CanadaWatch

REVISITING CANADA IN CONVERSATION: CRISIS, CHALLENGE, AND CHANGE

Guest editors' introduction

Early in the spring of 2020, we had to make the difficult decision to cancel our graduate conference, then titled "Changing Conversations: Canada in a Shifting Landscape." We could not have foreseen that, for the next 18 months, we would collectively feel and witness all sorts of shifting landscapes and that the world as we knew it would be completely transformed. In a few short months, the COVID-19 pandemic exposed the flaws and cracks in many parts of our (and others') political, medical, and social systems. We also became acutely aware that the mental health consequences of the pandemic, yet to be fully explored or discovered, will be felt for years to come.

At times like these, how could we sensitively return to engaged scholarship? We first had to find a theme that spoke to each one of us on the organizing committee. Ultimately, we felt that "Canada in Conversation: Crisis, Challenge, and Change" would give students both a space to be heard and the comfort of common shared experiences. In the spring of 2021, the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies hosted its annual graduate student conference online. Over the course of four Fridays, 29 students from universities across the country presented their work and engaged in critical exploration of our chosen conference themes.

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BY SOPHIE M. BISSON AND EVANGELINE KROON

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Initially nervous about how to host and how to generally organize an online conference, we soon realized that our panellists were as conversation-deprived as we were and equally eager to engage in meaningful discussions. Although we missed in-person interaction, the Zoom platform allowed for the unexpected benefit of making connections: whereas an in-person conference allows one to congregate with friends and colleagues, this format created opportunities for connections that would otherwise not have been fully explored. The conversations that took place and the important intellectual exchanges notwithstanding, it is in those human connections that we hope our panellists found sustaining strength.

Conference panellists were offered the opportunity to submit their work for publication. The 14 articles subsequently selected for this issue of *Canada Watch* cover a wide range of topics in various disciplines. The writers provide insightful commentaries and convincing argumentation on their chosen themes—a testament both to the excellence of their submissions and to their keen eye and intuition for subjects that speak to all members of our community.

COVID-19: PANDEMIC EFFECTS AND CONSEQUENCES

We begin with four articles that reflect on the challenge of living in a pandemic. Specifically, the articles express how COVID-19 has exacerbated situations that were already difficult or precarious for African immigrant mothers, fathers in the child-bearing period, Asian Canadians, and Indigenous land defenders.

In "'We Are Not in This Together,'" Catherine Mutune (York University) shows that African immigrant mothers who return to school do so at a great personal risk (juggling parental duties, housework, and academic obligations) without the accommodations (such as course extensions and access to electronic equipment) and financial support (bursaries) that would give them an honest chance of success. Mutune expands on these circumstances and demonstrates that the COVID-19 pandemic has further hindered the already low rate of success experienced by African immigrant mothers who enter higher education.

In "Families in the Child-Bearing Period: Fathers and the COVID-19 Pandemic," Josephine Francis Xavier (York University) asks, "Who is fathering the father?" The evidence that emerges from postpartum clinics shows that adolescent and/or single fathers lack confidence in their abilities as fathers and feel high levels of anxiety. The lack of mental health support puts them at risk for mental health disorders, often with fatal consequences. The author advocates for the

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"We are not in this together": COVID-19 exacerbates learning barriers for African immigrant student mothers in institutions of higher learning

AISM IN CANADA

African immigrant student mothers (AISM) are often unable to find well-paying jobs commensurate with their skills and education (Bauder, 2012; Knowles, 2007). Some choose to upgrade their education by enrolling in institutions of higher learning (IHL), hoping they will be accepted into the job market and acquire lucrative employment (Jayawardene & McDougall, 2019). However, returning to school is problematic since one must juggle parental duties, housework, and academic obligations (Jones et al., 2013). In addition, one must consider the significant financial burden of tuition fees and the lack of a steady income (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2020).

Canada boasts an equitable education system offering support through loans and grants. Many immigrants see this as an excellent chance and a path toward their dreams of economic independence. With this in place, many African mothers take advantage of this opportunity to upgrade their education and skills. The prestige of graduating from a progressive country motivates African women to go back to school to advance their careers through education.

SCHOOL LIFE BEFORE COVID-19 FOR AISM

The limited literature on AISM suggests that this group of women is invisible within academia (Lynch, 2008). Students of colour in IHL are not a homogenous community but rather diverse in their unique ways (Anaya, 2011). The absence of literature and studies reflects the dearth of formal research and docu-

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mentation on the experiences of African immigrants (Danso & Grant, 2000).

Research shows that female students feel more academic pressure compared to their male counterparts (Allen, & Haniff, 1991). Evidence shows Black students on white campuses experience considerable difficulty adjusting to a culturally different environment (Beard & Brown, 2008).

Before COVID-19, the insecurity of not belonging felt by most young AISM students and their position as a minority group have been a burden and a struggle. Adjusting to a new culture and a new learning system can be daunting. Language presents a considerable barrier in this case (Elabor-Idemudia, 2001), but it is not knowledge of the English language so much as the academic language that they must cultivate and apply in order to understand and integrate successfully into academia (Allen & Haniff, 1991). In addition, the lack of a Canadian accent poses a barrier to communication and makes them stand out as foreign, which leaves them feeling marginalized (Creese & Kambere, 2003). Language, therefore, functions as a medium that segregates and discriminates.

Hemans et al. (2020) note that school life can be intimidating for African stu-

dent mothers. Self-doubt in the ability to perform like other students erodes confidence. Not having the language, accent, and skills is a continuous reminder that they are "not good enough." "On campus, I experienced 'imposter syndrome,' believing I was accepted into my program as a mistake and feeling I was (in)visible as an older female student of colour" (Hemans et al., 2020, p. 24).

Lack of confidence and feelings of being out of place result from an absence of support groups (Lyonette et al., 2015). Because they come from a conservative culture, most AISM are seen as not engaging or as shy in classroom interactions. It is for this reason that support in establishing social capital for AISM is vital. Undoubtedly, higher-learning institutions advocate and believe that networking is essential for academic success (Lobnibe, 2013). Social support groups and good relationships with professors increase interactions, boost confidence levels, and improve academic performance.

THE SWITCH TO VIRTUAL LEARNING

The end of in-person classes and the subsequent switch to online classes during the COVID-19 pandemic have presented a big hurdle for students of colour (James, 2021). Online remote learning in the education system has assumed that learning resources are accessible to all students (Mupenzi et al., 2020). Little is known of how AISM are learning online with children at home and of the implications for these women.

The emotional, physical, and psychological burdens of performing work at home (Hochschild & Machung, 1989) when combined with the impact of the pandemic remain unknown. In an interview with the *Toronto Star*, Dr. Susan Prentice points out that, "[f]or any household that has children, a school closing is a make-or-break factor for family decision making, women trying to do homeschooling by day and trying to do their work at night—in the end, they manage it at the expense of their health, by sleeping very little. You can get through a short-term period like this, but it's not sustainable over months or semesters" (Balakrishnan, 2020).

Therefore, it is fair to state that the unequal positioning (Mitchell Jr. et al., 2019) of AISM is a challenge. For example, the role of student mothers at home conflicts with schoolwork in terms of responsibilities, time, and place. With children at home, mothers have prioritized their children while their own schoolwork takes the back seat. The psychological effects of worrying about papers due, presentations beckoning, and Zoom classes are exhausting.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutions of higher learning do not necessarily know who their most vulnerable students are owing to a lack of disaggregated data (Anaya, 2011; McKenzie, 2021). The population of AISM is relatively small compared to the student body in general. As a starting point, it is crucial to tap into the experiences of AISM to understand their struggles and develop solutions based on their multiple identities (Ngoubene-Atioky et al., 2020). With the added burdens and responsibilities of the pandemic, there is increased pressure on student mothers to fit their children's studies and care and their own domestic duties into their schedules. The impact is evident in their productivity or lack thereof. The student body is not homogenous (Kaushik & Drolet, 2018). It is diverse, and to achieve equity, atten-

tion must be called to the needs of the most vulnerable students (Reid-Maroney et al., 2018).

Understanding students' diversity will address some of the disparities that exacerbate gender and race-based inequities. Access to resources and supports should be a priority. I hope that this paper will open conversations that aim to

1. heed calls to disaggregate data collection, because a "one-size-fits-all" strategy will not work in a diverse student population;
2. tap into the life stories of AISM in IHL to establish culturally relevant support systems; and
3. explore the needs of student mothers adversely affected by COVID-19 for special accommodations such as course extensions, bursaries, and access to computer equipment and the Internet during this period.

Only by having these conversations and dealing with these pressing needs do we stand a chance of levelling the playing field and making equity a reality for AISM. ⁂

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As a starting point, it is crucial to tap into the experiences of AISM to understand their struggles and develop solutions based on their multiple identities.

Families in the child-bearing period: Fathers and the COVID-19 pandemic

Families have faced unprecedented hardship throughout the world and in Canada since the COVID-19 pandemic was declared in March 2020. These hardships include lack of proximity to family and other sources of support to deal with the social isolation and fear raised by COVID-19, in addition to financial burdens and childcare commitments.

The experience of becoming a parent involves both the joy and the challenges that come with having a child. In addition to the responsibilities, expectations, and challenges that come with a new baby, new fathers experience a high level of anxiety and uncertainty (Cameron et al., 2020). The perinatal period provides a window of opportunity when fathers are most likely to engage in positive actions for the good of their children and their families. While fathering itself is a life-changing event, the emergence of COVID-19 augments fatherhood challenges as a result of constraints on health-care practices and interventions that solely focus on mothers and babies, excluding the fathers from the "family-centred" equation (Lista & Bresesti, 2020).

While working as a lactation consultant during the COVID-19 pandemic, I observed and listened to the concerns raised by some fathers, who spoke of the impact of one-person or no-visitor policies on their participation in postpartum care. Several fathers expressed concern about the lack of opportunities to learn infant-care skills and to receive information from health-care professionals. Additionally, families expressed heightened fear and anxiety, including concerns regarding childbirth without family support (Lisa & Bresesti, 2020). This paper addresses the effects of COVID-19 on fathers during the child-bearing period through a brief literature review and outlines implications for health professionals and community organizations in

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implementing father-inclusive practices in the face of a "new reality."

VULNERABLE FATHERS IN A PANDEMIC

The COVID-19 virus has had devastating effects on individuals and families of various social classes. Young fathers, immigrant fathers, and fathers in same-sex couples are profoundly affected by this epidemic. These fathers are at higher risk of mental health disorders such as suicide, violence, and addiction (Recto et al., 2020). For adolescent fathers specifically, the mental health toll is exacerbated by a lack of economic, social, and organizational resources. These challenges, combined with racial and gender biases or inequalities, have shown the importance of promoting mental health and well-being for both mothers and fathers during the child-bearing period.

Iztayeva (2021) examines the psychological well-being of mainly low-income, single dads. The research highlights that limited co-parenting and family support from extended family has led to social isolation and feelings of loneliness. Also, nesting arrangements, such as living arrangements in custody sharing, pose unique challenges for separated fathers, especially for divorced fathers, which intensify problems with child care (Koeman, 2021). Fathers from visible minorities and immigrant families might face added challenges during pregnancy, child birth, and postpartum owing to a lack of family support, fewer social networks, and international travel

restrictions that curtail the presence of grandparents.

DADS IN DUAL-PARENT HOUSEHOLDS

In dual-parent families, fathers have seen their roles and responsibilities change both positively and negatively during the pandemic. While lockdown measures fostered father–child relationships, they also imposed additional demands on parents, such as homeschooling young children (Cameron et al., 2020). According to Iztayeva (2021), the COVID-19 pandemic has created an opportunity for some fathers to share household responsibilities and childcare duties, which is a positive step toward promoting gender equality and creating a more harmonious family life. Some fathers who have the opportunity to work from home report more time spent and greater involvement in child care. Other fathers who worked in person, with the increased risk of exposure, were anxious about contracting and transmitting the virus to their families and children (Cameron et al., 2020).

FATHERS' MENTAL HEALTH: A SILENT CRISIS

A father's mental health is an essential component of their overall well-being. The COVID-19 pandemic's impact on mental health is felt globally, nationally, and locally, and there is an evolving crisis in paternal mental health. Over the course of the pandemic, fathers have seen a 4- to 10-fold (37.1 percent) increase in depression and a 1.5- to 3-fold (22.9 percent) increase in anxiety issues, relative to the general prevalence rates of 4-15 percent of paternal mental health concerns before the pandemic (Cameron et al., 2020). Exhaustion, blurred boundaries between the work and household identities, lack of social connec-

tions, and fewer social ties compromise both parents' psychological well-being. COVID-19 undoubtedly affects fathers' mental health now and will continue to do so into the future (Recto et al., 2020). This has implications for mothers and their children. Therefore, special attention needs to be paid to fathers' mental health now and after the pandemic.

Worldwide, the COVID-19 pandemic, in both the short term and the long term, has caused immense social, economic, environmental, and mental health effects (Cameron et al., 2020). The absence of informal check-ins from family and friends and a lack of other programs that were previously available during the early years of parenting have negatively affected fathers with newborns and young babies during COVID-19.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

As a result of the constant policy changes and pivoting, health-care professionals face increasing challenges in implementing solutions that help new parents. Using telehealth to maintain social connectedness and inclusivity may be helpful during interactions with new parents. Health-care professionals should provide trauma-informed care to vulnerable fathers—young dads, new immigrants, and single fathers—when the family

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is experiencing multiple psychosocial challenges. Counselling and mentorship through father-inclusive programs could benefit those who do not have a vast support network (Recto et al., 2020).

With ongoing restrictions in place, the lack of continuity in perinatal care and inconsistency of support in perinatal programs leave fathers with less opportunity to express their feelings of fear, anxiety, and depression. Even though fatherhood research has grown exponentially over the past 30 years, universal screening for mental health issues specific to fathers and father-inclusive practices have been sparse and limited during pregnancy, child birth, and postpartum periods (Recto et al., 2020). The pandemic has shown the cracks in our system for fathers of families in the child-bearing years. In the long run, implementing programs that target the mental health and well-being of fathers is a social responsibility. Consciousness raising and transformational changes across both the structural and systemic levels are essential to promote and support the mental health and well-being of fathers. ❦

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Racism unmasked: How racism influenced Chinese Canadians' COVID-19 response

Before the World Health Organization settled on the name "COVID-19" on February 11, 2020 (Ghebreysus, 2020), television sets around the world flashed the words "Wuhan virus" with every story related to this mysterious respiratory virus. Masked Chinese faces soon followed news stories about this emerging disease, setting the stage for a permissive environment of anti-Asian racism in 2021.

MEMORIES OF 2003

On the eve of the Lunar New Year in 2020, the 11 million inhabitants of Wuhan went into lockdown. Before news reached Canadian TV sets, phones across the global Chinese diaspora started buzzing with the news. The diaspora was gripped with memories of SARS in 2003. Memories of shuttered businesses and bullied children haunted the community, and together they acted quickly. The entire month of February 2020 saw many Asian faces on TV talking about discrimination, pleading for everyone to be allies in the fight against it.

While some members of the Chinese diaspora worked to cushion the impact of the inevitable racism the community would face, others focused on limiting the spread of the virus. Some were quick to call for travel restrictions and mask wearing—measures not adopted by the government until months later, partially out of fear of being charged with racism.

In the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic, the authors were part of a team that undertook exploratory research to understand what discrimination in the wake of COVID-19 looked like (Mamuji et al., 2020). As part of that effort, the research team interviewed 83 self-identified Chinese Canadians in semi-structured form from March to July 2020.

TO MASK OR NOT TO MASK

The Chinese diaspora were quick to adopt mask wearing. Mask wearing was

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strongest among those with closer ties to Asia. Participants reported wearing masks as early as February 2020. During this time, the official position on masks was that they were unnecessary. Canada's chief medical officer discouraged the use of masks until April 6, 2020, when she conceded that a non-medical-grade mask could help protect others (Bronskill, 2020). Canada's official position on mask wearing ran counter to the positions held by members of the Chinese diaspora community. At the time, Canada was facing a medical supply shortage, so Canada's chief medical officer may have had practical considerations for her advice against wearing them. However, an unintended consequence of that practicality was that it heightened an atmosphere of fear as Asian mask wearers became targets for ridicule.

Participants reported behaviour changes such as taking off masks in white (non-Asian) spaces, when they would have preferred to keep one on, after receiving "dirty looks" or other forms of microaggression. It is important to note that a "dirty look" means different things to different people. For many minorities, dirty looks from bullies could be followed by physical aggression. As a result, many participants told us they were more comfortable in Asian spaces and that they stuck to Asian-run grocery stores, where people were more likely to wear masks.

THE "CHINA VIRUS"

After Wuhan went into lockdown, Chinese Canadians sucked in a collective breath as memories of SARS rushed back. Memories of businesses shuttering and children getting bullied spurred the community into action. Many made media appearances to speak about anti-Chinese racism and the need for allies to help fight against it. Ultimately, these efforts were not enough. The accumulation of months of racist-related COVID-19 rhetoric and microaggressions peaked in 2021, when an American mass shooting targeting Asian women served to crystallize the significant problem of anti-Asian racism in North America.

High-profile politicians, particularly the former US president, were continuing to label COVID-19 "the China virus" or, even more offensively, "kung flu" (BBC, 2020), despite the World Health Organization (WHO) officially advising against location-based naming (2015). At the same time, Canadian politicians were loudly invoking fears of "yellow peril." Derek Sloan, a Conservative member of Parliament, tweeted on April 20, 2021, "Dr. Theresa Tam, Canada's Chief Public Health Officer, has failed Canadians. Dr. Tam must go! Canada must remain sovereign over decisions. The UN, the WHO, and Chinese Communist propaganda must never again have a say over Canada's public health!" (Sloan, 2021).

This overt racism created anger and fear in the Chinese-Canadian community and set the stage for more violent aggression. Several participants expressed that they were more concerned about racism than the virus. This sentiment was echoed throughout the interviews, with one participant feeling fearful enough to carry a stick that could be used in self-defence.

Thankfully, for most participants during the mid-2020 interview period, racist

Racism unmasked

incidents were limited to microaggressions at grocery stores while Ontario was still in lockdown. Microaggressions are a sad reminder that racism has not gone away. Participants expressed the desire to see better education in schools and public education campaigns against racism.

Sadly, many of their fears have been borne out as 2021 saw an increase in anti-Asian racism (Zhang et al., 2020). As in the United States, Canada witnessed an increase in violent attacks targeting the Chinese diaspora community. Such attacks have been shown to be on the rise in Canada (Kong et al., 2021).

WORDS MATTER

While anti-Asian sentiments existed prior to the pandemic, COVID-19 exacerbated this anti-social behaviour. Research during 2020 documented perceptions of the Chinese Canadian community at a point in time when the foundational actions creating the environment for today's overt racism were being put into place. The lesson remains that people in positions of authority need to exercise care when choosing their words and sending out messages. The initial advice against wearing masks created unnecessary hardship for Chinese Canadians who decided to wear them.

It is reprehensible that some politicians continue to use racist tropes in their messaging. The anxiety they created in the early days of the pandemic was stressful during an already difficult period. There is little expectation that politicians will cease using inflammatory racialized rhetoric for personal advancement. However, in fully recognizing this sad state of affairs for what it is and in also recognizing how this permissive environment for racial animosity came into being, the Chinese-

While anti-Asian sentiments existed prior to the pandemic, COVID-19 exacerbated this anti-social behaviour.

Canadian community is looking for allies in educators, media, and public officials to help stem the tide of racism. 🍁

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Rethinking reconciliation: Problematizing reconciliation politics through the Land Back lens

The COVID-19 pandemic has forced many to stay home, including Indigenous land defenders who must self-isolate, even as resource extraction is deemed an "essential service." The Coastal GasLink (CGL) pipeline, being built in northern British Columbia through Wet'suwet'en territory, is one of those "essential" projects. It is carrying on "business as usual" but with the added benefit of local protestors being forced to stay home while national attention is diverted elsewhere (Wood, 2020).

THE WET'SUWET'EN CASE

The CGL pipeline originally sparked national conversation in January 2019, when an injunction was granted to CGL to access a road being blocked by Wet'suwet'en protestors, and 14 people were arrested by the RCMP (Fournier, 2019). The pipeline, part of the "largest private sector investment in Canadian history," was again discussed at length in late 2019 and early 2020, as access to Wet'suwet'en territory remained blocked to pipeline workers, and protests erupted across the country in solidarity (Bellrichard, 2020). More injunctions, arrests, and protests followed, this time with renewed force by the RCMP in a pre-dawn raid, including "lethal overwatch" (Crosby, 2020). National attention drove the federal and provincial governments to the negotiation table with the hereditary chiefs, and a memorandum of understanding was signed in May 2020, recognizing Wet'suwet'en title to the land but not resolving the future of the pipeline (Wood, 2020). These protests were (and are) a response not only to Wet'suwet'en law (as the hereditary chiefs did not give consent), but also to Canadian law (with Wet'suwet'en title being recognized by the Supreme Court) and international law (as

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the province has adopted UNDRIP, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples).

The Wet'suwet'en protests, both in the territory and across Canada, acted as a catalyst for wider conversations around what reconciliation actually means, especially when the Canadian state does not listen when Indigenous nations say no. Protestors answered this question, taking up statements such as "Reconciliation Is Dead" and "Land Back" (Talaga, 2020). Indigenous-led actions have increasingly been using "Land Back" language, not so much as an organized movement but as a unifying narrative, connecting similar fights across Canada for land and treaty rights, rather than relying on "reconciliation" to frame their efforts.

WHAT DOES THIS SHIFT MEAN?

If reconciliation is no longer the way that Indigenous communities are framing their relationships with governments and settlers—if Indigenous communities are now emphasizing the return of "Indigenous lands to Indigenous hands"—this signals the failure of reconciliation to adequately address Indigenous needs. The Canadian state's conceptualization of reconciliation has relied and continues to rely on methods of capitalist expansion and development to extend the benefits that most Canadians receive to Indigen-

ous people as well. However, this framework simply represents more of the same. Capitalism and resource extraction have served as key foundations of settler colonialism in Canada and are therefore the problem. Consequently, this framework cannot also be the solution.

One does not have to look too hard to find myriad examples of how economic expansion has been the pillar of the formation of the Canadian state, from the fur trade and Hudson's Bay Company to continuing natural resource extraction. One also does not have to look too hard to see how land is central to the continuing colonization. If colonialism is about people and place, as Wolfe (2006) suggests, the Canadian approach has been and continues to be to oppress the "people" in order to gain access to their "place."

These current forms of reconciliation politics are therefore less about building a new relationship with Indigenous nations, where economic development benefits all those involved, than about replicating the colonial practices that marginalized Indigenous peoples in the first place. The process may appear different, but the outcome remains the same. Indigenous voices and sovereignty are ignored, and the state can profit from Indigenous resources without consent. Trying to address the marginalization of Indigenous people caused by colonial policies through more extraction is an attempt to address the symptoms of Canadian colonialism rather than the causes, and therefore only reproduces more of the same. This is a song we have all heard before. By moving away from reconciliation politics and using the language of Land Back, Indigenous activists are demanding a change in the lyrics.

Rethinking reconciliation

WET'SUWET'EN IS EMBLEMATIC OF THE BIGGER PICTURE OF RECONCILIATION

Wet'suwet'en is emblematic of how reconciliation politics have been framed as a new relationship but, in reality, serve to replicate the colonial one. The rights and title of the Wet'suwet'en nation over their territory should have been absolute, as they are affirmed in Canadian and international law. Yet, when it comes to resource development and the economy, Canada can ignore all of that in favour of the "national interest." It is no wonder that Indigenous land defenders have abandoned reconciliation politics, because it represents a "shape-shifting colonialism": on the surface, reconciliation looks different from colonization, but underneath, the same structures of control are maintained (Barker, 2009). As pipeline construction, among other neoliberal policies, is pursued despite a lack of consent, it becomes clear that these reconciliation efforts are more about economic assimilation and bringing Indigenous nations into the Canadian political economy. Thus, we see the rejection of reconciliation politics and movement toward Land Back as ways to truly address these underlying structures.

Land Back represents a shift not only for Indigenous land defenders and activists, but for settlers as well. Reconciliation politics has largely meant the reconciliation of Indigenous peoples to

the fact of the state, allowing Canadians to stay out of these messy debates with a land acknowledgment. This will not be possible with Land Back. Reconciliation implies that colonialism in Canada is in the past, so we can all move forward together. Land Back underscores that colonization is very much present and ongoing, in ways that challenge the peaceful and friendly Canadian national image. Unlike reconciliation, Land Back will require settlers to truly engage with what it means to be on this territory together. Decolonization is not just a matter for the state, but for all of us. 🍁

Land Back represents a shift not only for Indigenous land defenders and activists, but for settlers as well.

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i am: circular questions of *i*dentity

INTRODUCTION: CYRUS SUNDAR SINGH

On the pre-pandemic morning of February 20, 2020, two guests were interviewed on CBC Radio's *The Current* (Galloway, 2020) about the ongoing rail impasse resulting from the Wet'suwet'en First Nation's protest against the Coastal Gas-Link pipeline through their unceded territory. Both guests on *The Current* used the term "everyday Canadians" in reference to those citizens who were being affected by the blockades. Who are everyday Canadians? Are there someday Canadians? And perhaps weekend Canadians? However, as I pondered these questions, COVID-19 descended on and disrupted all Canadians.

Fortuitously, in the midst of the 2020 pandemic summer, I designed and co-led the *i* am… digital media project through CERC (Canada Excellence Research Chair in Migration and Integration) at Ryerson University. Open to graduate students from across Canada, the project elicited expressions of identity and belonging or not-belonging with a Canadian-ism and broke new ground in qualitative research methodology. *i* am: circular questions of *i*dentity are the lived experiences of six project participants.

CHAPTER 1: SAMITA SARWAN

The process of finding my identity, much like the *i* am project, was a constant cycle of change. I had to learn to lower my expectations for myself, which for me meant re-evaluating the definition of success and understanding the negative attributes of "categorizing." I think society tends to put people in boxes too often without exploring secondary factors. People are the way they are as a result of many different experiences that are unique to them. Too often, third parties/persons commit "assumicide," leaving little room for the individual to come to their own identity.

BY CYRUS SUNDAR SINGH, SAMITA SARWAN, NICOLE LEE, SOO KYUNG MIN, JOEL ZHANG, TEMI PHILLIPS, AND EDDY WANG

Cyrus Sundar Singh is an AcademiCreActivist: a multiple award-winning filmmaker, composer, and scholar pursuing a PhD in communications and culture in the York–Ryerson Joint Graduate Program. Samita Sarwan is currently working toward her master of social work at the University of Windsor. Nicole Lee is a second-year master of science student in kinesiology at Lakehead University. Soo Kyung Min is a global education specialist who oversees and supervises the founding of schools and program development in various countries, and she is a scholar with an EdD in educational leadership and policy from OISE/ University of Toronto. Joel Zhang is currently working toward his master of science in One Health at the University of Western Ontario. Temi Phillips is a PhD candidate in the Department of Mechanical and Manufacturing Engineering at the University of Calgary. Eddy Wang recently graduated with a master of arts in cinema studies at the University of Toronto.

For the majority of my childhood, I was put into boxes, I was labelled by family, by teachers, and by peers. These labels have stuck with me as I entered adulthood, and many choices about my life were based on these labels. They have interfered with my ability to see success in my own eyes. I view myself as a powerful yet apprehensive person. I wish to be seen as a smart, beautiful, and confident person, which I can grow into only by continuing to push my boundaries. I crave the feeling of acceptance.

CHAPTER 2: NICOLE LEE

When I think of my journey to belongingness, my view of myself along with the opinions of others have shaped what this looks like for me. To others I look like a Caucasian female, whereas in reality I am a First Nation Indigenous woman. To me this is a constant battle of feeling powerful but also feeling as if I do not belong.

"Being" a different perspective on Indigenous culture allows me to feel powerful. However, I feel like a failure because I am told that there is no way I belong within my culture because of the way I look. It feels as if I am allowing others to decide what is right and wrong within my own culture. As I learn to stand up for myself, this also needs to start with others. A world where no one feels ashamed by the way they look is when this divide through culture and identity will be no more.

CHAPTER 3: SOO KYUNG (SUE) MIN

My journey to discover, define, and connect with the concept of identity began when I was a young teenager, when I was sent away on a study-abroad program to Canada. Relocation to a foreign country without family and encounters with various unfamiliar individuals led to the establishment of a survival instinct: talk, act, and be like *them*. However, I have come to realize that the goal should no longer be about being part of *us* instead of *them*, but rather gathering the courage to wholly accept oneself despite societal expectations, norms, and judgments (this is what I have termed as "identity begins with *I*"). Creating a movement from the mainstream culture as a minority while enduring through unexpected ignorance and microaggressions is not an easy task (Dei & Kempf, 2013). Nevertheless, I believe that the country we live in has the potential to change into a place where all *I*'s can be fully cherished, no matter how Canadian or not Canadian they may be, and this is why I am sharing my story of *I*dentity.

i am: circular questions of identity

CHAPTER 4: JOEL ZHANG

Our identity is constantly being pushed toward a leap of faith. Kids growing up now are obsessed with being "different," unlike when I was growing up. My mom profoundly remembers a younger me claiming that I was "white." She remembers what I don't, because she knew what it felt like to have an identity crisis. It must have broken her heart. I fought to belong, so I ate and dressed how the people around me were, and then later on, I rejected that aspect of myself, and began to act the opposite of what I tried so hard to do earlier in life. Every step of the way, I was making my own leaps of faith.

I overcompensate for that now by being outspoken about any Asian-American issue, so those who feel what I felt don't have to go through what I went through. We all grow up hiding parts of ourselves in order to belong. We leap blindly, and sometimes it doesn't work out. That hurt is necessary and evolves until we understand who we really are.

CHAPTER 5: TEMI PHILLIPS

I am not. I am often asked how I see myself. I've been told to find my identity outside the labels society slaps on me, not to let anyone tell me what I can or cannot be or do. In all of this search for meaning and identity, in all this fight against systemic racism and sexism, and all the other isms out there, there are times when all I want is one precious moment when I don't have to live in that label-crazed world. I simply want to step out into my life without remembering, or being reminded, that I'm a Black woman of a certain age pursuing a career in a "male-dominated" field. Sometimes, I just want to forget what my colour is because my race is often a huge burden to carry, and I just want to live without the labels for a few precious moments. Sometimes, I don't want to *identify* with anything. I simply want to *be*.

CHAPTER 6: EDDY WANG

I am a nomad. I have wandered between "Canadian" and "Asian" identities for all my life. The nomad wanders alone, searching for a home to give their soul rest. I feel lost, aimlessly moving, like a visitor in my own skin, looking … for what?

What have I lost?

Melancholia is an experience of loss wherein you don't understand what thing was lost in the first place. Cheng (2001, p. 23) points out that what undercoats the Asian immigrant subject is a deep constitutive melancholia.

I have been disassociated from my loss, unable to associate my "me" with my Asian Canadianness. I forget I am Asian Canadian. I have lost the answer to the question "who am I?" I suppose I'm learning how to be *okay* with my melancholia. Learning how to be okay with how I'm feeling helps me feel okay. After all, you never lose your melancholia. How could you? How could you lose loss? 🍁

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The past, present, and future of Canadian identity

THE PAST: TO BE A CANADIAN

My first encounter with the concept of identity occurred at the early age of 11. "Uh-hak-yun-soo," which in literal translation means going abroad to learn another language and culture, became a trending phenomenon in Korea in the late 1990s. My parents were not an exception in joining the crowd. While being introduced to numerous school brochures with photos of young Caucasian students smiling, I imagined myself being one of them. The excitement of getting my own forest-green-coloured passport overpowered the exhaustion of waiting in an endless line at the Canadian embassy to get a student visa, as well as the fear of rejection my father instilled in me during the passport photoshoot by yelling, "Pull your hair back more! They won't let you in at the Customs if you don't show both of your ears."

After eight months of preparation, I began my journey at a small private school in Newmarket, Ontario. First period was French. Madame recognized that I was a new student and asked, "Comment tu t'appelles?" I froze in silence, not knowing what to do. Others replied, "Oh, she doesn't know French." Madame asked Dennis, who was sitting on the right side of me, to share his *On y va!* textbook and insisted I try. Even after skimming through the pages, I could not speak because none of the words looked recognizable. Dennis quietly whispered the answer into my ear, "Je m'appelle Sue." I mumbled with a stutter, "Joo ma pell Soo." "Très bien," said Madame. Yet I knew she did not mean it. I was not très bien at all but rather helpless, vulnerable, and alienated. A sudden moment of realization came: I did not fit the criteria of a perfect Canadian as I imagined myself to be. Efforts must be made to be stripped of "I" to be part of them.

Throughout the next five years, I spent significant time being immersed

BY SOO KYUNG (SUE) MIN

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in the new society. I dyed my hair bright blonde, listened to the Billboard Hot 100 chart, went to every school dance party, and became the only non-Caucasian cheerleader on the squad. I was also the residence ambassador, a member of the student council, and an MVP-winning athlete: the Asian girl who did not fit the stereotype. Simultaneously, I could not stop questioning myself every night when left alone in my room, "Who am I, really?"

THE PRESENT: WHERE IS CHANGE?

Twenty years later, I now hold a dark navy passport and no longer need to pull my hair back tightly to show both ears for fear of being rejected at Customs. Not only am I able to speak fluent English and French, but I can even effortlessly add "eh" at the end of every other sentence. Nevertheless, I can still vividly see an 11-year-old girl who so eagerly wanted to be "them" that she endured the pain of bleaching her hair for hours to turn it blonde from black, lip-synced to pop songs without knowing any of the words, and introduced herself as being from Richmond Hill, although it was only my guardian who lived there. This is because while working with diverse bodies of students as an educator, I have come across numerous individuals standing at the same crossroads where I once stood, challenged by a choice to be more or less of a Canadian. My story was indeed our story.

Over time, school facilities have been renovated and modern technology has been implemented to provide supposedly better educational experiences for future leaders. More news articles are being released to inform citizens on issues of immigration policy, and movements founded on equity and acceptance such as Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate are vocal. Yet why is it that young people in our society are still pondering the same question I did two decades ago?

THE FUTURE: IDENTITY BEGINS WITH "I"

The most unfortunate surprise I have encountered throughout the interactions with various cultural minorities is that most have never spoken out loud about their identity crisis, as if having gone through such a struggle is a disqualification for being a true Canadian. These experiences were being hidden for societal norms, values, and beliefs to be clothed on. However, ignoring the existence of personal stories only acts as an obstacle to the creation of a unified country where differences are respected, while intensifying the structures of inequity.

My intention here is neither to demonize certain groups nor to play the blame game pointing out societal flaws, but to bring attention to what has been undervalued: lived stories told through individuals' own voices. Armstrong and McMahon (2004) explain how voice encompasses one's thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and actions. Therefore, voice can be the key to answering important questions of identity, namely, "Who am I?" and "Who defines me?" (McMahon, 2012). Thus, I argue that various "I" voices must be acknowledged as honourable actors with the agency to create, modify, and reaffirm their own identities. The silencing of voices should be regarded as the

equivalent to oppressing the power to self-identify because it ultimately leads to assimilation and conformation (Blanco-Vega et al., 2008; Castro-Olivo & Merrell, 2012). Furthermore, the historical justifications that have been used for segregation and labelling, including racism, sexism, class-based discernment, and any other perceived disabilities which result in discrimination, must be resisted (Bolin, 2017).

I have radical hope that an honest and open dialogue can be exchanged on the basis of collective efforts. We engage not as part of us or them but as "we," as equal partners in the change-making initiative. We will be able to establish a new discourse of identity where being a Canadian is about cherishing different voices. 🍁

> [I]gnoring the existence of personal stories only acts as an obstacle to the creation of a unified country where differences are respected, while intensifying the structures of inequity.

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Walking to self-determination as a figure skater and First Nation Indigenous person

BY NICOLE LEE

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To think of a time when you may have felt uncomfortable, confused, or out of place may be difficult for some, but very easy for others. It all depends on one's past and the experiences they have faced. This feeling can be known as belongingness. Today within Canada, this idea can resonate with many different people, for many different reasons. Some individuals have found their place, whereas others are still trying to find it. Being able to find that intrinsic motivation to overcome this barrier is when an individual can truly feel comfortable in their own skin.

As defined by Ryan and Deci (2000) through the self-determination model, there are three core needs that foster growth in humans: competence, autonomy, and relatedness. When these needs are fulfilled, one can feel as if they belong through this intrinsic motivation that they have created for themselves. When I think of my journey to belongingness, two very different pathways have shaped what this looks like for me—one as a competitive figure skater and one as a First Nation Indigenous person.

LOOKING THE PART

Being a competitive figure skater all my life, I always knew I belonged at the rink. This was my safe space; a place that was just so easy and natural for me, I never questioned why I was there. The idea of competence was natural while skating. It began from the simplest of body movements, to being a successful competitor, and has led me to a degree in kinesiology. Although finding belonging and competence in this aspect of my life seemed so simple, there was one place where I could not find that same feeling.

Growing up as a First Nation Indigenous person, I knew I did not look the part, nor did I have the same living experiences as some. I thought because I was different, I was not able to live this role successfully. This idea of competence within identity is something experienced by many due to the "norms" society has placed on cultures. To have this idea of competence so purposefully in one aspect of your life but not another is a difficult concept to understand. I know I am not alone with this feeling, but it is hard not knowing if you belong within your culture.

NO, I WANT TO BE A FIGURE SKATER

Although figure skating is a sport that is independent for the skater, autonomy is so much more than just skating by oneself. Stepping on to the ice by yourself and being so vulnerable with what is to come has allowed me to become the person I

> Although I am just one person living with high self-determination in one aspect and nearly none in another, throughout Canada I imagine I am not alone.

am today. I remember being told in high school to quit skating and to pursue other sports. It was the first time I had to stand up for my autonomy. I did so willingly.

I think about myself not feeling this sense of independence with my culture and not knowing when I am able to stand up for myself. Although I know I can do so, it is as if I do not know what ramifications will come. Again, I think of what society regards as a First Nation Indigenous person, and because I do not look the part, I lose all hope of trying to identify myself and stand up for myself. When someone tells me to quit the sport I love, I have no problem telling them otherwise, but when someone questions my culture, I begin to think they are right.

YOU DON'T BELONG HERE

The idea of relatedness is something I have never had to question while skating. I have always felt connected through my coaches, my friends, and simply just stepping on to the ice. There is nowhere I feel more connected than at the rink, doing the sport I love. To think I have an overabundance of relatedness in one aspect of my life and next to none in another is truly riveting. I think back to the day when I went to get my status card. I was excited for this day, but I was also very nervous. As soon as I walked through the door, I felt as if everyone thought I did not belong there. This, mixed with people not believing me when I said I am First Nation, is when I lost this sense of being connected with my culture. Losing this sense of feeling connected and related is where all confidence and desire are lost. Allowing everyone, no matter their differences, to feel related to their culture is something that is missing due to societal norms.

Walking to self-determination

CHANGING THE PERSPECTIVE

Although I am just one person living with high self-determination in one aspect and nearly none in another, throughout Canada I imagine I am not alone. It is a constant battle I walk, but every day I am closer to fulfilling the three core needs to feel that I belong. This conversation of identity and belonging is one that continues to be needed. Why is it that we still look at cultures with only one spe-cific vision? How do we expect growth within our country if it does not start within ourselves? It is important to educate one another with information that allows Canada to come together as one and not feel divided. As I continue to soar with my passion for figure skating, feeling no sense of fear, I hope to reach this feeling of belonging as a First Nation Indigenous person someday soon. ✤

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Being good wives and ideal migrants: Experiences of Indian marriage migrant women in Canada

BY HARSHITA YALAMARTY

Harshita Yalamarty is a PhD candidate in the Gender, Feminist and Women's Studies Program at York University. Her dissertation examines the experiences of Indian marriage migrant women in Canada in relation to migration policies, expectations of household and care labour, and caste in the diaspora.

GENDERED MIGRATION TO CANADA

The Canadian immigration model shows a clear gendered division between paid work and economic activity on the one hand and domestic labour on the other (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). The points system recognizes paid work performed in the public sphere; it does not account for unpaid care and domestic work, which is still largely the burden of women. Women migrate to Canada primarily as spouses or dependants, whether in the economic class or the family class. For instance, in 2013, 34.3 percent of total female permanent residents were admitted under the family class; 54.1 percent were admitted under the economic class, and within this group, just over one-third were admitted as principal applicants while the rest were the spouse or dependant of a principal applicant (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Marriages in India and the Indian diaspora are commonly "arranged," as seen in the recent Netflix show *Indian Matchmaking* (Mundhra, 2020). These are compulsory heterosexual marriages between a man and a woman sought within acceptable parameters of caste, class, religion, region, and language; and decided upon primarily by their respective families, or with the families' involvement and approval (Tamalapakula, 2019). After marriage, women are expected to live with their husbands and/or their in-laws in most communities, known as the patrilocal norm. Within India, married women constitute the largest number of intra-country migrants. Palriwala and Uberoi (2005) argue that in India, "brides are the epitome of the permanent migrant" (p. 28) because married women take on a different subjectivity when they move to their marital household.

TRANSNATIONAL MARRIAGE MIGRATION TO CANADA

When it comes to transnational marriage migration for Indian women, the caste, class, regional, religious, and patrilocal norms are mapped onto crossing national borders. For instance, in 2016, migration from India to join a spouse in Canada constituted 21.9 percent of all Indian migrants; within this group, 65.9 percent were women (Statistics Canada, 2016). Spousal sponsorship and family reunification policies allowed women, once they had migrated and/or acquired citizenship, to enable other family members to migrate. Through arranged marriage practices, transnational marriages became understood as "fully modern means of negotiating the boundaries of citizenship imposed by states" among certain dominant caste communities in India (Mooney, 2006, p. 360). This kinship-community-based approach to marriage as a migration pathway stands in contrast to the "ideal migrant" sought by Canada: an individual who is highly educated, skilled, and experienced and who answers Canadian economic needs.

Over the past decade, restrictions have been placed on spousal sponsorship visas; both spouses are now required to be economically self-sufficient.

In 2011, the Conservative government launched an anti-marriage-fraud campaign targeting migrants from India, even as particular South Asian communities in Canada are held up as "model minorities" placed in opposition to, and in competition with, Black, Indigenous, and other racialized communities (Upadhyay, 2019). Transnational arranged marriages were scrutinized for not exhibiting sufficient evidence of "conjugality" as defined by evidence of a romantic relationship. Canadian visa officials in India constructed inclusion and exclusion criteria for relationships to be classified as "real" or "fake" largely on the basis of local hegemonic cultures, and any evidence of deviation from these norms was seen as suspect (Gaucher, 2018). When Canadian visa officials held the power to decide and evaluate what defined a "valid" legitimate marriage eligible for citizenship and/or residency, the Canadian state came to play a part in the lives, practices, and performances of rituals of Indian women and men who aspire to migrate.

EXPERIENCES OF INDIAN MARRIAGE MIGRANT WOMEN

In my research with 24 Indian marriage migrant women to Canada, 14 had "led" the migration process as the primary applicants, as workers or students, which violated the patrilocal norm. The remaining women migrated as spouses or dependants. A majority of my respondents shared that, as new migrants, they

needed to be flexible and open-minded in their approach to Canadian life. For instance, taking up "survival jobs"—service or factory jobs, often at minimum wage—were not considered degrading or deskilling, but rather a part of the journey toward establishing themselves. Women also considered these qualities important for their marriage to weather the challenges of immigration—the need to have open discussions with their husbands, to be flexible in sharing in domestic chores, and to do whatever was necessary to survive the change. This process was not always smooth. According to one of my respondents:

> Counselling can help people adjust. But both partners have to be willing. I feel the government should provide it along with all the career services!

With this suggestion, she demonstrates how women struggle to reconcile their roles as good wives and good (future) citizens. Her solution suggests bringing the Canadian state back into the responsibility of ensuring that new immigrants, as individuals and as a couple, can sustain their marriage. In the absence of established community networks, or without their family's support if they had broken patrilocal or arranged marriage norms, women looked toward state and government programs as a means of support.

Overall, my respondents aspired to embody the qualities of the self-sufficient and competitive migrant-worker-citizen that Canada wants. While most presented self-narratives of overall contentment, excitement, and preparedness for the struggles of life in Canada, each respondent shared stories of friends, neighbours, or colleagues who were depressed at the social isolation, who were unable to cope with the downward class mobility, who experienced acute acculturative stress, and who eventually "gave up" and returned to India. These stories served as cautionary tales, not only about the challenges of immigration, but also about the price women seemed destined to pay for desiring to move away from their families, advance their careers, and, in a few cases, set the terms for the mobility of their marriages instead of leaving it in their husbands' hands. 🍁

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Cultural bridges: Traditional Chinese orchestras in Canada

In the current climate of "Asian hate" and xenophobia, it is even more urgent to shine a light on the experience of the Chinese diaspora in Canada in the hopes of building understanding and creating community. For immigrants, music is an important link to their homeland and serves to bring people together and preserve cultural heritage. Not only that, it is a means of connecting people across cultures as we search for commonalities in our diverse country.

Traditional Chinese orchestras are community hubs of social and cultural activities that link different generations, offer a safe and supportive space for immigrants, and allow Chinese Canadians to connect with their distant roots. The fieldwork for this research included interviews with leaders of Chinese orchestras across Canada.

HISTORY OF THE CHINESE DIASPORA

The Chinese in Canada come from various parts of Asia. As a result, they not only vary culturally and linguistically, but also include several generations of Canadian-born Chinese (CBC). The first Chinese individuals arrived in Canada in the 1850s, predominantly from the Guangdong province (Toishan) in southern China. They came to Canada in search of a better life, but, instead of the promises of prosperity at Gold Mountain (named for the 1858 gold rush in British Columbia), they encountered racism, abuse, and poverty. Approximately 16,000 Chinese were recruited as cheap labour to help build Canada's transcontinental railway. They were given the most dangerous jobs and thousands died during the railway's construction. Although Chinese people contributed significantly to their new communities, they were still considered outcasts in society. Since 1860, discriminatory legislation was passed against the Chinese, setting an

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anti-Chinese trend in the government. In the years that followed, the government passed a head tax to discourage Chinese immigration, and in 1923 the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, banning Chinese immigration to Canada. Although the Act was repealed in 1947, only wives and children under 18 years of age could enter Canada. Discriminatory racial wordings were removed from regulations only in 1962.

With these turbulent experiences in Canada, music was a way for immigrants to escape from the harsh realities and remember their homeland. They formed benevolent societies that provided financial assistance and small arts groups that enabled both social gatherings and the strengthening of their community. For

> Not only do we need to reach the next generation, we also need to go beyond the Chinese community to learn from other cultures and to create Canadian works.

Chinese immigrants, there has been a long history of discrimination and perpetually feeling like the "other."

CHINESE ORCHESTRA: HISTORY AND IMPACT

The traditional Chinese orchestra of Asia has a surprisingly short history of approximately 100 years. Before this, music served the purpose of rituals, processions, and court entertainment. The Chinese orchestra had its start in the 1920s with musicians wanting to take the best qualities of Western music and "modernize" it while retaining the roots of Chinese music. They wanted to create an orchestra that showed their national identity, and this led to the establishment of Chinese orchestras in other parts of Asia, such as Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

In the 1960s, a new wave of Chinese immigrants began to arrive in Canada. They were predominantly from Hong Kong and Taiwan, and many came to study. It was during this time that the first traditional Chinese instrumental ensembles were formed in Vancouver and Toronto. These ensembles served as a place for socializing, for escaping from the pressures of school and work, and for sharing familiar music and memories.

As a second-generation Chinese Canadian, I struggled with my identity. In school, I was sometimes the only visible minority in class and I was looked upon as a foreigner. Outside of school, the immigrant Chinese looked at me with skepticism; although I looked like them, I was not considered "authentic." This created deep feelings of shame; I did not fit in anywhere. My parents tried to teach my siblings and me about our culture by sending us to weekly Chinese lessons for language, dance, and music. I also studied piano and violin. Although I enjoyed these instruments, I fell in love with the

Cultural bridges

erhu (a Chinese bowed-string instrument) and eventually joined a Chinese orchestra. This not only instilled pride in me, but it also helped me to realize that being different was something positive.

CHINESE ORCHESTRA: TODAY

Currently, there are Chinese orchestras in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Toronto, and Montreal. They are all multigenerational, with members between the ages of 10 and 75. They bring together people from different parts of Asia, CBC, and others who are not of Chinese heritage. Over the years, each orchestra has worked hard to survive in Canada. Unlike Western symphony orchestras, there is a significant lack of suitable scores, musicians, and financial resources. There is also the challenge of engaging members with a wide range of musical abilities and ages. This highlights the fragility of the Chinese orchestra, which can easily stagnate and dissolve if it does not adapt. An application of this research has been to connect these orchestras together to strengthen and find collective solutions to challenges rather than each struggling on their own. Not only do we need to reach the next generation, we also need to go beyond the Chinese community to learn from other cultures and to create Canadian works.

To complete this research, I conducted several interviews with Chinese orchestra leaders. Not only were they appreciative of the opportunity to share their stories, but our conversations led them to reflect on why they either formed or joined a Chinese orchestra and how the experience has impacted their lives. My interviews have also shown that these conversations are necessary. They give Chinese musicians a voice, and they offer a rare opportunity for each of them to tell their stories, open a dialogue about belonging, and provide a safe place to have honest discussions about their struggles to fit into the rich Canadian tapestry.

INTERVIEWS

BC Chinese Orchestra

BC Youth Chinese Orchestra

Calgary Chinese Orchestra

Chinese Instrumental Music Group of Toronto

Edmonton Chinese Philharmonica Orchestra

Montreal Chinese Instrumental Ensemble

Toronto Chinese Orchestra

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Estimating landcover change and greenhouse gas emissions using spatiotemporal MODIS data: A case study in northern Ontario

BY IMA ITUEN

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There is a positive effect of the changing climate: in northern Ontario, the warming weather has lengthened the growing season. The study area in northeastern Ontario is referred to as the Great Clay Belt. It extends from Quebec into Ontario; in Ontario, the area spans about 120,000 sq. km. As its name suggests, the region is known for its predominantly clayey soil. The soil has typically allowed barley, oat, and wheat crops to be grown successfully. Yet, with the increased temperature in recent years, other crops (including soybeans, canola, corn grain, and silage corn) are now being grown. However, this area has harsh weather. Average temperature in July is about 17°C, with peak mean monthly rainfall amounts of about 95 mm in July, and an average of 557 mm of rain annually. Furthermore, the first frost occurs in the mid-September.

These weather conditions have forced several aspiring farmers away from the Great Clay Belt.

In recent years, annual crop heat units (CHUs) have risen by 25 percent. (The CHU is related to the minimum and maximum temperatures for a day.) The rise has come with an increase in yield per acre. The government of Ontario wants to expand agricultural opportunities in northern Ontario. One way it will do so is by attracting potential farmers to undertake both livestock and crop farming in the region (Government of Ontario, 2013, 2016).

HISTORY REPEATED?

This is not the first government initiative to populate the Clay Belt region with farmers. The 1920 *Report [of the] Commission of Enquiry, Kapuskasing Colony* detailed the failed effort to maintain farmers living in that area. Soldiers who returned from the First World War were enticed to Ontario's Clay Belt with the promise of free land, 20 million acres of virgin soil, where (as another promotion declared) alfalfa, clover, field roots, barley, and other grains could be "grown with … phenomenal success" (Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway Commission, 1912, p. 7). The Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway Commission stated that the area had no stones and good drainage, and the winter "sometimes touches a lower notch than at Ottawa or Montreal" (1912, p. 7). Unfortunately, the conditions were too harsh for many; furthermore, the government had overpromised on the potential for success. Thus, those who had settled there got refunds on land and animals and were given free transport to relocate to any other place in Ontario.

While challenges to agriculture in the Clay Belt region still exist, the summer months are still wet, with an average of 14 rain days per month (Beef North, n.d.). A solution to the poor drainage has been found with tile drainage, and with long-term warmer weather being expected as a result of the effects of climate change, agricultural endeavours could become even more profitable.

CHANGING LANDSCAPE

Most of the area the Ontario government has initially targeted to establish agricultural lands is currently forested. The project, tagged the Northern Livestock Pilot, is funded from investments by the government of Ontario, the Beef Farmers of Ontario, and northeastern Ontario municipalities (Government of Ontario, 2016). These entities are promoting research projects in the areas of environmental, social, and economic sustainability, and our study is among the environmental sustainability projects. Our aim is to identify the possible soil carbon and greenhouse gas (GHG) changes that might occur when the currently forested land undergoes transformation to agricultural land. The long-term effects of land conversion from forests to agriculture are not yet known. However, past studies indicate that soil carbon, nutrients, and GHG emissions will be affected by the conversions.

REMOTE SENSING TOOLS FOR OBSERVING LAND CHANGES

Land-use dynamics have been studied extensively over the years through observations made with various remote sensing tools. Our study uses Moderate Resolution Imaging Spectroradiometer (MODIS) satellite imagery. MODIS satellite data is commonly used for large-scale and long-term monitoring of the earth's environment. In agriculture and forestry,

A case study in northern Ontario

changes detected from such satellite imagery can be used to monitor crop growth, detect soil moisture, and monitor deforestation and forest fires (Kempeneers et al., 2012).

First, we aim to observe the land-use and landcover changes that have occurred in the study region over the past two decades to establish the trend in historical land disturbance—for example, wildfires, harvesting, or forest insect damage. Thereafter, we can predict the frequency and extent of future land disturbances in the region. We will then model the GHG emissions, which will result from land conversions and disturbances.

Given the expansive area covered by Ontario's Clay Belt, it was deemed prudent initially to use moderate-resolution imagery to identify areas of landcover change. Subsequently, plots that have undergone landcover change will be examined in closer detail, using high-resolution satellite imagery.

We have developed an automatic and operational method to determine where landcover change has occurred. It uses a vegetation index and the land surface temperature as input parameters. By performing a statistical test on these parameters, it could be determined whether significant change has occurred in the region.

MODELLING CARBON AND GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS

Using the Canadian Forestry Services Carbon Budget Modeller (Kurz et al., 2009),

we have estimated the changes in ecosystem carbon by simulating the land disturbance impacts, climatic conditions, and forest growth dynamics. It was observed how carbon from living materials (biomass) increases as trees are growing. When an area is harvested and the debris burned, the biomass carbon reduces since the woody biomass is not on the land anymore. Additionally, the carbon amount from dead organic matter increases from the stems, branches, and other organic waste on the land. Differences in organic matter were also observed in the soil types. For instance, the luvisolic type of soil had the lowest dead organic matter carbon value, while brunisolic non-forest soil type had the highest initial carbon value.

There is also livestock farming, such as beef and dairy cows, in the Great Clay Belt. Additionally, commercial tree harvesting is conducted, taking advantage of the large, quality trees in this boreal forest region. With the warming effects of climate change, it is expected that more forest will be cleared and converted to agricultural land. We continue to estimate the associated carbon fluxes from these activities and intend to make recommendations on appropriate land management schemes, which will keep GHG emissions to a minimum.

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The future Arctic

A MELTING WORLD

Relatively few people have travelled to the circumpolar Arctic, yet the region's basic characteristics of freezing temperatures and isolation often reign supreme in our cultural imagination. In contrast to the "frozen wasteland" imagery, rising global temperatures linked to climate change are accentuated in the Arctic and threaten the region's organic equilibrium, in turn contributing to the planet's broader climatic shift (AMAP, 2021).

This environmental threat appears even more dramatic given the area's frozen composition, which hosts many species that have evolved to live within a tundra ecosystem. The polar bear is arguably the most spectacular animal to embody climate change's threat to the Arctic on an affective level. For example, the image of an emaciated polar bear seemingly wandering in starvation and despair across an "iceless land" captured by National Geographic (Gibbens, 2017) quickly became global in its reproduction. National Geographic clearly evoked the threat of rapid environmental change as an imperilling force by stating that "this is what climate change looks like" (National Geographic, 2017). Here, the underlying values of the Arctic as a "frozen wasteland" image are flipped to signal that which is pristine, untouched, and sacred against the destructive forces of industrial exploitation—a lonely place of dying in a melting world.

IMAGINING THE "NEW ARCTIC"

Such images or *imaginaries* may seem anecdotal (especially when their link to climate change is challenged, as with this polar bear). However, it is essential to consider how our dominant cultural and social representations of the Arctic affect and are interlaced with government policy and discourse. Within the political zeitgeist, the Arctic is routinely framed as a space ripe for capitalist exploitation and interstate conflict over resources and transport routes in the near to distant future. Such discourses have likened

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recent geopolitical interest in the Arctic to the late 19th century's surge of colonial expansion in Africa as European imperialism reached a crescendo. While such comparisons have been challenged, there are certain regional similarities in their coloniality. Specifically, both Africa and the Arctic are represented through overlapping and often competing imaginaries that are historically contoured as *othered* spaces and peoples.

Culturally, how the Arctic is represented is often highly gendered through the reliance on masculinist adventure and rescue narratives. These narratives exaggerate the role of the loner-saviour archetype within the Arctic's elemental milieu—for example, George Clooney's character in the film *The Midnight Sky*

> **Put succinctly, the Arctic is undergoing a transformation resulting from climate change that enhances its potential for economic exploitation, thereby inserting the Arctic firmly into the networks of globalization.**

(Clooney, 2020) and Mads Mikkelsen's character in the film *Arctic* (Penna, 2018). Within these situations, conflict is the key thematic driver—man against nature, man against himself. Likewise, climate change represents a critical thematic driver of conflict differently, as man *against* nature. The Arctic and its natural inhabitants are suffering as the result of progress made in the modern age. Rather than our mastery over nature, we have lost control as industrial progress bleeds into the infinite regress of an increasingly complex world.

The multiple and overlapping imaginaries underpinning our current understanding of the Arctic all embody a specific constellation of cultural representations and epistemic interventions premised on what has been termed the "new Arctic." The new Arctic is contoured by rising global temperatures, which are in turn creating a host of cascading effects for the Arctic's environment, flora, and communities. Consequently, these forces are altering the Arctic's entire organic composition and, by extension, the region's social and political makeup.

The permutation of cultural and epistemic representations of the Arctic also shapes debates within international relations (IR). Arctic research within IR is diverse, but many debates are centred on the Arctic's potential for resource development, year-round shipping, exploitation by non-state actors such as criminals and terrorists, and the prospect of interstate conflict over these economic interests. Put succinctly, the Arctic is undergoing a transformation resulting from climate change that enhances its potential for economic exploitation, thereby inserting the Arctic firmly into the networks of globalization.

Conversely, the Arctic is also threatened by these changes from the state's perspective because these forces undermine the taken-for-granted status of sovereignty (sovereignty's de jure quality).

The future Arctic

While the assemblage of forces affecting the Arctic may create robust economic opportunities for northern states, these forces also undermine the state's de facto authority. The state's authority is undermined because its ability to project force is challenged by a comparative lack of development and resources, especially relative to southern territories.

Arctic sovereignty and security have thus returned as important considerations on the political scene for policymakers and defence practitioners within the Canadian context. The issue of Canada's sovereignty and defence in the Arctic is not new, and there have been several periods of intense state interest since the turn of the 20th century, but especially during the Cold War. Canada's defence policy in the Cold War Arctic centred on developing surveillance technologies (often in partnership with the United States) to warn of Soviet incursion and attack. These early efforts culminated in the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line, its later upgrade, the North Warning System (NWS), and prototype technologies designed for underwater surveillance.

With the recent growth of interest in the Arctic, Canada has once again adopted a defence strategy focused on technological innovation following years of disinterest and disinvestment. Notably, while this strategy echoes earlier defence efforts by the Canadian state, current technological developments are premised on a specific concern for the *future* of the Arctic. The goal of Canada is to illuminate the Arctic through multiple surveillance platforms that will support predictive and pre-emptive forms of intervention by the state through all-domain awareness. All-domain awareness indicates how the future's imaginative quality is shaping the Arctic as a defence theatre. Importantly, this focus may come at the expense of other imaginaries that shape forms of intervention that could promote a more equitable and resilient Arctic in the face of its unprecedented transformation. 🍁

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2022 ROBARTS CENTRE GRADUATE CONFERENCE

WALKING THE WALK? FATIGUE AND HOPE IN THE STUDY OF CANADA

The 2022 Annual Robarts Centre Graduate Conference will be confronting some of the mainstream representations of Canada with the realities of lasting systemic inequities and the lack of collective action for necessary change. Mobilizing ongoing frustration, impatience and fatigue in a critical and interdisciplinary study of Canada, this conference will reflect on these asymmetries and points of rupture, while also highlighting key pathways to transformation and futures of hope.

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UBC (un)accountable: On public shaming, CanLit, and the Steven Galloway controversy

REFUSING CANLIT: THE UTILITY AND LIMIT OF PUBLIC SHAME

Public shaming, as a tool used in the collection *Refuse: CanLit in Ruins* (2018), is to some degree effective in creating awareness of systemic and institutional issues regarding the Steven Galloway controversy and other cases of alleged sexual assault. However, public shaming has its limitations in that it merely brings about an awareness of the issue without offering concrete ways of supporting sexual assault survivors and ending rape culture. Although I appreciate and applaud the activist work that has accompanied this movement, we—as a collective—must imagine and create avenues of support for sexual assault survivors that do not end with the public shaming of their attackers.

Steven Galloway, the chair of the creative writing program at the University of British Columbia, was accused of several transgressions (including sexual assault) in November 2015 and was ultimately fired in June 2016. In response to this decision and the public disclosure of these allegations, Canadian writer Joseph Boyden penned the "UBC Accountable" letter defending Galloway's right to due process. Many notable Canadian writers subsequently signed the document, with supporters including Margaret Atwood, Michael Ondaatje, David Cronenberg, Susan Swan, Madeline Thien, and Rawi Hage. The letter sought to pressure UBC into establishing "an independent investigation into how this matter has been handled by the Creative Writing Program, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and the senior administration at UBC" (Boyden, 2016, para. 9). In turn, a "counter-letter" condemning the "UBC Accountable" sig-

BY WALTER RAFAEL VILLANUEVA

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natories and speaking in favour of the complainants was produced and supported mainly by academics and writers who belonged to marginalized groups and minorities (Rak, 2016).

The *Refuse* collection picks up on the tensions that became clear within CanLit as a discipline and institution after the occurrence of the UBC Accountable debacle and other CanLit controversies. What is notable about *Refuse* is that, rather than being directed at any specific individual or select group of individuals, the collection has the express purpose of shaming not just those involved in these scandals but CanLit readership as a whole. Quoting (and then rebutting) Nick Mount, the editors argue that he is "restating a commonly believed proposition that a few 1970s literary celebrities built a literature where there was none before, and then became global successes, just as Canada (at last!) stepped on to the world stage" (McGregor et al., 2018, pp. 21–22). Here they link the Canadian national imaginary with the emergence of CanLit as a "cultural field." They suggest that several decades onward, "CanLit has gone global and actively participates in the circulation of cultural and economic capital" (McGregor et al., 2018, p. 22). They argue that antithetical to what they call the "gentle liberalism, polite consensus, and attractively packaged moderate progressiveness" that appears to define modern-day Canada and contemporary Canadian culture

are movements like #MeToo (McGregor et al., 2018, p. 23). These movements "position their demands for radical transformation of the ongoing workings of colonization, systemic racism, and rape culture" (McGregor et al., 2018, p. 23). But who is being addressed in this call to action? The answer is *you*, the reader of *Refuse* and other Canadian texts.

PUBLIC SHAME AND YOU

Although the public shaming of the CanLit readership is consistent throughout *Refuse*, I will be focusing on a single piece from the collection. Zoe Todd's essay, for instance, invokes public shaming of the CanLit readership immediately in its title, "Rape Culture, CanLit, and You." The "you" here is ambiguous, implying that the essay is intended for all of us as readers who participate in the consumption of Canadian literature as a cultural product. "As *you* well know," Todd addresses the reader in her discussion about the UBC Accountable letter, "the burden of proof in cases like [the Steven Galloway case] is very high. All Canadians learned this this spring with the [Jian] Ghomeshi trial" (Todd, 2018, p. 38; emphasis added). By using an unspecified "you" throughout most of the piece, Todd is suggesting that readers are somehow complicit in being indifferent toward, if not actually encouraging, rape culture. It is not until near the end of her essay that the "you" becomes more specific when she states, "I turn here to addressing the person who spearheaded [the UBC Accountable] letter, Mr. [Joseph] Boyden" (Todd, 2018, p. 41). Was she speaking to Boyden throughout

UBC (un)accountable

the entirety of the essay before she directly addressed him? Or was she addressing us as readers? Who is the intended audience of her piece? These questions I am asking are directly elicited by the ambiguity with which she deploys this "you." In a sense, by having readers believe that they are the ones to whom this piece is addressed, at least initially, and then only later turning her attention to Boyden, Todd is also directly conflating the reader with Boyden. We *are* Joseph Boyden in the sense that we are complicit in the "white supremacist, heteropatriarchal … settler-colonial … system" (Todd, 2018, p. 42). Although this shaming of a broad "you" and of CanLit readership as a whole is an effective rhetorical strategy, this decision also has the effect of absolving individualized guilt.

Sara Ahmed notes that "declarations of shame can bring 'the nation' into existence as a felt community" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 101). While I know that Ahmed is speaking particularly of the acknowledgment of colonial-settler violence, I argue that the public shaming of CanLit readership in Todd's piece and indeed throughout much of *Refuse* has the unintended consequence of working as a similar "form of nation building" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 102). If our identity as Canadians and as a readership becomes centred on this

> **Public shaming is effective in having us acknowledge there is an issue that brings about this shame. Acknowledgment because of public shaming, however, is not enough to change an entire culture.**

shame, then we experience this feeling as a collective whole and not on an individual level. We are thus not compelled to face what it is exactly we are being told we should feel ashamed about. We already *know* that sexual assault is a rampant issue and that perhaps we are complicit in rape culture in the sense that we all are because it is a systemic issue. But what can we, on an individual level, do? This is the limit of shame.

Public shaming is effective in having us acknowledge there is an issue that brings about this shame. Acknowledgment because of public shaming, however, is not enough to change an entire culture. In the aftermath of the #MeToo movement and various CanLit controversies, we must learn to move beyond shame and begin thinking of concrete ways to fix a system that is clearly broken.

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Policing and the LGBTIQ2S+ community in Canada

Canadian police services have attempted to repair their relations with LGBTIQ2S+ communities in recent years. However, the legacy of historical anti-LGBTIQ2S+ policing and the current dissatisfaction with police investigations, use of force, and treatment of BIPOC LGBTIQ2S+ individuals inhibit continued progress. The role of police as the state's enforcement arm in the exclusion and persecution of sexual and gender minorities will likely colour the dynamic between police and LGBTIQ2S+ individuals—particularly those who are doubly marginalized—for generations.

POLICE–LGBTIQ2S+ RELATIONS IN CANADA

Even after Canada decriminalized homosexuality in 1969, LGBTIQ2S+ individuals remained the subjects of police criminalization, as efforts to regulate the spaces and lives of people with non-normative genders and sexualities continued. One of the most notable police actions against the Canadian LGBTIQ2S+ community took place in 1981, when the Toronto Police raided men's bathhouses, leading to large-scale protests that eventually birthed what is now known as Pride Toronto (McCaskell, 2016).

Canadian police have since moved away from overt actions against LGBTIQ2S+ individuals. While efforts to engage the LGBTIQ2S+ community are now the explicit priority of many police services, critics argue that police work continues to disproportionately affect LGBTIQ2S+ individuals—especially those who experience multiple forms of marginalization—but is now cloaked in arguments that justify enforcement under the guise of public safety and morality (Lvovsky, 2020). This makes the regulation of LGBTIQ2S+ identities more insidious and difficult to identify, particularly by the general public and those within the community who are outwardly accepted by

BY C. EMMA KELLY

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police and influenced by the adoption of LGBTIQ2S+ image work within policing (McCaskell, 2016).

DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES IN THE LGBTIQ2S+ COMMUNITY

Among those in the LGBTIQ2S+ community who have taken a strong stance against this continued regulation are its BIPOC members. A wave of demonstrations initiated by the Toronto chapter of the Black Lives Matter movement (BLMTO) in 2016 aimed to draw attention to police-perpetrated anti-Black racism. After being invited to Pride Toronto as an honoured group to recognize their work, BLMTO halted Toronto's 2016 Pride parade to protest Black erasure in Pride, as well as police participation in the parade. Their action drew attention to the diversity of experiences within the LGBTIQ2S+ community and the particular vulnerability of queer and trans people of colour to police violence or inaction (Furman et al., 2018).

The bitterly divided response across the country only served to further reflect the differences within the LGBTIQ2S+ community. While some community members wholeheartedly support police, many others feel that police presence is threatening, to the degree that some are not comfortable participating in Pride celebrations. Furman et al. (2018) note that BLMTO's action brought the "white supremacy that occurs within the LGBTQ community" to the foreground (p. 49). This was particularly evident in the nature of the media and public response to BLMTO's action: the organization was

villainized and its members were cast as outsiders, despite the fact that many of the activists identified as LGBTIQ2S+.

HOMONORMATIVITY AND THE EXCLUSION OF MARGINALIZED "OTHERS"

These vastly different experiences within the community reflect what Duggan (2002) terms "homonormativity." While police culture is thought to be particularly threatened by non-normative sexualities and gender presentations, some forms of queerness have become officially accepted by police organizations. However, Duggan (2002) argues that the mainstreaming of queer identities is selective and continues to support the structure of heteronormativity that has historically been used to marginalize non-normative sexualities. Certain forms of homosexuality and gender expression by queer individuals—in particular those that mirror traditional heterosexual relationships—are now considered acceptable, while others are still subordinated. This "homonormativity" has been used to explain the exclusion of BIPOC and otherwise marginalized individuals from the LGBTIQ2S+ community; they do not fit the ideal of the "imagined 'good queer citizen,' [who] is typically cisgendered, white(ned), middle-class or aspiring and able-bodied" (Russell, 2019, p. 366).

Some scholars contend that the apparent improvement in the relationship between LGBTIQ2S+ communities and the police is nothing more than "pinkwashing," whereby the police present themselves as progressive to mask their ongoing transgressions against more marginalized LGBTIQ2S+ individuals (McCaskell, 2016). Pinkwashing often manifests in Pride celebrations, which moved from protests of police brutality to prioritizing corporate and police involvement; these organizations are accused of

using their participation as a tool to pink-wash their image. This shift reflects the interests of so-called respectable queers, who embody the homonormative ideal, rather than more marginalized members of the community (Russell, 2019).

Pinkwashing such as this is made possible by a "homonationalist" state, a term coined by Puar (2007) to describe a nation that prides itself on its toler-ance of queer identities and adopts that tolerance as a defining characteristic. However, the benevolence that homo-nationalist states extend to sexual others is dependent on their conformity to a narrow, homonormative standard. These individuals become worthy of state pro-tection and cultural and legal citizenship, to the detriment of other marginalized bodies. As McCaskell (2016) states, Can-ada "regularly forgets its national roots in settler colonialism, racism, and exploita-tion," and its proud acceptance of homo-normative queerness is "deployed as proof that Canada is the liberal country it imagines itself to be" (p. 1302). However, those who do not embody the queer ideal have not been absorbed into the national fabric, and rather than becom-ing part of a protected class, they con-tinue to be policed and criminalized in much the same way that all LGBTIQ2S+ people once were.

Greey (2018) argues that when margin-alized people protest their exclusion, as BLMTO did, their disruption of Canada's image as a benevolent, queer-friendly haven and refusal to act as "grateful queers" is met with disapproval and con-demnation (p. 670). Further, those who benefit from homonationalism may fail to recognize the inequality of the privileges granted to members of their commun-ity. These individuals, who have relatively high levels of political clout, have typ-ically been given a platform to speak for the LGBTIQ2S+ community. However, dif-ferences within the community necessi-tate explorations of policing that reflect various experiences and perceptions; the community is not monolithic, and schol-arship must not treat queer and trans indi-viduals' opinions as such.   🍁

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Geographic racializing and the (re)colonization of Vancouver during the sex work "crisis"

Vancouver's supposed sex work "crisis" began with the closure of the city's cabarets in the late 1970s. The closure of these cabarets meant that many sex workers (primarily women [biological and trans] of Indigenous descent) had to ply their trade on Vancouver's commercial and residential streets, making it appear during the 1980s that there had been an increase in outdoor sex workers. Ultimately, the sex work "crisis" was one of ideology, image, and identity. From 1980 to 2000, the city's white middle-class residents battled for control over Vancouver's geographic and ideological meanings. These residents not only lived in Vancouver but saw themselves *as* Vancouver itself. As such, these residents wanted Vancouver to embody the image of a white, hetero/homonormative, middle-class resident and, in doing so, adopted the persona of the (re)colonizer.

SEX WORK AS ANTI-COLONIALISM

The migration of Indigenous peoples to the city and the sex worker "invasion" of residential neighbourhoods constitute an act of anti-colonialism. Indigenous peoples and sex workers "invaded" previously and (then) currently colonized lands through their presence. During the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Indigenous populations increased in western Canada, leading to a mass migration of Indigenous peoples to urban centres. While the increase of both migrants and sex workers in this period is not necessarily connected, the city's colonial past has otherized and sexualized Vancouver's sex workers and Indigenous peoples in a manner that has joined the two. This connectivity and the supposed increase in sex workers made the city, or rather the establishment of white middle-

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class hetero/homonormativity, appear under attack. The "panics" over the sex work "crisis," in many ways, resemble historical-colonial fears of Indigenous rebellion and the threat of Indigeneity to settler lands and colonizers themselves (Perry, 2001; Carter, 1993). Normative communities/residents, therefore, had to recolonize their areas through letters of complaint, municipal authorities, anti-sex-worker groups, and, most notably, the gentrification of Vancouver.

VANCOUVER AS A (RE)COLONIZER

The following passage from *A Newcomer's Guide to the City of Vancouver* (City of Vancouver, 2001, pp. 3, 7, 9) offers a pertinent example of the recolonization process:

> Though Vancouver is a relatively new city, aboriginal people have been living here for at least 8,000 years. The Coast Salish people, including the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh, who still live here today, dwelt in villages throughout the area and thrived on a land and sea rich with resources. *… Every City has its special areas and spots that give it a unique flavour. …* **Chinatown** *…* is one of North America's largest. Shops, restaurants, theatres, gardens, and cultural centres all contribute to this

commercial and residential district. *…* **The West End** *…* is one of North America's most densely populated neighbourhoods. … The area retains a green and peaceful air while offering ample opportunity for shopping and entertainment.

In the *Newcomer's Guide*, Vancouver's Indigenous history is described through racial tropes that separate Indigenous peoples from the cityscape. The dichotomization between the "relatively new city" and its Indigenous peoples mythicizes Vancouver's Indigenous population. Their description as village-dwelling fixtures of the natural environment resembles the colonial romanticization of Indigeneity as ancient and fundamentally disconnected from modernity. The specification that these peoples still live in the city further projects Indigeneity and, by extension, the Indigenous women of Vancouver's on-street sex trade as relics of the past, thus making the land occupied by these peoples appear available, or rather available again, for settlement (Hunt, 2013).

The city's racialized identity is made more apparent through the gentrified descriptions of Vancouver's Chinatown and West End in the *Newcomer's Guide*. The late 1960s and early 1970s marked a burgeoning enthusiasm for Canada's diverse ethnic groups (Anderson, 1991). Chinatown was celebrated and protected as one of Vancouver's "ethnic neighbourhoods" (Anderson, 1991). The crude "Oriental" motif, associated with disease, crime, and prostitution, of the early 20th century transformed into a subtler sense of ethnic quaintness furnished with shops, restaurants, theatres, gardens, and cultural centres (Ross, 2012; City of Vancouver, 2001). During the same period,

owing to a growing number of upwardly mobile middle-class gay men, the West End entered a period of intense gentrification involving the transformation of an established working area for sex workers into a "gaybourhood" (Ross, 2018). This "gaybourhood" became realized through the region's "green and peaceful" air and shopping and entertainment opportunities (Ross, 2018; City of Vancouver, 2001).

Chinatown and the West End are Vancouver's most successfully colonized areas. This colonization emerges through geographic size. Vancouver's Chinatown is one of North America's largest, and the West End is one of North America's most densely populated neighbourhoods. The sheer size and density of these regions and the commercial potential therein showcase the spatial success of Vancouver's gentrification/colonization efforts as these places, by all accounts, have been (re)colonized. Colonization is also made most evident through the whitewashing of Chinatown and the West End. Chinatown and the West End transform from their (albeit) white/colonial constructions as dirty, disreputable, illicit, and racialized into gentrified regions representing white, middle-class, hetero/homonormativity via the geographic and ideological colonization of the "other." The gentrification of Chinatown and the West End facilitated a reclaiming of these spaces as commercial and residential areas as well as criminal/racialized

spaces within the cityscape. Additionally, as part of the City Publications Collection at the City of Vancouver Archives and as a city publication, the *Newcomer's Guide* represents Vancouver's ideal persona— that of the recolonizer gentrifying the city.

CONCLUSION

The movement and presence of individuals from various racialized and criminalized regions into the increasingly gentrifying Vancouver ultimately challenged the city's spatial delineations. Sex workers, as representatives and residents of the city's most loathsome districts, brought the police, drug dealers, pimps, and clients into "respectable" regions of the city. Instead of becoming the white city envisioned by 19th-century colonists and late 20th-century middle-class residents, Vancouver faced possible degentrification and decolonization from 1980 to 2000 and, therefore, had to adopt its recolonizer persona to regain normative control over the cityscape.   🍁

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YORK U GLOBAL LABOUR RESEARCH CENTRE
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In recent decades, profound transformations in the global economy, as well as the recent and ongoing economic crisis, have fundamentally altered patterns of work, labour, employment and unemployment, the structure of labour markets, relations between employers and employees, and the traditional institutions of workplace organizing and representation. These dynamics challenge scholars to forge a new research agenda. Motivated by these changes, the Global Labour Research Centre (GLRC) promotes the study of work, employment and labour at York University.

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implementation of mental health and well-being programs tailored specifically to fathers.

In "Racism Unmasked: How Racism Influenced Chinese Canadians' COVID-19 Response," authors Terri Chu and Jack Rozdilsky (York University) take us back to the early days of the pandemic, when Chinese Canadians faced a surge of racism. The authors rightly criticize politicians who used racist tropes for personal advancement as well as the permissive environment that does little to halt hate speech and hate crime. They conclude that only the help of allies (educators, media outlets, and public officials) can stop, or at least restrain, this particular course of discrimination and racism.

In the last article in this section, "Rethinking Reconciliation: Problematizing Reconciliation Politics Through the Land Back Lens," Hannah Morikawa (York University) discusses the problematic situation faced by Indigenous land defenders, who as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic have been forced to stay at home and not actively defend the land, while resource extraction is deemed an essential service and the Coastal GasLink pipeline continues to be built. Morikawa writes about the challenges this presents for a reconciliation that is still to come at a time when the nation's settlers, in the throes of a worldwide pandemic, have yet to engage with the true meaning of sharing a territory.

QUESTIONS OF IDENTITY AND BELONGING

We continue with powerful personal accounts of self-determination, identity, and belonging. Singh et al. (Multiple University Project), presents "*i* am: *c*ircular *q*uestions of *i*dentity," a digital media project turned article in which six project participants express their feelings on identity, belonging, and not belonging. "The Past, Present, and Future of Canadian Identity" by Soo Kyung Min (University of Toronto) and "Walking to Self-Determination as a Figure Skater and First Nation Indigenous Person" by

Nicole Lee (Lakehead University) speak to the importance of acknowledging various cultural voices both within ourselves and within society. The authors believe that Canadian identity and belonging should be defined broadly and based on the nation's rich collective mosaic of cultures. The question "Who am I?" becomes more about finding who each of us are in the context of a personal growth process rather than trying to fit into a pre-existing mould to be accepted.

RACIALIZED TENSIONS AND MIGRATION

In the categories of immigration and diaspora, we find the articles of Harshita Yalamarty (York University) and Patty Chan (York University). Yalamarty's article, "Being Good Wives and Ideal Migrants: Experiences of Indian Marriage Migrant Women in Canada," relates the experience of Indian women immigrating to Canada. Because they migrate to Canada primarily as spouses or dependants, many of them suffer from social isolation, acculturation stresses, and experiences of downward class mobility, and they often return home. Yalamarty writes that (Indian) women today still pay a price for wanting to better their circumstances. In "Cultural Bridges: Traditional Chinese Orchestras in Canada," Chan writes about the experience of the Chinese diaspora in the context of traditional Chinese orchestras in Canada. The individuals she interviews weave their personal stories into the music and create slices of autobiographies that not only serve to fill in a gap in the scholarship but also leave a legacy for themselves and members of their families.

ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE

The two articles in this section present an environmental case study and an examination of surveillance in the Arctic. In "Estimating Landcover Change and Greenhouse Gas Emissions Using Spatiotemporal MODIS Data: A Case Study in Northern Ontario," Ima Ituen

(York University) discusses some of the positive effects of warming weather on the growing season. On the basis of data from crop and livestock farming as well as commercial tree harvesting metrics, Ituen hopes that the estimated carbon fluxes associated with these activities can assist in making recommendations for land management that will minimize greenhouse gas emissions.

In "The Future Arctic," Benjamin T. Johnson (York University) examines how several prevailing cultural and social representations of the Arctic (frozen, untouched, sacred, man versus nature) are intertwined with government policies and discourse. These overlapping narratives often contrast with the Arctic's potential for resource development, which include shipping, exploitation, and conflict over economic interest. Johnson shows that, following years of disinterest and disinvestment, Canada's sovereignty and defence strategy of the Arctic now includes multiple surveillance platforms that support both predictive and pre-emptive forms of intervention. Johnson also cautions that this type of "defence theatre" might prevent other forms of more equitable and resilient imaginaries from emerging from the future Arctic.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY: BARRIERS, JUSTICE, AND POLICIES

In our last section, the authors tackle the topics of sexual assault and the challenges of speaking up for marginalized populations. In "UBC (Un)Accountable: On Public Shaming, CanLit, and the Steven Galloway Controversy," Walter Rafael Villanueva (University of Toronto) writes about the effectiveness and limits of public shaming. Public shaming can create awareness around a particular situation (sexual assault in this case) or systemic and institutional deficiencies, but it does not often translate into support or cultural changes. Beyond the end of publicly shaming attackers, Villanueva

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advocates for pivoting toward the creation of avenues of support for survivors of sexual assault.

In "Policing and the LGBTIQ2S+ Community in Canada," C. Emma Kelly (University of Guelph) discusses the challenges faced by Canadian police services and LGBTIQ2S+ communities in their attempts to repair relations against the historical legacy of anti-LGBTIQ2S+ policing and ongoing discontent with police investigations.

Finally, in "Geographic Racializing and the (Re)Colonization of Vancouver During the Sex Work 'Crisis,'" Evania Pietrangelo-Porco (York University) focuses on the sex work "crisis" that took place in Vancouver from 1980 to 2000. She argues that this was a crisis of ideology, image, and identity and that white, heteronormative, middle-class residents adopted the per-

sona of "(re)colonizers." The (re)colonizers wanted the city to embody and reflect their own image rather than the reality, which included an important population of sex workers, biological and trans individuals of Indigenous descent, Indigenous people, and Asian and South Asian immigrants.

MAPPING FUTURE PATHWAYS

In accordance with our theme, this issue of *Canada Watch* explores many existing pathways for conversations on crisis, challenge, and change in Canada. However, beyond valued contributions to diverse scholarship, our authors also show grit and determination in the face of accomplishing long-term goals during a most challenging time. We recognize their resilience and thank them for sharing their findings with us. We hope

readers are both taken by their activism and inspired to pursue their own, regardless of how the pandemic is shaping our daily lives.

In closing, we would also like to extend our most sincere appreciation to the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies. The Centre's generous mentoring, support, and encouragement of graduate students, as well as the many opportunities it affords for connection with other Canadianists, students and scholars alike, provide a vital space that fosters both students' enthusiasm for the field and a desire to pay it forward. 🍁

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