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The Social Construction of the Chinese by Canada

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Sociology

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate why contemporary Chinese individuals in Canada continue to be affected by discriminatory practices of the past. Drawing on Michel Foucault's theoretical work, the following questions are addressed: (1) How did Canadian discipline impact the social construction of the Chinese and what it means to be Chinese?; (2) How did the Chinese become discursively marked as racial subjects?; (3) What are the discourses responsible for the social exclusion of the Chinese in Canada? To answer these questions, this study uses Foucault's genealogical approach to unearth the discursive practices responsible for legitimizing and normalizing the 'othering' of the Chinese. The findings depart from previous studies in that it explores how Canada has come to manage the Chinese, in Canada, by reinforcing and sustaining racial lines.

SUMMARY FOR LAY AUDIENCE

This study aims to investigate why contemporary Chinese individuals in Canada continue to be affected by discriminatory practices of the past. Drawing on Michel Foucault's theoretical work, the following questions are addressed: (1) How did Canadian discipline impact the social construction of the Chinese and what it means to be Chinese?; (2) How did the Chinese become discursively marked as racial subjects?; (3) What are the discourses responsible for the social exclusion of the Chinese in Canada?

Although Canada is considered to be a multicultural country, racism and discrimination continue to persevere. The results revealed that Canada values those who resemble the White Euro-descent (the colonizers) while those who do not resemble them are considered expendable. The *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* were historically used to devalue the Chinese in Canada by reinforcing racist ideas about the group. By doing so, the Chinese could be exploited, by the Euro-descents, in the interests of bettering the country.

Keywords: *race, racialization, multiculturalism, social exclusion, Foucauldian discourse, Chinese in Canada*

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*, which were imposed on Chinese immigrants in Canada, are considered to be notorious blemishes on the history of Canadian minority rights. That racism motivated the policy is beyond dispute. Canada has long since abandoned its racist ideology and instead adopted multiculturalism as its dominant social and cultural framework. The nation celebrates and promotes the long-term goal of including or integrating everyone, immigrants and the native-born, through the multiculturalist policy. However, various scholars have radically challenged these perceptions of inclusion, and they argue that White supremacy continues to exist in Canada. Augie Fleras (2014) posits that Canada is systematically racist even in the modern era because its cultural framework is European. In other words, the nation upholds European traditions and undermines minority cultures, practices, and achievements. Audrey Macklin (2005) contends that racist narratives of the past continue to affect the present-day. Constance Backhouse (2005) states that the Canadian legal framework produces racism, and it is through racist legislation that many minority groups are negatively affected.

Through a historical analysis of how Canada constructed the social identity of the Chinese, I begin to explore why contemporary Chinese individuals are still affected by discriminatory legislation of the past. The existing research on the Chinese experience suggests that minority groups continue to experience social exclusion in a country that supposedly celebrates diversity (Guo, 2013; Hallam & Street, 2000; Maeso & Araújo, 2015; Roy, 2013; Wang, Zong & Li, 2012; Wong, 2007). Early Chinese labourers in Canada were subjected to numerous forms of discrimination, which eventually

accumulated in the passing of the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* that imposed a head tax of $50 on all immigrants from China (Li, 2009; Roy, 2013). After various federal government members exerted pressure to discourage Chinese immigration, the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* was passed, effectively banning all Chinese immigrants from entering Canada (Li, 2009; Roy, 2013). Although the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* was eventually repealed in 1947, the impact of such a discriminatory policy was without consequence. The Chinese were effectively reduced to second-class citizens (Li, 2009), were denied the right to vote (Anderson, 2007), and were excluded from occupational managerial positions (Li, 2009). Although apologies were eventually made in 2006 by the Conservative Party led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Holland, 2007), the Chinese continue to occupy the position of the 'Other' in contemporary Canadian society.

Similar trends on the social exclusion of the Chinese are found in studies on contemporary Chinese immigration. Guo (2013), Roy (2013), and Wang, Zong and Li (2012) report that more recent Chinese immigrants, but less so than other immigrants, continue to encounter similar personal challenges and structural barriers despite being highly skilled and highly educated. Furthermore, Guo (2013) has identified that contemporary Chinese migrants encounter the *triple glass effect* which impedes employment opportunities and economic mobility. First, immigrant professionals encounter the *glass gate* when they are denied access to a professional community because their experiences and knowledge base are perceived to be different, and therefore devalued. Second, immigrants may experience the *glass door* effect in which employers might refuse to hire immigrants due to lack of Canadian working experience, devaluation of Chinese working experience, and perceived differences. Finally, if Chinese immigrant

professionals are offered an employment opportunity, it is increasingly difficult for them to climb the corporate ladder, and the *glass ceiling* effect comes into play. Thus, the key findings suggest that even though racial discrimination and the exclusion of Chinese immigrants are considered illegal, it still occurs in the form of covert racism (Guo, 2013).

The uncertainty of total inclusion or total equality within in Canadian context is undoubtedly concerning. Is it appropriate for Canada to define itself as a multicultural society if its cultural and legal framework are European? Regardless of the countless strides the country has taken, numerous minority groups continue to face marginalization and challenges that *should have* been entirely eradicated by the multiculturalist policy.

Drawing on Michel Foucault's theoretical work, I argue that a systematic exclusionary hierarchy perseveres in Canada. This hierarchy is designed to protect and serve the interests of the dominant group by devaluing the achievements and accomplishments of racialized minority groups. In order to investigate this, my research addresses the following research questions:

1. How did Canadian discipline impact the social construction of the Chinese and what it means to be Chinese?
2. How did the Chinese become discursively marked as racial subjects?
3. What are the discourses responsible for the social exclusion of the Chinese in Canada?

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the background and outline of this study. Chapter 2 reviews racism, multiculturalism, and social exclusion theory. Chapter 3 explores the theoretical framework which guides this paper. It clarifies Michel

Foucault's concepts and theories of discourse, power/knowledge, and subjection. Chapter 4 outlines the specific measures used to investigate the research questions, and the limitations associated with the selected methodology. Chapter 5 is a historical analysis of early Chinese immigrants' experience and how Canada responded to their immigration. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes with a thorough discussion of the results related to the existing scholarship and theoretical framework. In addition, this chapter will address the implications and limitations of future research. This study is intended to not only generate a better understanding of how Canada has framed and managed the exclusion of the Chinese, but to also facilitate a better understanding of social exclusion, with particular reference to the Chinese community in Canada, and to help promote discussions around multiculturalism and racial acceptance in future policymaking.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature relevant to this thesis. The literature review will begin with a discussion of race, racism, and multiculturalism in the Canadian context. Next, the idea of the 'Stranger' and the 'Other' are defined as these social identities are central to social exclusion theory. Finally, this chapter concludes with a review of the theoretical idea of social inclusion and its capacity to solve the broader problem of social exclusion.

2.2 Racism and Multiculturalism in Canada

The concept of race, the practice of racialization and racism, and the oppression of individuals have always been present (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). According to Hogarth and Fletcher (2018), French anatomist Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) was the first to create a racial classification system. He posited that the human creature could be defined through the biological variation of hair and skin colour and that all humans descended from the original White race. His beliefs advanced the idea that the White Euro-descent was the first or original race, and therefore is considered to be the most beautiful, intelligent, and courageous among all the other races. Thus, Cuvier organized the human species into three major categories: white, yellow, and black. These theories on race were eventually co-opted by the West and employed to displace individuals in the expansion of colonial powers (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). Individuals and groups who did not appear to be of Euro-descent were classified as the 'Other' and were deemed expendable or

disposable in the pursuit of power and economic wealth (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018; Kihika, 2013).

Race implies that humanity is divided into categories defined by inherent physical and biological features. Racism refers to the "subjugation of some groups by others based on the imagined notion of the classification of human beings by physical type, beginning with skin color and other physical features but extending to the interior life, making pronouncement about meaning and value" (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018, p. 5). Although race has no biological significance, as humans are all biologically the same, the concept of race is socially significant. As a social construct, race depends heavily on the validation and social acceptance within societies (Henry et al., 2017). By that logic, race and the racialization process can be argued as a determinant of social exclusion, tools used to categorize and organize society members within a hierarchy, just as Allman (2013) proclaimed. Thus, race is also associated with social consequences, the most detrimental one involving "constructing a set of beliefs, assumptions, and actions based on an ideology of the inherent superiority of one racial group over another" (Henry et al., 2017, p. 4). Both historical and contemporary societies contextualize race as a concept to discursively mark, categorize, isolate, and marginalize, as well as to be used as justification to deny full participation in society and access to resources and opportunities (Ehlers, 2012; Henry et al., 2017).

The present context situates Canada as 'world leaders' in the strive to achieve social inclusion, mainly due to it being the first country to officially adopt a multiculturalist policy. The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was assented July 21, 1988, with the goal to recognize, respect, preserve, and enhance all diversity in languages,

cultures, religions in Canada. As with other Western societies, Canada is progressively embracing a philosophy of total acceptance. The aim is to eradicate racial discrimination as a condition for privilege and instead promote racial acceptance and equality (Fleras, 2014). This commitment of multiculturalism seeks to socially include everyone and to provide equal participation regardless of race or ethnicity. However, research reveals that racism in Canada continues to persevere (Fleras, 2014; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018).

In Canada, the practice of racism can be observed in two ways. First, through the displacement and exploitation of the original people (Indigenous people) by colonialization (Cannon & Sunseri, 2019; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). Second, racism can be ascertained through the marginalization of non-European immigrants (Fleras, 2014; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). In addition, Fleras (2014) states that racism is the backbone in the development of the Canadian capitalist economy in two ways. First, the colonization of Indigenous peoples resulted in the appropriation of their land and resources (Alfred, 2005; Belanger, 2008; Cannon & Sunseri, 2019; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). Second, racialized minorities and immigrants were exploited as sources of cheap labour, as they were more willing to accept dangerous and menial jobs that European settlers refused (Lee, 1983; Li, 2009; Kihika, 2013; Kim, 2013). For example, widespread fear and moral panics toward racialized minorities drove the enactment of multiple discriminatory and total exclusion laws against the Chinese (Li, 2009; Kim, 2013). Furthermore, Canadian history is riddled with tales about the denial of racial minorities' full social and economic participation. During World War I and World War II, thousands of ethnic minorities and immigrants, such as the Japanese, were detained in camps, resulting in the separation of families, loss of property, and the erosion of minority

communities (Fukawa & Fukawa, 2009). Both public and private institutions were carefully guarded from racialized minorities (Levine, 2009). Furthermore, incidents involving symbols of White supremacy occurred in Canadian history. According to Wigmore (2013), in the 1920s and 1930s, the Ku Klux Klan (known as 'Kanadian Klan') was very active around central and western Canada. Their racist attitudes and behaviour were largely directed at Black communities, Catholics, French Canadians, and Asians. The enslavement of Indigenous people and Blacks also occurred (Wigmore, 2013).

Contrary to public opinion and government publicity, racism in Canada continues to persevere in contemporary times. Racism operates discreetly and unintentionally, rather than purposefully. According to Fleras (2014), racism in the modern age is complex and inconsistent "since the combination of anti-racism and multiculturalism propels it to go underground or to reform into something ostensibly more indirect and subtle" (p. 6). Covert racism manifests as the social exclusion of racialized minorities in that they are denied the same resources and opportunities as the majority (Allman, 2013; Fleras, 2014). As a group, their income is lower, and they experience higher rates of poverty and employment (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). In addition, they are also blocked from opportunities in management (Guo, 2013; Li, 2009).

In Canada, the continued marginalization of immigrants and minorities is informed by the historical practice of racialization. According to Li (2009), with the passing of time "the social characteristics and cultural meanings imputed to a racial minority become ingrained in the hearts and minds of people as though they are primordial features and not products of social relations between the majority and minority" (p. 224). As such, despite the legal powers held by the *1988 Canadian*

Multiculturalism Act and its attempt to usher in an age of equality, racism continues to play out in a myriad of ways. The multiculturalist ideology cannot erase the impact of imperialism and the legacy of racism, which are inextricably linked to the realities of social exclusion in Canada (Kihika, 2013).

Recognizing that the social construction of race and its social consequences inevitably results in social exclusion, it becomes admittingly clear that Canada's definition of multiculturalism is not as inclusive as it claims. Within a society established and governed by colonists, Charles Mills (2015) argued that the modern social contract was written in favour of said conquerors. This racial contract, as Heiner (2016) refers to is "a visible or hidden operator that restricts and modifies the scope of [the social contract's] prescriptions', conceptually partitioning and transforming human populations into 'white' persons, who enjoy the privileges and protections of full citizenship, and 'nonwhite' subpersons, who are excluded by a social ontology of race from enjoying those privileges and protections" (p. 597). In other words, the racial contract benefits the Whites in all domains: international, political, social, etc. (Mills, 2015). With racism at the heart of the social contract, this inevitably grants arbitrary power to the Whites to subjugate minority individuals as the 'Stranger' or the 'Other' (Mills, 2015; Hallam, & Street, 2000). Furthermore, this enables the dominant White group to systematically oppress and exploit minority groups. In that regard, White supremacy and racial oppression remain a constitutive feature of the dominant White culture and Canadian society. The Canadian government's very polity is explicitly grounded on White ideals and principles. Hence, it can be inferred that its method of legal and social governance is rooted in covert discrimination and racial judgement. On that front, it can also be argued

that the racial contract is an inherent mechanism for social exclusion. Inevitably, White supremacy further contributes to structural inequality and grants White elites the power to maintain the social order in their favour.

2.3 Social Exclusion

It has been well documented that not all individuals or groups are afforded the same opportunities or resources. More recently, social exclusion has become a topic of interest in many disciplines such as economics, education, sociology, psychology, and politics. Social exclusion has been employed to explain why certain individuals and groups are disadvantaged or underprivileged relative to the majority. In sociology, the focus of social exclusion is on understanding the social practices linked to the unequal distribution of power, resources, and opportunities within society. History shows that models of inclusion and exclusion have persisted throughout time, in that individuals and groups were distinguished from the majority purely on the basis of perceived differences (Marci, 2013), physical appearances (Marci, 2013; Plaut et al., 2011), and social statuses (Plaut et al., 2011). The terms ‘Stranger’ or ‘Other’ is assigned to an individual or group that is regarded as the outsider and who must be subjugated or assimilated, or as the enemy who must be vanquished (Chow, 2011; Hallam & Street, 2000; Marci, 2013; Simmel, 1971). The relationship between outsiders and members of the main group can range from varying degrees of inclusion to exclusion (Marci, 2013).

The Stranger (1908), written by Georg Simmel, discusses the uniqueness of the ‘Stranger’. Simmel distinguishes the difference between the ‘Stranger’ from the outsider and the wanderer. Accordingly, the outsider does not share in a specific relationship with

the majority group, and the wanderer is the character who arrives today and departs the next day. On the other hand, the 'Stranger' is an active member of the group they participate in, yet they remain distant from the others (Simmel, 1971). Occupying a unique position is without consequence on the 'Stranger' and other group members, and often times, it is the 'Stranger' who is delegated tasks that other members of the group are unwilling to carry out. The type of 'strangeness' is similar to the idea of 'otherness' in which the majority of the group "deny the humanity of the other" (Marotta, 2012, p. 680). Furthermore, Simmel's concept of the 'Stranger' is integral to understanding how social identities are constructed. The formation of identities is a social process and is conceived by internalizing various established social practices, ethnic and cultural identities, gender ideas, social class expectations, etc. These social classes are responsible for shaping the ideas about how individuals think about themselves, how they want to be perceived by others, and the groups in which they belong (Marotta, 2012). As social creatures, humans tend to identify and associate themselves with others who appear to be similar. Hence, those who do not appear to be similar are strange and unfamiliar (Simmel, 1971; Macklin, 2005).

The 'Stranger' or the 'Other' is integral to how social identities are constructed within a group (Bauman, 1991). According to scholars, the 'Stranger' or the 'Other' do not voluntarily label themselves as such, but rather the peculiar social identity is conceived in relation to the existence of other social identities (Beauvoir, 2011; Hegel, 1977; Stets & Burke, 2000). For instance, the master is defined as the opposite of the slave (Hegel, 1977), a woman is defined and differentiated in reference to a male-dominated society (Beauvoir, 2011), power exists because of the oppressed, and the

‘Stranger’ is the opposite of the included (Bauman, 1991; Simmel 1971). Marotta (2012) states that “Strangeness is both an objective and subjective status, and it is when polarising categories are applied that an ‘us and them’ mentality is adopted” (p. 676). Therefore, the ‘Stranger’ or the ‘Other’ shares an unequal relationship of mutual dependence, as one cannot exist without the other (Hegel, 1977).

Hence, social exclusion is the practice of othering the ‘Stranger’ or the ‘Other’ from the other members of the group. Individuals or groups who appear to deviate from the norm or who appear to be different from the dominant group are subjected to exclusionary forms of discrimination (Allman, 2013; Simmel, 1971). As a practice, social exclusion is an interactive process between people in which individuals or groups are restricted or denied access to various opportunities and resources available to the majority, which are fundamental to the process of integration and entitlement of basic human rights. More specifically, the socially excluded are prevented from participating fully in the economic, social, political, and cultural spheres of everyday life in the society in which they live (Allman, 2013; Plaut et al., 2011; Marci, 2013).

The causes of social exclusion can be traced to social status (minority and immigrant status), physical appearances (skin colour), health concerns (physical disability and mental health), social constructs (race), as well as religious and political opinion (Plaut et al., 2011). Individuals and groups who are perceived to deviate from the dominant norm may become susceptible to varying degrees of social exclusion. According to Allman (2013), those at the most risk of experiencing social exclusion are perceived to be ‘different’ than the dominant group. Unlike other citizens, these individuals or groups do not have access to the same socially accepted opportunities. This

may result in resistance against the dominant group and may manifest as demonstrations or protests. As innovative technology and a growing economy drive rapid change in contemporary society, only some may reap its benefits while others are left to live off the scraps.

Social participation in the everyday spheres of life is associated with integration and citizenship. In general, participation suggests that everyone, regardless of their ethnicity or social status, has a right to contribute to the development of the society in which they reside. Therefore, participation implies respect and the recognition that people are competent in all aspects of social life. Furthermore, citizenship is social in nature and inherent in the development and empowerment of communities, particularly for marginalized and disadvantaged groups (Stevenson, Dixon, Hopkins & Luyt, 2015). However, at the heart of participation lies complex power dynamics embedded in social practices, resulting in either social cohesion or conflict.

At the individual level, social exclusion can impact people's psychological and physiological functioning (DeWall, Deckman, Pond & Bronser, 2011) since the need for acceptance is fundamental to the human species and the development of humanity. Hence, given the negative consequences associated with social rejection and exclusion, individuals have long since adapted accordingly by encouraging social acceptance to prevent social rejection. In contemporary society, the consequences of social exclusion differ significantly compared with those experienced historically. However, the need to belong remains essential to satisfy the basic need for survival and reproduction. Therefore, the consequences of social exclusion are grave because they directly affect the very nature of human functioning (Dewall et al., 2011). Regardless of the wide range of

outcomes associated with social exclusion, there is one consistent result that lies at the core of all the consequences: People react negatively and strongly to social rejection (Bernstein, Sacco, Young, Hugenbert & Cook, 2010). Across multiple studies, social exclusion has been linked to the reduction of basic needs with remarkable consistency (Williams, 2007). For example, individuals who suffer from social exclusion are more likely to report an overall decreased fulfilment in general, increased negative moods (Leary, Haupt, Strausser & Chokel, 1998), decrease in sex (Williams & Sommer, 1997), and increased levels of anxiety (Zadro, Boland & Richardson, 2006). It appears that everyone is sensitive to the consequences of social exclusion.

Allman (2013) argues that "action and efforts to include or exclude individuals and social groups are fundamental to society as forces that govern through the oppressive or liberating effects such exclusionary actions promote" (p. 1). Following that line of logic, social inclusion and social exclusion, as dynamic processes, can be referred to as a social ontology: "the systematic fashion [of] the *basic nature and structure of social reality"* (Lawson, 2019, p. 3). Social ontology, as a study of the properties of the social world, seeks to examine the various entities and phenomena that arise from social relations (Lawson, 2019). In other words, social reality is the product of human actions and attitudes but is also an objective existence of the natural world (Searle, 2006). Drawing from Lawson's theoretical work, there are two separate definitions for what he refers to as *socio-philosophical* ontology and *socio-scientific* ontology. The first concept refers to the "features that hold or operate *throughout* the social domain – that is, features of social being *per se,* that comprise in effect (or anyway include) basic principles according to which social reality is everywhere constituted" (Lawson, 2019, p. 11). The

second concept is concerned with "how *particular* outcomes or social existents (money, markets, cities, corporations, technology, gender, universities) are formed, based on, or in line with, the more general features elaborated within philosophical ontology" (Lawson, 2019, p. 11). According to Lawson, "within this transformative process, new and often revolutionising technological products continually emerge, whilst conflict, contestation, crises as well as mistakes are endemic" (p. 11). Social relations are fundamental, and it is through interaction with the social world where individual processes of social positioning emerge. The site is known as the social position and is "structured in a manner to orient any person or thing allocated to it to service some system function" (Lawson, 2019, p. 12). While person, entity, or community is allocated to the site is referred to as the position occupant. Through social interactions, the position occupant becomes "incorporated as a component of the totality or system in a manner oriented to serving a function of the wider totality" (Lawson, 2019, p. 12). Social positioning, hence, refers to both principles that necessitate one another.

Sibley (1995) further argues that the feelings of others, images of differences, geographical spaces of exclusion, and xenophobic law are all factors that contribute to the problem of social exclusion. He suggests that the importance of these elements, combined with spatial inclusion and exclusion, is strongly correlated with social interaction, particularly in the case of racism and systematic oppression. Furthermore, Sibley (1995) asserts that the positioning process is how boundaries "between self and other is formed through a series of cultural representations of people and things" (p. 10) in the manner by which individuals interact and relate with social, cultural and spatial contexts. However, regardless of the context, humans will consistently experience the need to belong, the

need to give, and the need to receive. As a critical form of social interaction, the sense of belongingness is the *socio-philosophical* ontology that determines social positioning, as included or excluded, within social reality (Lawson, 2019). Accordingly, the social exclusion of individuals or social groups marked as different is widely believed to "disturb the homogenized and purified topographies of mainstream social space" (Sibley, 1995, p. 116). Hostility against these groups reflects the anxiety or fear of the dominant group, who believe that their resources and opportunities are threatened. In an effort to protect their material interests, new policies are introduced, or existing policies are strengthened (Sibley, 1995). Evidently, the 'landscape of exclusion' within social reality is constructed through a dynamic process by human actions and the attitudes of those who occupy the social positioning of the included (Lawson, 2019). Thus, social exclusion is not accidental, but a systematic process that results from the natural order of society (Allman, 2013; Sibley, 1995).

On a broader scale, social exclusion is further influenced by larger social structures such as globalization, immigration, and policymaking – all of which possess the capacity to contribute to social exclusion (Adolf, 2013; Allman, 2013; Beall, 2002; Carr & Chen, 2004).

Globalization remains broad in its definition, capturing everything from businesses operating on an international scale to the linkage of global financial and trade flows. As a stand-alone concept, globalization refers to a capital-led enterprise whereby power is expressed across global networks (Adolf, 2013). The inevitable impact of globalization is social exclusion because "exclusion is the necessary result of global realignments of production" (Beall, 2002, p. 43). By its very nature, globalization is

unequal in its process, in that it cripples labour organizations and solidarity and leads to the decline of working conditions (Beall, 2002; Carr & Chen, 2004). Trade barriers no longer protect employees at the national level, nor by social security and formal employment policies at the personal level (Beall, 2002). This concern is further echoed by Carr and Chen (2004). They lament that the harms created by globalization surpass any advantages that may be offered to the underprivileged and heavily contribute to the growing gap between the rich and poor.

Similarly, Adolf (2013) has identified that globalization has been clearly linked to social inequality and social exclusion. Adolf argues that as the demand for wages and employee benefits increases, the more developed labour markets will force employers to outsource products or jobs to the developing world to reduce production costs. Given the importation of material goods and technological advances, the employed services of low-skilled employees in labour-intensive industries will be traded out for the need for skilled-labourers, thus introducing bias in hiring decisions (Adolf, 2013). In addition, the increase in the demand for skilled labour in developing countries will cause the wage gap amongst skilled and unskilled workers to widen and increase income inequality (Adolf, 2013). Furthermore, as large manufacturers continue to outsource, the disparity in income and employment opportunities between the highly educated and less educated will also widen (Adolf, 2013). Outsourcing combined with job insecurity and inequality is responsible for aggravating poverty (Carr & Chen, 2004) and reinforcing social exclusion.

With globalization, the world now sees the increase of immigration as the boundaries between nations are reduced. The immigration process is associated with a

host of difficulties as the migrant struggles with integrating into their host country. The Canadian immigration system is complex in its design. There are multiple layers and multiple migrant categories – ranging from economic class to refugee class. Tannock (2011) argues the Canadian immigration system is intended only to attract the brightest of foreigners. As such, the immigration policy openly discriminates against immigrants on the basis of their education and credentials, functioning as a mechanism to prevent individuals who are less educated and skilled from obtaining permanent resident status or citizenship in Canada. Despite efforts to integrate immigrants through celebrating multiculturalism and embracing diversity (Guo & Guo, 2016), the existing research clearly outlines a lack of effort on the part of the Canadian government to foster a welcoming and inclusive society. In referencing Allman (2013), various 'landscapes of exclusion' exist in Canada to socially exclude the socially excluded and benefit those already included.

Studies have shown that immigrants encounter several difficulties with the process of integration into their host countries. This is mainly due to the language barrier, cultural indifferences, and structural challenges – critical factors that result in social exclusion. The data collected by Wang et al. (2012) indicates that the majority of recent Chinese immigrants continue to encounter personal challenges and structural barriers that impede their success in the labour market. In a 1997–1999 survey conducted amongst 1,180 recent Chinese professional immigrants, Wang et al. (2012) found that 79% of respondents indicated that they worked as professionals in China. Since arriving in Canada, only 31% could acquire employment in their area of expertise in Canada. The 48% difference suggests that if these individuals had stayed in China, they would have

been better well-off in terms of economic success. There is sufficient evidence to support the claim that the more professional experience a Chinese immigrant has, the harder it is to acquire employment and the more likely they will experience downward mobility (Wang et al., 2012). This is a drastic contrast to the ideal that minority migrants, who are highly skilled and highly educated, will be successful in the Canadian labour market.

Social exclusion is further reinforced by sustaining the physical separation of groups or isolating of a particular group from the majority. Examples include specific urban spaces such as prisons, gated communities, and ethnic enclaves (Allman, 2013). According to Herbert (2008), urban spaces are purposely transformed into spaces of exclusion through the criminalization of public spaces situated beyond shielded communities. With a focus on the disenfranchised, Herbert refers to this process of exclusion as a modern-day prohibition that seeks to socially cleanse specific actions, behaviours, and individuals that deviate from the norm. Examples include homelessness, public intoxication, and panhandling (Allman, 2013; Herbert, 2008). Furthermore, the organization of these spaces can be traced back throughout history and will continue to be used to justify the exclusion of the excluded (Allman, 2013). A prime example of this is ethnic enclaves. These are geographical areas with a high concentration of ethnic and cultural identity and where capital is mutually reinforced (Logan, Zhang & Alba, 2002).

According to Ndofor and Priem (2011), ethnic enclaves offer immigrants a range of opportunities to network and exercise their social capital. Ethnic enclaves are viewed as a gateway to achieving success and upward mobility in a new country, where they can obtain information regarding employment opportunities and affordable housing (Page, 2019; Xie & Gough, 2011). Alternative markets flourish in ethnic enclaves and help

migrants achieve upward mobility since achieving success does not call for the same social and cultural skills that are typically required by the host country (Logan et al., 2002; Page, 2019). The elimination of language and cultural barriers has paved the way for enclaves to assimilate immigrant workers into their economies (Xie & Gough, 2011). However, participation in alternative markets also obstructs the acquisition of necessary skills for the immigrant group to live in the host country. Evidently, such impediment compels the immigrant to remain within the ethnic enclave, thus secluding them from fully participating in mainstream society. Hence, the accelerated path of economic mobility through enclave economies inhibits success in the long run. Economic integration reduces the likelihood of acculturation and access to resources and opportunities offered by mainstream institutions (Danzer & Yaman, 2013). Therefore, regardless of the policies or laws that are in place to celebrate diversity, it is evident that social exclusion continues to affect migrants. In Canada, the lack of support to socially include migrants reflects a lack of commitment to reducing social exclusion by the Government.

2.4 Towards an Inclusive Society

Social inclusion is the opposite of social exclusion; the two are often presented as dichotomous variables (Raaum, Rogad, Røed & Westlie, 2009). Thus, social inclusion is the process by which efforts are made to ensure equal opportunities for everyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, social status, attached stigma, religious affiliation, and political opinion are accepted and can fully participate in the society in which they live (Allman, 2013).

The challenges of social inclusion and exclusion are encountered by racialized and immigrants on the daily (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). The multiculturalist policy in 1971 reflected the beginning of equal rights to belong. The adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982 is a further commitment to Canada's aspiration. The fight against racism and actualization of diversity and inclusion as a legal right persists in hopes of transforming the way of life in Canada into a total inclusionary one (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). Such an inclusive society would host the necessary institutions and practices to celebrate diversity, facilitate active participation in everyday life, and foster a deep sense of belonging. While the rhetoric of social inclusion appears that it may solve many problems, according to Allman (2013), it cannot absolve the root causes of exclusion: relative deprivation. The theory of relative deprivation, in which people's life satisfaction is insistent on the relative – their acquisition of things (skills, education, resources, opportunities, wealth, assets, and material things) – is compared to others (Kim, Callan, Gheorghui & Skylark, 2018). Even if a perfect, inclusionary world were in reach, what are the chances that social inequality, stratification, and exclusion would be eradicated? (Kenyon, 2003).

In referencing Young (1999) and Wilson (2006), Allman (2013) reflected that as long as the world continues to produce and consume material goods, relative deprivation will always exist. The rhetoric of social inclusion fails because even in inclusionary societies, "people frequently continue to experience poverty in a context that envelops them with messages of the meritocracy that surrounds them – a meritocracy that suggests that anyone with desire and ambition can succeed through acceptable behaviour and hard work" (Allman, 2013, p. 10). For Allman, in an entirely inclusionary society, individuals

and groups will encounter a form of culture shock in which the excluded are exposed to the consistent notion that their standard of living is lower relative to others. As such, relative deprivation directly feeds into social exclusion "through a subjective experience of inequality and unfairness as materially deprived people seek to obtain the unobtainable" (Young, 1999; as cited in Wilson, 2006, p. 343). This further echoes Allman's (2013) reflection on social exclusion as a social ontology. The natural order or hierarchy produces ideas of social identities in which exclusion becomes a social status that is contested in a world "attempting to remedy the inherent challenges embedded in an inequitable division of resources within an acquisitive, material world" (Allman, 2013, p. 10).

2.5 Summary

This chapter reviewed the literature on multiculturalism, race, and racism. On the world stage, Canada presents itself as a multicultural country seeking to preserve all cultures. The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, assented July 21, 1988, seeks the total inclusion of all Canadians. Social inclusion in Canada has been defined and framed as accepting of all languages, cultures, practices, and religions. However, the perseverance of racism stands in the way of achieving said goal. Canada was built on the very backs of the racialization of immigrants and minorities. Li (2009) posits that the cultural and ideological meanings associated with a racial minority became normalized as a result of imperial colonialism to the exploitation of racialized minorities and immigrants. Li further argues that Canadians began to attribute these ideological features as inherent rather than a social construction. As such, racism in modern Canada has its roots in history, and to this day, it continues to

flourish (Fleras, 2014). Charles Mills (2015) also argued that the western social contract was written in favour of the Whites. As a result, power is granted to the dominant White group, and the minorities are left systematically oppressed and socially excluded. Within a regime tailored to suit the needs and interests of White power, racism is discursively used as a mechanism of social exclusion so that the dominant group can continue to occupy the highest seat within the social hierarchy.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the key concepts (discourse, power/knowledge, subject, and discipline) to clarify how the Chinese were socially constructed to be managed by Canada. The aforementioned concepts and theories are integral in how the Foucauldian discourse analysis was approached and conducted.

3.2 Discourse and Power/Knowledge

For Michel Foucault, the concept of 'discourse' extends beyond the traditional definition use in linguistics and communication. Rather, Foucault's application of discourse is tied with the concept of discipline (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Discipline evokes two meanings: "as referring to *scholarly* disciplines such as science, medicine, psychiatry, sociology and so on; and as referring to disciplinary *institutions* of social control such as the prison, the school, the hospital, the confessional and so on" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 26). Hence, discourse reveals "the historically specific relations between disciplines (defined as bodies of knowledge) and disciplinary practices (forms of social control and social possibility)" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 26). In referencing McHoul and Grace, Discourses are not representatives of the conceived reality but also play an active role in its production. Accordingly, discourses are the product of the continuities and discontinuities between epistemes – how knowledge is produced and understood in various historical settings (Foucault, 1970). As introduced in *The Order of Things* (1970), episteme, refers to the production of scientific knowledge during certain periods of history (Foucault, 1970; Foucault; 1977; Luchies, 2015). Accordingly, different

knowledge systems dominate each epistemological age and within specific social contexts. For Foucault (1977), the production of knowledge is inextricably connected to power, and he examined discursive frames as a means to explore the relationship between power and knowledge.

Foucault employs the term 'power/knowledge' to refer to power that is composed of accepted knowledge and 'truth' (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Power, as a discursive structure, is everywhere. It permeates throughout all aspects of society and contributes to the emergence and shaping of discourse. According to McHoul and Grace, power is not a negative, repressive coercive force that makes individuals act against their wishes, but rather a necessary and positive entity. Power cannot be held accountable for the domination of one group over another. Rather, power produces reality, and by extension, power also produces the 'truths' individuals live by. Foucault's theoretical work is primarily concerned with the necessary conditions that have led to the production of such 'truths'. By uncovering the specific historical conditions responsible for producing the 'truths' peculiar to society, we can understand how discourses have influenced the present 'reality' and how individuals have come to accept it as the legitimate truth.

Alternatively, the contestation of power brings into question alternative discourses – alternative methods of thinking about reality and producing knowledge – that are marginalized and subjugated (Cheek, 2008). It can be critiqued that mainstream discourses restrict the production of knowledge, while alternative discourses may offer new knowledge systems. Employing Foucault's framework calls into how certain discourses are able to maintain their authority. Why are some voices heard while others are silenced? Who, exactly, benefits from the production of certain knowledge, and how

are they able to continuously reap its benefits? Researching the aforementioned questions paves the way to examine alternative discourses that contest, challenge, and resist mainstream discourses. For Foucault (1979), social and personal identities are not constructed through determinism in which pre-existing influences socialize the subject. Instead, identities and practices are conceived through historically specific discourses. Thus, within the discourse and power/knowledge framework, it is possible to unravel the knowledge systems that have conceived what we have come to perceive as the 'truth' of reality and examine why certain knowledge systems have been resisted and excluded.

3.3 Subject, Discipline, and Race

Foucault theorizes that the subject is a social product that results from the effect of power and discursive relations (McHoul & Grace, 1993). More specifically, subjection refers to "particular, historically located, disciplinary processes and concepts which enable us to consider ourselves as individual subjects and which constrain us from thinking otherwise" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 3). In his research, Foucault often analyzed historical and the conditions which "made various types of quite specific and differentiated subjects *possible* in the first place" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 91). In other words, subjects are conceived and constructed through practices of disciplines and discourse. Operating within societal norms, the social order and various forms of power are not responsible for either oppressing or constraining a subject who is able to exist independently from or prior to the mechanisms of social control (Ehlers, 2012). Rather, the subject is constructed through discipline. According to Foucault (1991), discipline "'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals as

both objects and instructions of its exercise" (as cited in Ehlers, 2012). A prime example of this can be found in the anecdotes addressed in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979). In this text, Foucault discusses the underlying theoretical mechanisms responsible for the transformation in the Western penal system. More specifically, his analysis was concerned with the shift in power as it relates to social control – as physical forms of punishment delivered by the sovereign shifted towards exercising social surveillance and practices of normalization on the mind and body. The latter is perfectly illustrated by Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, a prison system. The idea is to organize prison cells around a single watchtower. Within the cells, individuals are subjugated to total isolation while continually being under the threat of surveillance. Hence, Foucault argues that institutions must operate on a surveillance-based and liberty-deprivation strategy to correct deviant behaviour and restore morale.

Regardless of the era, disciplinary power continues to exercise its hold on the individual, although in different manners. Whereas sovereign power was once exercised directly on the body through corporeal punishment, discipline works through "coercion to modify and manipulate the body" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 4). This is achieved through the use of technologies, referred to as "an assemblage of knowledge, instruments, persons, buildings and spaces which act on human conduct from a distance" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 9). The individuals in question are "surveyed, organized, separated, and hierarchized in developmental sequence according to a constructed norm" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 4) in order to "*control* the individual body so as to produce a docile and useful – a productive – subject" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 4).

If discipline is understood as a set of practices and techniques that constructs the individual through disciplinary powers exercised on the individual body, then by that argument, race can also be considered as a form of discipline that alters identity through the body. As a social construct, race was used to categorize individuals within a hierarchy of power (Khiari, 2015). According to Banton (2005), "western countries advanced a theory of racial typology that represented human races as distinct species with different capacities and inherent antagonisms towards each other" (p. 53). Such a theoretical claim reinforces the general idea of unequal development among different races. For example, historical discriminatory policies were enacted against the Chinese on the basis that they were a biologically inferior race (Ehlers, 2012; Ji, 2016; Kubat, 1987; Roy, 2013) and therefore, posed a moral threat to the Aryan race and European values (Anderson, 2007), and would negatively impact Canadian immigration rates (Li, 2009).

The area of cultural and postcolonial studies helps to theorize how race may be used as disciplinary power by categorizing groups of individuals as 'white' and 'non-white' (Chow, 2011). Historically, race has been "used to denote *absolute* distinctions between 'types' of humans who have been figured as intellectually, psychically, emotionally, and culturally incommensurate" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 16). Although it was widely believed that differences existed among different races, individuals within races were believed to be homogenous in that they all shared similar attributes. These similarities were used to reinforced racial lines as boundaries that cannot be crossed. While race was employed to classify individuals within a system of inclusion and exclusion (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018), Ehlers (2012) cautions that it must also be understood that race extends beyond simply categorization – "Race is a practice: it is a

system of meanings *deployed* in the racing of individuals and, as a concept, race must be *maintained* in order to survive" (p. 16). In other words, the categories constructed from race are accepted as inevitable and as a natural order of things through the consistent reiteration of discourse. However, only through the process of ontologically grounding race can "the 'truths' of racial categorization and demarcations exist only in their 'retelling'" (Ehlers, 2012 p. 16).

Accordingly, through discursive frames and power/knowledge, race is made tangible and perceptible because it governs how individuals interpret, understand, and practice race. The specific meanings attached to race are produced within discourses that have come to organize reality and the knowledge of the particular era (Ehlers, 2012; McHoul & Grace, 1993). Hence, race is produced and regulated by discourses that work to set the boundaries of *how* race is conceived and used as a tool of categorization within a social hierarchy (Khiari, 2015). In Foucauldian terms, the racial discourse is understood as a collection of statements that "govern racial 'truths', practices, value systems, beliefs, and assumptions" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 19). This discourse produces and reinforces knowledge systems about what is known and can be known about race. For race to be perceptible, "these racial discourses must have 'a repeatable materiality" (Foucault, 2002; as cited in Ehlers, 2012, p. 19); they must be reproducible through institutional sites of power and retell statements concerning race. Through this process, race imposes a law of truth on the individual that they must recognize about themselves, and which others have come to realize in turn.

At the heart of it all, power produces the racial subject through subjection, a disciplinary process that subordinates the subject through external, social control and

through the internal process of acknowledging the self (Ehlers, 2012; McHoul & Grace, 1993). The racial subject is conceived through the discursively constructed identity *as raced* – before this, no subject can be constituted as black, white, or yellow, etc. (Ehlers, 2012; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). Once discursively marked, Gordon (2002) argues that discipline "[molds] conduct, to instill forms of self-awareness" (as cited in Ehlers, 2012, p. 21) and assigns the subject a racialized identity in line with the discursive statement. Simultaneously, external power formulates, produces, and forms the subject (Foucault, 1977; McHoul & Grace, 1993). During this process, "certain signs (behaviours, manners of being, body-marking comportments) are excluded or ruled out as denoting 'racial belonging' (to a particular 'type') while others are produced" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 21). Thus, the subject, always locked within a continuous process of identity formation, is both the product of disciplinary power and the producer of power (Ehlers, 2012).

3.4 Summary

This chapter reviewed the Foucauldian framework and the following concepts: discourse, power/knowledge, subject, discipline, and race. These concepts are integral to my discourse analysis because they lay the groundwork and help guide my research. Accordingly, the Foucauldian subject is a social product that emerged from power and the phenomenon of discourse (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Discourses produce the reality of the social world and define what can and cannot be thought and written. For Foucault, power and knowledge cannot be separated from one another (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Power is a function of knowledge, and knowledge is always an exercise of power (Foucault, 1979; McHoul & Grace, 1993). It is through discourses and power/knowledge

that makes race discernable and thus possible to analyze, understand, and practice as a social construct (Ehlers, 2012). This background is central to research how discourse, discursive practices, and racialization produces he Chinese social character as the ‘Stranger’ or the ‘Other’ through Foucault’s lens.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the step-by-step process of the Foucauldian discourse analysis, which is used in my study of the construction of the social identity of the Chinese in Canada. The main questions this project seeks to answer are:

1. How did Canadian discipline impact the social construction of the Chinese and what it means to be Chinese?
2. How did the Chinese become discursively marked as racial subjects?
3. What are the discourses responsible for the social exclusion of the Chinese in Canada?

This chapter begins with a discussion on Foucault's genealogical analysis. Following, I justify the reasons behind the data that were selected. Next, I discuss the approach this thesis used to examine the data, as informed by Foucault's theoretical work. Finally, the limitations of the selected methodology are also discussed.

4.2 Method of Inquiry

The best approach to carrying out my research is through the Foucauldian discourse analysis because Michel Foucault's theoretical work is concerned with the genealogy of knowledge production. The genealogy approach was selected over the archeological method because the latter is restricted to a given period in history (Kendall & Wickham, 1999). The archeological method's key idea is that systems of thought and knowledge are regulated by rules that extend beyond grammar and logic (Kendall & Wickham, 1999).

These epistemes determine how something is thought about during a given period, how statements were made, and how discourse is formed (Kendall & Wickham, 1999). The epistemes govern the discourses. The archeologist's goal is not necessarily to trace change but to excavate specific discourses from their periods and trace the logic behind their structural patterns (Kendall & Wickham, 1999). While archeology is useful in identifying how people thought about a given idea, knowledge, or object in an era, it says nothing about the causes of the transition from one way of thinking to another (Garland, 2016; Kendall & Wickham, 1999). Genealogy, a new method employed by Foucault in his later works, addresses this disparity.

The genealogical analysis aims to unravel how present-day practices and institutions result from of historical power struggles (Garland, 2016). Garland writes that Foucault often refers to his later work as undertaking a 'history of the present' approach, which literally means to write about the history in the current present. Foucault's genealogy expands upon philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's concept of genealogy. Instead of histories of mentalities or ideas, Foucault's genealogical method seeks to trace the development of societies through history and examine the historical practices through which the body becomes an object of power. In other words, the method seeks an explanation of where we come from. Its purpose is to tell us how our current situation originated and is motivated by contemporary concerns (Garland, 2016; Kendall & Wickham, 1999). Given that the goal of this thesis is to examine how problematized contemporary practices came to be the result of historical power struggles and conflict, Foucault's genealogy approach was selected over the archaeology method. This approach seeks to utilize and apply Foucault's toolbox to the present contexts, rather than

reconceptualize his theoretical works on lifeless antiques of a past age. Kendall and Wickham (1999) maintain:

> The Foucauldian method's use of history is not a turn to teleology, that is, it does not involve assumption of progress (or regress). This is why we say it involves histories that never stop: they cannot be said to stop because they cannot be said to be going anywhere. To use history in the Foucauldian manner is to use it to help us see that the present is just as strange as the past, not to help us see that a sensible or desirable present has emerged or might emerge. (p. 4)

According to Garland (2016), genealogy is a "method of writing critical history: a way of using historical materials to bring about a 'revaluing of values' in the present day" (p. 372). As a technique, "genealogical analysis traces how contemporary practices and institutions emerged out of specific struggles, conflicts, alliances, and exercises of power, many of which are nowadays forgotten" (Garland, 2016, p. 372). Genealogy is not concerned with the origin of contemporary practices and institutions, nor does it seek to trace the foundation of specific practices or institutions. Instead**,** it seeks to reveal the influence that power has had on the production of truth, suggesting that what we have considered normal in the present is actually more problematic than they actually appear (Garland, 2016). In that sense, genealogy is effective history because "its intent is to problematize the present by revealing the power relations upon which it depends and the contingent processes that have brought it into being" (Dean, 1994; as cited in Garland, 2016, p. 372). Genealogy views social reality as the product of historical power struggles

and conflict. Thus, the present-day reality is the result of historical complex power relations. Overall, Foucault's genealogical approach promotes critical thinking about the value of present-day practices and institutions (Garland, 2016).

In addition, the Foucauldian discourse analysis "offers the potential to challenge ways of thinking about aspects of reality that have come to be viewed as being natural or normal, and therefore tend to be taken for granted" (Cheek, 2008, p. 1). By conducting a discourse analysis, researchers can question and survey how things have come to be, answer how they remain in such a state, and how else things could have been or could possibly become (Cheek, 2008; Garland, 2016; Kendall & Wickham, 1999).

4.3 Data Collection

The Foucauldian discourse analysis utilizes standard methodology techniques to analyze data within Foucauldian theoretical frames (Cheek, 2008). The sources of data can include interviews, articles, observations or visual images. As with other methodologies, the sample must be justified in terms of why they were specifically selected, how they were collected, and how they were analyzed (Cheek, 2008). Given that this research is a historical analysis of how the social identity of the Chinese was constructed by Canada, the main source of data consists of historical documents, parliamentary debates, and two policies (the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*). These were selected because they depict the early Chinese labourers' experience in Canada and the government's reaction towards them. According to Cheek (2008), the goal is to examine the ways "discourses operate and their effects with particular contexts" (pp. 2-3). Given that historical specific discursive frames play an important role in

forming identities, a critical analysis of how historical discourses have come to shape the Chinese is necessary to fully understand why and how contemporary Chinese migrants are socially excluded. Examining historically significant documents can help shed light on understanding the relationship between power and knowledge, the problem with social exclusion, and the processes of subjugation.

The *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* have been discussed in great detail in several studies as responsible for the subjugation of early Chinese labourers. During this period, Chinese labourers and migrants were socially excluded and discriminated against by the majority (Roy, 2013). Thus, examining the historical impact of the aforementioned policies and the 'truths' they constructed will enable us to understand how these knowledge systems benefitted the dominant group. In addition, despite having been repealed, the knowledge systems that were produced during their specific time period continue to have power over how the Chinese are conceptualized by a White Canada in contemporary society. These particular discursive frames, which are deeply rooted in the cultural norm, continue to affect and subjugate contemporary Chinese migrants.

4.4 Data Analysis

Foucault's theoretical work informs researchers with a wide range of "understandings that underpin both the framing and the conducting of research using this approach, including the type of question(s) or issue(s) being explored, as well as the way in which data are thought about and analyzed" (Cheek, 2008, p. 2). Furthermore, according to Cheek, "the task of the discourse analyst is to make explicit the ways in which discourses

operate and their effects within particular contexts (pp. 2-3). More specifically, Foucauldian discourse analysis is concerned with unravelling the way as to how texts were constructed and shaped as it relates to their social and historical positioning. Texts, hence, are "both the product of and in turn, produce, discursive-based understandings of aspects of reality" (Cheek, 2008, p. 3).

There does not exist one specific method to carry out a Foucauldian discourse analysis since the research methodology derives from Foucault's theoretical work (Cheek, 2008). Foucauldian discourse analysis has been interpreted and performed in a variety of manners (e.g., Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017; Kendall & Wickham, 1999). Nonetheless, these guides agree that discourse, as informed by Foucault, refers to how reality is ordered in a peculiar way and accepted as the 'truth' (Cheek, 2008; McHoul & Grace, 1993). Discourses inform what can and cannot be discussed and by whom. Discourses construct knowledge that produces power and is, in turn, is produced by power (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Power/knowledge in a Foucauldian discourse analysis informs how certain discursive statements are accepted as the 'truth' while alternative discourses are marginalized.

Based on my understanding of Foucault's theoretical work and the genealogical approach, the analytic procedure used in this research was drawn from two guides: "Using Foucault's Methods" written by Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham (1999) and "The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology" written by Michael Arribas-Ayllon and Valerie Walkerdine (2017). The first guide contextualizes Foucault's work and situates it within an intellectual context. It highlights some areas in which Foucault's methods can be applied, with a focus on the sociology of science and cultural

studies. On the other hand, the handbook written by Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017) was intended for the field of psychology. It provides a step-to-step guide to how the methodology can be applied to social research with examples supplemented from psychology studies. The analysis of this study was conducted through the following steps:

1) The Problem

Using Foucault's genealogical framework, "'a history of the present' begins by identifying a present-day practice that is both taken for granted and yet, in certain respects, problematic or somehow unintelligible" (Garland, 2016, p. 373). As such, the first step is concerned with how the construction of the Chinese is represented in Canada. This thesis aims to trace how the contemporary practices of social exclusion against the Chinese first emerged from struggles and conflict. During this step, I will identify the problem that is being represented as the norm or as the truth. The following steps will unravel the historical processes responsible for attributing social significance to the conceptualization of the Chinese.

2) Identification of discourses

The second step is concerned with "how the construction of a discursive object allows us to establish a critical relation to the present, to decompose the certainties of our being human" (Rose, 1996; as cited in Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 3). According to Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017), the main question to be considered as this stage is, "under what circumstances and by whom are aspects of human being rendered

problematic?" (p. 8). The problems Foucault and Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine refer to are formed at the crossroads of different discourses and analyzing it can expose the power-knowledge nexus. In that sense, this step also plays an epistemological and methodological role by enabling the researcher to examine the problem from a critical lens. In addition, this crucial step helps shed light on enriching our current understanding as to how problems are conceived, and how discursive objects and practices are constructed. According to Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017):

> Focusing on problems allows for two things: (1) it constitutes the point of departure for grounding one's inquiry within the wider politics of the present; and (2) it focuses on the ways in which objects are constructed in local and specific settings. (p. 11)

Thus, "problematizations foreground the material relations through which constructions are produced or contested" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 9) and invites researchers to consider aspects of mainstream reality in a different light by occupying a position outside the current discursive constructions of truth.

3) Technologies of Power and Technologies of the Self

Integral to Foucault's genealogical work is the development of knowledge about the self (Foucault, 1988). He cautions that "the main point is not to accept this knowledge at face value but to analyze these so-called sciences as particular 'truth games' related to specific

techniques that human begins use to understand themselves" (p. 18). Accordingly, there are four major types of technologies:

(1) Technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things
(2) Technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols or signification
(3) Technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject
(4) Technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immorality (Foucault, 1988, p. 18)

In his lecture, Foucault (1988) specifies that the first two technologies are mainly concerned with the study of science and linguistics. The last two technologies were of great interest to him, and it is through these two concepts, Foucault studied madness as a discourse. According to Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017), a Foucauldian discourse analysis is more concerned with the technologies of power and technologies of the self. The relationship between the two technologies can be thought of in two ways. First, "technologies are not specifically located within an interactional context but refer to 'any assembly of practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal'" (Rose,

1996; as cited in Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 10). This refers to knowledge, practices, and institutions that seek to govern human conduct from a distance. Second, technologies of the self are "techniques by which human beings seek to regulate and improve their conduct" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 11). Furthermore, according to Tamboukou (1999), the starting point to effectively examine technologies is to direct focus on a particular problem and its historical significance.

Following the first two steps, the technologies this analysis is concerned with are technologies of power (instruments that facilitate the social exclusion of Chinese migrants) and technologies of the self (how Chinese migrants have come to position themselves relative to mainstream society).

4) Subject position

The fourth and final step in conducting a Foucauldian discourse analysis is to consider the subject position, which is defined as "a location for persons within a structure of rights and duties for those who use that repertoire" (Davies and Harré, 1999; as cited in Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 9). By identifying the subject position, the researcher is able to reveal the various discursive frames that have come to shape the subject's social and personal identity. Thus, subject positions ground certain knowledge as being the 'truth' and allows the subject to manage their own positions relative to the grand scheme within the intersection of discourses (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017).

4.5 Limitations

As with any research methodology, issues arise when conducting research from the Foucauldian-informed approach. The Foucauldian discourse analysis, based on Foucault's own theoretical work, is not representative of a linear body of work (Cheek, 2008). It reflects the development of Foucault's thoughts and changes in thought over a period of time. It is crucial that the researcher is aware of this fact to effectively draw upon the correct tools from Foucault's toolbox to frame the research and the analysis being undertaken (Cheek, 2008).

Furthermore, Cheek (2008) cautions that researchers will be confronted by "an ongoing tension between the text and its context in terms of how much consideration needs to be given to the contexts in which the written or visual texts are generated or from which they emanate" (p. 3). When conducting an analysis, Cheek writes that the researcher must remain vigilant about their position "to impose meanings on another's text" (p. 3) and that at the same time, they are also the producers of discourse. As such, it is impotent that the researcher exercises reflexivity and recognizes their own position throughout the research process. In my particular case, I am a second-generation, native-born Chinese Canadian. I share no direct relation (to the best of my knowledge) with any Chinese immigrants or native-born who endured the discriminatory policies, or any contemporary Chinese immigrant referenced in this study. However, as a Chinese individual raised by immigrant parents from mainland China, I recognize that I must take up a reflective and objective position as to not introduce bias into the study.

Approaches to the Foucauldian discourse analysis are often referred to as a "partial or situated reality" (Cheek, 2008, p. 3) in that analyzing materials results in the

construction of knowledge of reality "rather than describing a reality" (p. 3). Critics argue that discourse analysis does not serve as an efficient method to capture the entire picture of possibility. However, the goal of a discourse analysis is not to seek closure or to arrive at a definite conclusion, as doing so "may in fact, be in conflict with the tenets of the approach employed" (Cheek, 2008, p. 3). In addition, the results derived from a discourse analysis are often ungeneralizable. Regardless, generalizability can be "viewed as a discursive construct that draws on particular understandings of what it means to generalize" (Cheek, 2008, p. 3). Addressing this issue can be avoided by clarifying the rationale behind how and why the texts that were chosen, were chosen.

4.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the Foucauldian genealogical approach and discourse analysis. Unlike other research methodologies, the Foucauldian discourse analysis does not follow a set of stringent steps. Instead, the process of conducting a Foucauldian discourse analysis is heavily informed by Michel Foucault's genealogical approach to his theoretical work. Given that the social exclusion of the Chinese, in Canada, are the product of discursive relations, the Foucauldian methods are well-suited to guide this research process.

A four-step guideline was developed from my understanding of Foucault's genealogical analysis and key concepts (discourse, power/knowledge, subject, and discipline) by integrating the guides written by Kendall and Wickham (1999) and Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017).

The next chapter will present the results of this analysis.

CHAPTER 5: HISTORY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an introduction of the historical context of the social exclusion of the Chinese situated in a White Canada. In order to understand the historical struggle of the Chinese in Canada, and the consequential 'reality' that was fabricated and its continued impact on modern cultural norms, there is a need to understand the origins of how the degrading narratives surrounding the Chinese first emerged and how the Canadian government responded in kind. Next, the analysis identifies the various discourses responsible for producing certain 'realities' about the Chinese. Following, the technologies of power and technologies of the self are identified, which play an important role in the construction of the social subject. Finally, the position that the subject has come to occupy, as a result of discourse, is discussed.

Overall, this thesis supports the claims that Eurocentric discourses, which elevate European standards and devalue the principles of minority groups, are ultimately responsible for the existence of a racialized social infrastructure, and by extension, systematic racism. History reveals that the social identity of the Chinese, in Canada, as the 'Other' was created by racist legislation, sustained through the law, and exacerbated through the process of normalization. Ultimately, Canada is responsible for socially constructing the Chinese as a racialized subject to be managed by the dominant group.

5.2 Historical Context

Official Chinese immigration in Canada began in 1859, after the discovery of gold in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia, a colony of the British Commonwealth (Li, 2009).

Shortly after, thousands of labourers from China were brought to Canada to assist in constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway (Lee, 1983; Holland, 2007). According to Lee (1983), the Canadian Railway Company was incorporated in 1881, and its original purpose was the unification of the west with the east through the construction of a transcontinental railway. However, the railway was built in dangerous conditions by thousands of labourers, and among these included 17,000 Chinese workers. Lee recounts that the Chinese assumed full responsibility for the most dangerous tasks, such as using dynamite to clear rock beds and clearing the land for the railway tracks. He also writes that there were numerous accidents, including large fires and disasters. Despite the number of back-breaking and life-threatening duties, Chinese workers were only paid a dollar per day, while the White workers earned $1.50 - $2.50 per day (Lee, 1983). As such, the Chinese labourers found it difficult to live and survive off their wages: they could not afford fresh vegetables and fruits or medical aid and thus suffered severely. Furthermore, the Chinese were tasked with relocating all the belongings of the labourers to the next camp (Lee, 1983). They had to take down their tents and move all their belongings to the next camps, which could be as far as 40 kilometres away.

Employers saw the merit of the Chinese because of their hard-working nature and they were described as being reliable, adaptable, honest, and resilient (Lee, 1983). Accordingly, a Cache Creek sub-contractor named Rev. George Grant praised the Chinese:

> We had pay day last week; I've some men on 2 gangs – Americans, B. Columbians & Canadians on my section who have not done a stroke of work

> since & I don't expect them back till all the money is spent. The Chinese have not lost a day. They have no black Mondays, don't stop because it looks rainy, are ready for special work at nights or on Sundays, have no fete days & altogether, tho physically unequal to the white man, are more depended on… (Lee, 1983, p. 50)

However, while the Chinese had proved their worth to their employers, the unskilled labourers among European immigrants felt threatened by their presence (Lee, 1983; Holland, 2007). Lee (1983) revealed that the more the Chinese were employed and valued by employers, the more they were despised by the White British Columbians. Rev. George Grant observed that the underpinning logic behind the depreciation was because the Chinese, who were willing to work for less, decreased the overall wages of all workers. Further, White merchants despised the Chinese because they only purchased items from Chinese merchants (Lee, 1983).

Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's policy throughout the 1800s was consistent. While he always agreed in Parliament that the Chinese were undesirable, he maintained that they were necessary to the early and economic completion of the railway. Nonetheless, fear that the Chinese would 'steal' employment opportunities away from the dominant group and fear of the Chinese in general, resulted in the social exclusion of the Chinese through immigration reform. The Chinese were widely believed to be "intellectually stagnant" (Roy, 2013, p. 117) and "incapable of assimilation" (Roy, 2013, p. 118). Politicians at both the provincial and federal levels began to pressure Ottawa to restrict the immigration of the Chinese, or for those Chinese individuals who are already

in Canada, to restrict their employment opportunities (Roy, 2013). Time and time again, calls for repressive measures against the Chinese, including forceful removal from the country, were presented in Parliament. Although Prime Minister John A. Macdonald initially opposed such a move, amendments were eventually made to the *1885 Electoral Franchise Act* upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, denying individuals of Chinese origins the right to vote (Anderson, 2007). Inevitably, the prime minister had to respond to the public's demands. Suddenly, the Chinese were no longer valued for their labour, and instead became plausible threats to the country's economy and Aryan pride (Anderson, 2007; Kim, 2013). As dissatisfaction with the Chinese spread, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald commissioned a Royal Commission to investigate Chinese immigration and obtain proof that restricting Chinese immigration would be in Canada's best interest (Roy, 2013). The evidence presented only data on the Chinese in North America, rather than from China. Despite the lack of information on China's state of civilization, trading potential, and "ironically a desire not to cause 'a bad impression' on a 'proud nation'" (Roy, 2013, p. 118), Canada imposed a head tax on all Chinese individuals entering Canada.

The *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* was assented July 20, 1885, as soon as the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. This historical policy imposed a mandatory head tax of $50 on every Chinese individual entering into Canada. Several amendments were made, including increasing the fee to $100 in 1900 and then to $500 in 1903 (Li, 2009). Between the years 1885 and 1923, it is estimated that around 86,000 Chinese immigrants paid the Government of Canada a total of $23 million in fees ("Chinese head tax FAQs", 2006). Furthermore, between 1875 and 1923, the province of British

Columbia passed a series of provincial laws that restricted the Chinese from acquiring Crown lands, banned them from working in mines, prohibited them admission to retirement homes, and excluded them from acquiring jobs within the public sector (Li, 2009). However, the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* did not discourage Chinese immigration as intended. The enactment of such a discriminatory policy only continued to fuel negative stereotypes and racist opinions about the Chinese. As a result, demands for restrictive measures against the Chinese continued to increase. In response, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's government passed the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*, which is also more commonly referred to as the Chinese Exclusion Act. This discriminatory act was proclaimed on Dominion Day (July 1, 1923), now called Canada Day, which has long been considered 'Humiliation Day' in the eyes of the Chinese Canadian community (Dyzenhaus & Moran, 2005).

The *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* replaced all previous legal measures detailed in the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act*. The new regulations only allowed four classes of Chinese individuals into Canada: government representatives and diplomats, Canadian-born-Chinese who have left to pursue their studies abroad, merchants, and Chinese students attending university or college in Canada. In addition, strict measures were evoked for transportation by water. The policy explicitly states that ships transporting Chinese immigrants were allowed one Chinese passenger for every 250 tons of the ship's total weight. Finally, it was compulsory to have Chinese individuals, both immigrants and the Canadian-born, register with the immigration office and to carry identification with them at all times as evidence of their compliance with the policy (Wong, 2007). The anti-Chinese attitude was further reinforced through immigration fraud. Chinese

immigrants took advantage of the various loopholes that existed in the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*. For example, Chinese students, farmers, and merchants were exceptions to the restrictive legislation, and they could enter Canada without having to declare their qualifications. As such, Chinese labourers utilized the ambiguity to their advantage by identifying themselves as either students or merchants to be excused from the head tax.

Furthermore, as a consequence of the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*, the growth of Chinese communities across Canada became stagnant. They were referred to as 'married bachelor' societies due to the absence of Chinese women (Li, 2009; Wong, 2007). Although protests against the exclusion policy occurred in the form of letter-writing campaigns, they were ignored (Wong, 2007).

The social climate for Chinese Canadians took a positive turn after World War II. During the war, around 500 Chinese Canadians joined the front lines (Bangarth, 2003). According to Wong (2007), once donned in the King's uniform, the Chinese were treated as equals. The uniform awarded them respect and recognition. They were also able to cast votes because anyone wearing the King's uniform had all their rights, regardless of their status. During the war efforts, China and Canada joined as allies against the war on Japan in 1941 (Bangarth, 2003). In the aftermath of the Allies (United Nations) victory over Japan, the Canadian government expressed their shame in their previous actions of having enacted multiple discriminatory policies towards the citizens of an allied country (Bangarth, 2003; Li, 2009). Chinese Canadians were commended for their patriotism, and it was due to their service that many Canadians, who were initially opposed to Chinese immigration, began to acknowledge the Chinese in a different light (Bangarth, 2003; Li, 2009). Both the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* and the discrimination against the

Chinese, in general, were now considered to be as an embarrassment to Canada (Bangarth, 2003; Li, 2009; Wong, 2007).

With the abolishment of the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* and the initiation of the *1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, Canada experienced an influx of affluent Chinese immigrants (Wang et al., 2012). According to Li (2009), the new cohort of Chinese immigrants who arrived after 1967, compared to early Chinese labourers, were educated and possessed the capacity for upward mobility. Their arrival and the growth of Canadian-born Chinese group contributed significantly to the emergence of the Chinese middle class in Canada. These individuals transitioned into professional and managerial occupations, which they were historically denied. Furthermore, a revision of the immigration policy and the introduction of the points system in 1967 enabled individuals' immigration based on skill and education, rather than discriminatory factors (Tannock, 2011). These individuals originated from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other areas of Asia that had experienced substantial economic growth in the 1970s–1980s and brought high economic and human capital to Canada (Li, 2009).

Canadian immigration policies look very different in the present-day due to the rejection of racist criteria (Macklin, 2005). There are no legal measures enacted to discourage or obstruct Chinese immigration, and Chinese immigrants experience the same selection process as others seeking to immigrate to Canada. The Canadian immigration process operates on a points system with a positive focus on education, professional background, and the possession of relevant skills or qualifications rather than selective of the place of origin (Tannock, 2011). Regardless of the legal measures taken to ensure that the same rights are given to all, the literature explicitly reveals that

racist attitudes and various forms of social exclusion continue to affect contemporary Chinese migrants. Even though contemporary Chinese immigrants' biographical profile satisfies Canada's immigration standards, they continue to encounter similar difficulties as their earlier counterparts. One might argue that the Chinese are faring quite well in Canada, having achieved success in the mainstream economy (Li & Li, 2016). However, this 'success' was only achieved through participation in the labour market at the expense of dissociating from the ethnic community (Chau & Yu, 2001).

The fight for the Chinese to acquire social recognition in Canada's eyes took surviving several discriminatory laws and almost ninety years before they were awarded the same franchise, rights, and opportunities as the other Canadians (Li, 2009). However, despite the repeal of the legal discrimination against the Chinese, they did not achieve full social acceptance by Canadian society. Racial stereotypes had become deeply entrenched within Canadian culture that it continues to paint the Chinese as exotic foreigners with strange values and customs (Li, 2009). Thus, despite their citizenship acquisition, capital, and occupational achievements, it remains difficult for contemporary Chinese immigrants to acquire non-precarious forms of employment. There is sufficient evidence to support the claim that the more professional experience a Chinese immigrant has, the harder it is to acquire employment and the more likely they will experience downward mobility (Wang et al., 2012). This is a drastic contrast to the ideal that minority migrants, who are highly skilled and highly educated, will be successful in the Canadian labour market (Wang et al., 2012). This conclusion remains consistent with Guo's study (2013) on recent Chinese immigrants' economic integration in second-tier

cities, in which he found that Chinese immigrants encountered similar personal challenges and structural barriers as their earlier counterparts.

In addition, due to their unrecognized or undervalued credentials and lack of Canadian work experience, immigrants are left with no option but to acquire precarious and low-paying jobs (Hande, Akram & Condratto, 2019). Thus, Canadian society remains a vertical mosaic of unequal life circumstances and opportunities (Plaut et al., 2011). More recent studies on social inclusion, assimilation, and immigration (Lee & Kye, 2016; Thobani, 2000; Townsend, Pascal & Delves, 2014), have also concluded that discriminatory practices persist and permeate through western societies. As a consequence, Chinese immigrants are faced with difficulties at the individual (micro-level), interactional (meso-level), and institutional (macro-level) level. The literature suggests that the very ideological framework of a Eurocentric Canada is responsible for impeding the allocation of capital to non-European migrants. The regime of a historically White and Eurocentric Canada is responsible for modifying the Chinese character into foreign perils undeserving of the same opportunities or 'benefits' afforded to their European counterparts. Even with the passing of time, the racialized discourses conceived over 151 years ago maintain their grasp on contemporary Canadian society.

5.3 The Problem

Historically, the Chinese were viewed as a form of cheap labour, as they were willing to work, often in hazardous conditions, for relatively low wages. However, their increasing numbers soon gave way to the fear of the Chinese tainting Canada's White society. As such, the Chinese soon became targets of institutionalized racism. Racial boundaries were

determining factors of one's social status in Canada. European races were held in the highest regard, while "the value of non-European races to Canada was questionable even through their contribution to some developing industries was essential" (Li, 2009, p. 226). In addition, the Canadian government did not see any value in the Chinese other than as a source of cheap labour. April 30, 1883, before the House of Commons, when addressing Chinese immigration, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald claimed:

> At any moment when the Legislature of Canada chooses, it can shut down the gate and say, No more immigrants shall come here from China; and then no more immigrants will come, and those in the country at the time will rapidly disappear. They have not their families with them, and leave nobody behind them, but according to their system, religion or superstition, as the hon. Gentleman has just said, they will not even leave their bones behind them. They are sent back to China either alive or dead; and therefore there is no fear of a permanent degradation of the country by a mongrel race. (p. 905)

Indeed, as Prime Minister John A. Macdonald declared, various laws at the provincial and federal levels were eventually passed against the Chinese between 1885 and 1923 (Li, 2009). These had detrimental consequences on the social image and the "market worth of the Chinese, as they were branded by legislation as an undesirable racial minority that, unless harnessed by law, would be harmful to Canadian society" (Li, 2009, p. 226). Although numerous amendments and repeals occurred following World War II, the construction of the Chinese as the 'Other', as an inferior race, as outsiders, and as

threats to White society, have become deeply embedded in cultural norms that it continues to perpetuate to this day.

5.4 Identification of Discourses

Despite initially having once been well received in Canada, the dominant group became increasingly fearful of the Chinese. As a minority group within Canada, the Chinese were socially constructed through processes of discrimination and social exclusion during the 1800s. The ungrounded fear of the Chinese was due to a lack of knowledge (Roy, 2013) and the perpetuation of certain discourses. Returning to Foucault's notion of discourse, McHoul and Grace (1993) maintain that:

> Discourse is not simply the means by which a human subject – existing prior to the discourse – expresses itself or accomplishes something. Rather, the discursive conditions (rules and criteria) set up specific places or positions in which subjects can form as, for example, 'patients', 'doctors', 'perverts', 'schizophrenics', 'criminals', and so on. … Foucault wants to describe and analyse the *dependencies* that exist *within* discourses (between the object and operations), *between* discourses (such as the complex relations between the discourses of life, labour and language analysed in *The Order of Things*) and *between* discourses and the broader forms of socio-political change in which they arise. (p. 48)

To this extent, the purpose of analysis at this step is to shed light on the discursive conditions that have problematized the very idea of what it means to be Chinese in the eyes of the dominant group.

Orientalism. Across several disciplines, Orientalism is referred to as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience" (Said, 1979, p. 1). The Orient has also helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience (Said, 1979). In other words, Orientalism is the depiction of certain aspects of the Eastern world within Western society. These depictions portray the East as inferior compared with the West, painting them as binary and dichotomous. The West essentializes the Eastern world as undeveloped and inferior, thus objectifying them as subjects that can be researched, exploited, and reproduced in service of colonial power. According to Said (1979), "Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). In other words, Orientalism is a methodical approach by which the "West not only socially constructed and actually produced the Orient but controlled and managed it through a hegemony of power relations, working through the tropes, images, and representations of literature, art, visual media, film, and travel writing, among other aspects of cultural and political appropriation" (Burney, 2012, p. 23). Said (1979) posits that 'the Orient' is a European invention (depicted as the East or as the 'Other') and is socially constructed as in direct opposition to the Occident (the West). Thus, the East and the West have always shared a dichotomous relationship as they are culturally, historically, and politically described as binary oppositions.

Orientalism, as a discourse, exercises power on the subject by foregrounding a Western conception of the East. Drawing on Foucault's theoretical insights, Said (1979) argues that Orientalism, as a discourse, inflicts specific conditions and knowledge on the Orient as the 'truth'. He posits that as a system of knowledge, Orientalism is responsible for depicting and perpetuating 'realities' about the Orient that have come to attain the status of 'legitimate'. By operating on such 'truths', Europeans gain the capability to research and assert disciplinary methods over the Oriental character. Thus, it is virtually impossible for a Western individual to speak of or write about the Orient in a creative manner: "I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism." (Said, 1979, p. 3) and "… because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action." (Said, 1979, p. 3). Therefore, addressing the Orient outside of these parameters results in the production of nonsensical knowledge. Regardless of how the Oriental may express his or her views on the Orient, at the end of the day, to remain 'included' within the cultural framework, he or she must conform to the dominant discourse of Orientalism (Said, 1979). This argument suggests that Orientalism is not merely a discipline that perpetuates misrepresentations about the Eastern world. It also reinforces certain conditions and statements that reproduce the 'truth'. As such, any and all conceptions referencing the East must fit within the discursive Orientalism framework (Said, 1979).

Examining Orientalism as a discourse is essential to unravelling the specific disciplinary techniques used by European culture to maintain and sustain power over the East "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively

during the post-Enlightenment period" (Said, 1979, p. 3). Said maintained that the social object constructed from these knowledge systems is inherently vulnerable. The object has been reduced to something that is researchable by colonial powers. Thus, the object has become a fact that undergoes various changes. Burney (2012) further argued that Eurocentric knowledge is often deployed, by the Orientalist expert, as a form of power to control or govern the 'Other'. Therefore, possessing knowledge about the particular object evokes authority and power; and "authority here means for 'us' to deny autonomy to 'it' – the Oriental country – since we know it and it exists, in a sense, *as* we know it" (Said, 1979, p. 32).

The significant contribution of Said's Orientalism is to depict "how and why the Orient was created as a binary opposition to the Occident by decoding the structures of power and knowledge hidden in texts and discourses, which were historically employed by colonialism and Empire for conquest and domination of the Other" (Burney, 2012, p. 24). According to Ji (2016), Orientalism did not become applicable to China until the early nineteenth century. Rapid modernization in the West impacted how it came to perceive China's economy, military power, intellectual advancements, politics, and moral values. Critics linked China's slow progression to change and disdain for scientific advancement to the Chinese as inflexible and intellectually inferior. Furthermore, "[the West] advanced a range of political and moral criticisms, reflecting the fact that values in the West were being transformed while China retained pre-modern values like those that the West was abandoning" (Ji, 2016, p. 329). Several key movements, which ultimately constructed certain 'realities' about the East, occurred and fed into the narrative of the West as being superior. Ji identifies these movements as progressive political thought, the

rise of humanitarian movements, and the women's rights movement. First, progressive thinkers in the West started to criticize Confucianism, a system of thought originating from ancient China, one that Europe had also admired. Second, between the late eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century, humanitarian efforts resulted in abolitionism. Individuals around the globe began to despise inhuman practices around the world, including those in China. Finally, the rise of women's rights movements in the mid-nineteenth century brought attention to ancient Chinese customs, such as foot-binding. Hence, as Western societies were modernized, new values and customs emerged, ones that continuously reinforced discourses that constructed 'realities' about China and its population as immoral (Ji, 2016).

Historically, pre-confederation Canadian (British) knowledge of China *is* China for the dominant group, who have come to distinguish themselves from the Chinese based on constructed 'realities' produced by the Orientalism discourse (Said, 1979). For example, during the late 1800s, when the general public became hostile toward the Chinese and actions to restrict Chinese immigration were demanded, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald (1895) explicitly stated in Parliament:

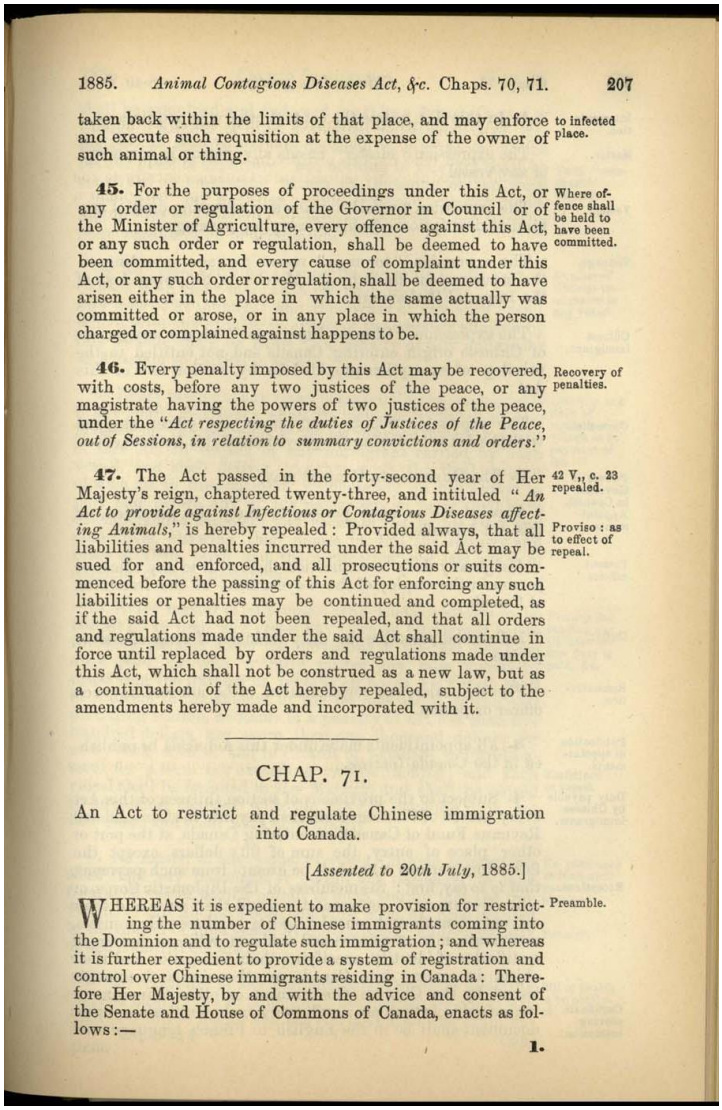
> Of course we ought to exclude them, because if they came in great numbers and settled on the Pacific coast they might control the vote of that whole Province, and they would send Chinese representative to sit here, who would represent Chinese eccentricities, Chinese immorality, Asiatic principles altogether opposite to our wishes; and, in even balance of parties, they might enforce those Asiatic

> principals, those immoralities which he speaks of, the eccentricities which are abhorrent to the Aryan race and Aryan principles, upon this House. That is a convincing reason, and I approve of it. (p. 1588)

The Prime Minister's statement clearly expresses the discursive truth regarding the Chinese character, which has been accepted as the 'truth' and legitimate knowledge within the particular reality. Such a "pronoun 'we' is used with the full weight of a distinguished, powerful man who feels himself to be representative of all that is best in his nation's history" (Said, 1979, p. 34). In a sense, the Prime Minister is speaking for the Whites, the civilized world, and the West. He explicitly addresses the Chinese as outsiders and threats to the purity of the Aryan race. By doing so, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald is reinforcing certain notions about the Chinese (as being a biologically inferior and immoral race) – *knowledge that has attained the status of 'truth'* –to maintain power over the Chinese character. His statement is an evident example of how race is made perceptible. It is through race and practices of racialization that White Canadians were able to attach ideological meanings to the Chinese race. Furthermore, the depiction of the Chinese as being an inferior race is replicated and maintained within a site of power (Parliament), and through this process, certain 'truths' about the Chinese are imposed upon their culture and values (Ehlers, 2012). Following Foucault (1979), Prime Minister Macdonald's statement evokes the idea of knowledge is power and that "[the] knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialect of information and control" (Said, 1979, p. 36). As a

result, practices of racialization enable the continued reign of the disciplinary regime of Western powers and reinforce the Orientalism discourse that 'fits' within the Western experience (Said, 1979). Under the Western gaze, the Chinese have become a subject race which is dominated by a race (Whites) that 'knows' them (Chinese) as 'inassimilable' and 'backwards' (Ehlers, 2012; Said, 1979; Roy, 2013).

Furthermore, the Orientalist view of China gave rise to the discriminatory immigration policies that banned Chinese immigration (Ji, 2016). The Chinese played a significant pioneering role in the construction of Canada's capitalist economy, yet their contribution and achievements were largely devalued (Li, 2009). Indeed, this is a form of Orientalism because it marginalizes China and the Chinese and subjects them as the 'Other' (Burney, 2012). As a result of this subjectification, the Chinese were explicitly targeted simply due to their race and the belief in the constructed reality of the Chinese as being biologically inferior to the White population of Canada (Li, 2009; Roy, 2013). The purpose of the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* was stated explicitly in its heading: "An act to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration into Canada" (see Figure 1).



1885. *Animal Contagious Diseases Act, &c.* Chaps. 70, 71. 207

taken back within the limits of that place, and may enforce and execute such requisition at the expense of the owner of such animal or thing. to infected place.

45. For the purposes of proceedings under this Act, or any order or regulation of the Governor in Council or of the Minister of Agriculture, every offence against this Act, or any such order or regulation, shall be deemed to have been committed, and every cause of complaint under this Act, or any such order or regulation, shall be deemed to have arisen either in the place in which the same actually was committed or arose, or in any place in which the person charged or complained against happens to be. Where offence shall be held to have been committed.

46. Every penalty imposed by this Act may be recovered, with costs, before any two justices of the peace, or any magistrate having the powers of two justices of the peace, under the "*Act respecting the duties of Justices of the Peace, out of Sessions, in relation to summary convictions and orders.*" Recovery of penalties.

47. The Act passed in the forty-second year of Her Majesty's reign, chaptered twenty-three, and intituled "*An Act to provide against Infectious or Contagious Diseases affecting Animals,*" is hereby repealed: Provided always, that all liabilities and penalties incurred under the said Act may be sued for and enforced, and all prosecutions or suits commenced before the passing of this Act for enforcing any such liabilities or penalties may be continued and completed, as if the said Act had not been repealed, and that all orders and regulations made under the said Act shall continue in force until replaced by orders and regulations made under this Act, which shall not be construed as a new law, but as a continuation of the Act hereby repealed, subject to the amendments hereby made and incorporated with it. 42 V., c. 23 repealed. Proviso: as to effect of repeal.

CHAP. 71.

An Act to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration into Canada.

[*Assented to 20th July*, 1885.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to make provision for restricting the number of Chinese immigrants coming into the Dominion and to regulate such immigration; and whereas it is further expedient to provide a system of registration and control over Chinese immigrants residing in Canada: Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:— Preamble.

1.

Figure 1. 1885 Chinese Immigration Act

The head tax was only imposed upon the Chinese, implying that the Canadian government sought the total exclusion of the Chinese from Canada. The *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* was assented in response to the widespread fears and prejudices against racial minorities, particularly the Chinese, in the 1920s. Across Canada, anti-immigration and anti-Chinese sentiments spread because White Canadians believed that the Chinese would 'steal' their jobs (Roy, 2013), ruin the country's economy (Kim, 2013; Roy, 2013), and damage the integrity of Canadian society in general (Anderson, 2007). Little by little,

these Orientalist ideas about the Chinese are normalized into the cultural framework, and the objectification and subjectification of the Chinese under the Western gaze eventually becomes their reality (Burney, 2012).

Although the discriminatory policies have long since been repealed, the systems of knowledges that were produced, operating within Orientalist discourses, continue to depict China and the Chinese in a discriminatory manner. Li (2009) laments that "despite the financial and occupational achievement of Chinese Canadians, segments of Canadian society have shown reluctance to accept them as full-fledged Canadians" (p. 232). They continue to be perceived as members of a foreign race, as the 'Other' whose presence is recognized but not entirely accepted (Hallam & Street, 2000).

Racially inferior. Chinese immigration was perceived as problematic mainly because the public sought to reduce the number of Chinese individuals in Canada. However, the Chinese themselves were also considered to be intrinsically problematic because they did not adhere to European standards. Instead of promoting diversity and racial acceptance, both provincial and federal governments believed the appropriate solution was to reduce the Chinese to second-class citizens. The general public, media discourses, and legislators quickly ostracized the Chinese in Canada in response (Li, 2009), eventually culminating in the enactment of the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and its successor, the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*. The aforementioned discriminatory policies only served to exacerbate White hostility and racism against the Chinese, as well as perpetuate the notion of the Chinese as biologically inferior, dangerous, and immoral. The acceptance of

these ideas as the legitimate 'truth' is responsible for reducing the Chinese into a position of compliance.

According to Li (2009), Chinese men acquired the image that they were only suited for harsh, physical labour. He also posits that there were peculiar ideological attributes 'assigned' and attached to Chinese women. More specifically, the 'category' of Chinese women that caused widespread fear was Chinese prostitutes. Although there is little evidence-based knowledge regarding Chinese prostitutes and their conditions, the *Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration* in 1885 suggested that of the 154 Chinese women residing in British Columbia, 70 were prostitutes, among the total of 10,550 Chinese individuals (Li, 2009). In addition, the Royal Commission indicated that a small number of Chinese women were concubines purchased and brought to Canada by merchants (Li, 2009). Despite the small number of Chinese women in Canada, they too shared a poor social image as their male counterparts. In the mind of White Canadians, Chinese women were believed to be "mostly slave girls, concubines, or prostitutes, and considered to be more injurious to the community than 'white abandoned women'" (Li, 2009, p. 229). Furthermore, the media discourse popularized the 'fear' of Chinese women, as syphilis-infested prostitutes, who lured young, White men to their inevitable doom (Li, 2009). Evidently, such negative depictions of Chinese women, combined with the pre-existing stigma surrounding the Chinese in general, ultimately convinced legislators to exclude Chinese women from Canada in order to restrict the growth of the Chinese population (Li, 2009) and to protect and maintain the 'White way of life'.

The Chinese urban community, dubbed 'Chinatown', also became associated with a lesser, racially inferior attribute. 'Chinatown' came to be in the nineteenth century and

refers to “a European concept to represent an undesirable neighbourhood filled with unsanitary conditions and vices and populated by an inferior race” (Li, 2009, p. 229). The conception of such a discriminatory and racist label mirrored the cultural hegemony of Eurocentric ideals of constructing the inferior ideology of the Chinese race as being a moral, social, and economic threat to Canadian society (Kim, 2013; Ji, 2016). ‘Chinatown’ was popularized in the nineteenth century by media, and it was often associated with a negative and exotic aspect (Li, 2009). As time passed, the stigma and racial mystics associated with Chinatown became entrenched within social norms and societal consciousness. The dominant group, with the power to construct ideological meanings of Chinatown and the Chinese to whom the mystics were applied, both came to accept the label as the ‘truth’ (Li, 2009).

Across Canada, Chinatown became discursively marked as a landscape of exclusion, as a specific space where exclusion is legitimized as spatial inequity (Allman, 2013). This was achieved through the ostracization of the Chinese in Canada. Essentially, the ideological racially inferior connotation assigned to Chinatown validates the Canadian government’s discriminatory actions against the Chinese. Such exclusionary techniques reinforce the power held by the dominant group (Khiari, 2015) by “[separating] the favored from the disfavored” (Douglas, 1966; Sibley, 1995; as cited in Allman, 2013, p. 2). Chinatown’s very existence perpetuates and constructs the ‘reality’ of their position as the excluded, relative to the privileged majority White Canadians. Although the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* were eventually repealed, it did not erase the deeply entrenched exclusionary regime and injustice imposed on the Chinese by the Canadian government.

Yellow peril. During the early 1800s, the agitation against yellow peril gained rapid momentum. According to Kim (2013), the derogatory term references the Chinese and Japanese people who arrived in North America as labourers during the late 1800s. Yellow peril was used to characterize Asians and was applied to "depict Asian countries and their descendants as economic, social, and/or military threats to the Western world" (Kim, 2013, p. 2). In other words, the derogatory term yellow peril is used to express Western prejudice towards East Asian immigrants.

As previously mentioned, China and the Chinese culture were unfamiliar to pre-Confederation Canadians. Their minimal knowledge on the subject was strung together by tales woven from travellers, merchants, and missionaries (Roy, 2013). China was painted as corrupt, locked in endless wars, and the Chinese population, by extension, were creatures of vice. At the same time, China was often a hot topic of discussion in the news because of war and that they were barbarians "learning to use 'warlike instruments of destruction' (Roy, 2013, p. 119). Furthermore, Roy (2013) reports that China was described as being 'upside down' because of its unfamiliar traditions and customs in the European context. For instance, the *Vancouver Province* published an article describing life in China. The country was described as "'a land where everything is upside down' with grand dinners beginning with sweets and ending with soup, with fricasseed dog, especially a special breed of poodle, and stewed rat being favorite delicacies" (Roy, 2013, p. 119). Missionaries wrote in great detail on the subject of corruption, materialism, excessive filth, foot-binding, and the use of opium (Roy, 2013). Such depictions of China

were translated into knowledge and became accepted as the legitimate 'truth' about the Chinese.

Initially, Canada welcomed the Chinese because of their willingness to work in harsh conditions for little pay in the expansion of the North American industrial capitalist economy. However, they had soon come to be perceived as economic threats to European immigrants and White-working class men, as well as threats to White women. In referencing Li (2009), Mr. Thompson, a member of Parliament from British Columbia, addressed the Chinese as:

> They are a separate race from the whites. They do not amalgamate with the whites, nor do they adopt our customs. They live among themselves. They have their own religion and also they have secret societies. … They contribute very little to the wealth of the country, and, to a certain extent, they impoverish it by competing with white men. (p. 227)

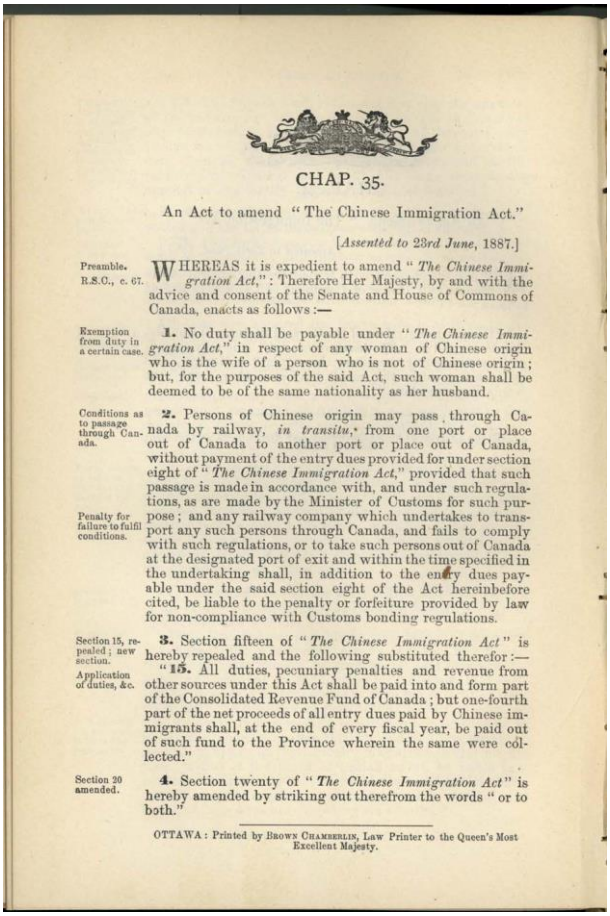
In addition, Mr. Thompson claimed that the Chinese were not only racially, culturally, and intellectually inferior, but they were also immoral:

> Yes; they will steal any thing they can lay their hands on if they get a favourable opportunity for doing so, Of course, there are white men who will steal too, but the Chinamen can never be trusted to work by himself in any place where there is coarse gold that can be picked up. (p. 227).

The social construction of the Chinese as undesirable and inferior to Euro-descents (Orientalism discourse) is responsible for perpetuating negative stereotypes about China and the Chinese. The production of this particular knowledge "allowed for the racialization of xenophobia, codified through racist laws and harsh discrimination toward Asian immigrants" (Kim, 2013, p. 2). As such, the yellow peril discourse is mainly responsible for entrenching discrimination against the Chinese into Canada's consciousness. Such racist views of the Chinese are further perpetuated through cultural norms.

Immigration. The dominant yellow peril discourse is based on the premise that the Chinese are perils, outsiders, and dangerous to both the 'White way of life' and the country's economy (Anderson, 2007). The dominant group feared that the Chinese would "overwhelm them, spend little, exploit local resources, send most of their earnings to China, and by accepting low wages, take jobs from Caucasians and discourage white immigration" (Roy, 2013, p. 118). The yellow peril discourse, operating within Eurocentric and Orientalist discourses, ultimately paved the way for the Canadian government to enact discriminatory policies against the Chinese.

The *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* was the most discriminatory law in Canadian history in that it excluded immigration purely on the basis of race and ethnic origin. The Government required every Chinese immigrant entering Canada to pay a head tax of $50 (Backhouse, 2005; Li, 2009; Roy, 2013) in response to "those Canadians who wanted a 'white' society" (Munro, 1987). In the years that followed, amendments were eventually made to the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* (see Figure 2).



CHAP. 35.

An Act to amend "The Chinese Immigration Act."

[*Assented to 23rd June*, 1887.]

Preamble. R.S.C., c. 67.

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend "*The Chinese Immigration Act*,": Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

Exemption from duty in a certain case.

1. No duty shall be payable under "*The Chinese Immigration Act*," in respect of any woman of Chinese origin who is the wife of a person who is not of Chinese origin; but, for the purposes of the said Act, such woman shall be deemed to be of the same nationality as her husband.

Conditions as to passage through Canada.

Penalty for failure to fulfil conditions.

2. Persons of Chinese origin may pass through Canada by railway, *in transitu*, from one port or place out of Canada to another port or place out of Canada, without payment of the entry dues provided for under section eight of "*The Chinese Immigration Act*," provided that such passage is made in accordance with, and under such regulations, as are made by the Minister of Customs for such purpose; and any railway company which undertakes to transport any such persons through Canada, and fails to comply with such regulations, or to take such persons out of Canada at the designated port of exit and within the time specified in the undertaking shall, in addition to the entry dues payable under the said section eight of the Act hereinbefore cited, be liable to the penalty or forfeiture provided by law for non-compliance with Customs bonding regulations.

Section 15, repealed; new section. Application of duties, &c.

3. Section fifteen of "*The Chinese Immigration Act*" is hereby repealed and the following substituted therefor:—

"**15.** All duties, pecuniary penalties and revenue from other sources under this Act shall be paid into and form part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada; but one-fourth part of the net proceeds of all entry dues paid by Chinese immigrants shall, at the end of every fiscal year, be paid out of such fund to the Province wherein the same were collected."

Section 20 amended.

4. Section twenty of "*The Chinese Immigration Act*" is hereby amended by striking out therefrom the words "or to both."

OTTAWA: Printed by BROWN CHAMBERLIN, Law Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

Figure 2. An Act to amend "The Chinese Immigration Act"

Chinese women who were married to non-Chinese men were exempted because they were considered to be of the same nationality as their husbands, and Chinese travellers passing through Canada via the railway were excused from the head tax. In 1892, an additional amendment required every Chinese resident of Canada who wished to leave, even temporarily, to be registered with an immigration official. In 1900, the tax was increased from $50 to $100, and in 1903 it was further raised to $500 (M. James, 2004; Wong, 2007). Between 1885 and 1923, it is estimated that the Canadian government collected over $23 million from Chinese immigrants (“Chinese head tax FAQs”, 2006).

This particular action was a covert racist act against the Chinese and would become the first step undertaken to undermine, discriminate, and disadvantage Chinese Canadians (Wong, 2007).

The *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* completely banned Chinese immigration, with the exemption of:

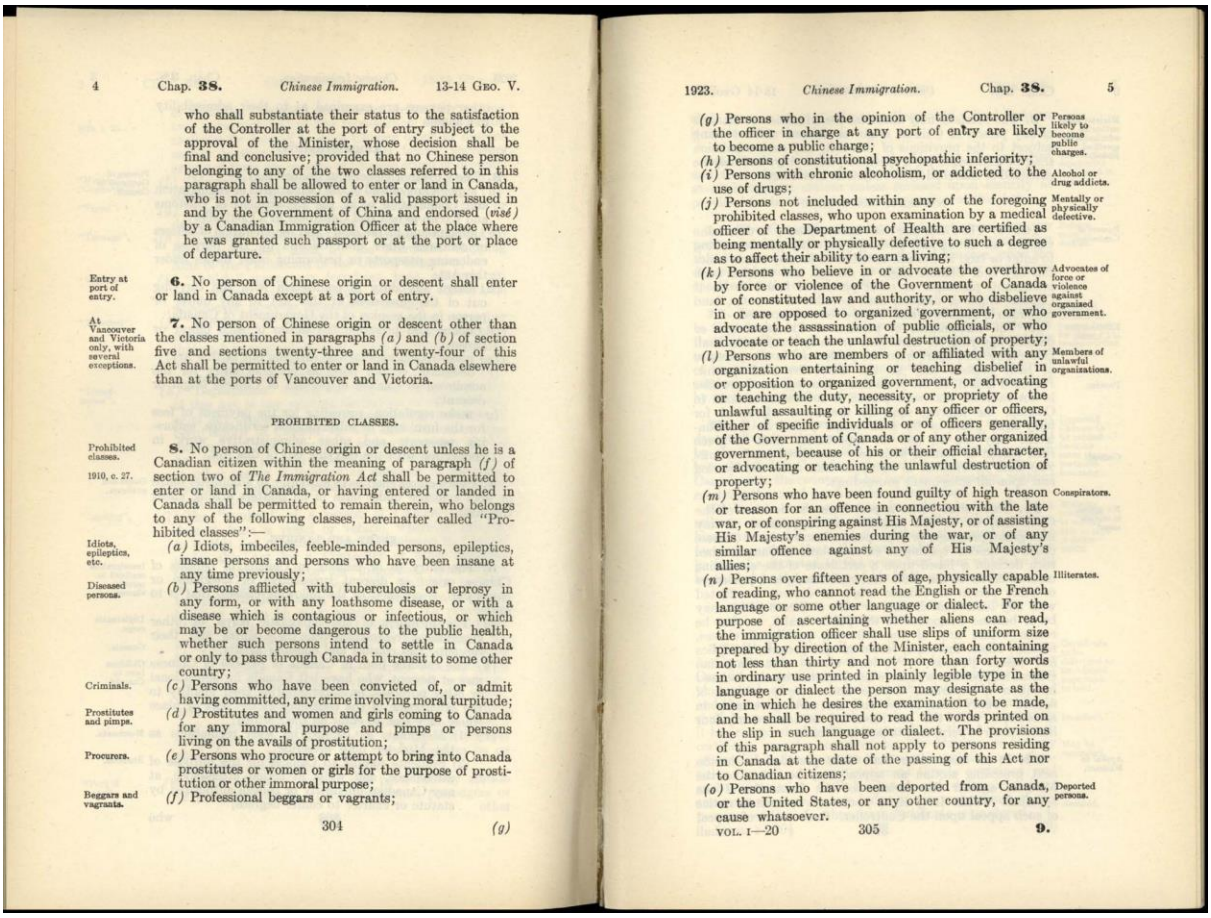
> Entry and Landing.
>
> 5. The entry to or landing in Canada of persons of Chinese origin or descend irrespective of allegiance or citizenship, is confined to the following classes, that is to say:
>
> (a) The members of the diplomatic corps, or other government representatives, their suites, and their servants, and consuls and consular agents;
>
> (b) The children born in Canada of parents of Chinese race or descent, who have left Canada for educational or other purposes, on substantiating their identity to the satisfaction of the controller at the port or place where they seek to enter on their return;
>
> (c) (1) Merchants as defined by such regulations as the Minister may prescribe;
>
> (2) Students coming to Canada for the purpose of attendance, and while in actual attendance, at any Canadian university or college authorized by statue or charter to confer degrees; who shall substantiate their status to the satisfaction of the Controller at the port of entry subject to the approval of the Minister, whose

decision shall be final and conclusive; provided that no Chinese person belonging to any of the two classes referred to in this paragraph shall be allowed to enter or land in Canada, who is not in possession of a valid passport issued in and by the Government of China and endorsed (*visé*) by a Canadian Immigration Officer at the place where he was granted such passport or at the port or place of departure.

6. No person of Chinese origin or descent shall enter or land in Canada except at a port of entry.

7. No person of Chinese origin or descent other than the classes mentioned in paragraphs (a) and (b) of section five and sections twenty-three and twenty-four of this Act shall be permitted to enter or land in Canada elsewhere than at the ports of Vancouver and Victoria.

Furthermore, the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* explicitly details fifteen 'classes' of Chinese individuals that are prohibited to enter Canada (see Figure 3).



4 Chap. 38. *Chinese Immigration.* 13-14 GEO. V.

who shall substantiate their status to the satisfaction of the Controller at the port of entry subject to the approval of the Minister, whose decision shall be final and conclusive; provided that no Chinese person belonging to any of the two classes referred to in this paragraph shall be allowed to enter or land in Canada, who is not in possession of a valid passport issued in and by the Government of China and endorsed (*visé*) by a Canadian Immigration Officer at the place where he was granted such passport or at the port or place of departure.

Entry at port of entry.

6. No person of Chinese origin or descent shall enter or land in Canada except at a port of entry.

At Vancouver and Victoria only, with several exceptions.

7. No person of Chinese origin or descent other than the classes mentioned in paragraphs *(a)* and *(b)* of section five and sections twenty-three and twenty-four of this Act shall be permitted to enter or land in Canada elsewhere than at the ports of Vancouver and Victoria.

PROHIBITED CLASSES.

Prohibited classes.

1910, c. 27.

8. No person of Chinese origin or descent unless he is a Canadian citizen within the meaning of paragraph *(f)* of section two of *The Immigration Act* shall be permitted to enter or land in Canada, or having entered or landed in Canada shall be permitted to remain therein, who belongs to any of the following classes, hereinafter called "Prohibited classes":—

Idiots, epileptics, etc.

(a) Idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons and persons who have been insane at any time previously;

Diseased persons.

(b) Persons afflicted with tuberculosis or leprosy in any form, or with any loathsome disease, or with a disease which is contagious or infectious, or which may be or become dangerous to the public health, whether such persons intend to settle in Canada or only to pass through Canada in transit to some other country;

Criminals.

(c) Persons who have been convicted of, or admit having committed, any crime involving moral turpitude;

Prostitutes and pimps.

(d) Prostitutes and women and girls coming to Canada for any immoral purpose and pimps or persons living on the avails of prostitution;

Procurers.

(e) Persons who procure or attempt to bring into Canada prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or other immoral purpose;

Beggars and vagrants.

(f) Professional beggars or vagrants;

304 *(g)*

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Persons likely to become public charges.

(g) Persons who in the opinion of the Controller or the officer in charge at any port of entry are likely to become a public charge;

(h) Persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority;

Alcohol or drug addicts.

(i) Persons with chronic alcoholism, or addicted to the use of drugs;

Mentally or physically defective.

(j) Persons not included within any of the foregoing prohibited classes, who upon examination by a medical officer of the Department of Health are certified as being mentally or physically defective to such a degree as to affect their ability to earn a living;

Advocates of force or violence against organized government.

(k) Persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of Canada or of constituted law and authority, or who disbelieve in or are opposed to organized government, or who advocate the assassination of public officials, or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property;

Members of unlawful organizations.

(l) Persons who are members of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or advocating or teaching the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of Canada or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property;

Conspirators.

(m) Persons who have been found guilty of high treason or treason for an offence in connection with the late war, or of conspiring against His Majesty, or of assisting His Majesty's enemies during the war, or of any similar offence against any of His Majesty's allies;

Illiterates.

(n) Persons over fifteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English or the French language or some other language or dialect. For the purpose of ascertaining whether aliens can read, the immigration officer shall use slips of uniform size prepared by direction of the Minister, each containing not less than thirty and not more than forty words in ordinary use printed in plainly legible type in the language or dialect the person may designate as the one in which he desires the examination to be made, and he shall be required to read the words printed on the slip in such language or dialect. The provisions of this paragraph shall not apply to persons residing in Canada at the date of the passing of this Act nor to Canadian citizens;

Deported persons.

(o) Persons who have been deported from Canada, or the United States, or any other country, for any cause whatsoever.

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Figure 3. 1923 Chinese Immigration Act: Prohibited Classes

The sheer number of prohibited 'classes' and its accompanying obscene depictions reflect the widespread moral panic that has come to affect Canada and the legislators' attempt to exclude the Chinese from Canada. The first category: "(a) idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons and persons who have been insane at any time previously;" is a clear depiction of how the Chinese character, as a racialized subject, has been molded by discourses and conceived by the majority of White Canadians.

Furthermore, the total exclusion of Chinese immigrants had detrimental consequences on the growth of the Chinese Canadian community in Canada. The policy altogether banned the immigration of the wives and children of the Chinese already

residing in Canada (Macklin, 2005), thus negatively impacting family reunification. The number of Chinese women was small relative to the number of Chinese men. This discrepancy in numbers can be attributed to the cost of head tax, which prevented Chinese men from bringing their families to Canada, even prior to the total exclusion of Chinese. The Chinese community, also often referred to as Chinatown, was also known as a 'married bachelor' society since Chinese men without wives and children mainly occupied it (Li, 2009). The absence of a family in Canada also obstructed the growth of a second-generation of Chinese Canadians.

Evidently, Canada's immigration discourse was racialized in both its territorial and social boundaries by upholding and idealizing European customs and principles all while de-valuing the achievements of non-White immigrants, particularly those hailing from Asia (Li, 2009). Canada's physical and social landscape was expressed in clear, racial terms, echoing what Allman (2013), Sibley (1995), and Towers (2005) refer to as the social ontology of inclusion and exclusion. In this case, Canada's social climate values the White race over non-European races, even though the latter's contribution was essential in the development of the country's industrial economy. Evidently, the immigration discourse "has been influenced by Canada's long-standing racial ideology, which saw Oriental immigrants as racially, morally, and culturally interior to the Occidental tradition of Canada" (Li, 2009, p. 226). Therefore, the historical exclusion and discrimination of the Chinese were equated with protecting the European tradition and Aryan culture within in Canada from the yellow peril (Li, 2009; Kim, 2013).

5.5 Technologies of Power and Technologies of the Self

Technologies of Power: Eurocentrism, Orientalism, and Racism. Operating in coincidence with the Orientalism discourse is the fear of the Chinese. This was further exacerbated by Eurocentrism, the discourse that upholds European values and culture as achievements and "its political and ethnical *superiority*, based on scientific rationality and the construction of the rule of law" (Maeso & Araújo, 2015, p. 1.). Eurocentrism posits Europe as a cultural pinnacle rather than a geographical location. As a paradigm for interpreting how reality has been constructed, Maeso and Araújo (2015) assert the need to interrogate the knowledge-power nexus at the cross-roads of identity formation, cultural diversity, and the validation of 'other' narratives. This conceptual approach enables the discussion to move beyond traditional analyses that view debates on history and memory as merely a matter of the identity of politics and marginalized groups (Whyneter, 1992; Deloria, 1995; as cited in Maeso & Araújo, 2015). This is evident in the North American context. It is also apparent in issues that originate from globalization and from within diversified societies that were once believed to be ethnically homogenous in Europe (Goldberg, 2002, 2009; as cited in Maeso & Araújo, 2015). Therefore, to approach the struggle of the Chinese in a Eurocentric country is to question the power dynamics between races. Khiari (2015) asserts:

> To claim that the racial question is inseparable from the races' struggle for power means that races are relations of social forces between the dominant race and the dominated races, the former aiming to preserve its supremacy constitutive of the racial system, and the latter aiming to their liberation. This means that races, and

> therefore their social boundaries, are built in the process of their struggles for power. (p. 67)

Indeed, this is the case with early Chinese migrants, as they attempted to forge a future in a land where they are cast as the 'Stranger' or the 'Other'. The Chinese's foreign ways of life were sacrilege and invite the notion of ethnocentrism, that European culture, values and beliefs are superior to all other cultures (Croll, 2012). The strange mannerisms, customs, and traditions of the Chinese *must* be inferior because they do not follow European cultural standards, and by extension, the Chinese themselves *must* be inferior. In an effort to repel the strangeness of the Chinese and to ensure White supremacy, the dominant group employed various means to degrade and oppress the Chinese. In fact, Khiari (2015) argues that the dominant group enjoys doing so, as devaluing and oppressing a group allows the dominant group to 'show off' the extent of their power. Under this regime, the social hierarchy is arranged in a pyramid rather than simply as opposite sides of a coin, with oppressed groups situated below the dominant White group. Accordingly, "racial stratification also produces a distribution of people and groups along class lines" (Khiari, 2015, p. 67). The disciplinary practices enacted by the dominant group over the Chinese was a complicated process beginning with Eurocentric and Orientalist discourses, followed by the enactment of discriminatory policies. As evidenced through the findings presented thus far, the dominant group practiced institutional racism in order to emerge as the dominant race to occupy the highest seat within the social hierarchy (Khiari, 2015). Meanwhile, the Chinese and other minority groups find themselves among the lower layers of the pyramid while struggling to

overcome being socially excluded from the same rights and privileges enjoyed by those residing at the top. The efforts of the dominant group to suppress and reign over minority groups is further echoed by Allman (2013) and the notion of social ontology:

> In the social world, whether one is welcomed, represented, or provided for by the mainstream, or whether one is that in general terms, the discussion of inclusion and exclusion fed into efforts to define what might be called a social ontology. Such a social ontology has been described by Sibley (1995) as a landscape of exclusion; a form of social and philosophical geography that melds ideology with place in an exercise of social, economic, and political power that invariably results in forms of oppression, and in many instances, exploitation. (p. 1-2)

Evidently, Canada in the 1800s was a landscape of exclusion wherein social inclusion and exclusion were primarily determined by racial differences. Despite the Chinese's accomplishments, they were severely undermined and labelled as the 'Other' due to their ethnic origin and race. As a result, the Chinese became the victims of White hostility, stigma, and ostracization. In an effort to maintain the territorial and social boundaries of a White Canada, the dominant group enacted methods of exclusion to oppress non-European groups as a means to exercise their power (Allman, 2013; Khiari, 2015) and constructed an exclusionary landscape (Allman, 2013).

As resistance against the Chinese in Canada peaked in the 1800s, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald explicitly called out the differences between the dominant White race and the Chinese. Using 'race' as a tool to exercise power, he stated:

> I am sufficient of a physiologist to believe that the two races cannot combine, and that no great middle race can arise from the mixture of the Mongolian and the Asian. I believe it would be a great mistake, and would tend to the degradation of the people of the Pacific; and that no permanent immigration of the Chinese people into Canada is to be encouraged as a body of settlers, but under the permanent system there is no fear of that. (MacDonald, 1883, p. 905)

The above statement is a clear example of how the dominant group justified the exclusion of the Chinese through imposing onto them racialized cultural objections and further associating such objections to the undesirable and unchangeable Chinese character. For example, legislators asserted that the cultural, moral, and intellectual inferiority the Chinese could never be overcome, and the absence of democracy in China revealed that the Chinese people were inherently servile (Li, 2009; Ji, 2016; Roy, 2013). Therefore, according to the knowledge produced by the racist discourse: if the inferior Chinese populace were allowed to participate in Western society, they would "form a non-assimilable underclass whose presence would not only be morally damaging, but would also prevent the emergence of a society based on the principles of equality, democracy and fair rewards for labour" (Ji, 2016, p. 330). This argument served the interests of the dominant group because it awarded them with authoritative power and disciplinary power over a 'pecking order' determined by race (Khiari, 2015). In addition, it gave the dominant group the moral high ground because it provided them with the opportunity to

claim that their actions were in the goodwill of protecting morality, democracy, and the common good, rather than in service of their own interests.

According to Ji (2016), the racist discourse or the anti-Chinese discourse became a political philosophy that very few politicians or citizens dared to challenge. As such, the racist discourse against the Chinese, in of itself, expresses European hegemonic power within Canadian society (Ji, 2016) and the dominant group's efforts to retain it. Hence, the hierarchy of power within Canada came to be shaped by the dominant group by transforming the country into a highly racialized and discriminatory landscape (Allman, 2013). Thus, within Canada, race was used as a method to categorize subjects (Ehlers, 2012), rewarding those who resembled the dominant group while oppressing and socially excluding those that did not. In other words, by casting the Chinese as racialized subjects and continuously perpetuating race as a perceptible discursive statement (Ehlers, 2012), the dominant group was able to exercise disciplinary power on the Chinese and modify their identity into one that served the Western regime.

Technologies of the Self: Exotics in exclusion. The dominant discursive frames have painted the Chinese as an exotic race. The use of 'exotic' denotes the strangeness and unfamiliarity that accompanies the Chinese character. Living in social exclusion, the Chinese were branded as heretics, immoral, cunning, filthy, and unassimilable (Li, 2009; Kim, 2013; Roy, 2013). When pooled together, the stigma and discrimination resulted in the construction of the 'Other' identity.

Returning to Foucault, the construction of the subject is achieved through disciplinary practices and discourse, mainly originating from the realization and

acceptance of the Oriental character as equating to the inferior subject – the 'Other' (Hallam & Street, 2000; Bakan & Dua, 2014). In an attempt to restrict Chinese immigration, the actions taken by the Government of Canada express the clear intent to both physically and socially exclude the Chinese from the same civil rights and opportunities enjoyed by White Canadians. More specifically, the Chinese are forced into a position of compliance, in which they must passively accept the position and identity enforced upon them.

As ideological attachments become ingrained within cultural norms, they are accepted as legitimate and become an aspect of 'reality'. Through exercising disciplinary power over the Chinese, White Canadians have moulded an exclusionary landscape (Allman, 2013) in which institutional racism is accepted as being legitimate, and thus, a fact of 'reality'. As a racialized subject, the Chinese are conceived through the technologies of power: Eurocentrism, Orientalism, and racism. The technologies of power reduced the Chinese to second-class citizens excluded from the same civil rights enjoyed by the dominant group. As discussed previously, this disciplinary power was exercised to reinforce White supremacy and devalue the Chinese's accomplishments, achievements, and culture. The dichotomy: West/East, citizen/other, included/excluded were 'retold' within institutional sites of power (historically discriminatory policies) and produced the knowledge of the Chinese as the 'Other'. This process created, sustained, and reinforced the Western regime's notion of reigning as supreme and forward and the Eastern societies as inferior and backwards (Said, 1979). The technologies of power and technologies of the self are responsible for restricting how social inclusion is conceived and understood while undermining the multiculturalism ideology. It also perpetuates the

notion that racial lines cannot be transcended, and the racial subject must be subjugated accordingly. Indeed, the legal measures to restrict Chinese immigration succeeded in classifying the Chinese people, validated social hierarchies, and legitimized anti-Chinese attitudes and discriminatory actions.

5.6 Subject Positions

Discipline and Normalization. Discipline cannot be separated from discourse as discourses "show the historically specific relations between disciplines (defined as bodies of knowledge) and disciplinary practices (forms of social control and social possibility" (p. 26). Through various disciplinary techniques, the Canadian government succeeded in reducing Chinese Canadians to second-class citizens while reinforcing the negative stereotypes associated with the Chinese.

The norms of 'us' and 'them' or White and yellow peril function to impose discipline upon the subject in alignment with the racial terms. Disciplinary power is responsible for categorizing the subject and "in the process of this marking, attaches them to the categorization in a manner that ensures that they recognize themselves in the categorization" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 22). The process of subjecting the term yellow peril or 'Other' onto the Chinese is done by external disciplinary powers that impose onto the individual to accept their subject position (Foucault, 1977, McHoul & Grace, 1993). Within this discursive process, only certain designated positions are possible and must be occupied, accordingly, in order for an individual to become recognized as subject (Ehlers, 2012). As a result, the making of the race subject "can be seen to engender a double movement that (a) imposes and (b) activates identity, as this marking enters the subject

into social existence and, in doing so, requires the subject occupy this term so as to maintain discursive intelligibility" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 22).

The process that constructs, categorizes, homogenizes, and defines the racialized subject is known as normalization (Ehlers, 2012; Foucault, 1979). Only certain racial bodies and racial subjectivities are deemed acceptable through this procedure and thus become perceptible. According to Ehlers (2012), this becomes possible when racial bodies are measured and classified based on "distinctions that have only been made through a process of comparison and that have hierarchized the various 'types' of racial bodies that have been identified" (p. 21). Such identification becomes associated and attached to the racial position of the Chinese, relative to the White Canadians. An example of this would be the Chinese as being positioned as culturally and biologically inferior. In order to maintain racial norms, relations of power among the races were produced and reinforced a dichotomy between races (Khiari, 2015; Kubat, 1987) by, for instance, positioning the Whites in direct opposition of the Chinese. This line of argument supports the Orientalism discourse, in which the Orient character is depicted to represent everything that Europe is not - everything that is *wrong* and *backwards* (Said, 1979). Therefore, through discursive forces, such as law, the 'Other' (the Chinese) becomes normalized as the racialized subject (Ehlers, 2012; Hallam & Street, 2000). Individuals residing outside the normalized positions are more likely to be regularized, through disciplinary powers, than the socially included (Allman, 2013; Hallam & Street, 2000; Foucault, 1979).

Hence, the discriminatory legal measures enacted against the Chinese reflect the prevailing philosophy of race – the Chinese as being biologically inferior, and therefore,

unassimilable (Roy, 2013; Li, 2009). According to Kubat (1987), "the anthropological wisdom of the day held that races are essentially dissimilar and that consequently the customs and practices of each race are only manifestations of the underlying dissimilarity" (p. 232). This line of argument implies that the impossibility of erasing racial dissimilarity is equated to the impossibility of assimilation. Therefore, the only logical step is to restrict immigration in any way possible (Li, 2009; Kubat, 1987) and protect Canada's 'White way of life' from the yellow peril. As such, early concerns regarding Canadian immigration policy were directly equated with the question of assimilability. To the extent that formal provision prohibited the Chinese from full participation in Canadian society, deterrence in place of assimilation proved satisfactory to Anti-Chinese proponents (Buchignani, 1979; as cited in Kubat, 1987). More specifically, the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* excluded the Chinese from voting, holding public office, and working many employment opportunities that are available to the dominant group. Burdened by these conditions, the Chinese were forced into a position of compliance. They retreated into independent businesses, such as laundries and restaurants (Li, 2009). Furthermore, they worked jobs deemed undesirable to the Whites due to the low pay and attached social stigmas, such as cooks and domestic servants. Regardless, the Chinese endured the menial labour and discrimination instead of choosing the alternative of returning to China, as doing so would have a financial impact on the families they were supporting in China (Li, 2009). As such, the Chinese – depicted as biologically inferior, undesirable, and dangerous – became entrenched within Canadian cultural norms due to the total exclusionary policies. With time, the social features and cultural meanings attributed to the Chinese became

normalized and ingrained within the cultural framework as being inherent of the group, rather than the product of social relations (Li, 2009). The construction 'reality' of the Chinese as the racialized subject was accepted as the 'truth', and for over ninety years, the Chinese in Canada continue to live in social exclusion as the 'Other'.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter, I studied the experience of early Chinese labourers who first came to pre-Confederation Canada to assist in the foundation of the capitalist economy. I also studied the total exclusion policies – the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* – and why the social exclusion against the Chinese in Canada persisted. More specifically, I examined how the Chinese came to be racialized subjects. Since their first arrival to the land that would be known as Canada, derogatory ideological meanings were attributed to the Chinese. Furthermore, the negative stigma associated with the ideology of what it means to be Chinese became embedded within Canadian cultural norms. Drawing on Michel Foucault's theoretical framework discourse, I closely examined Eurocentrism and Orientalism as the discourses ultimately responsible for painting China as corrupt and backwards and for casting the Chinese character as racially inferior, immoral, and dangerous. In addition, I studied the technologies of power and technologies of the self to determine how the social exclusion of the Chinese was continuously sustained and reinforced, and ultimately accepted as legitimate truths within the Canadian cultural framework. Finally, I interrogated how disciplinary power, evoked through the making of a racialized subject, resulted in the continued reign of White dominance over the Chinese.

Central to Foucault's work is the idea of discipline, which is concerned with the exercise of power over a person's body (McHoul & Grace, 1993). It is through disciplinary techniques that docile bodies are produced. By applying Foucault's notion of discipline to modern institutions, it becomes evident that bodies must be modified to suit the interests of the institutions. In order to accomplish this, institutions are careful in how they control and regulate the bodies to ensure that discipline has been internalized (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Given that discipline is a set of practices and techniques, and the individual is the result of disciplinary powers exercised on the body (McHoul & Grace, 1993), race is a form of discipline that alters identity through the body (Ehlers, 2012). At the heart of Canadian exclusion, race is used to classify individuals (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018) within a power hierarchy (Khiari, 2015). Historically, race was akin to species, and it was widely believed that different races possess distinctive characteristics that made them either inherently capable or incapable of something (Ehlers, 2012; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). In Canada, race, as a practice, was used to enforce racial lines to classify individuals within an inclusion and exclusion system. In other words, power makes race perceptible and tangible (Ehlers, 2012), and through discipline, race becomes a determinant of who is socially included and excluded.

Furthermore, the findings reveal a dichotomous relationship between the West and East, namely between the Americas and China. What it means to be Chinese had been conceptualized by the West to fit within a western definition that was socially constructed through European standards. Historically, the Chinese suffered from racist, discriminatory policies at the hands of Canada. As a result, Canada was able to assume power over the Chinese and exploit them for their labour. Therefore, the social identity of

the Chinese, in Canada, as the 'Other' came to be as a result of racism created by the enactment of the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*, sustained through legal measures, and exacerbated through the process of normalization. Ultimately, Canada is responsible for socially constructing the Chinese to be managed by the dominant group. In an effort to remedy deeply entrenched racism, the Canadian government enacted the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982 and the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in 1988 (Li, 2009). Despite Canada's goal of total equality and cultural inclusivity, the Chinese continue to experience social exclusion in contemporary Canada due to how they had been represented within the cultural and historical framework of Canadian society. This suggests that despite legal reform and the continued efforts to combat discrimination at the policy-level, erasing institutional racism from present-day cultural norms remains challenging.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

This project interrogated how the Chinese came to be regarded as the 'Other' within a country governed by ideals of multiculturalism and equality for all. The Chinese were managed, categorized, and discursively racialized by the dominant White group. Orientalism and Eurocentric discourses resulted in the 'otherness' of the Chinese. Racism informed racist legislation (Backhouse, 2005) and is responsible for the discrimination against the Chinese in Canada (Backhouse, 2005; Macklin, 2005). The technologies of power and the self, discipline, and normalization operated in conjunction with the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* to construct and 'retell' the racial inferiority discourse and anti-Chinese sentiment.

6.1 Findings and Interpretations

The prevalent, multiculturalist ideology in Canada seeks to promote equality in diversity. The *1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act* represents Canada's commitment to providing its citizens, regardless of ethnic origin, cultural practices, and religious affiliation, an equal opportunity in life (Canada. Justice Laws, 2014; C. James, 1995). Within this context, associations, institutions, and businesses operate on the premise that the services they provide, be it resources, medical services, employment opportunities, commodities, education, etc. are free of 'cultural bias'. In other words, everyone is equal, and no one group is more dominant than another (C. James, 1995). However, multiculturalism fails to realize that Canada is not governed by a neutral or an all-encompassing cultural framework, but that its polity was built on White supremacy (Fleras, 2014; Mills, 2015). Imperialism, colonialism, and racism are at the root of the systematic oppression, racial

discrimination, and the social exclusion of minorities (Kihika, 2013). Hostile and racist attitudes towards racialized individuals are expressed as racial profiling based on stereotypical assumptions or ethnocentrism (Fleras, 2014; Mills, 2015).

Within the Canadian context, the Chinese were socially constructed as a racialized subject in relation to the European framework that colonized the land (Fleras, 2014; Li, 2009). The story for the Chinese begins happily. They were initially welcomed to Canada because as a group, they were viewed as a source of cheap labour. In other words, the Chinese were exploited in the development of the Canadian capitalist economy (Kim, 2013). More notably, early Chinese labourers contributed to the union of Canada through the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Lee, 1983). By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the tale of the Chinese in Canada took a dark turn. Gradually, they became ultimately the victims of White hostility (Kim, 2013). Ideological meanings were attributed to the Chinese that perpetuated and reinforced the knowledge that they were racially inferior and the bringers of immorality and filth (Li, 2009; Roy, 2013).

Within the Foucauldian discourse framework, individuals are understood as subjects who are produced, constructed, and established by historically significant discourses. Furthermore, the subject is continuously shaping itself through practices of power. The dominant group, as enforcers of social control through discipline, plays a key role. Informed by Orientalism discourses, Western powers maintained that China and its citizens were backwards because they did not adapt to the same progressive values and practices (Said, 1979). Thus, the Chinese, a social group, was no longer viewed as human

beings but as subjects that could be researched, controlled, and excluded (Said, 1979) in order to protect Canada's integrity.

The perpetuation of certain discourses – Orientalism, yellow peril, immigration, institutional racism – obtained power and produced the conceptualizations of White and yellow peril, as well as their associated ideological meanings. The acceptance of these discursive 'truths' as reality was achieved through the grounded, material practice within institutional practices and sites of power – discriminatory legislation. Within these sites of power, the racial discourse is rendered a "repeatable materiality" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 20) in that racial knowledge is reproduced and maintained through the process of 'retelling'. It is these discursive truths that modify the individual body – conceiving a racial subject – and "fabricating in what Foucault (1991) refers to as a specific technology of power… called discipline" (Ehlers, 2012, p. 20).

External disciplinary powers classified, categorized, and defined the Chinese as a racialized subject, as the opposite of the European character. Immoral, inassimilable, and dangerous (Roy, 2013), the Chinese character came to be socially constructed to suit the interests of the dominant group because any ideas about the East must adhere to the discursive Orientalism framework. Hence, the Chinese as a threat to Canadian society is not an inherent feature of the Chinese, as a collective group, but emerged from a certain constructed social context. Such knowledge continuously produces a reality in which the Chinese, as racially and culturally inferior, have become accepted as legitimate knowledge. For example, denoting specialized ideological meanings onto early Chinese immigrants enabled the dominant group to assert and retain their power over the Chinese (Ehlers, 2012; Kubat, 1987). Furthermore, through legal measures as sites of institutional

power (Backhouse, 2005), they succeeded in reducing the Chinese into second-class citizens (Li, 2009).

A dichotomy among races creates the need to maintain racial norms, and vice versa (Khiari, 2015; Kubat, 1987), and grants the dominant Whites the legitimate power over racialized groups. Discursive practices are responsible for the production of the 'Other', and it is through the process of normalization that the 'Other' becomes accepted as legitimate reality (Ehlers, 2012; Hallam & Street, 2000). As evidenced from the Foucauldian discourse analysis, the findings reveal that the retaliation against the Chinese and Chinese immigration resulted in Canada's first, discriminatory policy that restricted (and later banned) immigration on the basis of ethnic origin. The *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and its successor, the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*, presented the Chinese as inherently problematic, biologically inferior, immoral, and as yellow perils to Canadian society. Furthermore, the ban on Chinese immigration created an exclusionary landscape (Allman, 2013) in which Canada actively sought to define both its physical and social boundaries through racial terms. The ultimate goal was to 'cleanse' the immorality from Canada and preserve European culture and customs by excluding the Chinese. The racial images and ideas of the Chinese were made perceptible through consistent reiteration through institutional sites of power (Ehlers, 2012; Macklin, 2005). As such, the racial discourse surrounding the Chinese was retained throughout history and continues to persist in contemporary Canada (Fleras, 2014; Li, 2009).

Furthermore, as a discursive practice, the idea of social exclusion is responsible for legitimizing certain social norms that constitute knowledge and reality, while ignoring alternative ones (Cheek, 2008). De-valuing the early Chinese labourers' accomplishments

and achievements in Canada paved the way to regulate the Chinese as a group through institutionally racist practices. In addition, painting the Chinese in an immoral light allowed the perpetuation of racial mystics, which reflects social control and regulation that fit within the narrative of a predominately White Canada (Ji, 2016). This emphasis also closes off the consideration of other, or alternative discourses (McHoul & Grace, 1993) – ones that do not worship Eurocentrism as the pinnacle of knowledge and do not impose negative, racialized conditions upon the notion of Chinese.

In Canada, racism and social exclusion go hand-in-hand. Both are complex social phenomenon whose very existence exposes the inefficacy of the Canadian multiculturalism ideology. By this point, I am not arguing that the *1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act* is ineffective or inefficient. I am suggesting that racism, and by extension, social exclusion, are inherent features of the Canadian cultural and social framework. As an environment with a history of ethnocentrism, hate, and racialized outgroup antipathy, Canada has become an ideal breeding ground for racism and social exclusion. Racism, then, is a tool to be manipulated by the dominant group to justify their exercise of disciplinary power and social control over others. As such, other cultures are automatically devalued or perceived as a threat to the 'White way of life'. According to Fleras (2014), the vilification of other cultures through the justification of cultural superiority can be "every bit as exclusionary as biologically based ideologies that openly deny or exclude" (p. 212). At the heart of it all, racism is a social (or anti-social) problem within Canada's cultural framework (Fleras, 2014; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). The associated consequences include "competitive contexts involving a struggle for valued resources, with the 'haves' pitted against the 'have-not' in competing for economic

survival and survival of the richest" (Fleras, 2014, p. 212); inevitably resulting in social exclusion of minorities groups. Drawing on Allman (2013) and Khiari (2015), it is feasible to conclude that racism, and by extension social exclusion, are methodically evoked to sustain an exclusion hierarchy as individuals and groups who sit at the top of the social pyramid will go to great lengths to preserve their status and privileges. As the discourse analysis reveals, the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and *1923 Chinese Immigration Act* sought to devalue the notion of being Chinese so that the dominant group can preserve their sovereign status (Anderson, 2007; Ehlers, 2012; Kubat, 1987; Roy, 2013). By that logic, Canada is inherently a landscape of exclusion, where exclusion hierarchies are prevalent and dominate through racialization processes (Allman, 2013). Thus, individuals and groups are subjected to social exclusion due to differences in social status, ethnic origins and cultural practices, and race (Plaut et al., 2011).

As a result, the strive for total social inclusion within Canada is impossible without first eradicating racism. Racism is deeply rooted in Canada's history, as it was essential to nation-building**,** justifying conquests, acquiring land, and economic development (Kihika, 2013; Macedo & Gounari, 2006). Although the nation was carved out through the labour of minorities, the social climate has historically been and continues to remain dictated by European standards. Over time, Canadian society's racialized infrastructure, designed to benefit and reward the dominant group while devaluing minority groups, becomes accepted as legitimate knowledge. The reality is that Canadian society was built and organized along racist discourses. According to Hogarth and Fletcher (2018), those who do not resemble the Euro-decent classification are "understood as either dispensable or to be used in the services of the broader economic

interests of the colonizing power" (p. 4). In the case of the Chinese in Canada, the early labourers were perceived as being biologically, culturally, and intellectually inferior (Li, 2009; Kim, 2013; Roy, 2013), so they could be oppressed and exploited by Canada in the interest of bettering the nation. This idea was reinforced and legitimized through the *1885 Chinese Immigration Act* and the *1923 Chinese Immigration Act*, and eventually ascended as knowledge. Despite its eventual repeal and the rejection of racist ideology, the discrimination against the Chinese continues to live on within the Canadian cultural framework. Thus, despite the rein of the *1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, the Chinese in Canada continue to suffer social exclusion.

Before this chapter concludes, I would like to make abundantly clear that it is incorrect to assume that the Chinese, as a racial minority in Canada, are persistently being socially constructed or depicted in a negative light. I agree with Li (2009) in that it appears that whenever an event gives rise to a moral or health panic, the Chinese are quick to be blamed as the problem.

The outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2003 also had a negative impact on Asian communities in the Western Hemisphere. The public was quick to point fingers at Asian communities (Li, 2009). Intensive media coverage brought about a multitude of racist retaliation against the Chinese and other Asian communities (Leung, 2008). According to Li (2009), many Chinese individuals in Toronto, Canada, were rejected in public spaces because of the notion of yellow peril as they were believed to be carriers of SARS. Similarly, Leung (2008) found that the consequences were detrimental, resulting in a culmination of racist attitudes, widespread fear, and employment loss. Members of the Asian communities found it challenging and stressful to navigate public

spaces for fear of being the targets of racism. Healthcare workers of Asian descent were discriminated against due to their ethnic heritage. All the while, governments did not actively intervene to regulate and resolve the social consequences that resulted from the SARS health panic. The SARS outbreak reminds us that despite Canada's multiculturalist ideology, historical racist images remain attached to the Chinese. In the event of a moral or health panic, the Chinese can quickly revert to assume the position of a racialized subject (Leung, 2008).

More recently, Anti-Asian and Anti-Chinese sentiments began to surface during the COVID-19 pandemic. Worldwide, the media has been reporting incidences of racial profiling against the Chinese. While the exact origin of the new coronavirus remains unknown, the fact that it first appeared in Wuhan, China, combined with speculations, is responsible for the spread of misinformation and the rise of xenophobia. More recently, a U.S. senator blamed China and the Chinese people for the pandemic by explicitly stating that the 'Chinese virus' was a result of a "culture where people eat bats and snakes and dogs" (Nicholas Wu, 2020). His overtly racist statement is drawn from an old belief system in which diseases and race are believed to be linked (Gee, Ro & Rimoin, 2020). Although the world of medicine does not support these claims, racist ideas from racist periods continue to persist. This includes the belief that, for example, minorities are inferior biologically, racially, and socially (Ehlers, 2012; Kubat, 1987; Roy, 2013). Scapegoating the Chinese amidst the health panic reinforces the racialized or exclusionary hierarchy (Allman, 2013; Khiari, 2015). In addition, the use of phrases such as 'Chinese virus' reinforces the perceptibility of race while also organizing reality in a manner in which the Chinese are, once again, discursively marked (Ehlers, 2012).

Rising Anti-Asian and Anti-Chinese sentiments during the SARS outbreak and the COVID-19 pandemic resulted from deeply entrenched racial ideologies within the Canadian cultural framework. Li (2009) argues that "the entrenchment of rights and the passage of legislation advancing racial equality have created serious legal constraints on the articulation of race in Canadian society" (p. 240). However, in the event of a moral and health panic, the measures outlined within the legalities are relaxed, which allows historical racial meanings to resurface and new meanings to be attached to the Chinese character (Li, 2009). The historical exclusion of various minority groups and the more recent contemporary incidents of racial profiling makes one question Canada's core values of multiculturalism and social inclusion, and if what the country has come to symbolize is accurate.

6.2 Implications

This present study contributes to Canadian literature on the subject of social exclusion and social inclusion by examining the social exclusion of the Chinese in Canada. This thesis aimed to investigate what it means to be Chinese in Canadian culture rather than focus specifically on the Chinese population or immigration. The findings suggest that social inclusion in Canada is perceived and not concrete reality, as various minority groups are consistently experiencing social exclusion. Drawing on Foucault's theoretical work, this study identified the process in which racial mystics became attributed to the Chinese character, how racist ideas were created through legal discrimination against the Chinese, and how it continues to persevere into contemporary times.

Furthermore, the inefficiency of Canada's multiculturalism ideology was exposed. The country operates on Eurocentric principles, which hold European culture and values in the highest regard. In that sense, there will always be racism, and therefore, social exclusion within Canada's social and cultural framework.

Given past studies have revealed that the anti-Asian or anti-Chinese sentiment resulted from Eurocentrism and Orientalism, it was expected that this study would yield similar results. Indeed, this thesis supports the current literature on the historical and social construction of the Chinese. However, it takes it one step further by exploring how Canada has come to manage the Chinese in Canada. Through discriminatory legislation, the Chinese were viewed as racially inferior and undesirable and assumed the status of the 'Other'. These racist ideas against the Chinese continued to be reproduced, normalized, and accepted as legitimate truth to enforce and sustain racial lines.

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