

“FRESH OFF THE BOAT” OR “CANADIAN BORN CHINESE”:
CULTURAL TRANSLATION IN THE CHINESE-CANADIAN
COMMUNITY

HARMONY KI TAK LAW

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ABSTRACT

Over the course of its history, the Chinese-Canadian community has had to adapt in various ways to the encounters, similarities and differences between Chinese and Canadian cultural practices and worldviews. While the situation began with racial discrimination and self-imposed isolation in ethnic enclaves, it has evolved to champion cultural integration, but also raise questions of cultural identity in the face of cosmopolitanism. This paper, therefore, examines those issues from the perspective of cultural translation, particularly the dynamics between the I and the Other as cultures, as well as translational resistancy and accomodation. These, combined with a statistical study on self-identification in Chinese-Canadian autobiographical literature, can articulate the tension that exists within the Chinese-Canadian population as it attempts to find its niche within Canadian society: being both Chinese and Canadian. From this, both the Chinese- and mainstream-Canadian population can glean lessons for future cultural integration and preservation in a cosmopolitan setting.

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I would also like to thank the staff and faculty in the Department of Translation Studies at the Glendon campus of York University, as they were the ones who provided me with the theories in cultural translation that informed this study throughout. In addition, I cannot continue without also acknowledging my earlier studies in linguistics at the University of Toronto and the instructor who taught me the multivariate analysis method that I use here: Professor Sali Tagliamonte.

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1. Introduction

All it takes is a short drive through a large Canadian urban centre such as Toronto, Ontario or Vancouver, British Columbia for the reality to become apparent: there are many different ethnicities, cultures and languages within Canada's population. One is likely to see a large shopping centre with signs in Chinese characters or Devanagari script on one side of the street while the other might be dominated by such North American fixtures as Walmart or Tim Hortons. A walk through the streets could expose one to conversations in English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Farsi, Tagalog, Mandarin, Cantonese, and an entire plethora of other languages. Just by looking at a class photograph taken in an elementary school in one of these urban areas in Canada, it is irrefutable that no matter what Canada might have been in the past, it is no longer solely a home for the First Nations, the French and the British; instead, it is now a nation with a population that could trace its origins back to all the other continents of the world, and this is a pattern that is only slated to continue as time goes by.

In this study, I will endeavour to shed light on issues pertaining specifically to the Chinese-Canadian community and its identity and place within Canada in the present day. Chinese immigration to Canada has been taking place on and off over the course of the country's history, beginning with the migrant workers best known for their contribution to building the Canadian Pacific Railway in the late 19th century to the middle-class families of today. Over the years, this was a visible minority who has had to face racial discrimination from both the government and the general public, yet that has

not prevented the Chinese-Canadian community from persisting in maintaining an element of its original culture from Asia in ethnic pockets scattered throughout Canada's urban landscape. However, the question now is whether the Chinese-Canadians have also been adapting to the mainstream Anglo- and Franco-Canadian culture, and if so, to what extent. By beginning with the work on the dynamics between two cultures as laid out by Tzvetan Todorov (1984) in his study of the encounters between the Spanish explorers and the indigenous peoples of Central America, I will be able to create a foundation for my research project. From there, I could extrapolate upon his ideas to draw connections between Todorov's call for further cultural integration in the present day and principles from today's cultural translation studies: Venuti's (2008) theory of resistancy, which allows for translators to escape from the dichotomy between foreignizing and domesticating translation; and Cronin's (2006) typology between translational assimilation and integration in a complex and cosmopolitan setting like what Canada is today.

However, once this has been established, I know that using a simple typology is not sufficient for answering the questions that have been raised by the research problem at hand. For although issues and questions concerning cultural identity and integration will inevitably vary substantially from person to person and can fall into a general classification or typological system, the primary issue for me is not so much a Chinese-Canadian's cultural identity, but what factors most contribute to said individual's choice. These factors could range from whether a Chinese-Canadian is an immigrant or a Canadian-born descendent of one to whether he or she is living in a part of the country

that has access to a large enough Chinese population to have Chinese-language services or Chinese cultural goods. However, one thing that cannot be denied is that each individual's cultural identity will be composed of multiple factors working in interaction with one another, creating a unique combination every single time.

Therefore, in order to ascertain this, I intend to use a research method that I learned in my earlier studies as a linguistics student that allows for the study of several different factors and variables working in conjunction with one another: a multivariate analysis. This is a technique used in sociolinguistics statistical research that not only allows for multiple independent variables to be examined simultaneously, but that could also permit the researcher to rank them after the fact. By gathering information on several different factors from a sample of published Chinese-Canadian authors and then looking to see how they identify themselves – whether as Chinese, Canadian or both – and what cultural practices and norms they claim to profess in their literature, I could create a database that could be entered into a computer software that was created to facilitate the multivariate analysis process. Using this method, then, I would not only be able to see what the overall picture is for Chinese-Canadians' self-proclaimed cultural identity, but also which factors had the greatest role to play in that outcome. However, my goal is to take the results a step further: if the Chinese-Canadian community displays tension and difficulty in forging its own cultural identity, then I will look to the factors to determine if there is any way to bring the situation to an equilibrium; but if it is already at a point of balance, I will then ask myself if there is a means to either maintain it or improve upon it.

Given all of these things, this paper will be a full record and account of that research process. I will begin in Chapter 2 with an explanation of the history of the Chinese-Canadian community – starting with the initial migration and discrimination and culminating in the present-day when Chinese-Canadians are a significant visible minority. The historical record combined with recent statistics from the Canadian census and current news stories in the media reveal a complex picture: one that fluctuates between acceptance of the Chinese from the mainstream Canadian society and an apprehension caused by their growing numbers and Asia’s rising economical and political might. After this, I intend to explain the various forms of scholarship that exist in terms of studying the immigrant experience, followed by my reasoning for why I would prefer to use a more anecdotal approach to the same subject as opposed to an academic one per se; I will then comment more upon the research problem at hand.

Afterwards, in Chapter 3, I will then elaborate further on the theories and scholars whose ideas I will be using for this study: Todorov, Venuti and Cronin. From there, I will shift momentarily in Chapter 4 to the statistical element of my research project: my sources for data, the factors I will be examining, my hypothesis for the Chinese-Canadian community’s overall cultural identity in light of said factors and an explanation of how the multivariate analysis itself will be carried out. The next section, Chapter 5, will be a simple reporting of the results of the statistical analysis: starting with my examining the factors independently, then two at a time, finally culminating in the full-on multivariate analysis. Only then, in Chapter 6, will I return to the theoretical framework that I had established earlier, using it as a lens by which I could examine the statistical results.

From there, I will comment further on whether I could propose any sort of solution to the research problem as well as the situation on the ground for the Chinese-Canadian community. Finally, to conclude my research, I will devote some time towards looking at any unanswered questions and flaws that have appeared in the process; these will serve as opportunities for further research as I continue to pursue the issue of migrant identities in Canada after the completion of this thesis.

2. Historical Background and Research Problem

International immigration is a fact of life in 21st century Canadian society; comparing the figures from the 2001 and 2006 censuses respectively, 1.1 million people migrated to Canada in that single five-year period (Chui & Maheux, 2007, p. 9). Because of this, it is also a reality in Canada that many of these new migrants would speak languages other than the nation's two official languages – English and French – by virtue of the fact that those might not be used frequently in the immigrants' country of origin. In fact, according to the 2006 census, around 831,000 Canadians currently use a non-official language at work, and of that number, 70% are immigrants to the country (Thomas, 2009, p. 2). Among these non-official languages, those originating from Asia have been notable for their frequent use in recent years, and this is reflective of the increased proportion of Asian immigrants to Canada in the same span of time (p. 3). Given these statistics, one must ask what, then, it is that allows immigrants and their descendents to be considered as Canadians, particularly in the case of those who choose to retain the language and culture from their nation of origin. Are these people truly Canadian, or are they simply a tolerated foreign presence in the country? Are they here simply to gain services from the Canadian government, sapping the taxpayers' funds; or are immigrants and their descendents actively contributing to Canadian society as a whole? The problem with a nation and a society that appears to take pride in its diversity and cosmopolitanism is that the very thing that makes that nation distinct is based upon difference. At best, this difference can be viewed in a pluralistic light and as a source of

richness; but at worst, it could be the root of fragmentation and the erosion of a distinctive Canadian cultural identity (Simon, 2006, p. 169).

It is worth considering that among these immigrants of Asian descent in Canada, many are from Chinese-speaking regions – including but not exclusive to the People’s Republic of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan – and their story is a fitting example of an immigration success story in Canadian history. From a statistical standpoint, persons of Chinese ethnicity have been among the largest sectors of new immigrants to Canada in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, with the PRC claiming 14% of all newcomers from 2001-2006 (Chui & Maheux, 2007, p. 10). This was also the case in the time period from 1996-2001, but the previous two five-year census periods were dominated by immigrants from Hong Kong instead, although they were still ethnically Chinese and primarily Chinese-speaking (p. 10).

Because of this, it is no surprise that among the languages being spoken in Canada, the different Chinese languages – including Mandarin and Cantonese among others – rank as being the most frequently-used non-official languages, at a proportion of 3.3% nationally (Corbeil & Blaser, 2007, p. 6). This may not seem a very large number, but when the fact that many of these Chinese-Canadians are concentrated in several major cities in Canada, including Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton is taken into consideration, it is possible for the percentage of Chinese speakers in the local population to be much higher: 19% in Toronto and 38% in Vancouver, for instance (p.

11). Therefore, there are a number of areas in Canada that have Chinese-speaking immigrants and their descendents as a significant ethnic minority.

2.1 Historical Background

The large presence of Chinese people in Canadian society is a relatively recent development, with many immigrants only coming to the country after 1967 (Li, 1998, p. 6). This is not to say that there was little migration from China prior to that point, however; it is common knowledge for schoolchildren that Chinese migrant workers helped to build the Canadian Pacific Railway in the late 19th century, for instance. In fact, Chinese immigration to Canada has been a reality since prior to Confederation in 1867, with the first settling in what was to become the province of British Columbia in 1858 (p. 3). Life for these early Chinese-Canadians, however, was vastly different from what people would nowadays associate with the business-oriented, middle-class lifestyle commonly seen within the Chinese-Canadian population. In the mid-19th century, there was much reason for Chinese citizens to immigrate to other parts of the world.

Compared to the western European and North American nations, China was a feudal, agrarian society that simply could not compete economically and was thus vulnerable to foreign encroachment and conquest (p. 18-19). For instance, one such conflict was with the British in the First Opium War, a consequence of which was the cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain as a colony and the guarantee of the then-illegal trade in opium between the European empire and Qing dynasty China. On top of this, a rapidly growing population in 19th century China, most notably in the southern region of Guangdong,

exacerbated the problems that the working poor had to face: famines, natural disaster, lawlessness and a failure of the central government in Beijing to act among them (Yee, 2005, p. 12).

Coming from parts of China stricken by poverty and political instability, the initial migrants to Canada were willing to be hired for cheap labour performing menial jobs so long as it would grant them passage to a place they themselves had come to associate with financial and social security. The early jobs worked by these Chinese-Canadians included work in the gold mining industry, the building of the CPR, the manufacturing process and the domestic service (Li, 1998, p. 28-29). Oftentimes, at this point in the 19th century, the Chinese migrant workers were treated differently compared to immigrants from Europe: they were hired for fewer wages, and the common stereotype was that they were subservient by nature and willing to take on even the demeaning jobs that a Caucasian immigrant would not touch (p.29).

Asian immigrants were to be tolerated insofar as they could be a viable source of labour for mainstream Canadian society, but otherwise, they were regarded as foreign and undesirable. This also came with the proviso that there was still ample opportunity for Caucasian-Canadians to be employed. However, once it became apparent that the lower wages Chinese workers were willing to accept compared to their European counterparts were making them more sought after by employers looking to maximize their profits, hostility towards the Chinese-Canadians began to take on a visible and tangible form on the governmental level (p. 27). In 1885 and 1902 respectively, the Canadian government

held Royal Commissions to further examine the situation concerning Chinese-immigrants, particularly in the province of British Columbia. The conclusion of the officials involved, particularly in 1902, was that there needed to be restrictions placed upon potential migrants to curb their numbers; therefore, a head tax valued at \$50 was imposed, which all Chinese citizens who wished to enter Canada must pay. This amount was gradually increased, first to \$100 and then to \$500: all in attempts to make it financially prohibitive for people from China to immigrate to Canada. However, the ultimate result in this series of legislations against further migration was the enactment of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, which put a stop to allowing Chinese citizens entrance to the country altogether until after the Second World War.

Where did these policies come from and why did they specifically target the Chinese people? The answer to this could be found in the common conceptions towards race and culture in the time period in question. Note here that race and culture are separate concepts: race is defined by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2012) as “a family, tribe, people or nation belonging to the same stock” or “a category of humankind that shares certain distinctive physical traits,” whereas culture is “the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group...the characteristic features of everyday existence...shared by people in a place or time.” As can be seen from the dictionary definitions of the two terms, it is clear that the notion of race is a construct based upon the classification of individual people on account of supposed physical characteristics – as opposed to thinking of all as members of one human species – and that culture is also a social construct that draws upon the assumption of race as a

monolithic entity. While both are known to be constructs and not real in and of themselves, it cannot be denied that race and culture – and the differences between individuals and communities on account of them – play a significant role in public thought for the simple reason that people make them into real concepts and allow them to influence social and government policy.

Therefore, historically, these concepts were inextricably linked and informed a common ethnocentric worldview on the part of the Caucasian majority in the west: not only was there a perception that some cultures were inherently superior and more advanced than others, but the thought was that this could be seen in – if not outright determined by – each people's colour and other physical characteristics. In the 19th century and early 20th century, a widespread belief in both Europe and in North America was that people of white descent were somehow superior to those from Asia, Africa or other parts of the world (Li, 1998, p. 31). People of the supposedly lesser races were to be tolerated purely for their utilitarian purposes, but they were considered to be forever foreign and, in a word, inassimilable to mainstream Western society and culture. If an individual looked different from the social norm, spoke a different language, or practiced a different culture, he or she was simply that: different, with no hope of ever conforming to the norm.

Because of this, the discriminatory legislation directed towards the Chinese people was one based off ethnicity and neither place of birth nor citizenship. Under the law, there was no difference between a first-generation Chinese immigrant and his or her

Canadian-born offspring: both were of Chinese blood, and therefore, both were thought to be intellectually and socially inferior to white Canadians and could receive identical treatment and be discriminated against (p. 39). According to Yee (2005), “Chinese immigrants were seen as unclean, unhealthy, corrupted by opium and gambling, and a threat to Canada’s social order” (p. 13). In fact, as unpleasant as the term sounds to the modern listener, what existed in Canada at this point in history was both an institutionalized and a popular form of racism directed towards anyone of Chinese descent.

Yee also argues that it is this very discrimination that drove the Chinese-Canadians into carving their own separate niche in Canadian society (p. 15). Rather than regarding themselves as the victims of a cruel power – as is often the case in modern studies on the subject of racism in Canada – the Chinese migrants sought to live their lives with as great an amount of dignity and vibrancy as possible (p. 15). The ethnic communities that resulted, now known as Chinatowns, were centres of Chinese culture within a larger Canadian landscape, a means for the Chinese-Canadians to make their presence and their pride known in a world that was politically hostile towards them. Nowadays, Chinatowns and other such ethnic neighbourhoods are well-known and readily recognizable features in many historic Canadian cities, including Vancouver, Victoria, Toronto and Montreal. For many Canadians, these are treated as quaint tourist destinations of sorts, where people could visit to experience Chinese culture, regardless of their own ethnicity or background. Because of this, it is easy to assume that the Chinese-Canadian culture is what it is today due to a determination on the part of Chinese

immigrants of the past to retain the culture of their former home in a new and foreign land. However, Li (1998) would disagree. He argues that “the emergence of these ethnic institutions had more to do with institutional racism in Canada than with whatever traditional culture might have been transplanted from China” (p.7). Had they been allowed to integrate into Canadian culture, perhaps the Chinese-Canadians would have assimilated into the mainstream society, and there would not be such a distinctive pocket of “Chinese-ness” in Canadian cities today. The Chinese-Canadians could simply have become Canadians of Chinese descent, indistinguishable culturally from those around them if such a merging of the two cultures had been permitted or even encouraged.

2.2 The Present-day Situation

Perhaps, had Canada remained to the present day as the nation that heavily restricted Chinese immigration and the movements of Chinese residents in the country, that would have been the case. Chinese-Canadian enclaves could have survived out of sheer determination for the immigrants to carve a niche out for themselves in mainstream Canadian society. However, in the present day, another factor must be taken into consideration: the Chinese-Canadian community of the late 20th and early 21st centuries is vastly different from what it was before. Public and governmental attitudes towards the Chinese-Canadians first shifted with the outbreak of the Second World War, when Canada found itself allied with China against the Japanese as well as fighting in the defence of the ethnically Chinese citizens of the British colony of Hong Kong. Because of this, people from China or Hong Kong were regarded as the lesser of several Asian

evils, with public invective shifting to land on Japanese-Canadian citizens (Yee, 2005, p. 17). The Chinese were seen as the innocent victims of Asia under the oppressive force of Imperial Japan; not only that, but Chinese-Canadians also rose to the challenge, raising funds for the Canadian war effort and even enlisting to fight in their own right. Therefore, after the conclusion of the War in 1945, the Canadian government once again granted Chinese-Canadians the right to citizenship in 1947 when the Chinese Immigration Act was officially repealed.

Yet, it would be years before Chinese people were actually admitted into Canada under the same rules and standards as those from other nations, due to the near-immediate onset of the Cold War and the establishment of the People's Republic of China as a socialist state in 1949. It was natural, then, for Chinese and their Chinese-Canadian counterparts to be regarded once again with suspicion: not as rivals for jobs in a strained economy, but as potential Communist sympathizers (Li, 1998, p. 93). In the end, it was not until 1967 that the regulations dictating Chinese immigration policies allowed for a greater increase in successful applications; and Canada did not agree to allow immigration from the People's Republic of China for family reunification purposes until 1973 (Yee, 2005, p. 21). From that point onwards, Chinese citizens could be accepted into the country using the same standards as applicants of other ethnicities and nationalities due to the establishment of the point system for immigration, a practice that is still used to this day (Li, 1998, p. 89).

Because of this, in the latter half of the 20th century, there were several significant waves of Chinese immigrants coming to Canada. One such wave came immediately after 1967, as an increasing number of applicants, seeking to join those in their families who had come before, were successfully processed and admitted into Canadian society. A second would come in the late 1980s and early 1990s, specifically from Hong Kong, as citizens there emigrated prior to the eventual handover of the British colony back to the People's Republic of China in 1997.¹ Since then, the tide has shifted yet again and now, there is a greater likelihood for Chinese immigrants to come from China itself (Chui & Maheux, 2007, p. 10). The actual social status of these new immigrants is different from that of their predecessors, as is their fate once they arrive in Canada. Unlike the poorly-paid poverty-stricken labourers of the past, these new generations of Chinese-Canadians are often middle-class businesspeople: "upwardly mobile, financially successful, and culturally cosmopolitan" (Li, 1998, p. 141). Not only that, but they are becoming more active on a social and political level in Canada's administration and infrastructure: it is not unusual to see Chinese-Canadians serving as Members of Parliament, and a recent Governor General, Adrienne Clarkson, came to Canada from Hong Kong as a refugee during the Second World War. The Chinese-Canadian community has been active in politics, the arts, business, science and more, and their contributions are now often regarded as Canadian achievements and not solely belonging to the Chinese ethnic community.

¹ Incidentally, this is also when my family and I immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong, due to uncertainties concerning how the People's Republic of China would govern the region after 1997.

Yet, because of this newer status for Chinese-Canadians within mainstream society, the former stereotypes are emerging once again. For example, in Toronto and its surrounding suburbs, concerns arose with the establishment of developed residential areas and shopping centres that catered specifically to Chinese immigrants and their descendents (p. 147). Similarly, the affluence of the emerging Chinese middle class in Vancouver has drawn the ire of some other residents due to their ability to buy up properties at higher prices (p. 148). In the latter situation in particular, the Chinese-Canadian community became associated with a lifestyle tinged by the vulgar spending of the nouveau riche, choosing to live in large but inhospitable mansions in supposed contradiction to pre-established Canadian values (p. 148). In 2008, a councillor in the city of Toronto was quoted as saying that Asians were encroaching upon mainstream society and would eventually achieve dominance within Canada due to their apparently strong work ethic: an image that was described by the phrase “work like dogs” (Chan, 2011, p. 202).

The overall impression seems to be that the Chinese-Canadian population poses a threat and a source of competition towards Canadians of other ethnicities. For instance, in 2010, *Macleans*, a Canadian-based news magazine, sparked controversy when it published an article titled “Too Asian?”², which questioned whether Canada’s top universities were admitting a disproportionate number of Asian students, including those of Chinese descent, due to their reputation for achieving higher marks at the secondary

² In response to the media and public backlash, the article was subsequently renamed, “The Enrolment Controversy”.

school level. The article in and of itself did not attempt to vilify the Chinese-Canadian community; however, it drew public ire when it brought into the open the common stereotypes associated with Chinese people here in Canada: that they are particularly hard-working, with a strong emphasis on education and learning over social interaction, and that their focus is more on preserving their own culture than on integrating with mainstream Caucasian-Canadian society (Findlay & Köhler, 2010). However, in a move that could reflect how much Canada has changed since the beginning of Chinese immigration, the public response was anger towards *Macleans* and accusation of racial stereotyping until the magazine was asked by Toronto's city council to apologize for the offended parties (Chan, 2011, p. 202). From this, it would appear that mainstream Canadian society has a complicated relationship with its Chinese community: alternately dreading and defending it, alternately treating them as a part of itself, and as something foreign and other.

This latter point brings up the question that I wish to address in this study: to what extent do Chinese-Canadians integrate into mainstream Canadian society and to what extent do they count themselves as Canadians or are considered as such by those around them? It is an issue that appears within the immigrant community itself, as well as in the wider Anglo- and Franco-Canadian population. One could visualize the situation as a continuum, with full assimilation into mainstream Canadian culture on one end and full retention of the Chinese culture and practices on the other. However, as is often the case when discussing a spectrum like this, it is rare for a person to fall under either extreme:

instead, what is most likely is for him or her to fit somewhere on the continuum, closer to one side than the other, but still retaining elements of both cultures.

2.3 Literature Review and Research Problem

From an academic standpoint, the study of cultural identity in a migrant or multicultural context is nothing new. This is not solely the case for the Chinese community in Canada, but for groups of varying ethnicities in the globalized and cosmopolitan world. However, even with the diversity in the specific objects of study, there are commonalities in the scholarship. Much of the recent literature can fall into three main groups: scholarly pieces that analyze the concepts of culture and identity as academic and abstract concepts; studies of specific migrant communities from a statistical perspective; and writings that consist primarily of personal or anecdotal accounts of the experiences of migrants and their descendents.

Presently, a number of the academic pieces, on top of examining statistical and empirical evidence, focus on either problematizing or elaborating upon the definitions of ideas such as culture, identity, diaspora and translation in a postcolonial context. An example of this would be the concept of migrants having a double-identity, meaning that they can find themselves living as though there is a conflict between dual drives for a sense of belonging in both the mainstream society of their new home and in the original community from whence they came, as found in el-Aswad's (2006) study of the lives of Egyptian-Americans in a post-9/11 context. Other recent studies include one conducted by Diane Minichiello (2001) based upon the challenges faced by Chinese-Canadian

secondary school students in Vancouver, many of whom claimed to prefer adhering to a more conventionally Chinese identity due to the fact that they were already in the midst of a large community that could understand them better than other Canadians. Yet another, more theoretical, piece would be the presentation given by Sathya Rao in 2003 titled *Towards a unified theory of translation and diaspora*, which gave an overview on different theories and definitions of the term “diaspora” in the context of translation studies, starting from a model where a diaspora is compared to its antecedent ancestral homeland in a colonialist and hierarchical manner to one where diaspora can be defined in its own place in time and space.

Inversely, examples of writings that focus on compiling personal accounts about bicultural and multicultural identity, particularly in migrant populations, include the pieces that comprise the anthology *Translating Lives: Living with Two Languages and Cultures* edited by Mary Besemeres and Anna Wierzbicka (2007). Although this book is not a strictly academic study per se, it is one that reflects in the various essays written by bilingual and immigrant individuals in Australia the everyday realities of living in a society with many cultures and ethnicities that, until recently, claimed to have its own distinct Anglo-Australian culture. In spite of its more anecdotal nature, however, the accounts in this book still touched upon similar questions of living with a double identity as expressed in el-Aswad’s study. Examples of the issues expressed by the individual authors included the challenge of communicating a concept that existed in their original cultures and languages but for which the equivalent reference was missing in the mainstream Australian culture or the feeling of inadequacy they faced when they

attempted to speak their first language to friends and family while visiting those who had not left their nations of origin. Yet another concern that frequently arose is how immigrant parents could best raise their offspring and whether one language or culture should be emphasized over another, as well as the consequences of those choices.

Whether we speak of statistical studies conducted on immigrants and their descendents or examinations of the concepts of culture and identity themselves, the question of how an individual person navigates the various possible sources for his or her identity is one that is particularly persistent and relevant in the 21st century. However, a question that arises is the extent to which academic theory could be used to define what is ultimately an intangible human experience that is too complex and idiosyncratic to fit a purely theoretical model. From a scholarly standpoint, work based upon close analytical examination of the core concepts and definitions in cultural studies could be said to have greater precedence and prestige. However, the study that I am conducting in this thesis is not so much about theory as it is about what cultural identity, the issues and conflicts therein look like on a practical, day-to-day level, and the factors that lead to the variety of self-claimed identities that we see in the Chinese-Canadian community. It is for this reason that my own project will be conducted based off similar pieces of anecdotal evidence, even as I endeavour to organize the data using a statistical analysis and examine it through the theoretical lens of cultural translation studies, as will be explained in Chapter 3 of this paper onwards.

In my own personal experience, the Chinese-Canadian community is aware of this double identity insofar as it does make a distinction between individuals, particularly young people, who lean more towards either a stereotypically Chinese or Canadian lifestyle. Because of this, Chinese-Canadian youth have developed their own terms to note the difference and to label individuals in each group. A person who falls under the first category is often colloquially called a FOB³, which is an acronym for “Fresh Off the Boat”; the image being evoked is that of a recent immigrant who has just come from a new country and still has yet to adjust to the culture of his or her host. In terms of the actual stereotypes that are associated with this designation, they include the tendency to follow the media and trends from the People’s Republic of China, Hong Kong or Taiwan; to shop in shopping malls constructed to cater to Chinese-speakers and selling imported goods from Asia; to speak Cantonese or Mandarin in preference to English or French whenever possible, even at school or at work; to focus almost single-mindedly on academics, particularly in the maths and sciences. In essence, the label FOB is used to apply to any Chinese-Canadian immigrant or the descendent of one who fits the 21st century stereotypical Asian migrant who is not only living by the norms of a foreign culture, but is doing so both consciously and deliberately.

In contrast, a young Chinese-Canadian could be called a CBC instead: this is yet another acronym and it refers to a “Canadian-Born Chinese”. It is worth mentioning, however, that just as the term FOB speaks more on a person’s cultural adherences than on one’s actual immigrant status or citizenship, the term CBC is not used to simply refer to a

³ This is pronounced as one word like in the phrase “watch fob,” as opposed to as an acronym “f-o-b.”

Chinese-Canadian who just so happens to have been born a Canadian citizen.⁴ In this, I speak once again from experience: although I was born in Hong Kong and immigrated to Canada as a child, I am still considered to be a CBC by my own community. This means that I am thought by my own elders and peers alike to be a person who is more western or Caucasian in my likes and dislikes: one who is more comfortable speaking English than any Chinese language, and may even speak his or her native Chinese with a noticeable Canadian accent;⁵ or who socializes more with non-Chinese classmates than Chinese. Not only that, but I have also had experiences where, when meeting someone for the first time in an environment where my face is hidden from them – such as in a telephone conversation or an online correspondence – I have been mistaken for a Caucasian Canadian due to my fluency in English and my preference for Western media and pop culture. In short, a CBC, in the eyes of the Chinese-Canadian community, is an individual who appears or aspires to assimilate to the mainstream Canadian culture and who is more ready to identify him- or herself as a Canadian than as a Chinese.

In more recent years, however, the lines between Chinese-Canadians who subscribe to a mainstream Canadian identity or a Chinese identity have been blurred numerous times. Whether we speak of businesspeople who are working separate jobs on both sides of the Pacific – colloquially called “astronauts” due to their frequent travels – or parents sending their children to China to be raised by relatives, there is no guarantee

⁴ Because of this, I will use “CBC” to refer to the stereotype and “Canadian-born Chinese” to refer to those who were actually born in Canada.

⁵ A common remark I receive when I try to speak with my elders is, “Your Cantonese is very fluent...for someone who was born here in Canada,” and I am commended for even having a low-elementary level of literacy in Chinese as though it were some monumental achievement, even though I am actually self-conscious at my lack of fluency compared to my own relatives.

that a Chinese-Canadian will remain rooted in one location or culture. One such new category would be that of the parachute children. This is a term that references Chinese youth who, while still legal minors, are sent to Canada by their families in hopes of attaining a high-school and university education in the West (Chan, 2011, p. 170). The traditional view was that a university degree from North America would be regarded favourably in Asia as the global market continued to expand, and also that it would simply be easier and cheaper to study in the west compared to the rigorous, examination-oriented system in places such as Hong Kong. Oftentimes, parachute kids are left with relatives who were already in Canada or under the tutelage of so-called “legal guardians” either for the duration of their studies or until they reach their majority and are able to rent or purchase housing for themselves.⁶ For many of these Chinese young people, it is a struggle to succeed in a foreign country without parental or community support; many are the only ones in their families to be living in the West and are under pressure to succeed. Because of this, it is not uncommon for parachute kids and international students to return to Asia after completing their education rather than attempt to establish a career in Canada (p. 171).

However, what is it that makes a Chinese-Canadian, whether an immigrant or a descendent of immigrants, a FOB, a CBC or something else entirely? My ultimate question is whether any patterns or trends can be found in the self-claimed cultural identities of individuals in the Chinese-Canadian community and, if so, what the main

⁶ My own parents were “guardians” to one such student from 2004-2006, but he was different from the typical model of a parachute kid insofar as he had already attained Canadian citizenship before spending his childhood in Hong Kong. I am also currently tutoring another parachute kid in English while he attends a secondary school in Toronto.

factors would be in determining this. This study will attempt to compare several factors: whether an individual is a first-generation immigrant to Canada or a second- or more-generation Canadian; the age at and date of immigration; and the presence or lack thereof of Chinese-language services or significant Chinese pockets in said person's place of settlement and current residence. It is my hypothesis that the more recently someone has come from Asia to Canada, the older said individual is, and the more Chinese cultural services are available in their communities, the more he or she would adhere to the traditional Chinese culture over the mainstream Canadian one due to their having been in more recent contact with the former.

3. Theoretical Framework

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2012), translation is “an act, process or instance of translating: as a rendering from one language into another.”

Extrapolating further on this, translation, in its very nature, is focused upon the relationships between at least two languages and the cultures that use said languages.

Both the target and source language and culture must be acknowledged through the act of translation, and the translator is often referred to as a bridge between two cultures.

Although this perspective is overly simplistic and fails to capture the nuances and evolution of the translator’s role, it is the relationship between the linguistic and cultural self with that of the other that forms the foundation between both linguistic and cultural translation.

This is further exemplified once one takes into consideration the fact that cultural translation has become a viable specialization within translation studies. In essence, this is the concept that translation can entail the movement and fluctuation between two cultures rather than simply two languages, and it also reflects the move to examine the relationship between translation and culture as opposed to focusing primarily upon linguistic faithfulness and equivalence, as had previously been the case in translation studies. The development of this movement, often known as the cultural turn, took place at the end of the 20th century based upon the work of Lefevere and Bassnett (1990). From their perspective, translators must not only be aware of the source and target language, but also the source and target cultures; they must be bicultural as well as

bilingual (p. 11). One of the core concepts that drives this connection is that language and text are the means by which cultures could communicate with one another. It is the ideas conveyed in a piece of literature that shapes one culture's view of another, at times having an even greater impact than the reality would (p. 9); one's perception of what is the truth could make a more lasting impression than the truth itself.

In many ways, this is not so much a new theory as a reiteration of an existent fact: the source and target texts work within a socially-imposed hierarchy, which is impossible if the relationship was solely between two languages. It sounds almost absurd to think that one language is inherently better than another so long as both are adequate for communication for those who use them, particularly for any field of study that claims linguistics as one of its roots, as translation studies does. In fact, one of the first lessons that trainee linguists are taught is that "linguists don't even think of trying to rate languages as good or bad, simple or complex" (O'Grady & Archibald, 2004, p. 7). However, in translation practice, one is often regarded as superior to the other: in the case where the translator thinks the source text is superior, he or she will work to force the target text to conform to it; but when the translator believes the wishes of the target audience to be superior, the source text will be adapted in the translation in attempts to elevate it (Lefevere & Bassnett, 1990, p. 11). This power differential can only exist within the social construct that is culture and humanity's tendency to compare, contrast and rank cultures in relation to each other: all too often, it is an us versus them mentality that results. Language, through this socially-determined construct, is a driving force of culture and cultural identity, so it is useful to scholars such as ourselves to examine

translation not simply as the relationship between languages but of the cultures that they are a part of.

Given this, it is appropriate that I use the cultural turn and the theories that resulted from it to study the question of cultural identity within the Chinese-Canadian community. Simply by having there be a distinction between a mainstream culture and a migrant culture, there is a value judgment and a hierarchy put into place, whether intentional or otherwise. The issues surrounding the use of language within the Chinese-Canadian community only form a small component of the issues involving their larger identities and cultural norms. Therefore, cultural translation is the vein within translation studies to which my study belongs, as I must use cultural theories of translation studies as well as some of the concepts from intercultural studies itself in order to understand the research problem and work towards a resolution. It is also worth noting that I will have a particular emphasis both on theories of the Self versus the Other, and the role of immigrants and global citizens in the translation process.

3.1 Todorov: The I versus the Other

While Tzvetan Todorov might not be a name one immediately associates with translation studies or translation theory, his work still merits consideration once one departs from a solely linguistic conception of translation and enters into a definition that focuses upon the interactions between cultures instead, as is the case in this project. In his book concerning the Spanish conquest of what is now Central America, Todorov (1984) articulates the changing ways in which those among the Spaniards who interacted

with the indigenous peoples described them. While they varied in terms of what they held to be a proper treatment towards those they had conquered, there was often a strict distinction between the indigenous cultures – the Other – and that of the one writing the description. This latter entity is what Todorov terms as the I.

In his study, Todorov creates a typography of possible philosophical approaches the I could take concerning the Other. The first of these is what he describes as a value judgment, a statement that compares the I and the Other in direct contrast with each other and then allows the self to decide whether the Other is pleasing in his or her eyes: “the other is good or bad, I love or do not love him...he is my equal or my inferior” (p. 185). A second approach is for the I to maintain its distance from the Other, studying it from an academic or knowledge-based perspective and examining its values and how those relate to those of the self while stopping short of making an actual value judgment: “I embrace the other’s values, I identify myself with him; or else I identify the other with myself, I impose my own image upon him” (p. 185). The third approach that Todorov proposes is one where the I simply acknowledges his or her knowledge or ignorance of the Other: “I know or am ignorant of the other’s identity” (p. 185). However, it must be made clear that Todorov does not claim that an ignorance or appreciation of the Other will automatically make the I interested in learning from it; relationships focusing on a hate, love or assimilation of the Other to the I do not rest upon this.

Rather, Todorov’s interest is on the actual relationship between the I and the Other. He acknowledges that what constitutes the Other is relative: “each of us is the

other's barbarian" (p. 190). By examining the Spanish conquest of the Americas, he realizes that historically, the primary approach on the part of the European powers – the I, in this case – towards the indigenous peoples – the Other – has been one of cultural assimilation. This, he claims, rested upon a dual concept: the acknowledgment of what the Other has to offer combined with the maintenance of the idea of the superiority of the I (p. 247). However, in the present day, Todorov holds that assimilation is no longer a viable way to address the Other, as a greater global awareness and a quest for equality across mankind have made it clear the relative quality of any distinctions between the I and the Other and, therefore, have rendered moot any attempt for one culture to claim superiority over another. We are now called, he says, to acknowledge difference in and of itself, and not as a basis for value judgments or claims to either superiority or inferiority (p. 249). This, in my opinion, would also open the way for further interaction and integration between cultures, as if they approach one another as equals, the pressure to either supersede the Other or to guard oneself from it is diminished.

3.2 Venuti: Foreignization Becomes Resistancy

There are many different strategies when it comes to the act of translation; however, the focus in this paper will be on the distinction between the use of foreignizing and domesticating translation. The former is a reference to the process by which a translator adheres more to the linguistic and cultural norms of the source culture in the production of the target text, whereas the latter means that the final product adheres more to the codes and norms of the target culture. To use Todorov's language as stated above,

domesticating translation would entail the translator – a member of the culture of the I – to match the source text written by the Other as best as possible to the cultural norms of his or her own background; it is, for our intents and purposes, an assimilating mode of translation. Meanwhile, a foreignizing translation is one where the translator, again functioning as an agent of the I, allows elements of the Other to come forward into prominence within the translated text: an acknowledgment and recognition of what is different.

This distinction was famously noted by Friedrich Schleiermacher in the early 19th century, where he claimed that a foreignizing mode of translation would allow cultures – most notably the German-speaking cultures in Central Europe of his time – to borrow ideas from foreign nations and cultures and, therefore, build themselves up with a distinct and standardized identity (Berman, 1992, p. 149). At first, it seems that this idea would work for the research problem that drives this project. However, due to the fact that his ideas came at a time when nationalism was rife and into a context that later evolved into a lasting ethnocentrism that influenced events up to and including the World Wars in Europe (Venuti, 2008, p. 83), I will not be using his work as the basis for this study as it could have potential unfortunate political implications that would instead contradict my hypothesis and goals for this study. On top of that, recall that Schleiermacher was a scholar from the 19th century and we are now in the 21st; undoubtedly, even if his theories served as a foundation for translation studies, the field has come a ways since then, so it would be best to turn instead to the scholars who have extrapolated on his work to develop the ideas we use today.

Therefore, for the purposes of this project, I will be using not the original concept of foreignization in translation as a means for cultural cultivation, but Venuti's own proposed modification to the concept: the theory of resistancy. Resistancy is similar to foreignization in that it is, once again, an acknowledgment of the differences between the source and target texts and cultures and an attempt for the translator to retain elements of the source text and introduce these foreign elements to the target audience (p. 251). However, he cautions, "implementing this strategy must not be viewed as making the translation more literal or more faithful to the foreign-language text" (p. 252). This is done in contrast to a model he calls "simpatico", which is the mode where a translator attempts to get into the original author's psyche and produce a target text that reads as though it had been written from the source author's mindset save for the fact that it is in the target language (p. 238). Venuti holds that this is not possible in translation, as there will always be resistance from both the source and target languages to achieve this end; complete faithfulness and fluency, as laid out in the simpatico definition of translation, is not a practical goal. In addition, simpatico fails to address the common conception that a translation is a perversion of an otherwise pure source text (p. 251): it is a fundamentally essentialist perspective on the work of the translator.

In contrast, resistancy, as it is laid out by Venuti, is a mode of translation that allows for the translator to retain foreign elements of the source text in such a fashion that both the source and target cultures will be aware of the otherness within the final product (p. 259). As opposed to the conventional view of fidelity to either the source or target texts as laid out by Schleiermacher, Venuti calls resistancy an "abusive" form of fidelity

(p. 252). This is because the incorporation of both foreign and domestic elements from the perspective of the target audience is always going to be jarring and mysterious: the more apparent the other is, the clearer it is to the audience that they are encountering a translation. Venuti proves this jarring effect to persist in translation practices of the present day, such that translation is often one-directional in its connecting cultures together, furthering the cultural hegemony for whichever nations and linguistic groups form the primary market for translated works; currently, the English-speaking world is the one whose body of literature is the most-often translated worldwide, leading to a rapid spread of its culture and values to other nations (p. 12). This is not to say that this trend does not meet with resistance, but translation is still ultimately a top-down practice insofar as it posits hierarchy between cultures and directionality in the spread of ideas. Because of this, there has been a drive internationally for the authors of the source texts to take the initiative to conform to the norms of an English-speaking audience, thus leading to a decreased diversity overall in both literary and scholarly work (Bennett, 2007, p. 164).

This, however, is what Venuti is working against, as it is a case of domesticating translation where the author makes the changes to his or her own work before the translator could even get to it. Instead, he argues that there is more to the situation than this: it is permissible for a translation to be a foreign experience for the target audience, source audience and the original author as well (Venuti, 2008, p. 259). This, in Venuti's opinion, is the epitome and ultimate goal for foreignizing translation. In his own words, "Resistancy seeks to free the reader of the translation, as well as the translator, from the

cultural constraints that ordinarily govern their reading and writing and threaten to overpower and domesticate the foreign text, annihilating its foreignness” (p. 263). For the reader, a translation that uses this approach will not be one that downplays the jarring clash between the I and the Other; rather, that difference would be openly acknowledged and dealt with directly. There would be no avoiding the reality of translation in such a mode, thus forcing all parties – the source culture, the translator and the target audience – to wrestle with the elements of both cultures within the final product.

When converted to a cultural situation as opposed to one that is purely linguistic, this end result implies that there is no way for a person who lives in translation – who acts as the meeting point between two different cultures – such as an immigrant to be wholly foreignizing or domesticating in his or her approach. In other words, an immigrant who seeks to make a life in Canada cannot adhere solely to either the culture of his or her home country or new host country, but would naturally retain elements of both. This is simply an acknowledgment of a fact that already exists, not a political or polemical statement: complete assimilation to the mainstream culture is frowned upon as outmoded and intolerant, but full adherence to one’s original culture would negate the very act of migration in the first place. It is therefore impractical to think of the immigration experience as a call of allegiance to one culture or the other, but as an invitation to incorporate the preferred elements of both and thus forge a new identity.

3.3 Cronin: Cultural Translation, Translational Assimilation and Translation

Accommodation

However, what does this look like on a practical level? If a migrant or a Canadian-born citizen in a multicultural environment such as 21st century urban Canadian society were to attempt to live with both cultures simultaneously, the system in which he or she operates must move to allow this to happen. For this, I propose to turn to Michael Cronin, one of the translation scholars that focus on what, since the 1980s, has been called the cultural turn: the movement to apply translation theory to phenomena that applies to cultures as a whole as opposed to solely language (Lefevre & Bassnett, 1990, p. 11). Cronin (2006) writes about cultural translation specifically in a cosmopolitan society such as what could be found in present-day Canada. In his view, an immigrant is worth studying as a person who is forced by circumstance to live in translation:

“The condition of the migrant is the condition of the translated being. He or she moves from a source language and culture to a target language and culture so that *translation* takes place both in the physical sense of movement or displacement and in the symbolic sense of the shift from one way of speaking, writing about and interpreting the world to another” (p. 45, emphasis original).

Because of this acknowledgement of the immigrant’s situation, Cronin is a suitable point of reference for cultural translation on a practical level.

In his examination of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism, Cronin comes upon some problems within the system that must be addressed. First of all, he points out that an implication of cultural pluralism is that one is dealing with several, distinct cultures that are inherently and essentially different from one another (p. 48). Because of this, a migrant or minority community could go too far in its attempts to maintain and preserve the culture of their place of origin, ultimately closing itself off from outside influence.

The end result is a series of ethnic and cultural pockets sharing little sense of cohesion and a potential incentive for an ethnocentric us versus them mentality on the part of the mainstream culture of the host nation (p. 48). Therefore, instead of conventional multiculturalism, Cronin advocates what he terms “interculturalism”: a system that encourages the mainstream and minority cultures to interact with one another, and not merely co-exist in the same geographical space (p. 48). This takes affairs a step further than a simply multicultural policy – which, as Cronin has already stated, celebrates diversity and difference but makes little effort to create a cohesive whole – and it would be fitting to use this angle to examine the reality of Chinese-Canadian identity in the 21st century.

In particular, Cronin creates a binary classification of his own when it comes to how a cultural system could accommodate the introduction of foreign elements through migration. These he terms as translational assimilation and translational accommodation. The former is when a migrant endeavours to translate him- or herself into the dominant host culture in attempts to assimilate with it (p. 52); in essence, it can be taken as a parallel to the aforementioned domesticating mode of translation, where the foreign in the eyes of mainstream society becomes increasingly like the familiar. Inversely, translational accommodation is when immigrants seek to retain their original languages and cultures, although this does not exempt them from the need to acquire some understanding of the host language and culture as well (p. 52). This could be construed not as a full-on foreignization in cultural translation, but Venuti’s theory of resistancy: the integration and incorporation of both the home and host cultures in the immigrant’s

life and identity will ultimately create a result that is foreign to both cultures. Within the Chinese community, most notably those from Cantonese-speaking areas, the term that is used to describe such a person is *jook-sing*: literally a reference to the way a bamboo stalk is formed as a series of internally closed-off sections, the concept is that a person who is born in one culture and grows up to adopt another is one that neither fully understands nor is completely understood by those who adhere more closely to one side or the other. It is a pejorative term if one should assume that cultures are monolithic entities that must be kept “pure”; but once we examine it from a different stance, we can see that such a merging of cultures could be beneficial as well.

Cronin is one of the scholars who think as such: he favours translational accommodation over translational assimilation for the present-day reality of cosmopolitanism and globalism. He argues that in a world where populations and peoples are no longer bound to certain geographically and politically defined nation-states, individuals are now more likely to be cosmopolitans: inhabiting a larger world made up of a network of socio-political entities working in correlation with one another (p. 7). Therefore, it is more relevant in the present day to live as a world citizen and as a recipient of multiple cultures in all their different facets than as a single adherent to a particular system. His primary reason for doing this is because it best fits with the notion of interculturalism: accommodation on the part of the mainstream system could allow migrants and their descendents to maintain elements from multiple cultures without pressure to conform strictly to one or the other (p. 62). Since an immigrant to Canada, by virtue of his or her migration alone, lives in interaction with multiple cultures, his or her

identity will always be dual, triple, perhaps even quadruple or more in nature, depending on the diversity of his or her background. Likewise, a Canadian-born descendent of immigrants, due to the fact that he or she lives in such a culturally diverse environment, would be exposed to many different cultures and sets of social norms, values and practices; over the course of one's lifetime, all of these cultures could have an impact on one's own worldview and way of life. This is the distinguishing feature of the modern-day cosmopolitan society, and is also a hallmark of current Canadian life.

3.4 The Immigrant as the Determiner of His or Her Own Identity

Given this, every person in 21st century Canada is a cultural translator, navigating between several different cultures and languages. The belief in an entirely original Canadian culture is an ephemeral and essentialist fantasy that neglects to consider the reality of the diversity within the population in the present day. This is because it is becoming increasingly rare for individuals to only be connected to a single nation or culture or ethnic group: "Our passports register us as citizens of one or another political state, but this registration does not encompass our allegiances and attachments, which may extend to several communities and more than one country" (Weiss, 2004, p. 183). Given this, Venuti's theory of resistancy in translation and Cronin's parallel and practical solution of translational accommodation in addressing the snags in cultural translation could be used to apply to the situation that now faces the Chinese-Canadians. It is my hypothesis that, over time, they will no longer remain the object of overt segregation but would become an increasingly significant and visible component of society, coming to

learn to find that true balance between the Chinese and Canadian cultures. I believe that they will be, if they have not become so already, the translators of their own identity and that of their children. This, it seems, is the current direction in the study of cultural identity within an intercultural and cosmopolitan world. Each person can claim an identity consisting of multiple parts: the more connections one makes with the surrounding community, the more unique he or she becomes as the sole individual who could call that mixture their own (p. 181). Instead, the cultural identity that one claims for oneself is comprised of each person's distinct values and worldviews adopted from every culture he or she may have come across in the space of a lifetime (p. 183). This is not to say that a person's heritage does not play a significant role in the creation of this identity (p. 198); however, it would still be more accurate to think of one's cultural identity as the output of a fluid system rather than as a singular solidified entity (p. 198).

4. Methodology

In this study, I will be adapting a method that is seen in sociolinguistics research: a step-wise logical regression; however, as the term “multivariate analysis” is considered a standard equivalent in sociolinguistics and is more frequently used in the literature, it is the latter term that I will use. A study of this nature requires the extraction of pieces of linguistic data called tokens and sets of metadata from each of the people – called speakers – involved in the experiment. The tokens will act as the data that is actually being examined for the independent variable, but the metadata would provide the necessary information for the dependent variables that would be factored into the multivariate analysis. After all of this data has been extracted and isolated into a single document, it will be entered into Goldvarb X, a computer program designed specifically for an analysis of this nature, and the logarithms within the software will reveal which of the independent variables were significant towards determining the patterns in the dependent variable and its appearance.

Because this method is based upon linguistics research and the project for this paper is one that is more concerned with cultural data, one must wonder why I would choose to use it at all. The reason for this is because the multivariate analysis approach is one that would allow me to examine numerous complex factors, each with its own unique variation, simultaneously in a multidimensional fashion. This reflects the complexity that exists inherently in both human language and, by extension, human culture. A person’s cultural identity is shaped by a host of different factors, and not independently but

affected by one another; due to this wealth of determining factors, I must use a method that could allow me to examine them in connection with each other in order to gain a grasp of the full picture.

4.1 Data Sources and Tokens

For this study, I will be using various existent published autobiographical pieces by Chinese-Canadians spanning from the 1990s through to the present day as my source for the data tokens: personal memoirs, autobiographies and books that contain records of numerous interviews with various Chinese-Canadians. However, because it would be difficult to ascertain whether or which of the characters' voices in fictional works such as novels or dramas would be reflective of the author's own thoughts, I have chosen not to include those in my study. It is therefore my hope that my choice of sources will adequately recall the life stories of Chinese immigrants to Canada or their descendents; this way, I would be able to receive an accurate representation of how Chinese-Canadians present themselves and their cultural identity to the outer community. It is also worth noting that the texts from which I am extracting these data tokens are published in English, either due to being published originally in that language or through being translated from the original Chinese.

Beginning from searching for Chinese-Canadian literature and then expanding into sources about the history of the Chinese community in Canada, I was able to compile a list of twelve written works that fit my parameters for this study, with a total of seventy different speakers, four of whom appeared in two separate sources. Two of these sources

are compilations of a series of transcribed interviews and comments made by multiple speakers – comprising the majority of the speakers at sixty-three out of the seventy – whereas the others are autobiographies or memoirs written by individual authors. The speakers are predominantly female, middle-aged or elderly and urban Canadians, but other demographic groups are reflected in the sample as well. More specific information on the texts and the speakers themselves can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B of this paper respectively.

The actual tokens in question would be any statements that indicate that the speaker – be it the author of the memoir or the person being interviewed – is following either Chinese or Western cultural norms. These could range from descriptions of the speaker's own preferences and experiences with food, entertainment, education, language choices, familial customs, gender roles, political inclinations and many more: so long as the utterance is made by the speaker about him or herself in such a context, it will be counted in this study. For instance, a comment about a speaker eating Chinese food at home as a child would be taken as a reflection of Chinese cultural norms, whereas a reference to attending an English-speaking Christian church would be counted as an indication of Western customs. In the cases where statements suggest elements of both cultures, they will be taken as one instance of each type as opposed to there being a third category. On top of this, statements that directly address the speaker's self-claimed identity would also be included in this study. Therefore, a statement where the speaker refers to him or herself as a Chinese person, such as an assertion that he or she is the only Chinese person in the community, would be taken as a reference to Chinese cultural

identity. On a similar note, if a speaker refers to him or herself as a Westerner or Canadian, this would be used to indicate a declaration of Canadian identity. In this way, I will be able to get a clearer sense of the contrast that exists between the two cultures and how they interact with each other.

However, this is not to say that every single statement about either Chinese or Canadian culture will be included in this study. In all of the sources that I am using, there are numerous comments that serve as factual descriptions of the state of affairs for the Chinese-Canadian community but that do not say anything about the individual speaker him- or herself. These will be excluded from the main study, although they will still be extracted and then used in two ways. Firstly, such statements will be used to derive the necessary metadata for the factors being examined in this study; secondly, they will also act as necessary background information and a foundation for any possible solutions I will posit for the problems concerning cultural identity and integration. For instance, a description of the presence of a Chinese opera company in Vancouver's Chinatown would not be counted as a token in this study due to it being a simple factual statement about life in the Chinese-Canadian community with no direct comment about the speaker. Inversely, a comment concerning a speaker's childhood pastime of attending such performances would be included in the study on account of it being a personal statement of cultural practice and identity. This will ensure that the tokens are directly addressing the speaker's own cultural identity and will prevent general and historical descriptions of Chinese culture in Canada from skewing the results.

4.2 Variables and Factor Groups

In a sociolinguistic study, the term “factor group” is used to describe “some aspect of the context...which affects whether or not a variant occurs” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p. 104). These factors could either be social factors or linguistic factors, but both contribute to the occurrence of the variants for the specific linguistic phenomenon being studied. For instance, a speaker’s socioeconomic class could affect the specific features of his or her speech due to the exposure to those language variants in the environment. Of these social factors, the ones that figure the most prominently in sociolinguistics research are gender, age, and socio-economic status.

However, since this study is one that is focused on cultural identity as opposed to linguistic or speech pattern variation, the factors being considered in this study must be different and unique to the situation as well. Upon examining the history of Chinese immigration and integration in Canada, several factors have come to the fore as prominent factors that could influence a person’s cultural identity. It is important to note, for instance, that Chinese migration occurred in a series of waves over the course of the 20th century, from the time when the influx of migrant workers was welcome for the sake of Canada’s development to the years of exclusionary immigration policy between 1923 and 1947 to the more recent groups of Chinese people from Hong Kong in the 1980s and from all over the Chinese-speaking world in the present day. For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to factor the speaker’s age, the number of years he or she has been

living in Canada, the point in history at which he or she immigrated and whether he or she settled in an area with an existent Chinese-Canadian community.

The first factor group I will examine is the speaker's age. Ideally, such a classification system must factor in both the speaker's age at the time being referred to in the utterance and also at the time that it was given. This is because many of the sources being used for this study are memoirs, interviews and biographies: works that can cover the entirety of a person's life along with all the mental and emotional changes that come as part of the natural growth and maturation process. For example, a person reflecting back on his or her life could mention childhood practices and habits, but it would be foolish to assume that he or she has the same views as an adult. However, specific information on the age being referred to in an utterance is hard to come by, and it is not often mentioned whether a speaker is referring to their childhood, adolescence or adulthood. Due to the number of statements that would have to be excluded due to ambiguity, I have chosen not to directly include this in the study; however, I hold that this would be a factor that must be taken into consideration should one choose to use interviews or other formats to extract data for such a study on cultural translation and identity.

What would be considered, however, is that the logistics involved in having accumulated the necessary amount of experience to be featured in a published interview or a biography would entail that the speakers are all adults at the time at which their comments were made. It is well known that one's experiences will change one's

worldview and identity over the course of time; therefore, not only will the age being referred to by the speakers in their statements be accounted for, but also the speaker's age at the time when the statements were recorded. Therefore, unless specified otherwise by the source material itself, such as a clause indicating that an interview was conducted at an earlier date, I will assume that the speakers' statements are current to the date when the source writings were published. This is of particular importance when chance would have it that the same speaker was included in multiple sources, as was the case for four such individuals in this study.

<u>Age of Speaker at the Time of Data Redaction</u>	<u>Number of Speakers⁷</u>
Young Adult (20 – 39 years old)	14
Middle Age (40 – 64 years old)	35
Senior Age (65 years old and over)	21
Unknown ⁸	2

Table 1: Organization of Speakers by Age at the Time of Data Redaction

Not only is a speaker's age important for this study, but so is his or her background. Some of the speakers being featured in this project are immigrants while others are born Chinese-Canadians. This is a distinction that I intend to make as it allows me to factor in whether one had experience of Chinese culture or was exposed to Chinese as a predominant language within Asia itself first prior to becoming part of the ethnic diaspora here in North America. Therefore, I will also be including the age at which a

⁷ The total for this chart goes above the total number of 70 speakers, because some of the speakers' data was extracted from multiple sources in different years, crossing over from one category into the next.

⁸ It is worth noting that some speakers did not provide specific age data out of concerns for privacy. While I was able to infer an approximate age range for some of them, there were others where the information was simply unavailable. In the final study, these are excluded from any examinations of the specific factor group for which information is missing.

speaker immigrated to Canada – or his or her being born in Canada, as the case may be – in this study. However, as can be seen in this table, born Chinese-Canadians were dominant in this study: a factor that I would have to take into consideration when reporting upon and analyzing the results of this study, as what might be true for those who were born in Canada might not be so for immigrants and vice-versa.

<u>Age of Speaker's Immigration to Canada</u>	<u>Number of Speakers</u>
N/A – Canadian-born Chinese	39
Childhood (Birth – 12 years old)	9
Adolescence (13 – 19 years old)	6
Young Adulthood (20 – 29 years old)	8
Adulthood (30 years old and over)	4
Unknown ⁹	2

Table 2: Organization of Speakers by Age of Immigration to Canada

A third factor that will be taken into consideration is when exactly a Chinese immigrant came to Canada or when a Canadian-born Chinese person was born. Government policies and societal views towards the Chinese community have been at times discriminatory and at times accommodating; this will undoubtedly have an effect on the Chinese population itself. As hypothesized by Li (1998), it was the mainstream society's anti-Orientalism in the period leading up to and including the time when the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 was in effect that prompted the Chinese-Canadians to group together and maintain their own distinct culture, hoping to protect it from erosion

⁹ It is worth noting that some speakers did not provide specific age data out of concerns for privacy. While I was able to infer an approximate age range for some of them, there were others where the information was simply unavailable. In the final study, these are excluded from any examinations of the specific factor group for which information is missing.

and themselves from assimilation (p. 7). Therefore, it is my own hypothesis that those who came to Canada while the Chinese Immigration Act was still standing would be likely to choose a more traditionally Chinese cultural identity for themselves. In addition, I will be making a distinction between the time period after the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act and the establishment of full immigration rights in 1967 and the period from 1967 to the present day due to the implementation of the point system in immigration policy during that year and its subsequent allowance of an increased rate of immigration to Canada from East Asia who could finally be considered on equal footing with Europeans or other North Americans.

<u>Date of Birth or Immigration</u>	<u>Number of Speakers</u>
Before the Chinese Immigration Act (X-1923)	16
During the Chinese Immigration Act (1923-1947)	13
After the Chinese Immigration Act (1948-1966)	25
After full rights are granted (1967-present)	16

Table 3: Organization of Speakers by Date of Birth or Immigration to Canada

Another factor that will be taken into consideration was whether the speakers lived in an area with a significant Chinese-Canadian population. Historically, it is known that the majority of Chinese immigrants to Canada settled in several key urban centres. At the same time, many of these cities are also statistically the places in Canada where allophonic populations are most likely to persist, with Chinese languages in particular taking precedence in Vancouver and Toronto (Corbeil & Blaser, 2007, p. 11). One possible reason for this is simply that people are more likely to use an allophonic language when they are in a community where many already rely on it for basic

communication: “Using a non-official language at work depends in part on the presence of enough customers, employers and co-workers who speak the same language” (Thomas, 2009, p. 7). If there were few Chinese speakers in a municipality, there would be greater incentive for new immigrants to adopt another language – likely English or French – so they could successfully conduct their day-to-day business.

Because of this, I will be using the metadata to determine two different factors for location: I will include data on where Canadian-born Chinese were born and where immigrants initially settled; also, for all of the speakers, I will take note of their place of residence at the time when the data was collected. This will be split into two main categories. The first comprises the cities that have been statistically noted to have significant Chinese-Canadian communities: Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton and Victoria. I myself will be adding Montreal as well due to it being a major cosmopolitan city in Quebec, a province which boasts the fourth-largest portion of the total Chinese-Canadian population (Lindsay, 2001, p. 10). Note that these are not the only places in Canada to have Chinese populations or Chinatown-like districts; however, they are the ones who are statistically noted in Canadian census materials for their large Chinese-speaking communities.

<u>Place of Birth or Settlement</u>	<u>Number of Speakers</u>
Urban Centre with Significant Chinese Community	36
Other	30
Unknown ¹⁰	4

¹⁰ It is worth noting that some speakers did not provide specific data for this category. While I was able to infer the information for some of them, there were others where the information was simply unavailable. In

Table 4: Organization of Speakers by Place of Birth or Settlement

<u>Current Place of Residence</u>	<u>Number of Speakers¹¹</u>
Urban Centre with Significant Chinese Community	49
Other	22

Table 5: Organization of Speakers by Current Place of Residence

4.3 Data Analysis and How to Run Goldvarb X

Once the data has been collected and organized, it will be entered into a file on the program Goldvarb X. This is free downloadable software that was designed to facilitate the complex statistical analyses favoured in sociolinguistic research, which often requires that one be able to work with multiple changing variables in relation to each other: what is called a multivariate analysis. Full instructions for how to use Goldvarb X in this way can be found in Sali Tagliamonte's (2006) book *Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation*. However, for the purposes of making this a replicable project, I will outline the core steps below.

The first step for this process is to put all of the utterances, also known as tokens, collected from the speakers into a single file called a token file (p. 159). In front of each token, the actual coding for the various factors could be inserted, preceded by an open parenthesis; to separate the coding from the token itself, one simply enters several spaces – an indent made by the tab key on a standard computer keyboard would be sufficient. Tagliamonte recommends for a code that indicates the individual speaker to be recorded first, followed by the coding for the dependent variable and finally each of the

the final study, these are excluded from any examinations of the specific factor group for which information is missing.

¹¹ The total for this chart goes above the total number of 70 speakers, because some of the speakers' data was extracted from multiple sources and his or her place of residence has changed in the intervening years.

independent factors; however this is not a mandatory configuration for Goldvarb X, but simply one that is designed to make the data easier for the analyst to organize (p. 165). Lines for further comments, notes and any excluded tokens could be included in the file as well, such as if I should wish to have a record of which speaker I am working with at any given moment; these must be distinguished from data tokens by being preceded with a semicolon (p. 166).

Once this step has been completed, it is time to configure what is called the condition file. When one prompts Goldvarb X to create a condition file, it simply lists all of the factor groups in the token file based upon the number of characters that appear after the open parentheses (p. 167). At this point, it is up to the analyst to ensure that the dependent variable is the one that appears first in the list by matching it to the relevant column in the token file: for example, if the dependent variable was the third item from the left after the open parenthesis, then one must make sure that factor group 3 appears before any of the other ones in the list of numbers (p. 167). This is also the opportunity for the analyst to exclude any factors to temporarily remove them from the study: if a factor group is shown that one wishes not to include in the analysis, then the corresponding number should be removed from the condition file. Finally, additional information, such as the inclusion of metadata, could be used to augment the data in the condition file if it has not been coded already (p. 172).

Once all of this has been done, the analyst would then prompt Goldvarb X to create what is called a cell file and, after an additional prompt to load the cell file to the

program's memory, the software would then produce a results file (p. 176). This is where one could view the number of tokens that would fall under each of the different factor groups and the corresponding percentages. Such information is useful for later data interpretation, as it allows one to find, for instance, where the greatest frequency of the forms of the dependent variable appears within each factor group. However, while some patterns could be inferred at this stage, it is difficult to ascertain precisely how each of the factor groups is affecting the others. Therefore, at this stage, it is worthwhile to cross-tabulate each factor with all the others and to then broaden and collapse various categories should significant holes appear. An example of this from Tagliamonte's book is when one has chosen to factor in both age and profession and all the speakers under age 35 are classified as students, indicating a distinct skew in the data (p. 185). At such a time as this, one has two options: collapse the categories to minimize the chances of this happening, or remove the categories in question from the analysis temporarily (p. 185).

To be able to rank the various factor groups in order of level of significance, however, the analyst must proceed with a further step: the multivariate analysis. In order to obtain this result, one must prompt Goldvarb X to perform a binomial step up/step down analysis (p. 226). This is when the software will use its built-in logarithm to run each factor group in conjunction with the others. When the results from this appear, it is important to find, at the end of the file, what was labelled as the "Best stepping-up run" and the "Best stepping-down run" respectively, as these will be the ones used for the final analysis; if there were no problems with the data being fed into the analysis, both runs should appear identical (p. 228). In addition, one must look to the end of the stepping-up

and stepping-down runs respectively to locate which factor groups were significant or non-significant in terms of how much they affect the dependent variable: factors that are selected whilst stepping up are significant, whereas factors that are eliminated while stepping down are non-significant (p. 251). In this way, it is possible for the analyst to ascertain which factors had the greatest role in determining the outcome of the dependent variable, which is my goal for this study and the reason why I am choosing to use this method to examine the factors that I have chosen for this project.

The most important results to look for from the multivariate analysis are the factor weights, the ranges and the log likelihood. In terms of examining the relative significance of each of the different factors in the analysis, the primary statistics would be the factor weights and the ranges. Each factor in the factor groups is assigned a specific factor weight by the logarithmic calculations conducted by Goldvarb X: this factor weight “measures the influence that each factor has on the presence of the variant in question” (p. 156). What this means is that by examining the factor weights, one could determine the probability for one of the variants at a time – in this case, the claim to either a Chinese or a Canadian cultural identity – in light of the factors being studied. For example, a factor weight of .60 assigned to a particular age group in a study of the occurrence of tokens showing a Chinese identity would indicate that for said age group, there was a 60% chance that the speakers would give an utterance that reflected Chinese culture. However, the factor weights themselves cannot account for the statistical significance of any of the factor groups in the study. For this, we have to use the range that can be calculated by subtracting the lowest factor weight in each group from the

highest one: the greater the value for the range, the more significant the factor group to which it corresponds (p. 242). Finally, the third key value in the analysis, the log likelihood, is a measure indicating “the goodness of fit” (p. 156) of the statistical results to a model based off a line of best fit on a scattergram (p. 224). For this, the closer the value is to 0, the better the data fit the program-proposed statistical model (p. 156).

In the end, all of this data is presented in a table where the factor groups are listed from most significant to least significant by order of their ranges whereas the log likelihood is presented at the top of the table, along with what is termed an input value or a corrected mean, which gives the overall rate at which the chosen dependent variant appeared (p. 141). Along with the figures already described, it is important to include the percentage values for the same variant from the distributional analysis of each factor group as well as the N value for each variable: the actual number of tokens extracted from the data. While convention only requires significant factor groups as indicated by the regression process to be shown, the scholar should list insignificant factor groups at the bottom of the table or, should it become necessary, be presented in the table nonetheless.

5. Data Analysis and Results

Now that the parameters for the data extraction and the method for both the initial distributive analysis and final multivariate analysis have been articulated, the time has come to examine the results from the statistical component of this study. My intention here is to address how the extracted tokens interact with each of the factor groups mentioned above in full, and then to determine the ranking order for all of them in order from most to least significant.

5.1 Changes Made to Enable Multivariate Analysis

As previously stated, the multivariate analysis will at times require a rearrangement of the factor groups and independent variables. This is because any significant gaps in the factor groups could prove problematic in the later analysis, so they must be accounted for from the beginning. One of the ways that I did this was by removing from each factor group the “Unknown” element: the speakers for whom the information was missing and not derivable. While those tokens would still go towards the sum total, I excluded them from any analysis of their respective factor groups so as to minimize the chances of a skewed result.

However, this is not the only change I made in the course of the data analysis. After the initial data analysis was finished, it became apparent while I was cross-tabulating each of the factor groups with one another that there was a severe overlap between two of them: the age of the speaker and the year in which he or she came to Canada. In the cross-tabulation, it became clear that all the speakers who were classified

as young adults (aged 20-39) at the time when their words were published would also have come to Canada or were born in Canada after 1967. While this would appear to be a simple, logical correlation, the presence of such a strong connection would skew the results of a multivariate analysis as done by Goldvarb X; therefore, from a purely pragmatic standpoint, I chose to exclude the year of immigration as a factor within the multivariate analysis in favour of accounting the speaker's age, which was the more important factor in my hypothesis. However, I will continue to report upon it in the initial data analysis, as there were still results that could be gleaned from this information.

A third change that I had to make to the factors involved the age of the speakers when they came to Canada. Although the original plan was to make a distinction between those who came to Canada as a young adult (aged 20-29) and as an adult (aged 30 or more), there was an overlap in the cross-tabulation with the factor group for the current age of the speaker. In the end, it appeared that there were no young adult speakers who came to Canada at that stage in their lives. This was an unanticipated gap in the data sample, and it would also have been detrimental to the overall multivariate analysis to leave it as-is. Therefore, I made the decision to collapse the young adult and adult categories for that factor group into a single category labelled "Adulthood" in order to eliminate the problem.

5.2 Distributional Results by Factor Group

However, prior to addressing the multivariate analysis and ranking the various factors in terms of importance, there is also information to be had in the results for the dependent variable by itself and for each of the factor groups individually. This way, I will be able to ascertain whether any correlations exist between the speakers' cultural identities and the factors that I have chosen to study. First of all, in terms of an overall distribution, statements pertaining to a Chinese cultural identity occurred 50.6% of the time, whereas those relating to a Canadian or Western cultural identity appeared 49.4% of the time. This is assuming, as previously stated, that statements that contain elements of both cultures will be counted as one instance of each, therefore doubling into two separate tokens. From this result, it could be seen that within the chosen data corpus, references to both cultures are divided almost equally; while some individual speakers might lean more towards identifying themselves as Chinese and others would consider themselves to be Canadians, the overall result from this analysis suggests that the Chinese-Canadian community is very much aware of its dual cultural identity.

The first two factor groups both concern the speaker's age.

<u>Age of Speaker at Time of Data Redaction</u>	<u>Chinese Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Canadian Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Young Adult (20-39 years old)	49.8	50.2	16.3
Middle Age (40-64 years old)	51.4	48.6	57.4
Senior Age (65+ years old)	49.2	50.8	26.3

Table 6: Organization of Tokens by Age of Speaker at the Time of Data Redaction

Of these, the former addresses the speaker’s age at the time when the source data was collected, whether it be through being published in a printed work or compiled in an interview. From this, it can be seen that the middle-aged group in this corpus was the most likely by a slight margin to mention their Chinese cultural practices and identity within the data sample, whereas it was the seniors who were the most likely to identify themselves as Canadians. This is contrary to my original hypothesis, which was that the older speakers would be more likely to adopt a Chinese cultural identity in comparison to the others. Meanwhile, the youngest group of speakers, which I had initially believed would be most likely to adhere to a Canadian cultural identity, were in between the other two groups, but were still more likely to refer to themselves as Canadians and follow Canadian customs.

The second factor was for the speaker’s age at the time when he or she immigrated to Canada. Note once again that as the data here has been organized in the state that is required for the multivariate analysis, the categories for Young Adulthood and Adulthood have been collapsed into a single entry: “Adulthood.”

<u>Age of Speaker at Immigration to Canada</u>	<u>Chinese Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Canadian Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Canadian-born Chinese	53.5	46.5	60.7
Childhood (0-12 years old)	44.2	55.8	28.1
Adolescence (13-19 years old)	44.6	55.4	4.0
Adulthood (20+ years old)	53.9	46.1	7.2

Table 7: Organization of Tokens by Age of Speaker at Immigration to Canada

Upon examining these results, it could be inferred that, within this sample, Chinese-Canadians who were born in Canada aside, the older the speaker is upon immigrating to Canada, the more likely he or she is to identify with Chinese culture over Canadian culture. However, this raises the question as to why those who are born in Canada would have such a relatively high rate of indicators towards Chinese cultural identity, matched only by those who had come to Canada as adults.

The solution to the problem can be found once the time at which an immigrant came to Canada is also taken into account, such that one could see both factors at work with each other:

<u>Date of Birth or Immigration</u>	<u>Chinese Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Canadian Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Before the Chinese Immigration Act (X-1923)	51.8	48.2	15.5
During the Chinese Immigration Act (1923-1947)	51.3	48.7	21.1
After the Chinese Immigration Act (1948-1966)	50.6	49.4	48.7
After full rights are granted (1967-present)	46.2	53.8	14.7

Table 8: Organization of Tokens by Date of Birth or Immigration

From examining these results, it can be seen that within the sample of speakers from the written literature, the more recently a speaker came to Canada, the more likely he or she is to favour a Canadian cultural identity over a Chinese one. In order to understand this, one must look back to the changing social, political and cultural framework in Canada

over this period of time. It has been theorized by Li (1998) that the Chinese-Canadian community became more concentrated in practicing the culture of its Chinese heritage due to ostracism and racism from the mainstream Caucasian society (p. 7). Given this, it can be seen that the results in analyzing this factor group on its own support that hypothesis: within the data corpus used in this study, it appears that as Canada shifted to be more accommodating to visible minorities and immigrant populations, the Chinese-Canadian community became more willing to integrate itself into the mainstream Canadian society and culture. However, the question remains as to the degree to which this pattern would persist once we step outside of this particular sample and examine the entire Chinese-Canadian population as a whole; nevertheless, the trend here is intriguing and worthy of further study.

From this point, I will shift the focus from time-related factors such as ages and dates to location-related factors. These are the ones that concerned not only where an immigrant initially settled upon coming to Canada – or where a Chinese-Canadian was born here in Canada – but also the speakers’ place of residence and work when the data was collected. The first such factor, however, would be the place for initial settlement and whether it is in a location with the Chinese-Canadian community as a significant visible minority:

<u>Place of Birth or Settlement</u>	<u>Chinese Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Canadian Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Urban Centre with Significant Chinese Community	51.2	48.8	54.9

Other	49.1	50.1	45.1
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Table 9: Organization of Tokens by Place of Birth or Settlement

This result suggests that the location of initial settlement is related to the speaker's future cultural identity. My hypothesis was that speakers who settled within an area with an existent significant Chinese-Canadian community were more likely to ascribe to a Chinese cultural identity or adhere to Chinese cultural practices; at this point in time, the data appears to support this hypothesis. However, when the focus is instead directed at the speakers' current place of residence, a very different picture emerges:

<u>Current Place of Residence</u>	<u>Chinese Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Canadian Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Urban Centre with Significant Chinese Community	49.8	50.2	81.8
Other	52.7	47.3	18.2

Table 10: Organization of Token by Current Place of Residence

Looking at this set of data, it becomes clear that the situation has reversed. Whereas the likelihood of identifying oneself with Chinese culture was more prevalent in areas with a large Chinese-Canadian community in immediate settlement, the reverse seems to hold true after one has become settled in Canada. This is contradictory to my initial hypothesis, which was that the same pattern as for the previous factor group would be maintained and that speakers who were in an area without a large Chinese-Canadian community would be more likely to identify themselves as Canadians.

What is to be said for the unexpected results: the ones that were contradictory to my original hypothesis? It appears that a more thorough examination of the evidence is needed in order for an answer to be had. Fortunately, the method that I have adopted

from sociolinguistic research has already taken potential snags such as this into account. One can attempt cross-tabulations of various factor groups against one another, which enables the scholar to see whether two of the factor groups are inextricably linked, thus skewing the results away from the expected. While a cross-tabulation is designed to reveal correlations that could prove problematic for later multivariate analysis and that must be resolved before further work could be done, note that such interaction between the factor groups must still be acknowledged as part of the reality of the situation. Given this, perhaps I could find solutions to the issues within the rest of the statistical data.

Firstly, there was the matter of the current age of the speakers. My hypothesis had been that the more elderly speakers within the sample would be more likely to adhere to Chinese culture than the younger speakers. However, the end result was that the opposite was true. Why should that be the case? The answer is visible when I cross-tabulate the speaker's current age with the other time-related factors. For instance, when I cross-tabulated the speaker's current age with the age at which he or she arrived in Canada, I found that the elderly speakers were often Canadian-born Chinese; this was compounded by the revelation that many of these elderly speakers were most likely born either prior to or during the Exclusion Era, as the period from 1923 to 1947 is often called. Therefore, a modification to reflect solely the elderly speakers would reveal the following:

<u>Date of Birth or Immigration</u>	<u>Chinese Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>	<u>Canadian Culture Indicators (by Percentage)</u>
Before the Chinese Immigration Act (X-1923)	52	48

During the Chinese Immigration Act (1923-1947)	46	54
After the Chinese Immigration Act (1948-1966)	N/A	N/A
After full rights are granted (1967-present)	36	64

Table 11: Organization of Tokens for Elderly Speakers by Date of Birth or Immigration

From this, it can be seen that the change appears during the Exclusion Era, when Chinese immigration to Canada was restricted by the government and then continues onwards into the present day. This is indication of an overall shifting trend within the elderly Chinese-Canadian population, where the more recent immigrants are more likely to claim themselves to be Canadian or to be practicing Canadian culture.

A second such cross-tabulation could be used to show why the speakers currently living in an area with a significant Chinese-Canadian population might still favour a Canadian cultural identity over a Chinese one. Upon comparing the number of speakers for each category that were recorded for both this factor group and the one referring to the initial place of birth or settlement, it is revealed that there has been a shift in the population, where an increased number of people moved from areas without a significant Chinese-Canadian community to places where one existed. This would mean that many of the speakers who started off in areas where there were few Chinese people and who were then shown to have adhered more to Canadian cultural practices subsequently relocated to areas with larger groups of Chinese-Canadians, bringing their own cultural ideas and practices with them. The ultimate effect of this was that this shift brought about a change to the overall feelings of cultural identity within the population at large as

there was a greater opportunity for interaction among Chinese-Canadians of various backgrounds.

In summary, while my original hypothesis was that Chinese-Canadians who were older, who had come to Canada more recently and who lived in an area with a significant Chinese-Canadian community would be more likely to claim a Chinese cultural identity, the reality from this study is that this only reflects the situation in part. Based off the data collected here, it appears that it is actually middle-aged or younger people who were either born in or come to Canada prior to or during the Exclusion era and who settled in a significantly Chinese-speaking part of Canada who were more likely to hold themselves to a Chinese identity.

5.3 Multivariate Analysis Results

The final component of the data analysis consists of the full multivariate analysis, when it is determined which factors were the most important for the distribution in the dependent variable. Note that due to the significant overlap between the factor group for the current age of the speaker and the time at which he or she would have come to Canada, the latter factor group has been excluded from this particular analysis.

<u>Multivariate analyses of the contribution time- and place-related factors selected as significant to the probability of a Self-Identification with Chinese Culture</u>			
Input/Corrected Mean	.51		
Log Likelihood	-997.633		
Total Number of Tokens	1447		
	<u>Factor Weight</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Total Number of</u>

			<u>Tokens</u>
<u>Age at Immigration to Canada</u>			
Adulthood (20+)	.53	53.9	102
Canadian-born Chinese	.53	53.5	860
Adolescence (13-19)	.44	44.6	56
Childhood (0-12)	.44	44.2	398
Range	9		
<u>Age of Speaker at Time of Data Redaction</u>			
Young Adult (20-39)	.51	51.4	813
Middle Age (40-64)	.51	49.8	231
Senior Age (65+)	.48	49.2	372
Range	3		
<u>Place of Birth or Settlement</u>			
Significant Chinese Community	.51	51.2	766
Other	.49	49.1	629
Range	2		
<u>Current Place of Residence</u>			
Other	.50	52.7	264
Significant Chinese Community	.50	49.8	1183
Range	0		
Other Factors	Year of Immigration or Birth		

Table 12: Multivariate analyses of the contribution time- and place-related factors selected as significant to the probability of a Self-Identification with Chinese Culture

To understand this table, it is important to note once again that the factor weights indicate how favourable the specific factor is to the occurrence of the variable being examined, in

this case, the self-identification and correlation to Chinese cultural customs and values. The factor weights above .50 indicate that the factor favours that variant, whereas values under .50 show an inclination towards the other possible variant: this was already accounted for in the earlier distributional analysis. Also, the greater the range within each factor group, the more significant that factor is to the overall result.

Looking at this table, it becomes clear that the most significant factor in this analysis is the age at which a speaker comes to Canada, including whether he or she is born in Canada or is an immigrant. This is followed by the speaker's current age and then by his or her place of settlement and residence. However, this does not mean that the data is without its challenges, flaws and peculiarities. It can be seen, for instance, that the log likelihood is substantially far from the ideal 0 for such an analysis. What this suggests to me is that there is still a significant amount of variation within the data that does not reflect a very specific linear pattern but leans more towards the idiosyncratic in nature; this reflects how one's cultural identity varies significantly from person to person. Another oddity worth noting is the low range values throughout and the fact that the factor weights were all close to .50: sign that no one factor group was considerably more significant than the others. The explanation for this is that although I chose to include all but one of the original five factor groups in the multivariate analysis, only the speaker's age at the time of immigration to Canada was actually reported as being significant in the logarithmic regression by Goldvarb X. While convention would therefore suggest that I solely focus on statistically significant factor groups in the analysis, I chose to report all

of the results for completeness' sake: a factor that was marked as insignificant is no less revealing of the situation suggested by the data in the corpus.

6. Implications to the Current Situation

Given these results from the statistical analysis of the data, it is now time to examine what this reveals to us about the Chinese-Canadian community in light of the scholars I have chosen to shape the theoretical framework: Todorov, Venuti and Cronin. Not only that, but the reality is that since many of the sources for the data extraction are from the 1990s; much has changed since then within China, within Canada and within the Chinese-Canadian community. What are some of the implications of this study's results to the present day reality: can they reveal a solution to the problem of Chinese-Canadian cultural identity in the 21st century, a time when immigration from Asia is an ever-rising trend?

6.1 Identifying the Situation in the Typography

Recall from earlier in this project that Todorov (1984) proposed numerous different ways in which two cultures – what he called the I and the Other – could interact with each other. The first was for the I to make some form of value judgment upon the Other and the second and third both entailed that the I would take an academic interest in the Other based upon whether it had pre-existing knowledge of the Other (p. 185). At the same time, he also postulated that there was a distinction between cultural assimilation between the cultures of the I and the Other and an acknowledgment and embracement of the differences between the two cultures (p. 247, 249). Given this, the question that now arises after this study is which situation in his typography best describes what is happening within the Chinese-Canadian community.

The answer to that question rests upon whether the Chinese culture or the Canadian one serves as the I and the Other respectively. While it would be sensible to assume that the mainstream Canadian culture is the I and the incoming culture of the Chinese immigrants is the Other, this could not be the case for the Chinese-Canadian community itself. The reality for an immigrant population is that this is a group of people who have their own distinct cultures from their nations of origin serving as their personal I culture and the Anglo- or Franco-Canadian culture they encounter here is the new element: the Other. It is the mainstream culture of a new home country that would serve as the foreign Other in the eyes of an immigrant population, so that is the angle that must be used for this study and analysis.

Evidence from the tokens collected during the statistical study suggests that the Chinese-Canadian community is in the midst of integration between the two cultures: there are marked differences between the traditional Chinese and mainstream Canadian cultures, but it would be foolish to assume that these are monolithic entities. This project is not solely based upon statistical analysis, but on the specific content of the extracted tokens in question and the context in which they appear. In my observation, I have noticed that the situation in China itself has been shifting dramatically over the past century: from the downfall of the Qing Dynasty in the early 20th century to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to the present-day time of industrialization and increased international trade. China and its identity are, in fact, as inscrutable as Canada's; what constitutes Chinese culture can vary significantly not only from one generation to the next, but also from person to person. For one speaker,

anything to do with Communism might be associated with Chinese culture, while for another, it is the older Confucian thought that comes to mind.

The situation is further complicated if one were to describe the Chinese-Canadian immigrant community and its descendents as a diaspora, as some might be wont to do. In popular consciousness, the term is defined as “a scattering of peoples who are nonetheless connected by a sense of a homeland, imaginary or otherwise” (Cho, 2007, p. 12). This would imply, then, that such a population regards its new home, its place of settlement, as a temporary respite and a resting place before, someday, they could return to their proper homeland. While this might have been the case for the earliest Chinese migrants to Canada, many of whom sought to eventually return to China due to an inability to bring their families to the West (Yee, 2005, p. 10), it would be a gross oversimplification of the situation at any point in history and would be unlikely to be applicable for the circumstances today, where many Chinese immigrants settle in Canada permanently. From the beginning, the Chinese-Canadian population has been diverse, with individuals coming from different social classes, regional backgrounds and speaking many different dialects; the image of everyone congregating together as a single Chinese community is skewed at best: “Chinatown residents did not all think alike just because they came from the same country” (p. 15). If the notion of a unified Chinese culture and homeland is itself a politically-created construct within a particular historical context, how much more could that be said of a claim that the Chinese-Canadian community is seeking to preserve their roots in a new land?

Instead, what can be noted is that China and its people have become increasingly receptive to Western ways in recent decades: not only is there cultural integration on the part of the Chinese-Canadian community, there is the same cultural integration in both China and Canada themselves. As one of the authors whose memoir I read for this study said, “In 1999, I felt a country moving toward freedom, democracy and unprecedented prosperity. China is racing through a telescoped Industrial Revolution, creating more wealth than ever before in its 4,000 year old history” (Wong, 1999, p. 319). Another author recounted an incident where Chinese relatives in Asia expressed a desire to immigrate to Canada, although she herself feared they would have difficulty adapting given her own parents’ experiences as immigrants during the Exclusion Era (Fong Bates, 2010, p. 263).

Therefore, in order to understand what is taking place in the Chinese-Canadian community, one must take into account the complexities in the patterning. For the more elderly speakers, many of whom were born in Canada or came to Canada around the time of the Exclusion Era, there was a markedly higher proportion of statements that were made towards a Canadian cultural identity. While there was never a complete assimilation from the I – Chinese culture – to the Other – Canadian culture – there was an acknowledgment that by coming to a new land, immigrants and their descendents must be prepared to embrace the Other, even though it came with a heavy price: a significant financial investment due to the Chinese head tax and the risks that came with long periods of separation and isolation from friends and family overseas. One of the speakers was quoted as saying, “Canada didn’t ask that the Chinese people come over here. We

came over ourselves. Why? Because you heard that if you come to Canada, you'll find a better living there than in your own country" (Huang, 1992, p. 16). This sentiment was also echoed among many of the middle-aged and younger speakers: while there was a desire to remain in touch with Chinese culture, there was also an expressed wish that the Chinese-Canadian community could become more integrated and more involved in mainstream Canadian society, such that they could make a contribution towards Canada as a whole.

All this being said, it becomes clear that the relationship between the Chinese and Canadian cultures within the Chinese-Canadian community cannot be described as a value judgment, an academic interest nor an acknowledged ignorance. Rather, there is a stronger connection between the two that suggests that an actual cultural interaction and integration is taking place. It is not a complete assimilation one way or the other, but a merging between the stereotypical conceptions of both cultures and a blurring of the lines between them, a reflection of the increasing cosmopolitanism that is spreading worldwide. This, in fact, is reflective of Venuti's (2008) concept of resistancy in translation. Whereas the initial idea was for a relationship between languages, it can be expanded to include the connections that exist between cultures as well. Recall that resistancy was the phenomenon where an individual living in a state of flux and translation between two languages or cultures would never adhere solely to either the source culture or the target culture (p. 259). Translation could never be wholly foreignizing or domesticating, but must by its very nature acknowledge the existence and the contribution of both sides.

From a cultural standpoint, this is, again, what is currently happening in the Chinese-Canadian community, according to the results of the statistical study. The speakers were not so much identifying themselves as Chinese or Canadian, but as Chinese-Canadian, a blend of both cultures without abandoning either of them. One of the most salient features of the statistical analysis was how close the results were: the statements reflecting a Chinese identity and those reflecting a Canadian identity were almost equal by percentage of the total number of extracted tokens, and this trend continued for the most part regardless of which factor group I was examining at a given moment. This, again, was noted more specifically by a number of the speakers: “I hope the Chinese become more Canadian. Take part in Canadian life. Join the Rotary Club, the Lion’s Club. Take part, and contribute money to Canadian society. But I also believe the Chinese should retain their ancestral language” (Huang, 1992, 10). From this, it seems that the Chinese-Canadian community itself is driving this integration of its own force of will, and not due to any external pressure to conform to mainstream Canadian society.

The flip side of this, however, is that this means that the Chinese-Canadians are neither purely Chinese nor Canadian in terms of their identity, culture and practices. They are the *jook-sing*: those who are somehow disconnected from both the source culture and the target culture, but instead fall in some continuum in between. As one of the speakers interviewed said, “Chinese Canadian culture is something entirely different from Chinese culture. Even though I feel thoroughly Canadian, the rest of society doesn’t see me that way” (Women’s Book Committee, 1992, p. 177). The speakers

encountered difficulties fully identifying with a mainstream Caucasian Canadian society that saw them as Asian foreigners; but at times, they were also shunned by more recent Asian immigrants or those who were still in China for being too Westernized and not purely Chinese in their ways. This is Venuti's resistancy at work, when one can see elements of both the source and target culture within a person, and yet both are simultaneously natural and foreign in the eyes of all the parties involved. To use the slang terms within the Chinese-Canadian community, immigrants and their descendents, in actuality, are neither FOBs – people who cling to the traditional Chinese norms – or CBCs – people who have been almost completely assimilated into mainstream Canadian society. Instead, from what has been seen thus far, it is possible that Chinese-Canadians are *jook-sing*: those who are of both groups, yet of neither at the same time due to their nonconformity with any monolithic or essentialist view of Chinese or Canadian culture.

Given this, and the earlier established correlation between Venuti's resistancy and Cronin's (2006) concept of translational accommodation – in which cultures should work in interaction and exchange with one another as opposed to operating as two monolithic entities – it can be said that the Chinese-Canadian community is also reflective of Cronin's system (p. 62). Translation accommodation involves immigrants retaining elements of their original culture, but there is still the need and responsibility to adapt to and integrate with the host nation's culture (p. 52). This, looking at the results of the statistical study, can be said to be the case in the Chinese-Canadian community, as the majority of speakers are attempting to achieve a blend and balance of some sort. Inversely, the alternative in the typology, translation assimilation, is not a viable

classification for the current phenomenon, because that entails a complete change on the migrant's part to adopt the new culture that he or she encounters upon immigration (p. 52). While this may be the case for some Chinese-Canadians on an individual level, that cannot be and is not the reality for the diaspora community as a whole.

6.2 Adapting to the Present Day

From what can be seen thus far, it is apparent that the Chinese-Canadian community as a whole has been adapting to a cosmopolitan and multicultural Canada, one that claims to encourage diversity over assimilation. However, what this study reveals is that what exactly constitutes either Canadian, Chinese or Chinese-Canadian culture and identity is in a constant state of change and variation, leading one to wonder whether there even is such a thing as a solid conception of what it means to be Chinese-Canadian. The current Chinese-Canadian community can be interpreted to be an example of Cronin's interculturalism, but to assume that the situation is so idyllic is to ignore the complexities of the truth. While there is no doubt that translational accommodation as Cronin had defined it has appeared to be successful within the speakers used for this study, this is not necessarily the case once one steps back and, like an artist, examines the entire situation as a whole. There can be no denying that not only is the sample of speakers – 70 with a total of 1447 tokens – a small one, over the course of this study, gaps and flaws have appeared due to the emphasis on existent published sources. Among these is the fact that most of the sources were from the 1990s or even earlier, and the Chinese-Canadian community has changed considerably since then, most

notably due to a shift in the specific demographic of new immigrants that have been coming to Canada and the increasing size of the Chinese-Canadian culture itself in large urban centres such as Toronto or Vancouver.

This is further compounded by the shifting place that China, Hong Kong and Taiwan occupy in the international realm. Whereas the historical view was that China in particular was a backward and primitive place, and then an enclave for socialism and Communism, the present situation is quite different. China is now a burgeoning economic superpower and Canada's government is interested in establishing closer trade ties with East Asia as a general whole (Chan, 2011, p. 198). Because of this, not only are Chinese immigrants who come to Canada coming from a wealthier background than ever before, but the integration that is now the case could shift yet again as both these migrants and their descendents see maintaining their Chinese roots as a wise move for business purposes. In fact, it is not uncommon now for Chinese immigrants to settle in Canada, establishing homes and families here, and then return to Asia on their own to seek their fortunes in the rising Asian economic market (p. 170). In a way, this is a reverse from the situation from the early days of Chinese settlement in Canada: whereas before, it was the breadwinner of the family coming to North America and sending funds back to Asia, now the breadwinner ensures that his or her family is secure in Canada before going back across the Pacific to support them overseas. This could, in the future, give Chinese-Canadians a greater incentive to separate themselves once again from the rest of mainstream Canadian society in favour of preserving the Chinese languages and

cultural norms: after all, if Asia is now the way towards future prosperity, what reason is there to become more “Canadian” in favour of being “Chinese”?

Not only that, but in the present day, Canada is feeling the strain from its multicultural policy; on the Internet, at least, crime stories involving visible minorities will inevitably launch a slew of anti-immigration comments from people who feel secure enough behind their computer screens to use such invective.¹² While it can be argued that such incidents are empty, meaningless and exist solely to provoke others, the reality is that such ideas had to have their place of origin and an audience ready to agree with them; otherwise, there would be little point in nor encouragement for speaking in such a fashion. This is further exacerbated by the fact that China has been rising in terms of economic strength since the 1980s, but is still rife with social woes born from a generation that is now growing up in a world of commercialization and individualism (Wong, 1996, p. 384). There is a booming economy and a rapid increase in industrialization, yet it is possible for abject poverty and human rights violations to be made known to the world at large with today’s technology and media alongside stories of China’s recent successes. Canadians as a whole are being increasingly exposed to news stories and rumours about life in the nations their immigrants originate from, and not all of it is pleasant. China, on its part, has also reciprocated in its own media depictions of Canada and Canadians; according to a *The Globe and Mail* correspondent, the Chinese government issued a warning to its citizens in June 2012 against travelling to study

¹² While actual online records of these comments are rarely permanent due to website moderation and administration and therefore cannot be recovered, I have seen a number of these firsthand: most notably during the Shafia family murder trial from the winter of 2011-2012. One online commenter, for instance, strongly implied upon hearing about the guilty verdict that non-white immigrants were “subhuman trash.”

abroad in Canada after the recent murder of one such student in Montreal (MacKinnon, 2012). Also, in recent years, cultural norms and practices typically associated with North America have been making their mark on Chinese popular culture; a 2005 article from the online version of *China Daily*, a Chinese newspaper, shows results from a survey that indicates that Chinese youth are increasingly ready to embrace Western products, but still regard North American worldviews to be too individualistic and hedonistic to accept blindly (2005). More importantly, however, the article notes that the cultural situation within Asian youth is becoming more integrated between norms associated with China and North America.

What, then, is to be done with this situation? An overly-idealized depiction of the Chinese-Canadian situation as one of perfect cultural integration and balance would be false under the circumstances. Like with most other incidents of cultural contact, conflict exists and will continue to exist due to socially- and ideologically-constructed tensions that arise between the I and the Other, the two cultures that are in interaction with each other. By living in a state of translation, on a continuum between what it means to be Chinese and what it means to be Canadian, the Chinese-Canadian population will inevitably feel strain from both sides. It is not coincidence, in my opinion, that the study reveals a balance whereas an examination of current news stories and political issues shows conflict and tension. This is due to the fact that many of the speakers who were able to be published in their own right or to have their words published in printed anthologies focusing on the Chinese-Canadian community were often those who had made themselves notable to both mainstream Canadian society and to the world through

their achievements. Among those whose stories I have been able to access are those of former Governor General Adrienne Clarkson, celebrated authors such as Wayson Choy and Judy Fong Bates, renowned scientists and artists like Dr. Lap-Chee Tsui and Alexina Louie...many who have, within their own lives, made a point of contributing to Canada and its people, history and culture. The situation could very well be vastly different should one step outside this more prominent circle and examine the thoughts and opinions of average Chinese-Canadian citizens or newer immigrants who have yet to have the opportunity to make their mark on Canadian society.

At first glance, this could potentially invalidate the entire study; after all, how could this possibly be a viable representative sample? The short answer, unfortunately, would be that it does not. However, perhaps this is where the solution lies for the Chinese-Canadian community. If the problem nowadays is a noted lack of integration between the Chinese and Canadian cultures and identities, with individuals veering towards either isolation within a Chinese community or assimilation into the mainstream Anglo- or Franco-Canadian culture, then it would be fitting to look towards those who have managed to achieve some semblance of a balance. While as individuals, the speakers inevitably lean more in one direction or the other, they all gained notice within this nation and in the international sphere as Chinese-Canadians: not Chinese, not Canadian, but a combination of the two. For these people to call themselves Chinese would be inaccurate, as they are not residing in China itself and many are looked down upon for an ignorance of the nuances of Chinese language and culture. However, they could not identify themselves as solely Canadian; their very genetic makeup goes against

what many would think of when the word “Canadian” comes to mind. They can only be both Chinese and Canadian at the same time, incorporating elements of both cultures into themselves and then striving to contribute to whichever community and nation they choose to call home.

Fortunately, the present day Chinese-Canadian community has also been working in this direction, and one of the notable methods for this has been the raising of awareness of Chinese-Canadian history in the public consciousness. On May 21, 2012, Fairchild Television, a Chinese-language channel that is watched by approximately 70% of the Chinese-Canadian population, aired a short documentary on the restoration of the Tikwalus Trail in British Columbia (Hauka Creative Communications, 2012). The documentary, which I watched myself when it was broadcast, commented that what was necessary for the Chinese-Canadian community, particularly this new generation of recent immigrants and their children, was for them to be aware of what people of Chinese descent have contributed to Canada’s history. The solution suggested by the television program is that Chinese-Canadians must understand that Canadian culture and history are indeed part of their own background as well. From my own personal experience growing up as a Chinese-Canadian here in Toronto, I can say that it was only when I learned about the Chinese involvement in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway or the head tax that I came to realize that Canada was not simply a white person’s history, but my own as well. This was only compounded by my discovery of the Canadian soldiers’ defence of Hong Kong during the Second World War in December 1941.

Historically, Chinese immigrants helped to create what Canada is today: they helped to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, fought in both World Wars and are even now working as prominent members in Canadian businesses and politics. It is continuing in this direction – an increased consciousness of Chinese-Canadian history and a drive to encourage new immigrants to contribute to Canadian society as Chinese-Canadians – that could help the community as a whole to achieve the balance that it appears to once have had and then lost again. Perhaps, as has been the case for the earlier generations who came to Canada, a new equilibrium could be attained that could allow for Chinese-Canadians to be both Chinese and Canadian: no longer *jook-sing*, FOBs or CBCs, but something that is wholly unique to themselves and desired by Canada at large.

6.3 Opportunities for Future Research

There is always room in scholarship for further inquiry and investigation of the subject matter at hand; in that, this study is no different. Just as, in a debate, it is important to be aware of any potential opposing arguments or flaws in one's own presentation, it is important for an academic scholar to be able to acknowledge similar issues that have arisen over the course of his or her own study. As I compiled the data for this project, analyzed it and compared it to my hypothesis, I found that there were some unanswered questions and unaccounted factors that could provide a clearer picture of the situation for the Chinese-Canadian community. Therefore, as this project comes to a close and so this paper could not be said to have been written in ignorance, I believe it would be worthwhile to examine some of these issues and point out where I find that further research would enrich the field.

The greatest thing that would be beneficial for a further in-depth study of this nature on the Chinese-Canadian situation would be for this project to be replicated but using live speakers instead of published authors. From looking at Chinese-Canadian literature alone, I discovered that the sample had numerous gaps. First of all, it appears that individuals must be of a certain calibre and level of influence in society in order to be published as authors – and they must either be proficient in English or have access to a translator if they plan to be read by the mainstream audience. This was already mentioned as a trend in the literary sphere by Venuti (2008) when he pointed out that English and Anglo-American and -Canadian culture possess hegemony both within North America and internationally (p. 11). Therefore, it comes as little surprise to me in hindsight that the majority of the speakers whose works were consulted for this study were already integrated members of society, who both claimed parts of their identity from their Chinese background and from their being Canadian. Inversely, a study based upon the compilation of a larger sample of speakers from all across Canada – or simply within a single municipality – would offer a more vividly diverse result, in my opinion; perhaps it might even disprove my conclusions.

Another issue that arose concerning the data sample over the course of this study is that I found it would be worthwhile to make the time and date a control factor in the examination. Most of the sources that I found were either from the early 1990s or the 2000s, but there was little in between. This might not be a concern were it not for the fact that Chinese migration to Canada changed drastically during that time period: in the early 1990s, there were still many people coming from Hong Kong prior to the 1997

handover, but afterwards, the balance shifted towards favouring an increase in emigration from the People's Republic of China. Not only would individuals from Hong Kong and China come from different linguistic backgrounds – the primary language being Cantonese and Mandarin respectively – but they each had distinct cultural influences in their own histories that could impact the results. While speakers from the People's Republic of China might have borne witness to the rise of Communist power, the Cultural Revolution, and the changes in society that culminated in the Tiananmen Square incident from 1989, those from Hong Kong were based in a British Crown Colony that also served as one of East Asia's primary gateways to the West. All of these factors could have become apparent had the intermediate period between the years prior to 1997 and the past decade been accounted for as well in this study in a greater amount of depth; in addition, the vast majority of the speakers were indeed published in the early 1990s, so it is possible that they could no longer viably represent the Chinese-Canadian community at large, given the changes to the social dynamic since those years.

It would also be worthwhile for future scholars and me to expand this study in different directions to see whether a larger pattern could be ascertained. Questions that could use further inquiry would include whether a similar pattern would arise in other minorities in Canada – ethnic or otherwise – and whether there are differences within each of the municipalities that were counted as communities with significant Chinese-Canadian enclaves for the purposes as this study. Are there differences in the patterning in Toronto when compared to Vancouver? Would Montreal's being in the Francophone province of Quebec affect the Chinese-Canadian community in ways that a primarily

Anglophone jurisdiction would not? Is there a difference between a community that is primarily composed of immigrants from Hong Kong, or from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan or Southeast Asia? All of these questions are potential openings for future researchers who are interested in pursuing the question of identity and integration within Canada's multicultural society.

7. Conclusion

In the end, this research project was successful in answering the questions that I started out with. The final result is that the Chinese-Canadian community, as a general whole, appears to be in the midst of forging a unique cultural identity that is all its own; and the most significant factor for this outcome has been whether an individual Chinese-Canadian was an immigrant or a born Canadian and, if the former, the point in his or her life at which the migration to Canada occurred. What else is also apparent is that the Chinese-Canadian community, the longer it is around in this nation's society and history, is increasingly becoming involved in Canadian culture and politics: there are now a number of notable Chinese-Canadian artists, writers, scientists and politicians among others, and their achievements have been embraced by the rest of the country as being Canadian and not solely Chinese. Because of this, not only is there a drive to maintain some practices, norms and values from Asia, there is also an increased integration and acceptance of the mainstream Anglo- and Franco-Canadian cultures on the part of the Chinese immigrants and their descendents.

However, at the same time, there is an equal drive and push for Chinese culture to become more openly apparent and widely accepted in mainstream Canadian society as Asia itself becomes more well-known a culture and profitable a potential economic market. Because of this, Canadians have also, over the years, come to be more accommodating to these migrants, treating them as part of a cosmopolitan North American society, unlike their ancestors, who regarded the Chinese as foreigners forever

relegated to the outside. This suggests a blurring of the line between the Self and the Other in terms of cultural interactions and identity. Some scholars, including Li (1998), studying the phenomenon of Chinese-Canadian identity had postulated that it was the initial discrimination from Caucasian-Canadians that pushed immigrants towards maintaining and preserving the Chinese culture in their new homes. Given that, the natural extrapolation would be that the more well-received the Chinese-Canadian community is by the mainstream, then the more likely to contribute to Canadian society they will be – this, from the statistical analysis, appears to be true.

The question then arises about whether the pattern would continue to progress. Would it be possible, then, for the apparent balance we see today to again become unbalanced, and for the Chinese-Canadian community to eventually be assimilated into mainstream society, different solely by their genetic makeup? While this is a matter worth pursuing in the future, particularly in a study that could examine the lives of the descendents of Chinese immigrants to Canada over the generations, the reality is that Canada itself is constantly shifting in terms of its own cultural identity. According to Cronin (2006) and other translation studies scholars who are looking at cosmopolitanism in the context of cultural translation – an example would be Sherry Simon (2006) and her work on the city of Montreal – Canada itself is now a multicultural, multilingual place: it is itself cosmopolitan. On top of this, China itself is no longer the nation that it was when Chinese migration to Canada first began: no longer is it regarded as backwards and other, but it is a rising economic and political power that the Western world is collaborating with in terms of trade and diplomacy. This means that as the years pass, the pattern for

the Chinese-Canadian community could very well shift again: not towards a cultural assimilation, but towards playing an increasingly large role in transforming Canadian culture and society in its own right, whether by virtue of its being Canadian, Chinese or both.

From this perspective, a lot could be said of not only the Chinese-Canadian community, but also any other significant immigrant or ethnic minority population in Canada today. Would the pattern that has been revealed thus far in this study of the cultural translation taking place within the Chinese-Canadian community apply to other visible minorities here in Canada, such as the more recent immigrants from South Asia or the Middle East? If so, then the results from this study and any further inquiry and research upon the Chinese-Canadian community could help inform us about the realities of cultural translation within the immigrant component of a cosmopolitan society and culture. From this, solutions to the question of how best communities, municipalities and even the federal government could best encourage new migrants to both integrate into mainstream Canadian society and retain the richness of their original cultures could be found.

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Appendix B: Metadata for the Speakers in the Data Analysis

<u>Speaker Number and Name</u>	<u>Speaker Codes</u>	<u>Age of Speaker</u>	<u>Age of Immigration</u>	<u>Time of Immigration</u>	<u>Place of Birth Or Settlement</u>	<u>Current Residence</u>
1: Wayson Choy	A	70/60 ¹³	0	1939	Vancouver, BC	Toronto, ON
2: Denise Chong	B	41	0	1953	Vancouver, BC	Ottawa, ON
3: Dock Yip	C	86	0	1906	Vancouver, BC	Toronto, ON
4: Sam Eng	D	100	13	1905	Windsor, ON	Toronto, ON
5: Lee Bick	E	100	19	1911	Vancouver, BC	Vancouver, BC
6: Jean Lumb ¹⁴	F	74	0	1918	Nanaimo, BC	Toronto, ON
7: Bob Lee	G	59	0	1933	Vancouver, BC	Vancouver, BC
8: David Lam	H	69	44	1967	Vancouver, BC	Victoria, BC
9: Roy Mah	I	74	0	1918	Edmonton, AB	Vancouver, BC
10: Bob Wong	J	51	0	1941	Fort Erie, ON	Toronto, ON
11: Susan Eng	K	c. 40	0	1950s	Toronto, ON	Toronto, ON
12: Doris Lau	L	?	?	1975	?	Toronto, ON
13: Joseph Wong	M	?	?	1968	Montreal, QC	Toronto, ON
14: Victor Ling	N	49	7	1950	Toronto, ON	Toronto, ON
15: Tak Mak	O	46	25-29	early 1970s	Edmonton, AB	Toronto, ON
16: Lap-Chee Tsui	P	42	31	1981	Toronto, ON	Toronto, ON
17: Samuel Wong	Q	30	9	1971	Toronto, ON	New York, USA
18: Adrienne Clarkson	R	53/67	3	1942	Ottawa, ON	Ottawa, ON/ Toronto, ON
19: Lee Kum Sing	S	57	35	1970	Vancouver, BC	Vancouver, BC
20: Alexina	T	43	0	1949	Vancouver, BC	Toronto, ON

¹³ Instances with a slash are used in cases where the same speaker appeared in multiple sources, such that the age or location data would have changed. The information is then given in chronological order.

¹⁴ This speaker also appeared in two separate sources, but incidentally, both sources were dated from the same year.

Louie						
21: Beni Sung	U	40	16	1968	Victoria, BC	Toronto, ON
22: Der Hoi-Yin	V	38	2	1956	Prince Rupert, BC	Toronto (Mississauga), ON
23: Fiona Huang	W	21	0	1971	Toronto, ON	USA
24: Selwyn Au-Yeung	X	25	15	1982	Oakville, ON	Toronto, ON
25: Alec Chan	Y	28	3	1967	Toronto, ON	Toronto, ON
26: J. J. Lee	Z	41	0	1970	Montreal, QC	Vancouver, BC
27: Margaret Chan	a	84	8	1910	Victoria, BC	Vancouver, BC
28: Madeline Mark	b	88	0	1904	Cayuga, ON	Hamilton, ON
29: Wong Sin	c	77	0	1915	Victoria, BC	Montreal, QC
30: Gretta Grant	d	71	0	1921	London, ON	London, ON
31: Kim	e	55	20	1957	Small town in the Maritimes ¹⁵	Small town in the Maritimes
32: Roberta Mercer	f	38	0	1954	Leask, SK	Saskatoon, SK
33: Janet Trifa	g	36	0	1956	Leask, SK	Saskatoon, SK
34: Shirley Chan	h	45	0	1947	Vancouver, BC	Vancouver, BC
35: Sharon Lee	i	40	0	1952	Port Alberni, BC	Vancouver, BC
36: Jean Lee	j	73	0	1919	Windsor, ON	Windsor, ON
37: Sally Wong	k	30	6	1968	Toronto, ON	Edmonton, AB
38: May Chow	l	55	16	1953	?	Kamloops, BC
39: May Cheung	m	57	21	1956	Toronto, ON	Toronto, ON
40: Myrtle Wong	n	70	24	1946	London, ON	London, ON
41: May Mah	o	59	20	1953	?	Calgary, AB
42: Shirley Welsh	p	43	5	1954	Swift Current, SK	Edmonton, AB

¹⁵ The speaker, in the data source I used, did not provide more specific information under concerns with privacy and security.

43: Tam Goosen	q	45	23	1970	?	Toronto, ON
44: Ramona Mar	r	35	0	1957	Fort Smith, NT	Vancouver, BC
45: Mae Lee	s	77	0	1915	Union Bay, BC	Victoria, BC
46: Shin Mei Lin	t	56	29	1965	Halifax, NS	Halifax, NS
47: Grace Lee	u	90	0	1902	Victoria, BC	Victoria, BC
48: Velma Chan	v	84	0	1908	Merritt, BC	Vancouver, BC
49: Valerie Mah	w	52	0	1940	Brockville, ON	Toronto, ON
50: Linda Lee	x	42	0	1950	Halifax, NS	Halifax, NS
51: Lil Lee	y	65	0	1927	Nanaimo, BC	Vancouver, BC
52: Francis Wong	z	71	0	1921	Brantford, ON	London, ON
53: Dr. Linda Lee	1	39	39	1953	Toronto, ON	Saskatoon, SK
54: Irene Chu	2	54	25	1963	Toronto, ON	Toronto, ON
55: Jane Woo	3	64	0	1928	Victoria, BC	Winnipeg, MB
56: Fern Hum	4	42	0	1950	Sudbury, ON	Toronto, ON
57: Victoria Yip	5	81	0	1911	Victoria, BC	Vancouver, BC
58: Anne Fong	6	59	0	1933	Calgary, AB	Calgary, AB
59: Sandra Lee	7	55	0	1937	Victoria, BC	Victoria, BC
60: Rose Lumb	8	64	0	1928	Victoria, BC	Victoria, BC
61: Caroline Chan	9	33	0	1959	Truro, NB	St John, NB
62: Mary Wong	0	73	0	1919	Hamilton, ON	Hamilton, ON
63: Mary Mohammed	!	61	0	1931	Halifax, NS	Halifax, NS
64: Winnie Ng	\$	41	17	1968	Toronto, ON	Toronto, ON
65: Lily Welsh	%	42	1	1951	Unity, SK	Edmonton, AB
66: Betty Toy	&	36	0	1956	Windsor, ON	Windsor, ON
67: Judy Fong Bates	#	61	6	1955	Acton, ON	Toronto, ON

68: Evelyn Lau	@	30	0	1971	Vancouver, BC	Vancouver, BC
69: Jan Wong	é	44/47	0	1952	Montreal, QC	Toronto, ON
70: Chan Hon Goh	<	33	8	1977	Vancouver, BC	Vancouver, BC