Multiculturalism: The Un/making of an In/visible Un/problematic Citizen

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the lived experiences of Chinese Canadian youth (n=9) and their understandings of multiculturalism and racialization in Ontario, Canada. Canada is often cited as the epitome of acceptance and cultural diversity. The establishment of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act [1988] and the discourses surrounding multiculturalism have largely dictated the ways in which Canadians must act or portray themselves. By practicing the values of acceptance, tolerance, and kindness, one is made to believe that Canada has very minimal faults. As a result, racialized minorities deflect their encounters and experiences with racism (or any injustice) to uphold Canada's peaceful image. Furthermore, this has contributed to the belief that all Chinese Canadians are successful, intelligent, and thus, unproblematic citizens. Drawing upon the participants' experiences and their understandings of racism, I examine how racism is indeed veiled as microaggressions and both geographically and temporally deflected.

Keywords: multiculturalism, liberalism, Chinese Canadian, racialization, Greater Toronto Region

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Chapter 1
The Role of Public (Issues) Anthropology in Countering Narratives Around Race and Racism in Canada

1.1 Introduction

Canada manifests an amicable image that is rarely contested. For many recent immigrants[1], Canada represents new beginnings, safety, and tolerance. Ultimately, Canada transformed the structure of multiculturalism and subsequently, beliefs of citizenship and race. According to the guiding framework of liberalism, all individuals in Canada are supposedly situated on an "equal" level. That is, no individual on the basis of the various grounds proposed by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (or "the Charter") [1982] and Multiculturalism Act [1988] can be discriminated against, such that the principles of fairness and equality override any bias (Government of Canada 2020a, 2020b). Thus, the promotion and preservation of diversity that is enshrined in the Multiculturalism Act [1988] remains a central component to Canada's global image. Yet, racism remains a prominent issue in Canada – countering these claims of equality. Arguably, the Canadian government has made efforts to combat systemic racism (Office of the Premier 2020). However, Chinese Canadians remain absent from these discussions. This thesis argues that liberalism and multiculturalism simultaneously overrepresents and silences Chinese Canadians, resulting in contested identities and ongoing forms of racism.

Unlike the United States, there is a lack of prominent anthropological literature that focuses on second-generation Chinese Canadians. Instead, a great majority of Canadian literature pertains to international students and wealthy transnationals (Li 2001, 2003; Yu 2009). The overrepresentation of these groups and their associated stereotypes (e.g. wealth) persuades the greater majority to believe that Chinese Canadians are not victims of racism. This has shifted the

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[1] Recent immigrants are those who settled in Canada less than five years ago (Statistics Canada 2013).

nation's focus away from international students and transnationals, and consequently, Canadian-born Chinese who are (mis)understood to have the same degree of success. In the following section, the role of Public (Issues) Anthropology will contribute to our understandings and analyses of race and racism.

1.2 Public (Issues) Anthropology

Public Anthropology was first developed by Robert Borofsky in the 1990's (Borofsky 2017). More recently, Borofsky (2019) outlined four paradigms associated with Public Anthropology: benefitting others, fostering alternative forms of faculty accountability, transparency, and collaborating with others. The emphasis on engaging with the public by reaching out to others outside the discipline, challenging the hegemonic structures of the academy, and actively addressing the problems are critical in transforming public discussions and debates as anthropologists (Borofsky 2019). Lassiter (2005: 84) further summarizes the issues that are tackled by Public Anthropologists,

> From human rights to violence, from trafficking of body parts to the illegal drug trade, from problem solving to policy making, from global to the local and back again, the issues informing this evolving project to merge anthropology with public currents have been proven diverse and multifaceted.

In 2010, Maclean's published a controversial article titled, "Too Asian" (later changed to "The Enrollment Controversy") (Findlay and Köhler 2010). The authors argued that large numbers of Asian Canadians[2] were enrolling into top universities across Canada. Findlay and Köhler (2010) proposed,

> If they [Canadian universities] openly address the issue of race they expose themselves to criticisms that they are profiling and committing an injustice. If they don't, Canada's universities, far from the cultural mosaics they're supposed to be—oases of dialogue, mutual understanding and diversity—risk becoming places of many solitudes, deserts of non-communication. It's a tough question to have to think about.

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[2] The authors' use of Asian Canadians is targeting East Asians (more specifically, Chinese Canadians).

Regardless if one is born in Canada, Asian Canadians remain 'othered' or regarded as threats (academically and economically) for disrupting the "cultural mosaic" of universities (and cities). In addition to academics, they claimed that East Asians received more financial and academic support (Findlay and Köhler 2010). This is and remains a contradictory statement. According to a 2006 census (released prior to this article), a reported 24% of Chinese Canadians were living in poverty – the highest percentage amongst racialized groups (Statistics Canada 2009). The issues (e.g. income disparities) faced by this percentage of the population are erased by assuming that international students and Canadian-born Chinese are effectively the same (e.g. financially).

The overrepresentation of Chinese Canadians as successful, intelligent, and wealthy became accepted by the greater majority (exclusive of visible minorities[3]). This has rendered a great majority (who do not fit these images) invisible in the Greater Toronto Region. Drawing upon Maclean's (2010) article, the [White] majority is made to believe that Chinese Canadians do not face or encounter any issues due to their supposed success in academics and the labour market (Taylor and Krahn 2013; Pon 2000; Abada, Hou, and Ram 2009). Worse yet, this belief has either erased or greatly minimized talks of hypersegregation, income disparities, and racism involving Chinese Canadians. This contributes to the theory of *racial formation* – the "sociohistorical process by which racial identities are created, lived out, transformed, and destroyed" (Omi and Winant 2014: 109). The silencing of voices and ultimately, suffering, illustrates the power to "…tune out unwelcome news…" (Morris 1996: 27). This further rectifies Canada as an "accepting" and "tolerant" nation where such issues cease to exist (Kymlicka 1995, 2007; Taylor 1994; Banting and Kymlicka 2010).

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[3] The Government of Canada defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada 2015). Notable groups include: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Korean, and Japanese.

The avoidance and silencing of race matters in Canada remains an ongoing "critical contemporary issue" that contributes to the narratives of *colour-blind racism* (Bonilla-Silva 2010). Colour-blind racism is a fluid racial ideology that aims to preserve "race neutrality" through subtle and indirect practices found in economic, social, ideological, and political levels of contemporary societies (Bonilla-Silva and Ashe 2014). The refusal to engage with the concept of race is the failure to address, recognize, and confront historical injustices (Mullins 2013). Here, the relevance of Borofsky's (2019) paradigms of Public (Issues) Anthropology are crucial in countering these claims and redirecting the focus on individuals and groups that are largely devoid from Canadian literature. Under the constraints of COVID-19, this paper attempts to demonstrate how the paradigms and methods of Public (Issues) Anthropology are applicable for this research.

1.3 Chinese Canadians: Then and Now

Colonialism and the segregation of visible minorities (the current, "socially acceptable" term) provided a foundation for Canada. The exploitation of visible minorities for prosperity was accepted for the growth of the nation (Mitchell 2004). During the 1880's, Chinese workers arrived from both China and the United States (i.e. California) to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), while simultaneously being bombarded by a cascade of discriminatory acts and discourses from both the government and the public. Of the 9000 railway workers, 6500 were Chinese Canadians (Government of British Columbia n.d.). Chinese Canadians were paid $1.00 a day, exclusive of food and material costs which were separately bought using their daily compensation (Government of British Columbia n.d.). This, in juxtaposition to their European counterparts, whom were paid between $1.50 to $2.50 a day, and their provisions all-inclusive (Government of British Columbia n.d.). Below, the Last Spike (1885) is a vivid reminder of ignorance, which has erased Chinese Canadians of their work, suffering, and losses within a single snapshot. Yet, this

'iconic' finale remains a celebratory moment in Canadian history that continues to be brandished in Canadian passports and textbooks.
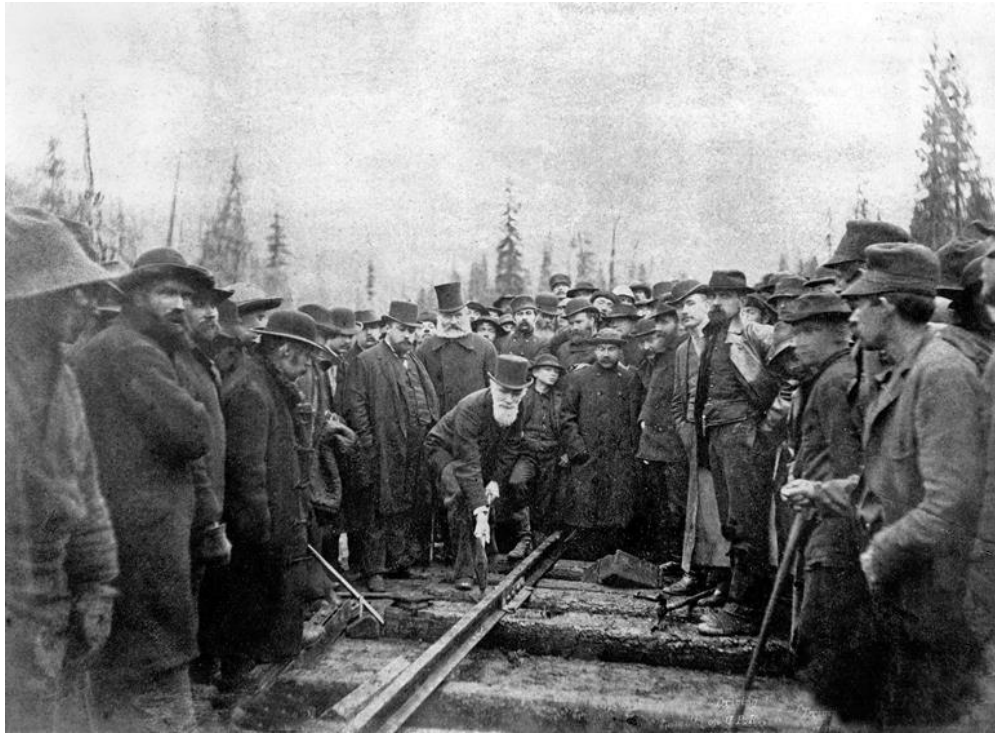
Figure 1. The Last Spike, 1885. CPR Director Donald Alexander Smith driving the "last spike". Chinese workers cleared from view. From *The Last Spike,* by D. Francis, 2017. Courtesy of Alexander Ross/Library and Archives Canada/C-003693.

The same year in which the CPR was completed, the government imposed the Chinese Head Tax (or the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885) to limit and discourage immigration from China (Gagnon et al. n.d.). In 1923, a second rendition of the Chinese Immigration Act (commonly referred to as the Chinese Exclusion Act) was passed by Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874-1950) (Gagnon et al. n.d.). The new legislation permanently denied entry to immigrants who lacked wealth. As the remaining workers were subjected to ongoing forms of exclusion and discrimination, the segregation of Chinese Canadians gave rise to Canada's first Chinatown in Victoria, British Columbia and subsequently, fuelled the growth of Chinese communities across Canada (Anderson 1987).

Prior to the mid-1960's, public perceptions of immigration from non-European countries were unfavourable. This began to change when the government saw "potential", that is, human capital attached to the various groups historically excluded from Canada. Canada, like many countries that partake in the neoliberal regime, wanted to expand their economy and build profitable partnerships that extended beyond their British and European counterparts. To do so, Canada seized this new opportunity by implementing a points-based immigration system (exclusive of origin) in 1967 and later, by enacting the Canadian Multiculturalism Act [1988], the first of its kind in the world (Brosseau and Dewing 2009). Soon afterwards, the Canadian government opened the "flood gates", while emphasizing desirable criteria (e.g. university degree(s), license(s), money to invest) that would hasten the process of obtaining Permanent Residency (PR) for wealthy candidates (Troper 2013).

Over the past thirty years, a great majority of immigrants have arrived from East Asia via three pathways: the recruitment of highly skilled and flexible workers, workers to fill scarce labour for both public and private sectors, and those who will directly contribute to Canada's economic growth – investors, entrepreneurs, and the self-employed (Li 2003). As a result of the growing transnational community in both British Columbia and Ontario, tension has begun to divide communities and challenge Western ideologies (Mitchell 2004). In this context, the transnational community represents economic immigrants (i.e. investors and entrepreneurs) or "astronaut families" (Ley 2004; Waters 2006). However, the devaluation of foreign credentials remains a prominent issue amongst recent immigrants (Ameeriar 2017).

On average, 10.1% of newcomers with a university degree and/or license are labelled "overqualified" and as a result, must take-up survival jobs that have no relevance to their educational and professional background (Cornelissen and Turcotte 2020; Ameeriar 2017). This

has contributed to the formation of ethnic enclaves (e.g. Scarborough, Markham) that are associated with Chinese Canadians or visible minorities – where income disparities remain the highest (refer to Appendix C) (Hulchanski 2010). In addition to income disparities and precarious labour, the sexualization of Asian female bodies and the emasculation of Asian male bodies are ongoing forms of racialization constructed by Western ideologies[4] (Said 1978). These ideologies have and continue to impact the ways in which Chinese Canadians navigate their identity from body image to job prospects throughout one's life. Nevertheless, both public and national perceptions of Chinese Canadians as successful and wealthy persist.

The gross negligence of Chinese Canadians has been masked by appropriated cultural markers and segregation; where a century's worth of oppression and humiliation have been replaced by new stereotypes of wealth and success. By conforming to the nation, Chinese Canadians must regulate their identity (e.g. determine what aspects of one's culture is acceptable to display) and downplay racist encounters to uphold the overarching theme of diversity and tolerance. As a result, racism against Chinese Canadians remains unacknowledged. The lack of acknowledgment contributes to the perpetuation and acceptance of these misperceptions and veils the socioeconomic challenges faced by 24% of Chinese Canadians (Statistics Canada 2009). Herein, this research will focus on an understudied population of second-generation Chinese Canadians in Ontario, Canada.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the role of Public (Issues) Anthropology, some of its paradigms and its relevance, in understanding the discourses involving Chinese Canadians. Despite having a long

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[4] While exposure to the East (previously known as the "Orient") dates to 4th century BCE (Britannica 2020), the 16th century marks when Western ideologies of the East shaped how female and male bodies were (and are) being conceptualized (Said 1978). Females were exoticized whereas males were effeminized. These images continue to portray East Asians as un/desirable (Mukkamala and Suyemoto 2018).

history with Canada, Chinese Canadians continue to face challenges that are largely ignored and veiled by popular (mis)conceptions that homogenize all individuals of Chinese ancestry (e.g. second-generation Chinese Canadians, recent immigrants, international students). This research may only pertain to the lived experiences of second-generation Chinese Canadian youth, but the issues surrounding race are important in provoking discussion and encouraging research on an important subject that affects visible minorities across Canada.

1.5 Venue of Publication

I plan to submit my Master's thesis for publication in Public Anthropologist. Public Anthropologist is an international peer-reviewed journal that encourages discussion and engagement on diverse contemporary issues. Additionally, it brings readers and contributors from beyond the anthropological realm (e.g. sociologists, policy makers, artists).

Chapter 2
Multiculturalism: The Un/making of an In/visible Un/problematic Citizen

2.1 Introduction

The misrecognition of Chinese Canadians as 'socioeconomically advantaged'[5] speaks to the social adversities that are rendered invisible. This permits the circulation of racist discourses, contested identities, and the silencing of voices. In spite of the substantial amount of research around the racialization of visible minorities, contemporary anthropological literature continues to focus on the "suffering subject" or those living under the conditions of oppression (Robbins 2013). These 'subjects' are found in regions most commonly associated with anthropologists (e.g. South America, Africa) or "powerhouse" nations (e.g. the United States, France) that are struggling with racial inequality and structural violence (Fassin 2013; Bourgois and Schonberg 2009).

The growing body of literature involving East Asians (in particular, those from Mainland China) in the United States primarily focuses on the model minority myth[6], the education of second-generation Asian Americans, and the racial triangulation of Asian Americans (Kim 1999; Lowe 1996; Ong 1996; Sue and Okazaki 1990; Pyke and Dang 2003; Espiritu, Lowe, and Yoneyama 2017). Due to Canada's relation with the United States, the "model minority myth" has crossed over to the north. However, Canada is particularly quiet or closed when discussing these matters. In the United States, Asian Americans have sometimes been used as a racial wedge between Whites and African Americans; where Asian Americans are depicted as hard-working and successful, and African Americans as the opposite (Kim 1999). Here, political leaders do not

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[5] Contrary to socioeconomically advantaged, the term "socioeconomically disadvantaged" refers to fewer years of education, lower income, and lower occupational status (Scaramella, Neppl, Ontai, and Conger 2008).

[6] In the United States, the model minority myth is an exaggeration of Asian American educational and economic success (Kim 1999).

publicly use Asian Canadians (or any visible minority group) to denigrate Indigenous groups[7]. Rather, the ideologies of liberalism and multiculturalism overshadow these discourses through Canada's immigration policies. This is through the purposeful selection of economic immigrants or neoliberal subjects who largely arrive from Mainland China.

On the surface, Canada's multicultural policies may prohibit discrimination or favoritism of groups. Yet, the acceptance of Chinese economic immigrants (in British Columbia and Ontario) upholds this "model minority myth" in subtle ways. Likewise, the "high" numbers of Chinese Canadians in universities (Findlay and Köhler 2010) speaks to Canada's neoliberal goals (i.e. contributing to the global economy). By focusing on education and success, the issues of racism and the de/sexualization of female and male bodies are erased from these discussions. It positions Chinese Canadians as having privilege and thus, greatly delimits their ability to challenge the status quo. Multiculturalism has therefore replaced the history of Chinese Canadians with a false façade of successful integration.

2.2 Background

This research reports on the lived experiences of second-generation Chinese Canadians between the ages of 20-25 years. Chinese Canadian is a broad category that includes people from: Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Hoa peoples (Chinese Vietnamese), among others. It is important to note that there is a conflation between Chinese Canadians and recent Chinese immigrants (particularly, economic immigrants). As such, both generational differences (e.g. second versus fourth-generation Chinese Canadians) and time of immigration (e.g. immigrated to Canada in the 1980's versus early-2000's) are largely overlooked by the stereotypes (e.g. wealthy)[8]

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[7] In contrast to the United States where the African American population is often the focus of systemic racism, Indigenous groups are the focus here in Canada.
[8] After the events of Tiananmen Square (1989), thousands of students and families immigrated to Commonwealth countries such as Canada, England, and Australia – with many settling in Vancouver, British Columbia (Chan 2019).

derived from economic immigrants and international students. The proliferation of these stereotypes has erased the differences found between individuals of Chinese ancestry in Canada; disregarding whether one was born in Canada, is an international student, or is a recent immigrant. The conflation of these groups continues to oversimplify cultures and identities based on stereotypes rooted in the past.

The participants' ethnic roots are from Mainland China and/or Hong Kong, with majority (n=7) residing within the Greater Toronto Region (GTA). Yet, Vancouver is strongly associated with the growing Chinese Canadian population. Much research conducted by academics focus on wealthy transnationals (i.e. investors) and international students from East Asia (i.e. Mainland China) residing in British Columbia (Mitchell 2004; Li 2003). More specifically, there has been a large focus on "satellite kids" or "astronaut families" – children who are left in

Figure 2. A map highlighting the major cities in the Greater Toronto Region. From *List of municipalities in the Greater Toronto Area,* by Wikipedia, 2019.

Canada to finish their education while their parents return to their country of origin (Waters 2006; Tsong and Liu 2008; Tsang et al. 2003). Ontario lacks the same scholarly attention despite being home to over half of Canada's immigrant population, followed by British Columbia at 17.1% (NewToBC 2018).

The increasing number of immigrants in Vancouver resulted in an economic boom (Mitchell 2004). Additionally, Vancouver's real estate market was largely affected by the influx of immigrants from Mainland China and Hong Kong. The rising housing and rental prices have and continues to place blame on economic immigrants – further rectifying the stereotypes found today (Mitchell 2004).

Unlike Vancouver, the GTA is hailed as the epitome of multiculturalism. The GTA spans from the municipal regions of Halton to Durham and is home to over 6,197,000 people and 230 "ethnic origins" (Ballingall 2017). The Canadian government continues to tout and celebrate the GTA as the most diverse region in the world, with a reported 50% of the population classified under the visible minority category (Cole 2017). As of 2016, approximately 618,280 Chinese Canadians are living in the GTA; with majority residing in Scarborough, Markham, and Richmond Hill (Ballingall 2017). This, in comparison to Vancouver, which is home to 474,655 Chinese Canadians (Statistics Canada 2019). The total Chinese Canadian population is predicted to double by 2031 (Young 2013). Due to the GTA's diverse image and rising popularity, the issues of hypersegregation and income disparities are overlooked. According to Appendix C, much of the region is classified as "low income", representing nearly 50% of GTA's population. Furthermore, Scarborough, Markham, and Richmond Hill are "low income" areas – countering the false narratives of Chinese Canadians as wealthy. In reality, the Canadian job market continues to devalue the credentials and experience of recent Chinese immigrants.

The devaluation of foreign credentials and work experience has greatly affected the earning powers of immigrants (Reitz 2001; Li 2003; Ameeriar 2017). This is further enmeshed with how the Canadian market rewards credentials based on race, gender, and immigration status; disregarding one's high status prior to immigrating to Canada (Li 2008). To illustrate this, Fang (2011) conducted a study that compared the earnings of Canadian-born workers and recent Chinese immigrants. According to the 2003 census, Canadian-born workers made an average of $20.73/hour, whereas recent 'overeducated' Chinese immigrants made $16.49/hour (Fang 2011). As expected, Canadian born workers make significantly more due to their fluency in English and/or French and inherent characteristics (exclusive to White Canadians) that are unobtainable

for visible minorities (Li 2001). In 2016, the earnings of immigrants have slightly increased but falls behind native-born White Canadians (Houle 2019). Ameeriar (2017) provides a recent example to illustrate how income disparities remain a significant issue amongst immigrant women in Toronto. The nation continues to commodify women of colour as cheap and docile labour, reinstating both racial and sexist hierarchies (Gannage 1999; Ng 1999; Guo 2009). Thus, the Canadian market only favours those who can afford to "Canadianize"[9] themselves (Mojab 1999; Ameeriar 2017).

Of the nine participants, seven participants reside (born and/or raised) in the GTA. The breakdown is as follows, six are from the city of Toronto (e.g. Scarborough, York) and one participant from Burlington (included within the GTA). From outside the GTA, one participant is from the Kitchener-Waterloo region and the other from Ottawa. Arguably, both Kitchener-Waterloo and Ottawa share similarities with the GTA. The three regions are urban centres that receives influxes of immigration from Asia. Ottawa, the capital city of Canada, is also hailed as a multicultural hub – the 4th highest concentration of recent immigrants in the country (Ottawa 2020). Kitchener-Waterloo (KW) has attracted immigrants and international students from across the globe due to their technology sector; taking 8th place in terms of immigration within Canada (Region of Waterloo 2019). Nonetheless, the participants' lived experiences contribute to this research regardless of their geographical location.

The socioeconomic status of the participants was examined via the literature and 'indicators' from the interviews. In summary, the following categories are representative of the participants (GTA + Kitchener-Waterloo + Ottawa): high income (n=6), middle income (n=1), and low income (n=2). This was determined via Appendices B and C, and the participant's statements

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[9] Canadianize ("to make Canadian") is to assimilate to a lifestyle that is distinctive of Canadians (Merriam-Webster n.d.). This includes participating in activities such as hockey and lacrosse to speaking English and/or French.

regarding their access to private school or parent's educational background (i.e. university degree). By gaining a general understanding of the participants' backgrounds, this will provide insight into the upward and downward mobility of Chinese Canadians in Ontario.

2.3 Literature Review

For many of the participants, multiculturalism is a defining point of reference for their own racial positioning (or lack thereof). It is therefore important to understand how multiculturalism originates from liberalism and how both multiculturalism and liberalism operate in Asian Canadian Studies. More specifically, the focus lies on the burden that liberalism imposes on racialized minorities. This includes the false belief that *all* individuals are equal despite there being a *distinct* White (i.e. British and French) majority (Mackey 1999; Thobani 2007; Day 2000). Furthermore, the cultivation of British practices is largely accepted as the norm and determinant of one's social positioning as a Canadian (Mitchell 2004). That is, one must conform to the nation, engage in "acceptable" forms of cultural displays (e.g. food, dress) and act in a manner that is not violent, angry or uncomfortable (e.g. speak of race or racism) to support Canada's "nice" image (Thobani 2007; Ameeriar 2017). Hence the lack of mediatization of hate crimes (e.g. COVID-19 related anti-Asian sentiment) against Chinese Canadians (or collectively, Asian Canadians) and the participant's inability to draw upon these cases during the interviews.

2.3.1 Liberalism

In 1877, Wilfrid Laurier gave an 'iconic' speech on liberalism, which was once perceived as a risky topic and a threat to the Conservative Party and the Roman Catholic Church (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2017). Below, is a segment of Laurier's (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2017) 'controversial' speech,

> Wherever there is compression, there will be explosion, violence and ruin. I do not say
> this to excuse revolutions, as I hate revolutions and detest all attempts to win the

triumph of opinions by violence. But I am less inclined to cast the responsibility on those who make them than on those who provoke them by their blind obstinacy. I say this to illustrate the superiority of Liberalism, which understands the aspirations of human nature, and, instead of doing violence to them, seeks to direct them.

Overall, the key points of Laurier's full speech on liberalism involved positive hints of peace, happiness, and choice. Yet, he doubled the Chinese Head Tax and was a key driver in the formation of anti-immigration laws during his tenure as Prime Minister; contradicting his beliefs on compression and violence and presupposing an equality (promised by liberalism) that does not exist (Tan and Roy 1985). Regardless, this would become the guiding foundation for Canadian political philosophers who attempt to erase both patriarchal and racial undertones from current understandings of liberalism.

Liberalism has moved away from the early works of British philosophers like John Locke, James Mills, and John Stuart Mill. Today, liberalism (propelled by the Pierre Trudeau and the Liberal Party) glorifies multiculturalism, social justice, equality, human rights, and tolerance (Liberal Party 2020). Hence, the iconic association of Canada as a "progressive" nation. In "Politics of Recognition", Taylor (1994) argues that liberalism should recognize all groups as "equal". The granting or bestowing of this gift of recognition is from the 'White' national (depicted by Taylor's use of "us", "we", and Hegelian influence) to the 'Other'. This was further exemplified by Kymlicka (1995, 2007) who distinguished majority groups by language and minority groups by culture. The recognition of cultural difference relies upon commodification of immigrant bodies that must be granted by the nation. One must fully incorporate themselves into Canadian society and contribute to Canada's global economy to be granted recognition (Abu-Laban 2020). The failure to integrate or contribute, increases one's subjectivity to othering and infers that there is a hierarchy between groups in which the minority is positioned as inferior (Day 2000).

The intentions of liberalism (e.g. individual rights and difference blindness) are, in fact,

illiberal and has never been "neutral". As Day (2002) has stated, "Canada has always been split,

not only in two, but in multiple fractures within fractures" (178). The limitations of liberalism

directly contribute to Canada's discriminatory and racializing practices. This has been exemplified

by the allocation of resources amongst ethnic groups and the celebration of national holidays and

symbols that represent the dominant group (Abu-Laban 2002). Abu-Laban (2002) further argues

that various laws regulate citizenship and through this process of regulation, determines one's

in/ability to 'survive' in Canada (i.e. devaluation of foreign credentials, precarious labour, and

dis/abilities). This not only contradicts the ideology of neutrality and having "no race" but reflects

how liberalism is central to the normalization of racism (Goldberg 2000). The collective unity of

many ethnic groups is seen as a threat to the dominant group in which this threat must be governed

to prevent the destruction of the West (Abu-Laban 2002).

2.3.2 Multiculturalism

With regard to the selection of immigrants, much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien [emphasis added] to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy.... There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations.

- Mackenzie King (1947)[10]

In *Exalted Subjects*, Thobani (2007) examines the gendering and racializing processes in

the formation of the 'subject' and the nation-state. Specifically, she focuses on how the nation-

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[10] This quote was retrieved from Triadafilopoulos (2012).

state continues to differentiate between the 'national' and the 'Other' (i.e. visible minorities) by dissecting the meanings behind citizenship and identity. Thobani (2007) argues that citizenship does not guarantee the same status as the 'national' who in the eyes of Canada, remains a White figure. Rather, it is a dual process of "self-making" and "being made" that focuses on the cultural practices and beliefs that are produced from constant negotiations with the nation-state (Ong 1996: 737). The national, as Thobani (2007) further argues, is an *exalted* subject. Exaltation separates the national from "strangers" in its ability to make oneself "ontologically and existentially distinct" (Thobani 2007: 5). This grants the 'true' Canadian the power to defend one's privilege and moral superiority from the 'infestations' of the Other (e.g. visible minorities, Americans) through the erasure of Canada's colonial past. This privilege has been exercised in the forms of land access, mobility, employment, and social entitlements (Thobani 2007: 21).

Mackey (1999) examines the power of whiteness in *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*. Whiteness refuses both categorization and homogenization, where one does not need to represent themselves as being White or a certain race (Mackey 1999). Instead, whiteness has become normalized as *the* 'human race' (Dyer 1997) or the image that comes to mind when one envisions a Canadian. This brings attention to the problematic "visible minority" category. The recognition of immigrants as a "visible minority" allows the government to politically manage cultural differences through (Western) education, cultural programmes, and settlement services (Mackey 1999: 79). Additionally, multiculturalism remains enshrouded within a bilingual framework. Briefly, both the English and French (the two "founding nations") have linguistic and political rights, whereas minorities must be granted 'tolerance' for their cultural differences (Mackey 1999: 80). These cultural differences (e.g. language - Mandarin) have become

commodities used to uplift Canada in the global economy by building international business partnerships.

The work of Thobani (2007) and Mackey (1999) highlight how multiculturalism shapes and racializes various groups. Multiculturalism recognizes the existence of various groups via categorization (e.g. visible minorities, Asian Canadian), but fails to fairly represent these groups. From oppression to stories of prosperity, it is largely believed that Chinese Canadians have successfully integrated into the broader Canadian society. The existence of ethnic enclaves (e.g. Chinatown or regions such as Scarborough) proves otherwise; further illustrating how Chinese Canadians remain segregated from mainstream Canadian culture and the greater [White] majority. Moreover, these ethnic enclaves have become oversimplified representations of culture and diversity; masking low-income rates, poverty, and social issues. Thus, the objectives of multiculturalism do not align with what is being achieved and perpetuated by the government, let alone practiced by all Canadians.

2.3.3 Research on Asian Canadians

In Canada, there is a limited selection of Asian Canadian literature that pertains to the racialization of second-generation Chinese Canadians using a multicultural (or liberal) analysis. Only recently, the first *Asian Canadian Studies Reader* by Pon and Coloma (2017) was published to highlight the issues faced by various Asian Canadian groups across Canada. The compilation of essays, however, focuses on well-worn issues that are reminiscent of Asian American literature. The essays fail to answer: What makes these issues distinctly Canadian? For example, an article by Pratt (2017) on second-generation Filipino Canadians in British Columbia had similar results to Pyke and Dang's (2003) work on intraethnic othering in the United States. That is, intraethnic othering occurs between second-generation Asian Canadians/Americans and international

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students. Aside from this reader, there are two notable and relevant works that include in-depth ethnographic fieldwork (Mitchell 2004; Ameeriar 2017).

Mitchell (2004) states that the discourses surrounding liberalism are dependent on time and space, where a uniform definition ceases to exist. In *Crossing the Neoliberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis*, Mitchell (2004) revealed how British Canadians and Hong Kong transnationals have varying yet opposing interpretations of liberalism. Although Mitchell (2004) focused on the relationship between liberalism and property rights, the overarching theme of her interpretations was the continued racialization of Chinese Canadians. The social construction of Chinese Canadians as the *perpetual other*[11] is consistent with Anderson's (1987) work. The oppression of Chinese Canadians remains evident through the perpetuation of British ideologies, where one must be granted legitimacy or permission to become Canadian.

Lastly, Ameeriar (2017) examined the lives of South Asian women in the Greater Toronto Region (GTA). The subject group may be different, but Ameeriar (2017) brings attention to the 'sanitized sensorium' to understand how foreign bodies become "legible" and "recognizable" via sensory registers that dictate one's inclusion or exclusion in the public sphere (3). Specifically, the author examined the mobility patterns of Pakistani women and how they were un/able to integrate into the Canadian economy. Likewise, her research revealed how foreign credentials are devalued; pushing immigrants to either retrain or take-up survival jobs that have no relevance to their educational and professional expertise. For these women, multiculturalism provided a false sense of hope and served to commensurate bodies by reproducing gendered and racialized discourses. Altogether, the works of Pon and Coloma (2017), Mitchell (2004), and Ameeriar (2017) illustrate how Asian Canadians are racialized regardless of class and/or educational attainment.

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[11] The "perpetual other" portrays Asian Canadians (and Asian Americans) as "inherently foreign" and therefore, cannot be considered a true Canadian (or American) (Lee, Wong, and Alvarez 2009; Ho 2014).

2.4 Methodology

2.4.1 Site

The research setting can be understood as a physical, social, and/or cultural site (Bhattacharya 2008). Anthropologists have extended this 'traditional' approach to encompass every facet of the research by moving beyond the physical or geographical location of the participants' residence. This includes, but is not limited to: the participants, their lived experiences, literature, and media. I draw upon both physical and social sites to illustrate how the research setting was established for this thesis. As discussed within Section 2.2, the physical location is the Greater Toronto Region (GTA). To understand multiculturalism and the discourses surrounding Chinese Canadians, both literature and media were used; all which illustrate multiculturalism as countering equality, fairness, and acceptance. As Anderson (1987), Ameeriar (2017), and Hulchanski (2010) demonstrate, both hypersegregation and income disparities continue to affect visible minorities in major Canadian cities through the formation of ethnic enclaves. For instance, this would include Scarborough and York (e.g. Markham, Richmond Hill).

2.4.2 Ethics

In accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TSPS2), this research was approved by the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (ORE #42053). The TSPS2 provides a foundation to protect and respect the autonomy of the research participants. Traditionally, the discipline of [social] anthropology utilizes participant-observation. Participant-observation is a qualitative research method that enables the researcher to immerse themselves into the culture(s), place(s), and lives of the people being studied (Bernard 2013). This was implausible due to COVID-19, which was declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO) prior to the start of the

programme's research term. Consequently, both recruitment and semi-structured interviews[12] were completed virtually, and the interviews were transcribed using Trint[13]. To protect and respect the participants' privacy, pseudonyms were assigned.

2.4.3 Recruitment

The participants were recruited using snowball sampling. Snowball sampling enables the researcher to recruit participants through their acquaintances (Naderifar, Goli, and Ghaljaei 2017). This method was particularly useful and ideal given the current conditions of COVID-19. With the help of professors and colleagues, recruitment flyers and information letters were circulated via class discussion boards, emails, and social media. As snowball sampling is a gradual process, it is best to plan the steps prior to and following the interviews. For this research, the ethics procedure took approximately two months (including the addition of an amendment) and interviews were held on a rolling basis.

2.5 Researcher's Positionality

During the research phase, my positionality as a Korean Canadian researcher affected the outcome of the interviews. Positionality is influenced by a plethora of factors such as race, culture, ethnicity, social class, and age (Qin 2016). The combination of these factors ultimately shapes how the researcher locates themselves (as an "insider" or "outsider") in relation to their research and the participants. During the interviews, it became evident that I shared some similarities with the participants. This included being of East Asian descent and for the female participants, my gender. Aside from our shared, racializing experiences associated with our East Asian backgrounds, this

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[12] Semi-structured interviews are commonly used within the social sciences. Longhurst (2003) defines a semi-structured interview as "a verbal exchange where one person, the interviewer, elicits information from another person by asking questions" which normally takes form in a conversational manner (143).

[13] Trint is a transcription software that uses artificial intelligence (AI) technology (Trint 2020). This provides an added layer of protection and privacy because an unknown individual is not transcribing the data; ensuring that the information does not get leaked or shared through this third party.

reiterates the issues surrounding the Asian Canadian category – as being Korean Canadian and Chinese Canadian are effectively different. For example, the participants did not elaborate on their heritage or language/dialect (spoken between relatives and friends). If I were Chinese Canadian, I would have been much more relatable; expanding upon our family backgrounds, culture(s), and experiences that would be unbeknownst to an outsider. Additionally, I was incognizant of either Mandarin or Cantonese slang (in general, language) used by the participants. This would have provided insight into how second-generation Chinese Canadians navigated their identity in a 'diverse' country, where over 180 languages are spoken in Toronto alone (Toronto 2020). My gender (as female) also influenced the trajectory of the interviews by provoking more discussion with the female participants. Although my gender did not have a profound influence on the length of the interviews, the female participants shared their experiences regarding body "norms" (refer to Appendix D) and catcalling (refer to Appendix E), whereas the male participants did not explicitly discuss their gendered experiences.

In the social sciences, there is continued debate as to whether the researcher "knows better" than the participants (Aronowitz et al. 2015; Kleinman 2013). In some cases, this has resulted in the *misrecognition[14]* of the participants' experiences. As an Asian Canadian, I have personally shared similar if not the same experiences as the participants. Arguably, this category is both conflating and homogenizing of Asian Canadian populations. Given the popular (racializing) misconception that "all East Asians are/look the same", the homogenization of Asian Canadians enables the 'sharing' of such experiences. Likewise, I, too, have dismissed my experiences with racism as isolated events and accepted the framework of diversity and inclusivity endorsed by the government. However, I realized that these experiences should not be ignored nor accepted as

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[14] Misrecognition may be a result of imbalanced power dynamics in which the researcher ignores historical and social conditions (Bourdieu 1977).

fleeting moments. In conjunction with the literature used within this research, it is valuable to understand that racism requires recognition in its many forms. In the following section, I discuss the participants' experiences to present how the misrecognition of racism permits the continued racialization of Chinese Canadians (and visible minorities) across Canada.

2.6 Analysis of the Results

2.6.1 Overview

The participants provided a range of responses. Notably, most participants did not classify their encounters as racism and relied on folk theories to explain their 'isolated' experiences (Hill 2008). As a result, there was very little discussion on income disparities and residential segregation as having an impact on or pertaining to Chinese Canadians. This also speaks to their understandings of multiculturalism (refer to Appendix A) – which aligned with the common themes of tolerance, acceptance, and the co-existence of various cultures and ethnic groups. Their understandings of racism and multiculturalism aligned with Thobani's (2007) literature on "being Canadian". That is, to minimize any acts of racism to uphold Canada's multicultural image as the *exalted* subject – a form of self-elevation as the national ("Canadian") who is inherently benevolent, law-biding, and deserving of such status (Thobani 2007). The process of exaltation, however, works in the favour of the White majority and excludes the 'Other' (i.e. visible minorities). The granting of citizenship does not guarantee equality when a racialized hierarchy exists in Canada.

A second form of racialization is *intraethnic othering*. Intraethnic othering is a process that occurs between coethnics, which may produce resentment and division between the "assimilated" (Chinese Canadians) and the "ethnically-identified" (international students) (Pyke and Dang 2003: 152). This was apparent in the participants' description of international students, where a clear

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distinction was made between Canadian-born Chinese ("us") and FOB's ("them"). Alice (Human Biology and Psychology Major, University of Toronto alumni, Toronto resident) recalls how a colleague assumed that *all* Asians are rich,

> …I swear it's like everyone just thinks all Asians are the same as international Asian students. It's like you all drive around in your Lambros and you love your Gucci and your Fendi. And it's like, nah leave me alone! (Alice, UofT)

The topic of international students arose when the participants recalled being labelled (e.g. whitewashed[15]) or misunderstood (to be an international) by others (e.g. colleagues, general public). Furthermore, the participants adopted popular stereotypes (e.g. wealthy, wear luxury brands, and drive expensive cars) to 'distance' or 'differentiate' themselves from international students. Yet, their understandings of international students were not conceptualized as a form of racial segregation or intraethnic othering. Although there was no ill-will or jealousy towards their international colleagues, Chinese Canadians are unconsciously contributing to the racializing discourses created and perpetuated by Western media. This brings attention to how Chinese Canadians bear a permanent burden of having to justify themselves to prove their Canadian identity.

In terms of class, a pattern could not be derived. For example, the participants who lived in predominately White regions (associated with high-income areas) did not experience racism, whereas participants who lived in low-middle income regions experienced varying forms of racism (e.g. verbal, sexual). However, one participant from the low-middle income category did not experience racism; similar to that of the high-income participants. As a result of this outlier, the relationship between class and racism was deemed inconclusive. Aside from class, there was a pattern found amongst the female participants in respect to gender and race.

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[15] To be "whitewashed" (a term mainly used by coethnics) is to be "too assimilated", a reproduction of negative stereotypes in response to racial oppression (Pyke and Dang 2003).

The female participants were more attuned to the effects of racialization, exemplifying the centrality of whiteness and the sexualization of female bodies. Lydia (Language Major, Glendon Campus, Toronto resident) and Hailey (Joint Honours Math, University of Waterloo, Kitchener-Waterloo resident) drew upon the figure of the "blonde woman with blue eyes" as the ideal symbol of beauty (refer to Appendix D). These beauty standards (influenced by European/American ideals) idealize whiteness as the norm and posits women of colour the farthest from these ideals (Lau et al. 2006). The desire to be included by increasing one's proximity to whiteness only produces unhappiness and contributes to psychological effects of low self-esteem and high body dissatisfaction (Ahmed 2010). To overcome this, one must find ways to compensate for their difference. Yet, this is further complicated by the hypersexualization of Asian females. The construction of orientalism contributes to these gendering experiences and convolutes the image of Asian Canadians as being un/desirable (Said 1978).

In alignment with the "exotic Other", Yellow Fever is an extension of these gendering and racializing discourses. Yellow Fever can be understood as the hypersexualization of Asian female bodies, or a 'strong' sexual preference (or fetish) for individuals of Asian descent (Zheng 2016). Several of the female participants have encountered catcalling, a form of street harassment that entails unwanted attention from random men (refer to Appendix E). This attention can be in the form of "physically harmless leers, whistles, honks, kissing noises, and nonsexually explicit evaluative comments…" (Kearl 2010: 3). Alice recalled her experience in New York,

> Yeah. Because, you know, like in New York, the culture is very different. Catcalling is a very, like, big. So, you know, some people are like, "Oh, what are you?" Are you some kind of Asian spice?" And I'm just like bro, this man really said Asian spice.

The use of "Asian spice" simultaneously racializes and sexualizes the participant's body. Additionally, the specific use of "spice" can be understood as the process of commodifying one's

body or in other words, an object that can be bought and used. For both Alice and Hailey, their experiences with catcalling illustrate how the sexualization of female bodies is contingent with one's life course. More specifically, there is a shift from being "undesirable" (as children) to recipients of catcalling or objectification (as adults) (Calogero 2004).

2.6.2 Internalized Racial Oppression

The overuse of "sorry" and the polite façade of Canadians have shaped the behaviours of those who have conformed to the nation. By conforming to Western hegemonic discourses of civility, one is required to erase their past (Thobani 2007). This is particularly true for visible minorities who are expected to change. The acceptance of racist acts as baseless and therefore, not "too offensive", are reflective of internalized racism. Pyke (2010) defines internalized racism, a form of racial oppression, as the "individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one's racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one's race and/or oneself" (553). For the White majority, one's social environment is safeguarded from race-based stress (DiAngelo 2011). The internalization of racism is intrinsically linked to Hill's (2008) folk theory of race and racism. Lydia pointed out,

> I think...I always have a comment. I think that with hate crimes, I think it's oftentimes taken too lightly and not just against Asians, against any race, anybody who is not White. Because if you like, when you say…when you see people…when you try to imagine the ideal person or just the regular everyday person, it's not an Asian that comes to mind. It's not a Black man that comes to mind. It's not even a Hispanic person or an Indian person. It's a White man. It's a White man that comes to mind and everyone else is the Other. And if and until that White man is insulted or felt hurt or raises their voice, the voices of minorities are not heard.

In Lydia's analysis of hate crimes in Canada, the "White man" remains the central figure – erasing or greatly minimizing the visibility of visible minorities. This quote contradicts both liberalism and multiculturalism and brings attention to the centrality of whiteness that pervades Canada.

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Whiteness is understood to be a privilege that guarantees protection and accrues status, which in turn provides distinction over any individual of colour (Mackey 1999; Dyer 1997; DiAngelo 2011). Alice also brought attention to the White figure,

> I think we're at a very interesting point because we aren't necessarily like the minority that people like love to hate. Just because, like, I feel like we're lighter than like a lot of other groups, like African Americans, like we don't necessarily like it's not like someone's gonna look at us. Like, for example, me and like another black girl. And they're gonna just see her as like if something bad happens, they're going to blame her faster than they would blame me. So, like, I think we have an advantage in some ways, but at the same time, we're definitely at a disadvantage because we're still not white. If that makes sense.

Alice's example shares similarities with the "model minority" myth, where Asian Canadians are wedged between African Canadians (or Indigenous groups) and the White majority (Kim 1999). This quote further exemplifies the pervasiveness of Whiteness by positioning White individuals as "universal human beings" who can represent all human beings without being tied down by racializing experiences encountered by visible minorities (McIntosh 1988).

A second form of internalized racism is the dismissal of racist acts as trivial encounters during childhood. Jason (Math Major, University of Waterloo alumni, Toronto resident) reflected on his elementary years,

> …Like they would, at least I remember in elementary school...you know how kids are right? They'll pick on anything. So they'll say stuff like, you know, go back to where you're from or do that pulling the eyes thing, or stuff like that. But I mean, I never saw it as anything too, too offensive I guess because it was like, you know?

Likewise, Hannah (Kinesiology, University of Guelph alumni, Burlington resident) experienced similar events during her childhood,

> Yeah. I feel like obviously more so when I was younger. I think, like, look more in the younger elementary school days. I think everyone I think at that age too, everyone kind of just wants to fit in and like any kind of differences at all, I think a lot of kids tease other kids for that. Like, I know some people, it was always like, you know, about your eye shape" and "…it was always like, "Oh, like your lunch is so different". Like, oh,

well, like the thing about smelling like rice and like, you know? And, I mean it's always things like that, that I found were experienced.

These experiences demonstrate how racist discourses are unaffected by the racial and/or ethnic make-up of the city – Burlington regarded as primarily White and Toronto as diverse. Second, these examples bring attention to how racism is conceptualized. The framing of these acts as unoffensive or teasing minimizes the existence of racism (which is present) and thus, silences its impact (i.e. emotionally, mentally) on the participants. In retrospect, there was no discussion or mention of other social issues such as precarious labour, residential segregation, and income disparities. This further exemplifies how racism is primarily understood as microaggressions that occur at a personal level rather than being systemic or structural.

In reference to racial microaggressions, staring (received by the recipient) is another form of internalized racism. For the following cases, it can be presumed that staring equates to 'othering' or *alienation* – the social isolation of an individual or group from the majority (Loo and Rolison 1986). Here, there is a shift from childhood experiences to encounters experienced as adults. Claudia (Math and Business Major, University of Waterloo alumni, Toronto resident) shared her experience when shopping in Toronto,

> …But as I grew older, I noticed…I guess like when I go shopping sometimes to really high-end shops? I don't know if this could be attributable to other factors, not just race, but like sometimes I'd get looks from the store clerk. I guess like judging if I can actually afford these things, but I don't know if that's fully race? Like when I go to a really expensive restaurant where I notice most of the people in the restaurant aren't my race, I would get looks sometimes…

Aside from staring, Laura's (Geography Major, University of Waterloo, Ottawa resident) recent encounter (that occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic) raised a similar point,

> You know, it wasn't aggressive. He just casually walked by and was like, "wear a mask". And there were other people on the street who weren't Asians who didn't wear masks. It was like outside, so. Oh, yeah, there was that.

For both Claudia and Laura, there was an element of uncertainty; where the participants questioned or wondered whether their experiences (with staring or being asked to wear a mask) was race-related. This speaks to how racism is generally thought to be aggressive and obvious, but the lingering effects of racism (e.g. uncertainty) affects how they respond to racism.

Lastly, there is a noticeable pattern in which racism is used interchangeably with ignorance. When I asked Alice, "So would you say that the racism that Asians face is different from other groups? Just more closed?". Alice responded, "Not that it is more closed, I just think it's different because we're a different race, obviously. People have different stereotypes of us. So people want to say, like, you know, different types of comments. But, I think at the end of the day, it's kind of all the same, just hate and ignorance". Likewise, Alex (Accounting, University of Waterloo alumni, Scarborough resident) recalled this moment,

> It's typically quite ignorant people on public transit or sort of. It's never really like… I don't think it's a hate crime in any sense, but they use race as a vehicle to insult. I guess there's one experience I had was on the subway in Toronto. I was asked on a very packed train to step aside while the train was moving. So, this older lady…I believe she was some sort of Eastern European descent, had to walk by. But the train was packed like a tuna can. I told her very nicely that I would step aside when the train stopped moving so that she would get off. And I guess she wasn't satisfied with that answer. And she asked me if I spoke English. Which I just replied to her in English.

Alex described his experience as ignorance rather than racism. In this case, both participants believed that these 'perpetrators' are "anachronisms, who are ignorant, vicious, and remote from the mainstream" (Hill 2008: 6). These actions are a result of the individual's beliefs, not as a result of the hegemonic and racializing discourses that were developed and perpetuated by the [White] majority (Anderson 1987). Likewise, visible minorities are expected to erase or conceal their racist encounters. If one holds onto these experiences (e.g. become vocal, angry, revengeful), they are deemed un-Canadian and blamed for tainting both liberal and multicultural ideologies.

2.6.3 Deflection – Geographically

The dismissal of racism is common in Canada and aligns with the somber demeanor of Canadians. Most commonly, racism is geographically deflected to not only save one's face, but to prevent the escalation of the issue and un-Canadian like behaviour (e.g. being brash, loud or confrontational) from arising. This explains the participants use of the United States to deflect negative, unwanted attention. To locate racism elsewhere, othering can take place between whole nations and commonly 'othered' provinces (e.g. Alberta, Quebec) (Thobani 2007; Mackey 1999). This demonstrates how othering transcends borders to encompass the social, cultural, and economic structures of geographical spaces; further enabling otherness and re/shaping how identities are formed (Orsini et al. 2017). By downplaying racist events that occur in Canada – erases these issues from public discussions and reinstates the image of the unproblematic citizen.

For Canadians, it is easy to deflect negative attention towards Americans for the reasons of geographical proximity and historical ties. The 'othering' of the U.S. elevates Canada as promoting diversity and inclusion, or in broader terms, multiculturalism. Likewise, when an individual is being compared or is made uncomfortable, one can attempt to elevate and justify their moral superiority over the Other (Thobani 2007). The following examples illustrate how a generic question on the prevalence of racism sparks experiences from outside of Ontario. Alex illustrated the rise of racism in North America because of American politics,

> I think as of recently, there's been a bit of...a bit of a spike in racism towards people of colour, not only East Asians, just in general, people of colour. And that's not even just the coronavirus. I think it's related to sort of like American politics and sort of Trump making it "status quo" or as a very influential figure, like, OK to be racist because he's your existor, because he's able to express his views. Not that he should. But I think it's giving people the green light to say things that, you know, we're kind of embedded in them as a child and that they didn't take the time to really understand it. I think it made people a little bit more daring (Alex, University of Waterloo alumni).

Alex drew upon American President Trump, who remains a forceful figure in politics. Specifically, he focuses on Trump's emanating power and influence in persuading Americans (and Canadians) with his (controversial) views on certain subjects (i.e. immigration). Again, this is illustrative of Canada's endeavor in elevating themselves over the United States (Thobani 2007). The unclear vision of multiculturalism downplays the severity of racism in Canada by selecting who to render in/visible. The (hyper)visibility of Chinese Canadians (based on popular stereotypes and assumptions) has made invisible the social issues and challenges faced by those who do not fit these stereotypes (refer to Section 1.2). This speaks to the lack of media and scholarly attention surrounding hate crimes against Asian Canadians; demonstrated by the participants' ease in drawing upon the United States. Alice brings up New York City (NYC) in response to a question about "Yellow Fever",

> See, I was like because of everything that happened, especially in New York and people were literally getting beat up because they're Asian for no reason, even though they don't have COVID, right? I thought I would be a target going outside. In Toronto, it seems to be different now? Like, I haven't really gotten any, like, comments.

The shift from Yellow Fever to violence in NYC illustrates how racism and the United States are synonymously linked even though Canada is seeing an exponential increase in hate crimes against Asian Canadians; especially in the Greater Toronto Region (CBC News 2020). Interestingly, the participants (7/9) are residents of the GTA and yet, none of these cases were explicitly mentioned during the interviews. Instead, Alberta and Quebec take this 'Other' role – shifting the attention away from the GTA once more. Emerson (Geography and Environment Management, University of Waterloo alumni, Toronto resident) remembered his experience in Alberta,

> It just, it just feels *weird* [emphasis added] being there. And, you know, I'm sure Alberta, like downtown and stuff is a bit more diverse because of the business aspect. But, when you go out into, like, Medicine Hat and stuff, it just feels weird, you know? And that's coming from a Chinese Canadian who I would consider myself Canadian

before I'm Chinese. That's yeah, like I said, I've heard from, you know, other people, there's just places that feel weird.

Most noticeably, Emerson stated how he felt "weird" when he travelled to Alberta – another effect of alienation. For reference, these are infamous examples that contribute to alienation: "Where are you from?", "Where were you born?", and "You speak English so well". If unaccompanied by violence, it can be argued that these examples are innocuous. Contrary to popular belief, there are ill-intended messages behind these racial microaggressions. For one, it states that a visible minority will always be a foreigner and two, that a visible minority will never be acknowledged as a "true" Canadian (that is White) (Thobani 2007). This coincides with Emerson's following statement, "And that's coming from a Chinese Canadian who I would consider myself Canadian before I'm Chinese". For Asian Canadians (and Asian Americans), the 'perpetual other' label has been a longstanding, historical issue that posits any individual of East Asian descent as an alien (on the basis of race) in one's natal country; reflecting Emerson's experience. These experiences oppose multiculturalism by excluding Chinese Canadians through questioning and racial profiling. Multiculturalism then seeks to (over)represent ethnic groups to achieve its goal of diversity (via multicultural displays and popular stereotypes of successful immigration) while permitting and facilitating difference.

2.6.4 Deflection – Temporally

The participants associated the past with racism (understood to be "normal" in the early to mid-2000's) and the future (i.e. today's generation of children) as representing acceptance and tolerance. More specifically, the participants recalled their encounters with racism from their childhood and teen years; apart from two participants, who shared both their past and present experiences with racism. Nonetheless, there is an emphasis on the past over the present. The common phrases, "Kids will be kids" or "They're just being kids" are used to justify deviant

behaviour; that, from an optimistic perspective will "get better" with time and education (Hill 2008). Furthering this discussion, Lauren Berlant (2011) understands this as cruel optimism – the unachievable fantasy of the good life (e.g. social equality, upward mobility) that is "promised" by liberal societies such as Canada.

In reference to Section 2.6.2, Jason (Math Major, University of Waterloo alumni, Toronto resident) stated that it was "…you know how kids are right?" and dismissed their remarks ("Go back to where you're from") and gestures (i.e. pulling one's eyes back). Noticeably, there are two transitions represented by the participants. The first transition (illustrated by Jason) represents the shift from childhood to adulthood, where past behavior (i.e. children being racist) is corrected through maturation. The second transition represents time – the past (e.g. early 2000's) as being less tolerant versus the present, where younger generations (assumed to be more exposed to various cultures and ethnicities) are accepting of 'difference'. As a continuation from Emerson's discussion from the previous section, he juxtaposes the 1980's and the present to illustrate how the frequency of racism has decreased overtime,

> I didn't get that sense, thankfully. But I don't know anybody who has. But, you know, it probably happens. I just don't know anybody who has actually experienced it in the current decade…

Again, the participants do not claim that they have experienced racism and temporally deflect their encounters by drawing upon *past* incidences, with the past being associated with racism and ignorance.

In 2019, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau created the Youth Policy and stated, "Young Canadians are the most educated, connected and diverse generation this country has ever seen. They are changing our communities, challenging the status quo, and taking the lead on building a better, fairer, and more sustainable future" (Trudeau 2020). Likewise, the participants also placed

an emphasis on today's younger generation. They too claimed that children and youth are "different"; suggesting that bullying and racial discourses have decreased overtime. This change in attitude or behavior (from intolerance to tolerance) is attributed to the internet. Alex explained the importance of the internet in influencing younger generations,

> I think kids, though, for younger generations, are a little bit more connected online and with their peers. And, you know, they're a little bit more exposed to more current values that are being perpetuated. A lot of it is positive, though. A lot of it is about, you know, being mindful of other cultures and being respectful…especially in the media you see a lot of celebrities being hurt by some of their racist comments that they've made as a child and it makes the younger generations think twice about what their values are and how they view other people and what they put out in the world.

Similarly, Emerson mentioned the internet and its 'censoring' capability,

> …I think people are just more careful about what comes out of their mouths now and what they put on the internet. But they still have those biases, whether they develop them on their own or whether they were brought up like that.

The participants argued that the internet could "change" the future. In a similar vein, both education and intermarriage are thought to put an end to or decrease the frequency of racism. By remaining optimistic about these beliefs, one becomes attached to the promises and conditions proposed by liberal societies as a mean to survive (Berlant 2011). As Emerson stated, biases still exist with or without the presence of the internet. Then, the internet is not a solution to solve racism. Rather, it is an illusion in which people use to endure one's day-to-day life. In this context, what is multiculturalism? Multiculturalism represents a sheer fantasy, a promise that things will get better if one copes with the harsh realties of life (such as racism). How? One must become an un/problematic and in/visible citizen.

2.7 Conclusion

The introduction of the Multiculturalism Act [1988] and the rise of liberal ideologies has sugar-coated racism in Canada. In particular, second-generation Chinese Canadians continue to

internalize and deflect racism; conforming to the Canadian beliefs of neutrality and civility. This portrays Chinese Canadians as un/problematic and in/visible citizens, no different than wealthy Chinese immigrants. The belief that all Chinese Canadians are successful (due to the hypervisibility of economic immigrants and international students) has erased the issues of precarious labour, income disparities, and residential segregation from public discussions. Altogether, it demonstrates how the nation has succeeded in portraying racist incidences as isolated events in which Chinese Canadians are supposedly "immune" to systemic racism. Yet, the contradicting "visible minority" category, immigration policies, and false associations continues to transform Chinese Canadians as invisible subjects – rectifying Canada as a nation devoid of illiberal practices and racist discourses.

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Appendix A
Definitions of Multiculturalism

Alex: To me, multiculturalism is having a multitude of cultures, live in with respect for one another within a geography, which is kind of an ideal if anything, as much as we can believe it. I think there are steps where we can be more accepting of one another. But multiculturalism is the ideal of many cultures live with the residence or respect for similarities and differences as well.

Lydia: I think multiculturalism is sort of like different cultures coexisting and appreciating one another. The best example I have is my friend who's half Iraq, half Nicaraguan. She actually grew up around Chinatown and she had a very inclusive school and a very inclusive curriculum where she was actually the minority. So growing up, she learned a lot about Asian heritage, the indigenous heritage, black heritage and she got the best out of the school system because all of her teachers were racialized minorities and they were passionate about what they were doing. So like multiculturalism, I see kind of her experience, that experience that she had. I see that as multiculturalism and I don't think that is what we have now because I grew up maybe 20 minutes away from her, went to a different school and had a completely opposite experience.

Alice: Basically, I just feel like it's literally Toronto…kind of is diversity in a way because you've got people that grew up here. Let's say you got an Italian that grew up in Scarborough and they learned how to speak Arabic but they love sushi, you know? Like, it's just all this fusion. So, it's just people learning about different languages, different experiences, different cultures. I think that's probably what it would be to me.

Laura: Different cultures from around the world in different places, not just from one group.

Emerson: I guess, in terms of a Canadian context? I would define it as all of these cultures...allow being, you know, existing and I guess relative peacefulness. The very fact that things like Chinatown and huge stretches…huge communities being…you know…I guess making their presence felt is a really good indicator that we are, I guess, a pretty good country for multiculturalism? Obviously, I think nobody would argue that Toronto is one of the most multicultural cities in the world. But I don't think that maybe extends to the rest of Canada because, you know, if you look at…if you define multiculturalism as all communities coexisting in peace, you can't really say the same about indigenous communities. And I think we have a lot to work on there but I think at least in my personal experiences, I think Canada is quite multicultural and we're doing quite well. Obviously, when you extend that to other provinces in other areas, then it sort of becomes a little bit more convoluted.
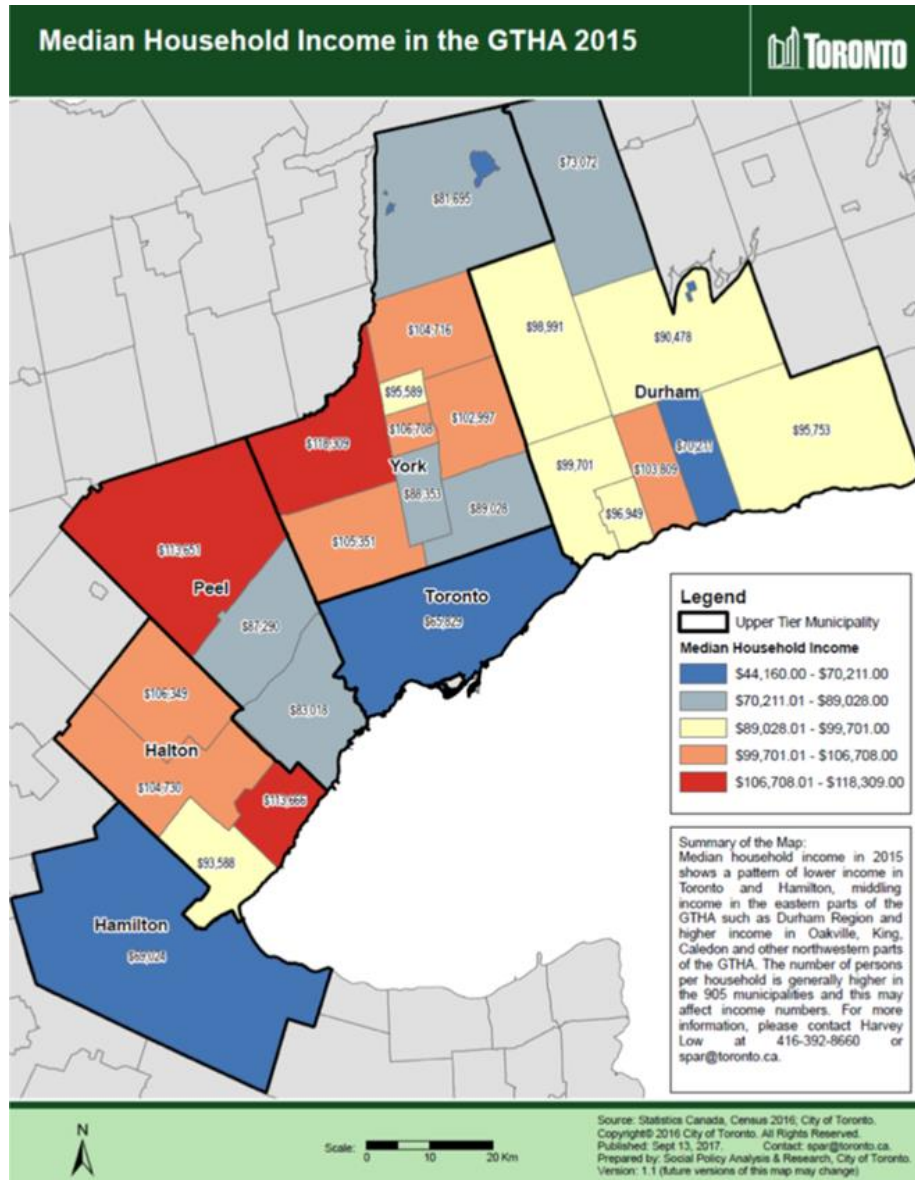
Claudia: I think multiculturalism...I would define it as like if we're looking at a country, a country that has multiple groups of people from different backgrounds, different cultures, different, yeah just different nationality...But then I think maybe not? Just different cultures and backgrounds that come together and it's like not one of them is overpowering, not overpowering...Like cohabit together and enjoy each other's cultures and whatnot properly instead of like having one overtake the other in any way or form.

Hannah: I would say something along the lines of accepting and integrating diversity? So, I think it requires a combination of being open to one another and our differences, while also accepting that in some scenarios you may have to face change in order to integrate well, I guess? I think we can't expect someone to perfectly recreate their exact culture of where they came from when they live here. So, I think it's an attitude of openness and accepting-ness.

Hailey: I think it would be like…I guess maybe a group or a population of people where there's small pockets of different people from different cultures and all kinds of integrating and sharing their cultures with like a different culture to kind of teach everyone about it.

Jason: We tolerate everyone else's differences really…in a sense, right? I mean, in the sense that I think if everyone just can tolerate everyone else's differences, then it's perfectly fine. You don't… I don't need everyone to say, you know, try to understand it necessarily, because there's maybe so many multicultural groups. But as long as there is no tension or dissent, then I think everyone's kind of living harmoniously together.
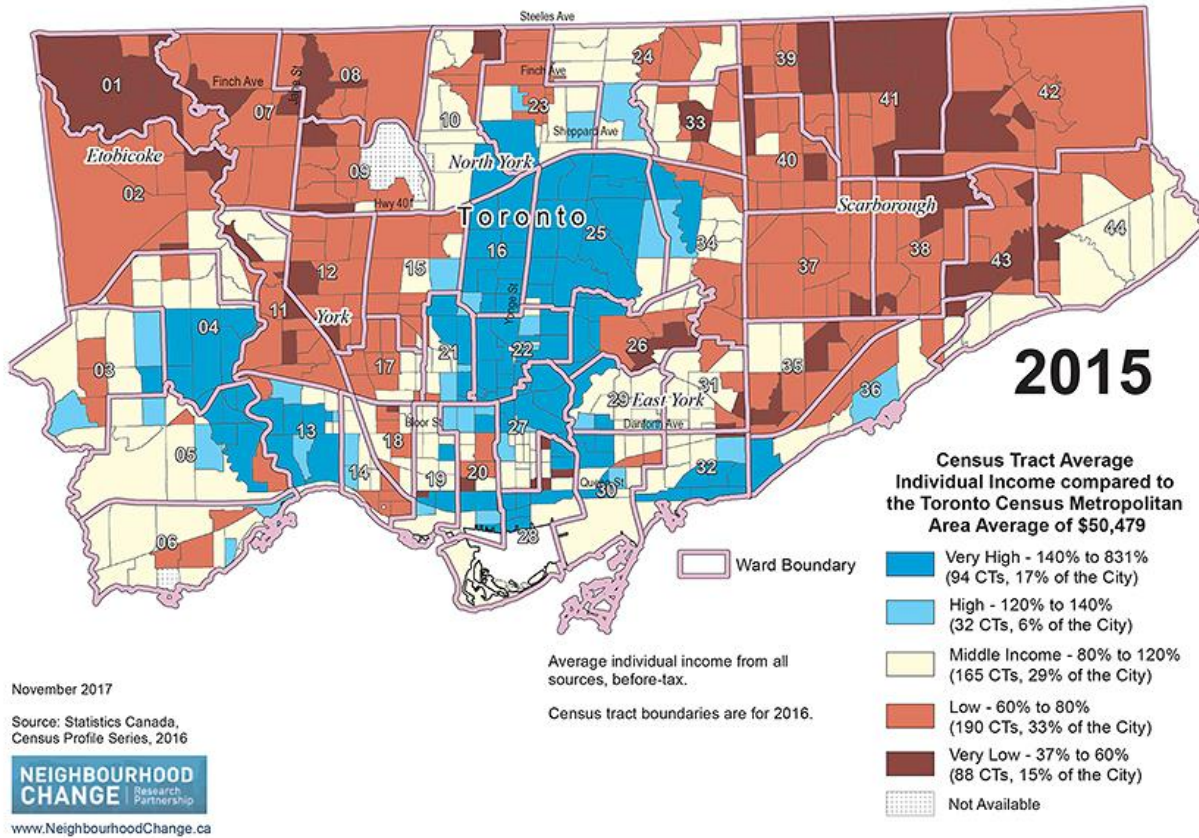
Appendix B
Income Map of the Greater Toronto Region

Toronto, 2017, https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/8f41-2016-Census-Backgrounder-Income.pdf

Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2015

From *LORINC: Toronto's demographics and the 2018 city election,* by Lorinc, 2017,
http://spacing.ca/toronto/2017/11/16/lorinc-torontos-demographics-and-the-2018-city-election/.
Courtesy of Statistics Canada and Neighborhood Change.

Appendix D
Western Beauty Standards

Lydia: But at the same time, the beauty standards are ridiculous. It's just not…it's not something that everyone can achieve. No one can be a five-foot seven blonde woman with blue eyes, this petite figure, impossible. So, it's sort of that. And I mainly point to like beauty standards because growing up, I fit none of those because I'm Chinese and it seems like anytime I liked a boy, it was, "Oh, but I like your white friend cause she's pretty. She's pretty, she's the ideal". And that's like, OK.

Hailey:…And I remember at that time thinking that blonde hair was the best? Just like media, it's just, you know…whenever there's a really attractive figure…I mean, it was always blonde hair, blue eyes. It's the most romanticized.

Appendix E
Catcalling

Hailey: Yeah, oh my God! Like, I don't get catcalled at all in Waterloo. Maybe you'll make eye contact with someone for a little too long, but like, no, I don't really get approached by strangers or anything here. And then in Europe, I went to Greece and a man literally ran down the street to open a cab door for me and it was literally crazy. I was walking in Ireland and I walked by a cafe and there was a bunch of old men. And as I walked up, one of them, like, jumped up, grabbed my hand and kissed it. It was literally disgusting.