the fact that individual leaders have an established presence in various cultural activities can be regarded as a characteristic of the Chinese in Canada and of the Chinese in North America at large.

Most interestingly, these activities have become a virtual cultural revitalization movement that is introducing more people to the history of Chinese overseas. The second and later generations of immigrants from South China, especially those from Guangdong

Province, or of first-generation immigrants from Hong Kong are more sympathetic to the history of Chinese in Canada, as both come from Cantonese-speaking areas. Chinese Canadians' sympathy for history overlaps such Guangdong regional specificity, or 'Guangdong regionality.' Therefore, Taiwanese immigrants and new wealthier immigrants from Shanghai or Beijing had been unable to identify with this Cantonese-Chinatown perspective. Among those non-Cantonese-originating Chinese Canadians, however, Taiwanese and Chinese-aboriginal people have been inspired by the history movement of the Cantonese-Chinatown context and committed themselves to cultural and historical activities in Vancouver while differentiating themselves from the Cantonese-Chinatown history. It could be said that the history-recognizing and -preservation activities of Cantonese-Chinatown eventually reclaimed the various aspects of Chinese history of those who had been invisible and marginalized.

During the past two decades, the Chinese have had a strong voice and far-reaching influence in Canada's multicultural landscape. Allowing them a space to represent themselves in Canadian mainstream society also demonstrates the maturity of Canada's multiculturalism policy. To summarize, the history-recognizing and -preserving movement among the Vancouver Chinese is aimed at raising the consciousness of the Chinese residing there and trying to extend it to the next generation. This strategy highlights the distinctiveness of the Vancouver Chinese, and the historical records and memories being collected will be valuable for educating future generations.

## Notes

1) There are many debates about the accuracy of the 2011 census, which the Prime Minister announced that the census form would be voluntary, and has been criticized from academics and the head of Statistics Canada. In this paper, the figures are showed not for trusting the statistically accuracy but for giving ideas of the social sphere of Vancouver.
2) The CCBAs were representative umbrella organizations of the various existing mutual aid associations of Chinese immigrants. First established in the 1880s and 1890s in major American cities, which had larger Chinese communities, CCBAs were later formed in middle-size cities such as New Westminster in the first quarter of the 20th century. Based on a historical background in which Chinese diplomatic representatives from the Qing Dynasty took the initiative to develop the establishment of these organizations, the CCBAs functioned as semi-official and semi-private agencies that had strong connections to the overseas policies of the Republic of China and the KMT (Sonoda 2009: 175−190).
3) Interview with Bev Nann at 10:00−12:00 at the City of Vancouver Archives, March 25, 2014.
4) Willmott's field notes, April 14, 1961 in Box 12; May 2, 1962 in Box 11 in Chinese Canadian Research Collections (CCRC), University of British Columbia (UBC).
5) Letter from Howard Palmer, November 2, 1971; Notes from Secretary of State, July 5, 1972 in Box 1 in CCRC, UBC.
6) Correspondence to the UBC, April 19, 1972, Box 1 in CCRC, UBC.
7) Letter from Howard Palmer, November 2, 1971, in Box 1 in CCRC, UBC.
8) Letter from Harry Con, February 12, 1978, Box 1, in CCRC, UBC.

9) Letter to Bernice Kwong, January 18, 1974; March 18, 1974; Letter to Lawrence Shyu, June 17, 1974; Letter to Mary Sun, June 17, 1974; Letter to Janet Salaff, June 17, 1974; Letter to Paul Levine, June 18, 1974, Box 1, in CCRC, UBC.
10) Interview with Jim Wolf in New Westminster Museum and Archives at 14:00−14:30 on September 2, 2010; Archie Miller's letter replying to author's investigation through e-mail on September 29, 2010.
11) Interview with Hayne Wai in Kerrisdale at 16:00−17:00 on September 24, 2013.
12) PYCS provides Chinese language classes from the kindergarten to secondary school level, and students attend PYCS classes after they finish Canadian full-time school as after-school activities. The survey used a quantitative approach and received 548 completed questionnaires between May and June 2013.
13) Interview with Professor Henry Yu in St. John's College, UBC at 16:00−17:30 on September 4, 2012.
14) Cheryl Rossi, 'Chinese Laundry Kids Recall Their Unique Childhoods,' *The Vancouver Courier*, 21 May 2010, p.D27; Interview with Bev Nann in Vancouver at 14:00−14:30, September 6, 2010.
15) 'Uncovering her roots,' *The Record* (New Westminster, BC, Canada), June 6, 2009 (Internet, September 8, 2014, http://www.canada.com/story_print.html?id=312de30a-2778-4a3b-a044-f1d2dc0e829b).
16) Interview with Bill Chu in Oakridge at 14:15−17:00 on March 22, 2014.
17) Participant observation in Bill Chu's study tour, September 13−14, 2014.
18) Interview with Bill Chu in Oakridge at 14:15−17:00 on March 22, 2014.
19) CFRS, 'Dances With Dragons,' 2012 (Internet, March 24, 2014, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w7Ge8KcBdJ0).
20) CCHS Musqueam Community Tour, July 20, 2014, at 13:00−15:00, *The CCHSBC website*, July 20, 2014 (Internet, September 1, 2014, http://www.cchsbc.ca/musqueam.html); Educational Tour, *Musqueam: A Living Culture*, (Internet, September 1, 2014, http://www.musqueam.bc.ca/educational-tours).
21) Interview with Julia Lin in Vancouver at 13:00−14:30 on March 18, 2015.

## References

**Historical Sources**

Chinese Canadian Research Collections (CCRC), University of British Columbia (UBC)

**Publications**

Barman, Jean

2013 Beyond Chinatown: Chinese Men and Indigenous Women in Early British Columbia. *BC Studies* 177: 39−64.

Brethour, Patrick

2010 'New Westminster to apologize to Chinese-Canadians,' *The Globe and Mail*. September 19.

CBC News
2001 'Chinese Indian Exchange' (Internet, March 24, 2014, http://youtu.be/-pjpik0xcok).
2011 'Back in time' (Internet, March 24, 2014, http://youtu.be/vqVflW7ZXXM).
2014 'Chinese community gets apology from B.C. for historical wrongs,' May 15 (Internet, November 26, 2015, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/chinese-community-gets-apology-from-b-c-for-historical-wrongs-1.2643938).

Chin, Harry Chuck-Lin
1983 *History of the Struggles of an Overseas Chinese*. Vancouver: s.n.

Chinese Canadian Stories
2012a 'Larry Grant: Not Belonging,' YouTube, March 11 (Internet, September 9, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VsoPvOnB9sA).
2012b 'Larry Grant: Intertwining Cultures,' YouTube, March 11 (Internet, September 9, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Bh3QidIVFU).
2014a 'Sharing Our Stories: Vancouver Dialogues Project,' YouTube, March 13 (Internet, September 9, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLpZRCCJFKM).
2014b 'Fraser River Raft Expedition (2013),' UBC, May 28 (Internet, September 19, 2014, http://chinesecanadian.ubc.ca/fraser-river-raft-expedition/).

Cole, Yolande
2014 'Vancouver moves toward apology for policies that discriminated against Chinese community' *The Georgia Straight*, May 27.

Con, Harry, Ronald J. Con, Graham Johnson, Edgar Wickberg and William E. Willmott
1982 *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McCelland and Stewart.

Dowell, Kristin L.
2013 *Sovereign Screens: Aboriginal Media on the Canadian West Coast*. University of Nebraska Press.

Grant, Larry and Sarah Ling
2013 *Let's Take a Walk*. Vancouver: Musqueam Indian Band.

House of Commons
1971 Friday, October 8, 1971. in *House of Commons Debates: Official Report: Twenty Eighth Parliament, Third Session, 19 Elizabeth II*. Volume 8. Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada.

Lai, David Chuenyan
1988 *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada*. Vancouver: The UBC Press.

Lee, Erika
2002 Enforcing the Borders: Chinese Exclusion along the U.S. Borders with Canada and Mexico, 1882−1924. *The Journal of American History* 89(1): 54−87.
2007 The 'Yellow Peril' and Asian Exclusion in the Americas. *Pacific Historical Review* 76(4): 537−562.

Lee, David T. H.
1967 *Jianada Huaqiao shi* (A history of Chinese in Canada). Taipei: Zhonghua Da Dian Bianying Hui.

Li, Xiaoping
2007 *Voices Rising: Asian Canadian Cultural Activism*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
Lin, Julia
2014 *Miah*. Toronto: TSAR Publications.
Ling, Sarah
2012 'Elder Larry Grant Featured by UBC Chinese Canadian Stories Project,' on April 27 (Internet, September 9, 2014, http://aboriginal.ubc.ca/2012/04/27/elder-larry-grant-featured-by-ubc-chinese-canadian-stories-project/).
Lo, Vivian
2013 'Education,' *Singtao Daily*, September 11, p.C14 (in Chinese).
Marcoccia, Patricia
2014a 'Part 1: Reclaiming Roots: Unearthing the Lost History of Qayqayt First Nation,' *Urban Matters*, February 13 (Internet, September 8, 2014, http://www.urbanmatters.ca/2014/02/reclaiming-roots-a-mothers-anguish-transforms-a-painful-history/).
2014b 'Part 2: Reclaiming Roots: Unearthing the Lost History of Qayqayt First Nation,' *Urban Matters*, February 18 (Internet, September 8, 2014, http://www.urbanmatters.ca/2014/02/reclaiming-roots-unearthing-the-lost-history-of-qayqayt-first-nation/).
Ng, Wing Chung
1999 *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945–80: The Pursuit of Identity and Power*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
Pemberton, Kim
2011 'Ancient history of Vancouver's first peoples,' *The Vancouver Sun*, May 20.
Roy, Patricia
2007 *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941–67*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
Smith, Charlie
2010 'City of New Westminster to apologize to Chinese Canadians for past injustices,' *Straight. com*, June 29 (Internet, September 26, 2013, https://www.straight.com/news/city-new-westminster-apologize-chinese-canadians-past-injustices).
Statistics Canada
2008 *2006 Census: Topic-based tabulations: Ethnic origin and visible minorities*. Catalogue no. 97–562–XCB2006015, April 2 (Internet, May 10, 2016, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/tbt/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=92339&PRID=0&PTYPE=88971,97154&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2006&THEME=80&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=).
2010 *Projections of the Diversity of the Canadian Population 2006–2031*. Catalogue no. 91–551–X, Ottawa: Minister of Industry, March (Internet, May 5, 2016, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-551-x/91-551-x2010001-eng.pdf).
2012 *Focus on Geography Series, 2011 Census*. Ottawa, Ontario, October 24 (Internet, May 5, 2016, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-pr-eng.cfm?Lang=eng&GC=35).

Sonoda, Setsuko
2009 *Nanboku America Kamin to Kindai Chugoku: Jyukyu Seiki Transnational Migration* (*Overseas Chinese in the Americas and Modern China: Transnational Migration in the Nineteenth Century*). Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Syuppannkai.

Suleman, Zool
2011 *Vancouver Dialogues: First Nations, Urban Aboriginal, and Immigrant Communities*. Vancouver: Social Policy, City of Vancouver (Internet, September 9, 2014, http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/dialogues-project-book.pdf).

Takano, Koichi
2000 1990 Nendainiokeru Canada Tabunkasyugikeikaku no Renewal (The Renewal of the multicultural policy plan of Canada in the 1990s). *Ritsumeikan Kokusai Kenkyu* 12(3): 275−290.

Todd, Douglas
1997 'Churchy' Christian becomes social activist,' *The Vancouver Sun*, February 24 (Internet, November 26, 2015, http://blogs.vancouversun.com/2013/12/06/churchy-christian-becomes-multi-cause-activist-profile-of-bill-chu/).

Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos
2013 *Wants and Welcome?: Policies for Highly Skilled Immigrants in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Springer Science+Business Media New York.

'Uncovering her roots'
2009 *The Record*. New Westminster, BC, Canada, June 6 (Internet, September 8, 2014, http://www.canada.com/story_print.html?id=312de30a-2778-4a3b-a044-f1d2dc0e829b).

Wai, Hayne Y.
1998 Vancouver Chinatown 1960−1980: A Community Perspective. *New Scholars, New Visions in Canadian Studies* 3(1): 2−47.

Wickberg, Edgar
2007 The New Chinese Canadian Historical Society of British Columbia. *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 21 (Internet, November 24, 2014, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/_/print/PrintArticle.aspx?id=161127976).
2010 Contemporary overseas Chinese ethnicity in the Pacific Region. *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 24 (Internet, May 3, 2016, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/_/print/PrintArticle.aspx?id=403167046).

Worrall, Brandy Lien (ed.)
2006 *Finding Memories, Tracing Route: Chinese Canadian Family Stories*. Vancouver: Chinese Canadian Historical Society of British Columbia.

Yee, Paul
1996 *Struggle and Hope: The Story of Chinese Canadians*. Toronto: Umbrella Press.

Young-Leon, Alannah
2011 *Reanimating Storywork: Indigenous Elders' Reflections on Leadership by Larry Grant*. Vancouver: SFU Indigenous Student Centre.

Yu, Henry (ed.)
2009 *Leaning Chinese Canada*. Vancouver: Initiative for Student Teaching and Research in Chinese Canadian Studies.

Yu, Henry
2013 Nurturing Dialogues between First Nations, Urban Aboriginal, and Immigrant Communities in Vancouver. In Shelagh Rogers (ed.) *Speaking My Truth: Reflections on Reconciliation & Residential Schools*. Aboriginal Healing Foundation (Internet, May 3, 2016, http://speakingmytruth.ca/?page_id=649).

Zandberg, Bryan
2007 'Reviving a Native Tongue', *The Tyee*, March 23.

**Databases and Websites**

Chinese Canadian Historical Society of British Columbia (Internet, September 9, 2014, http://www.cchsbc.ca/).

Chinese Canadian Stories, the Department of History, UBC (Internet, November 25, 2014, http://chinesecanadian.ubc.ca).

Historical Chinese Language Materials in British Columbia: An Electronic Inventory (Internet, September 7, 2012, http://burton.library.ubc.ca/hclmbc/related.html).

INitiative for Student Teaching and Research in Chinese Canadian studies, 2007−2010 (Internet, September 7, 2012, http://www.instrcc.ubc.ca/INSTRCC/INSTRCC.html).

Ties that Bind: Building the CPR, Building a Place in Canada (Internet, September 8, 2011, http://www.mhso.ca/tiesthatbind/).

Victoria's Chinatown: A Gateway to the Past and Present of Chinese Canadians (Internet, March 15, 2015, http://chinatown.library.uvic.ca/).

The Wallace B. Chung and Madeline H. Chung Collection homepage (Internet, November 15, 2014, http://chung.library.ubc.ca/).