

Anti-Chinese Racism in Canada Under the Shadow of COVID-19

By

Lanlin Bu

B.Sc., Southeast University, China, 1993

M.Sc., Southeast University, China, 1999

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University of Victoria

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Defense Committee

Client: Harmony Foundation of Canada

Supervisor: Dr. Kimberly Speers
School of Public Administration, University of Victoria

Second Reader: Dr. Jill Chouinard
School of Public Administration, University of Victoria

Chair: Dr. Bart Cunningham
School of Public Administration, University of Victoria

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Almost every year during spring break until 2020, I took my son back to China. It was the opportunity for him to experience Chinese culture – the food, the landscape, the people and their dialects, even the smells in the air. It was also a reunion with my parents, time for me to take care of them so that my sister could have a break. When China started to lock down the city of Wuhan in January 2020, I worried about my family and friends in China, but I thought it would pass in a few months, like SARS some years ago. Unfortunately, I still cannot enter China with my Canadian passport.

I immigrated to Canada almost 14 years ago and became a Canadian citizen in 2015. It has been a good decision, and I have successfully built my new life. But at times it feels that I am not fully accepted as either Chinese or Canadian. In Canada, I am Chinese; in China, I am Canadian, or at best, “foreign” Chinese. The struggle for identity became stronger in 2020 when the Chinese diasporas were scapegoated for causing and spreading COVID-19. When I saw reports on racial harassment of Chinese people around the world and in Canada, this research came to my mind instinctively.

The year 2020 has many reasons to be remembered. COVID-19 was only one of them. This research counts as a major one for me. I believe this project is truly meaningful to me, to my family afar, and to the Chinese community and the broader society in Canada. There were many challenges during the process. Sometimes it was academic or technical, but more often emotional, because I was both an observer and a participant in this project.

I truly appreciate the support from my family, my friends and my instructor, Dr. Kimberly Speers. Especially, I am grateful to Michael Bloomfield, my colleague and my client, for his continuous encouragement and support; to Dr. Kimberly Speers, for her great guidance in developing and completing this project, and her cheerful reassurance; to my son, David, for sharing his thoughts on his identity as a Chinese Canadian and for occasionally chatting with me about my paper while he quietly struggled with online learning as a first year university student; particularly to my sister for her dedicated love and support for my parents without any complaint about my absence when my parents needed me more than ever.

“Identity consciousness for the Chinese in Canada invokes many contradictions and interpretations, and it presents a minefield – each misstep can provoke division and scorn from all sides, and, worst of all, self-doubt ... You build a cultural identity by being aware of your place in history and in staking your claim of belonging. This is not an easy task. The dominant society tries to assimilate your mind; it denies your race, your culture [,] and your language. To fight back, you want the right to know your race, your culture [,] and your language. You want the right to be proud of your cultural heritage. This is when that self-doubt becomes self-awareness and self-affirmation.”

(Dete, 2019, pp. 179-180).

Executive Summary

Introduction

Racism in Canada has a long history and remains a challenge to overcome in its political institutions and civil society. European settlers adopted many different types of practices and laws that discriminated against Indigenous people and non-white, non-Christian immigrants. From their first arrival in the 1850s, Chinese people were subjected to harsh discrimination in every part of life, which was intensified by the Head Tax and the Chinese Exclusion Act. After multiculturalism was adopted by the Government of Canada in the 1970s, Chinese immigration began to rise, and now Chinese people comprise one of Canada's largest ethnic groups. The history of Chinese people in Canada is a long and complex story of the resilience of Chinese Canadians, discriminatory policies against them, and their endeavors to overcome prejudice, bias, and hatred.

With the onslaught of COVID-19, the progress to overcome direct and indirect forms of discrimination seemed to come to a halt. As demonstrated throughout this report, COVID-19 brought a shadow pandemic of hate directed at people of Chinese ethnicity or appearance in Canada. This project examined the experiences of Chinese Canadians during the COVID-19 pandemic with the intent to help people better understand the causes and impacts of racism. The ultimate goal is to stress the importance of standing up to racism through education, legislation, public policy, and collective actions so that no group will suffer again what the Chinese community experienced during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Methodology and Methods

The methodology used in this research was a literature review and a current state analysis, and the method applied was a document review.

Key Findings

Peer reviewed research papers published in academic journals and books were used for the literature review. Key search terms to identify research papers and books included "racism in Canada," "racial inequality and multiculturalism in Canada," "racism and public crisis," "media and minorities in Canada," and COVID-19, etc. The key findings from the literature review were:

- Racist ideology coexists with democratic principles in Canada.
- There has been systemic racism against Chinese people since they first came to Canada in 1850s.
- Chinese Canadians had previously experienced racial discrimination associated with infectious disease such as Leprosy and SARS.
- Canadian media has been criticized for misrepresentation and underrepresentation of racialized people, including Chinese Canadians. Two stereotypes of Chinese people

in Canada have co-existed since the beginning of Chinese immigration to Canada - “Yellow Peril” and “Model Minority”.

- While social media provides a powerful tool for its users to create, manipulate, and share content online, it also enables widespread misinformation and disinformation, especially during pandemics.

Official census and other statistical data, journal articles, recent news and survey reports, as well as information found on organizational websites were reviewed for the current state analysis. The key findings of the current state analysis included:

- The Chinese community has become one of the largest ethnic groups in Canada with a population of almost 1.8 million in 2016; almost 80% of 1.8 million were Canadian citizens. While most Chinese Canadians have a strong sense of belonging to Canada, only 13% of them believe others view them as Canadians.
- After 2011, Chinese immigrants increasingly entered Canada under the business category than under the worker program. Meanwhile, most recent Chinese immigrants under the skilled worker category were international students in Canada who applied for immigration after graduation, due to the new requirements in the current Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2001). While these two trends contributed to improved overall financial and educational status of Chinese Canadians, many of them suffered substantial earning disadvantage despite higher education than the national average.
- While western countries are increasingly concerned about China’s growing power in global economic and political systems, Canada-China relations have also deteriorated, especially after the arrest of Huawei executive, Meng Wanzhou in Canada and China’s detention of two Canadian citizens as a leveraging response to Meng’s arrest.
- Public opinion towards the Government of China have reached historical lows in Canada and other countries after the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic.
- There was an upsurge of racism against Chinese people in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic. More than 1150 racist incidents were reported online from March 10, 2020 to February 28, 2021. British Columbia had the highest number of incidents per capita in Canada, which was also higher than California and New York.
- Most victims of racist incidents were females and people who were 19-54 years old. Vancouver and Toronto had more incidents than other cities in Canada. Most incidents happened in public spaces such as streets, stores, and public transit. While the most common incidents involved verbal harassment with racial slurs, name calling or swearing, more severe behaviour included spitting, coughing, pushing victims to the ground, and even stabbing.
- The Chinese community in Canada took a proactive approach to preventing the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. Individuals organized voluntary support groups through the Chinese social media platform, WeChat. Organizations donated funds and

medical equipment to local hospitals and facilities, provided online resources with health tips, organized programs to help people cope with isolation and mental health issues, and offered training to build community resilience.

- To fight against racism, Chinese organizations initiated campaigns such as the Stop the Spread Campaign and the FaceRace campaign. In addition, online petitions were utilized to protest news reports that presented inaccurate information and prejudices against Chinese people. Meanwhile, numerous organizations offered training and education to help people respond to racial discrimination.

Two news reports received especially strong reaction from the Chinese community in 2020. One was a frontpage headline of The Province on February 5, 2020; the other was a report on Global News on April 30, 2020 by Sam Cooper. These two news reports were reviewed to exemplify reactions from the Chinese community to racist overtones and bias in media. News regarding comments from the Chinese community, public statements from several Chinese organizations and petition website change.org were reviewed to learn why these two news reports were so upsetting to the Chinese community and how they expressed their concerns about these two reports. Key findings included:

- The Province newspaper had a headline “CORONAVIRUS THREAT: 2ND CHINA VIRUS CASE IN B.C. – Local officials preparing for imminent return of people stranded in city of Wuhan, epicentre of global crisis” on its frontpage on February 5, 2020. The words “2ND CHINA VIRUS CASE IN B.C.” were all capital letters, in bold colours and in a much larger size compared to the rest of the headline. Many members in the Chinese community felt this headline was hurtful and discriminatory and criticized the decision to use this headline as being irresponsible and unprofessional.
- Sam Cooper’s report on Global News on April 30, 2020 also received strong criticism from the Chinese community in Canada. In his report, Cooper accused millions of overseas Chinese of helping China hoard personal protective equipment under the direction of the Chinese government and claimed that “every overseas Chinese is a warrior.” Several Chinese organizations and thousands of individuals questioned the accuracy and fairness of Cooper’s report, worried that this report could aggravate the rise of anti-Chinese racism and provoke fear of Chinese people in Canada.

Survey reports, statistical data, and several pre-print academic papers regarding the most recent research on the spread of hate message on social media were examined to understand the influence of social media on anti-Chinese racism provoked by COVID-19. Key findings included:

- Social media has appeared to increase anti-Chinese racism.
- There was an increase in traffic to hate sites and posts with anti-Chinese and anti-Asian hate messages.

- The surge of sinophobic terms on Twitter had a connection with a real-world event; for instance, President Trump calling COVID-19 “Chinese Virus”.
- Between February and April 2020, dominant conspiracy theories on social media were anti-Chinese, with hashtags like #CCPVirus, #ChinaLiedPeopleDied, #Chinazi, etc.
- The most hostile hashtags included #NukeChina, #BombChina, and #DeathtoChina.

Recommendations

Anti-Chinese racism cannot be prevented without dealing with all forms of racism and discrimination. Based on the findings from the literature review and current state analysis, this report proposes general recommendations to government, media, the Chinese community, and all Canadians.

The following are high-level recommendations that Canadian society in general needs to consider:

- **Recommendation 1** – All orders of Canadian governments need to improve awareness of racial discrimination, develop critical multiculturalism policies and practices by removing structural barriers, provide sufficient funding for long-term anti-racism initiatives, and politically and financially support multicultural education and racism discussion in school education.
- **Recommendation 2** - The media should acknowledge systemic bias in the industry, improve inclusivity and diversity, and ensure accurate and unbiased reporting.
- **Recommendation 3** - Chinese Canadians must strive to be good citizens, unite within and with other communities in the battle against all forms of discrimination.
- **Recommendation 4** - All Canadians need to learn to accept Canada’s future of greater diversity, welcome newcomers and help them to adapt to their new life in Canada and stand up against hate and discrimination.

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1.0 Introduction

This Master's Project investigates anti-Chinese racism in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic as well as the response of the Chinese community in Canada to racist incidents that took place during this time. The project also examines the representation of Chinese people in Canadian media and the spread of hate messages against Chinese people on social media.

Racism against various ethnic groups has existed for centuries in Canada and has been recognized as a critical issue to address for many decades. Research has shown that the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 led to increasing racial discrimination and harassment towards people of Chinese ethnicity or appearance in Canada.

In this report, "Chinese Canadians," "the Chinese community in Canada," and "Canadians of Chinese descent" refer to people living in Canada of Chinese ethnic origin, regardless of their legal status, whether Canadian citizens, permanent residents, refugees, international students, or visitors.

The phrases "racial minorities" or "minority groups" may be used in this report when referring to groups of people who have been treated unequally in Canada because of their physical characteristics or cultural background, and their minority status is the consequence of unbalanced power between them and the mainstream white European society.

1.1 Background

In December 2019, a cluster of cases of pneumonia was reported in Wuhan, China and a novel coronavirus was identified that was named COVID-19 by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2020, Apr.27). Although the Chinese government had notified WHO of a "severe pneumonia of unknown etiology" (Mitchell, Yu, Liu & Peel, 2020), the Chinese government did not take the situation seriously until almost three weeks later. Despite China's efforts to confine the coronavirus, it spread to countries around the world in a matter of months and was declared a pandemic on March 11, 2020 (WHO, 2020, April 27).

Canada reported its first COVID-19 case in Toronto on January 25, 2020 (The Canadian Press, 2020, March 2). One year after the COVID-19 pandemic was declared, worldwide COVID-19 cases climbed to over 119 million with over 2.6 million deaths, while Canada had 899,757 cases and 22,371 deaths (Worldometer, 2021, March 11).

1.2 Defining the Problem

The problem being addressed in this report is the anti-Chinese racism that emerged in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic. It is complex in that the context of the issue is relatively new, and it is ongoing, dynamic, and national in reach.

Numerous authors have found that as COVID-19 rapidly spread around the world, hostility towards the Government of China and racial discrimination against Chinese people and others of Asian appearance increased in many countries, including Canada (Cho, 2020; Light, 2020). For example, an Angus Reid Institute survey in June 2020 found there was widespread anti-Chinese racism in Canada (Shore, 2020, June 22). It was also reported that Chinese Canadians were encountering rising incidents of racial harassment across Canada, in schools, restaurants, streets and other public places (CBC News, 2020, May 27; Kelly, 2020, June 6; Kirkey, 2020, January 31; Lam, 2020, May 7; Little, 2020, May 20 & May 29; The Canadian Press, 2020, April 1; White, 2020, June 24).

This was not the first time Chinese Canadians experienced racism during a health crisis. They also faced discrimination during the SARS crisis in 2003 (D'Sa, 2020). Despite the similarities, COVID-19 is a different experience because it has lasted much longer, spread significantly broader than SARS, and has caused far greater social and financial challenges. Besides, many changes over the past 17 years have made COVID-19 associated racism a different situation, such as the size and socio-economic status of the Chinese community in Canada, the strained relationship between Canada and China, the media and public opinions towards China and Chinese people, and the growing influence of social media.

1.3 Project Client

The client for this research is the Harmony Foundation of Canada (<http://harmonyfdn.ca>). The Foundation is a registered charitable organization that has a successful track record over 35 years in fostering multi-sector cooperation for sustainable community development and public education on social and environmental justice.

The client is the Executive Director, Michael Bloomfield, of Harmony Foundation of Canada who is actively involved in human rights efforts and is also on the Board of Directors of the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights.

1.4 Project Objectives and Research Questions

This research examines the racial discrimination Chinese Canadians faced during the COVID-19 pandemic, discusses the role of media and social media in anti-Chinese racism, investigates the Chinese community's response to the racism, and makes recommendations on both future research and necessary actions to address anti-Chinese racism in Canada.

Primary research question:

How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect anti-Chinese racism in Canada?

Secondary research questions:

- 1) What type of incidents of anti-Chinese discrimination took place during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020?

- 2) How did Canadian media coverage of COVID-19 affect discrimination against Chinese people?
- 3) What role did social media play in anti-Chinese racism and public actions against racism?
- 4) How did Chinese associations and individuals respond to the COVID-19 pandemic and associated discrimination?
- 5) What lessons can the Chinese community and Canadian society in general learn to confront and prevent similar issues in the future?

1.5 Positionality Statement

Berger (2015) suggests that researchers need to be aware of their role in creating knowledge and cautiously examine “the impact of their biases, beliefs, and personal experiences on their research” (p.220). A researcher’s disciplinary and professional background and life experiences shape her worldview. Thus, different researchers may draw different findings from the same set of data because of their different personal values and skills; even the same researcher could construct her understanding differently when she is in a different frame of mind (Dean, et.al, 2018, pp.273-275).

The researcher realizes that while focusing on human subjects, her subjective experience needs to be taken into consideration. This research focuses on Canadians of Chinese ethnicity. The researcher is a Canadian citizen born and raised in China, which places her within the group under this research. She has not been able to visit her family in China since the COVID-19 pandemic started due to China’s travel restrictions. At the same time, she has been dealing with challenges in Canada caused by the pandemic and measures Canadian governments have implemented. Moreover, since she settled in Victoria over a decade ago, she has never had experienced aggressive harassment until during the COVID-19 pandemic. Her cultural background and personal experience helped her understand the struggles faced by other Chinese Canadians. Her subjectivity also enhanced her appreciation of the victims’ “cognitive, emotional and/or psychological precepts” (Chavez, 2008, P.481) while reading stories about Chinese Canadians being physically or verbally assaulted.

As an insider in the Chinese community, subjectivity enhanced the researcher’s ability to understand the researched social phenomenon., She directly observed how Chinese Canadians organized themselves to provide support for each other and the broader society to cope with the pandemic, and respond to racism towards themselves and other ethnic groups. The researcher’s first-hand observations and participation provided a unique opportunity for all Canadians to learn about the contributions made by Chinese Canadians, which arguably have been under-reported in Canadian media. Therefore, the researcher appreciates that subjectivity is important in this project, as it guided her choices of the research topic, data collection and analysis. The researcher used subjectivity to reflect her values and perspectives in interpreting qualitative data. At the same time, the researcher acknowledges that her subjectivity also can be a weakness of the project because her cultural background and subjective experience may lead to prejudices and stereotypes in the process of data collection and interpretation. Therefore, the researcher was

mindful about not treating every incident involving victims of Chinese ethnicity as anti-Chinese racism. For example, a UBC medical student Mona Wong was dragged and stepped on by a RCMP officer during a mental health wellness check in January 2020 (Little, 2020, July 11). This incident might not be racially oriented, but rather a misconduct by a police officer. The researcher also realized that the news, social media posts, and other information related to anti-Chinese racism could be emotion-triggers. She was careful to avoid dwelling on news about racist incidents and making emotional assessments and to focus on impartial analysis and include references with various perspectives as much as possible. Moreover, the researcher sought diverse independent opinions on various textual data to obtain good understanding from different perspectives.

1.6 Organization of Report

This report begins with an introduction that briefly explains the project's background and describes the research objectives and questions. The following section explains research methodology and methods, as well as limitations of the project. The subsequent section is the literature review. It starts by defining racism and understanding the overall problem of racism in Canada, and then investigates the history of racism associated with infectious disease in Canada. The impacts of media and social media on public opinion also were explored.

The following chapter analyzes the current state, exploring the present demographic status of the Chinese community in Canada and their experience with racial discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the Chinese community's responses to the pandemic and the associated racism. In addition, the current state analysis examines two news reports deemed discriminatory by the Chinese community in Canada and the spread of hate messages on social media. The discussion section connects the results of current state analysis and media analysis to research questions and offers suggestions for future research. Prior to the conclusion, the second last section provides recommendations for Canadian governments, Canadian media, the Chinese community, and the general public on reducing and preventing racism in the future.

2.0 Methodology and Methods

2.1 Introduction

This research framework was designed to better understand the state of racial discrimination faced by Chinese communities in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic. The methodology included a literature review and a current state analysis whereas the method to gather data was a document review. This section provides an overview of the methodology, the research method for data collection, information about data analysis, as well as the project's research limitations.

2.2 Methodology

The methodology for this project involved a literature review and a current state analysis.

A literature review was conducted to overview racism in Canada and learn the history of anti-Chinese racism in Canada, especially when the discrimination against Chinese community was associated with infectious diseases. A literature review also was used to explore the influence of media and social media on public views on issues involving ethnic communities in Canada through previous academic work.

A current state analysis was conducted to better understand the socio-political context of anti-Chinese racism during the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada, including the current state of Chinese community, Canada-China relations, and Canadian public opinions on China after the outbreak of COVID-19. A current state analysis also investigated the severity of anti-Chinese racism during the COVID-19 pandemic, with details on types, locations and victims of racist incidents. In addition, initiatives and actions taken by the Chinese community in Canada also were examined. Moreover, a current state analysis inspected the Chinese community's response to two news reports that caused great concerns, and the influence of hate messages on social media.

2.3 Research Method

This research used document review for data collection and analysis. Both primary and secondary resources were sought, and documents included official census and other statistical data, survey reports, journal articles, books, legal documents, and news reports. Given the ongoing state of the COVID-19 pandemic, some preprint research papers also were reviewed. In total, 177 documents were reviewed (See Appendix A for the list of documents reviewed).

The documents were chosen based on criteria listed below:

- **Relevance:** documents contain critical information that helps to answer the research questions.
- **Being current:** Most documents reviewed were published or issued in 2020 and 2021, especially statistical data, news and survey reports regarding the novel coronavirus and associated anti-Chinese racist incidents, as well as initiatives taken by Chinese Canadians in response to the pandemic and anti-Chinese racism. A few documents older than 10

years were included to understand the trend of Chinese immigration to Canada, and Chinese Canadians' experience of discrimination during the SARS epidemic in 2003.

- **Reliability:** Choose reliable resources for data collection, such as government websites, the WHO website, official census, universities, and well maintained organizational websites. Avoid personal blogs. All news reports were collected from well-recognized media, including the Globe and Mail, National Post, the Guardian, Toronto Star, Vancouver Sun, Ottawa Citizen, BBC, NBC News, CBC News, CTV News, Global News, and City News.
- **Credibility:** Priority was given to peer-reviewed journal articles and research papers. Due to the immediacy of the researched issue, some grey literature was included, but all were from credible sources, including a project report from the Public Policy Forum, some preprint research papers on spread of hate messages on social media platforms sourced from arXivLabs in Cornell University, and data analysis reports from the Moonshot CVE (a company dedicated to analyzing online conspiracy and misinformation).

Two news reports were examined through document review for reasons listed below:

- **Relevance:** The news reports are directly about the COVID-19 pandemic with content that concerns Chinese people or China.
- **Causing significant reaction from the Chinese community in Canada:** Both Global News and The Province reports created great upset in the Chinese community and led to multiple petitions on Change.org which collected tens of thousands of signatures (C. Chen, 2020; X. Chen, 2020; Pan, 2020; Yuan, 2020).
- **From different media platforms:** One report was from Global News, a national television network; the other report was from The Province, a daily newspaper in British Columbia.
- **With different level of coverage:** Global News is the news division of the Canadian Global Television Network, that claims to be "Canada's most watched news program with almost a million viewers every weekday" (Global TV, n.d.). The Province is a local newspaper published in British Columbia whose average daily circulation was less than 115,000 in 2015 (Newspaper Canada, 2016, p.4).

2.4 Data Collection

Document review was applied for data collection and analysis. Document review is an iterative process of scanning, reading and interpreting (Bowen, 2009, p.32). Two steps were taken to review the documents. The first step was to analyze the content of documents, identify relevant text passages or other data. Afterwards, the major themes were determined according to the research questions, which included the current state of the Chinese community in Canada, the Canada-China relationship, anti-Chinese racist incidents during the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada, the Chinese community's response to the pandemic and associated racism, the

disturbing news reports and the effect of social media platforms in spreading hate messages. The second step was to organize the data drawn from the first step into the identified themes. Under each theme, multiple sources of evidence were used to validate the information.

The 2016 census assisted in providing the primary data for examining the current state of the Chinese community in Canada. The data analysis focuses on population change over the period from 1980 to 2016, and the geographical locations of the Chinese population across Canada. In addition, the data on Chinese Canadians was compared with Canada's national average to learn more about the economic and social status of Chinese Canadians. Journal articles, survey reports and books were used to validate the analysis of census data on the Chinese community in Canada.

Built on data drawn from books and journal articles on Canada-China relations, recent news about events affecting Canada-China relations and survey reports were analyzed to learn the current relationship between Canada and China. Furthermore, multiple survey reports in recent years were cross checked to confirm the declining attitudes towards China in Canada and other countries.

The two racism incident reporting websites, Project 1907 (<https://www.project1907.org>) and Fight COVID Racism (<https://www.covidr racism.ca/>), were the primary sources for data analysis of anti-Chinese racism incidents in Canada during the pandemic. The focus was to better understand the number of incidents, the location and type of incidents, and the gender, age, and ethnicity of victims. News reports were used to identify examples of various types of incidents across Canada. Journal articles and survey reports were used to reinforce the data analysis result drawn from Project 1907 and Fight COVID Racism.

The news reports were used to identify initiatives and actions taken by the Chinese community in response to the COVID-19 pandemic and the associated racism. Then details about the initiatives were further investigated through the websites of the initiatives and involved organizations.

Two news reports received numerous complaints from the Chinese community for using discriminatory language and inaccurate reporting. One report was from Global News, and the other was from the Province newspaper. Both reports were retrieved from their respective media platform. Information regarding Chinese community's reactions to both reports, and the media's response to Chinese community's complaints were collected from news reports and websites of the involved Chinese organizations. Several Chinese news reports were included to validate the complaint on accuracy of the Global News report.

Document review for social media impact on anti-Chinese racism mainly was built on secondary sources. The documents were searched by key words including "COVID" or "coronavirus," "China virus," "Kungflu," "hate," "misinformation," "conspiracy," "discrimination," "social media," "social network," "Canada," "China," "Chinese," and various combinations of those terms. The survey report from Ryerson University's Social Media Lab, statistical data from

Moonshot¹ and Canadian news reports were used to investigate the effect of social media in spreading misinformation and racially discriminatory messages in Canada. Statistical data from the Light.com website and several data analytical reports on the increasing levels of hate messages on social media platforms in U.S. were used as reference to infer the impact of social media in the rising anti-Chinese racism in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic.

2.5 Data Analysis

This project took the Foucauldian approach of discourse analysis. Foucault believed that the way language was organized into discourses produced knowledge and power relations which affected people's experience, behaviour and cultural identity (Shaw & Greenhalgh, 2008; Gibbs, 2015; Burman & Parker, 2017). In this project, both direct and indirect references were used, and discourses included various written text from journal articles, survey reports, media, legal documents and books. The analysis concentrated on knowledge production through language; particularly, finding repetitions of words, phrases and logic from various texts on the same topics.

To understand the changing racial conflict between the dominant society and the Chinese community in Canada, discourses were situated in their historical and cultural context while being analyzed. Particular attention was paid to identifying the position of the Chinese community in discourse, and actions they were allowed or prohibited to take, in comparison to Canada's overall population and dominant population.

Discourse is embedded with institutional practices in organizing, regulating and administrating social life (Gibbs, 2015). Discourses from media reports and legal documents were analyzed with a focus on identifying relations of imbalanced power and exploring how the discourses constructed and reinforce the social reality that associated racialized community with infectious disease.

Discourse analysis of the selected media reports examined not only rhetorical language but also images accompanying the text content. In addition, analysis paid attention to how Chinese people were characterized in the discourse, what information was included and excluded, and how varying understanding of the same terms resulted from different positioning of the media and the Chinese community. Moreover, discourse analysis investigated how current journalistic standards and dominant perspectives in Canada's media sustained the industry's practices that racialized the Chinese community and other marginalized groups in Canada.

¹ Moonshot (n.d.) is a technology company dedicated in detecting and intervening in the spread of extremist content, conspiracy theories and disinformation online and safeguarding vulnerable individuals.

2.6 Project Limitations

This project has limitations due to research method of document review, selecting English documents only, the currency of the research issue, and the scale of data collection.

Limitation due to the research method

When applying the method of document review, misinterpretation may occur due to the researcher's knowledge of the subject, personal experience, and analysis skills. Besides, the researcher's personal bias may influence the criteria and the process for selecting documents. The extensive online resources created challenges in identifying documents, while some sources were not accessible due to the requirement for subscriptions or membership. Moreover, because all documents were created by other authors for different research purposes, the researcher had no control on data collection and analysis for those documents; therefore, there was no guarantee that data contained in reviewed documents were accurate or complete.

Limitation due to language

The resources for document review were limited to news, reports and research papers in English. Chinese Canadians frequently share COVID-19 updates, medical advices, news about racial discrimination targeting Chinese people, and calls for action on WeChat² through group chatting or subscription posts. Because all those conversations and posts were in Chinese, none were used as data resource.

Limitation due to the currency of the research problem

The COVID-19 pandemic suddenly spread all over the world, and the situation has been constantly changing since March 2020. There were limited research references, especially peer-reviewed academic research papers. While academics urgently started studies on impacts of this pandemic, many were still in the process. Few reports were officially published. Even though some peer-reviewed reports were identified, few focused on Canada. The researcher had to choose some pre-print draft papers that were not yet peer-reviewed.

Limitation due to the extensive size of data

² WeChat is the most popular Chinese social media app with over one billion registered users in 2020 (Iqbal, 2020). Its users can chat one-on-one or in group through text messages, audio and video calls, as well as post Facebook like Moments. It also integrates shopping, gaming and e-payment functions.

The COVID-19 pandemic is longer than anyone expected, and it is still uncertain when it will end. A preliminary google search for reports containing the keywords “coronavirus” and “China” between June 1, 2020 and June 30, 2020 led to 297 results on globalnews.ca alone. The scale would be too substantial for a one researcher project to include multiple media sites and social media platforms over the entire course of the pandemic. Therefore, this research did not focus on content analysis of media and social media posts but chose to conduct document review to illuminate anti-Chinese racism during the pandemic in 2020.

3.0 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to provide an understanding of racism within the Canadian context and specifically, to describe the history of anti-Chinese racism in Canada found in the academic literature. The literature review also explores scholarly literature on systemic racism and identifies research on the impact of media and social media on racial inequality.

COVID-19 only emerged in Canada in early spring 2020; therefore, there is limited research directly linking anti-Chinese racism to COVID-19. Yet racism and anti-racism is a well-researched topic, including research on understanding the concept of racism and its various forms, racial inequality and cultural diversity in Canada, causes of racist behavior, and strategies to counter racism. There are also publications particularly on anti-Chinese racism in Canada that are mostly focused on the period from the 1880s to 1970s.

In the twenty-first century, with extensive access to the Internet, media reports and social media messages are delivered worldwide almost instantly. A wide range of research is available on the roles of media and social media on shaping public opinions towards minority groups, which may lead to discrimination against specific populations, especially during a national crisis. The limited research that associates racial discrimination against Chinese Canadians associated with a pandemic is predominantly during the SARS crisis in 2003. Research on discrimination towards non-Chinese groups associated with infectious disease is also examined in this literature review.

Key themes explored in this literature review include:

- Defining racism
- Examining the history of anti-Chinese racism in Canada
- Understanding anti-racism associated with infectious disease, especially during the SARS outbreak
- Investigating impacts from mass media and social media on public opinion towards ethnic minorities
- Exploring anti-racism strategies for government, media, the Chinese community and all Canadians

Academic journals researched include the *Lancet*, *Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, and *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice*. Databases such as Academic Search Premier, JSTOR, and Google Scholar were used through the University of Victoria's platform for identifying research papers and reports, preferably peer-reviewed. If no peer-reviewed research paper was available due to the novelty of COVID-19, non-peer-reviewed materials from sources such as conferences, think tanks, and professional associations were used. Key search terms include "racism in Canada," "racial inequality and multiculturalism in Canada," "anti-Chinese racism or

discrimination,” “Sinophobia,” “racism and public crisis,” “media and minorities in Canada,” “social media and racism,” SARS, COVID-19, and “infodemic and conspiracy on social media”.

3.2 Understanding Racism in Canada

3.2.1 Defining Race and Racism

Racism is an ideology that implies the superiority of one race over others (Este, Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018, p.4); however, race is not a biological category among humans, but merely a taxonomic concept referring to groups of humans sharing heritable physical characteristics such as skin and hair color that distinguish them from other groups (Back & Solomos, 2013, pp.113, 120-121; Este, Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018, p.4). Scholars have criticized that racial distinctions are not “genetically discrete” or “scientifically meaningful (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, p.16). Race was conveyed as a new type of categorization for humanity in the end of 18th century by American Christian leaders to justify slavery of Africans by downgrading them to nonhuman status. Since then, the racial theory has been used as a “means of creating and enforcing social order, a lens through which differential opportunity and inequality are structured” (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, pp.19-24).

While there are various definitions of racism, in essence, they tend to emphasize that racism is based on othering, which is a process in which one group of people with distinctive physical and associated ethnic characteristics enjoy supremacy while treating other groups as devalued and less deserving and excluding them from the normal benefits of members of society (Este, Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018, p.4; E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, p.30). The Government of Canada (2019) defines racism as “any individual action, or institutional practice which treats people differently because of their colour or ethnicity” (p.23). Researchers pointed out that racism leads to rejection that “can be social (‘shunning’), economic (exclusion from productive activity or subordination in low-paid, dirty, dangerous jobs), cultural or physical (‘deportation’ and ‘genocide’), and usually it is a combination of these elements (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, p.30). While racism is commonly understood as a “combination of prejudice and power,” Berman and Paradies (2010) argued that racism did not necessarily involve prejudice and could be committed by individuals from ethnic groups with limited social power (p.216). Moreover, racism is dynamic and ever-changing in its forms; therefore, it is important to examine racism within its social contexts (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.5).

Researchers classify racism into individual, institutional or systemic, and cultural or ideological categories (Back & Solomos, 2013; Este, Henry & Tator, 2010; Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018). Individual racism consists of racist attitudes and overt behavior provoked by those attitudes. Racist attitudes sometimes but not always lead to racist behaviour, such as keeping extra social distance, or verbal or physical attack (Back & Solomos, 2013, p.64; Henry & Tator, 2010, pp.42-44). Institutional racism refers to “policies, practices, and procedures” that may “directly or indirectly, consciously or unwittingly, promote, sustain, or entrench differential advantage or privilege for people of certain races” (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.44). Systemic racism is similar to

institutional racism, but more broadly refers to “the laws, rules, and norms woven into the social system that result in an unequal distribution of economic, political, and social resources and rewards among various racial groups” (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.45). Systemic racism occurs when institutions working together create and sustain racial inequity (Este, Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018, p.6). Cultural racism is the overarching form of racism, and it occurs when collective racist beliefs are embedded in the dominant culture (Henry & Tator, 2010, pp.45-46; Kivel, 2017, pp.13-17). For instance, in the term “yellow perils,” the word yellow refers to Asians and peril implies something evil.

3.2.2 Democratic Racism in Canada

Racist attitudes and behaviours coexist with democratic principles in Canada despite the inherent conflict. Henry and Tator (2010) name this coexistence “democratic racism” (pp.6-12). They point out that democratic racism is deeply embedded in Canadian “society’s frames of reference,” which embodies a “largely unacknowledged set of beliefs, assumptions, feelings, stories, and quasi-memories that underlie, sustain, and inform perceptions, thoughts and actions” (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.10). Moreover, the racist ideology “creates and preserves a system of dominance based on race” (Henry & Tator, 2002), which is maintained and reproduced through agencies of socialization and culturalization, including media, schools and universities, religious doctrines, government, justice system, as well as images and narratives produced through art, music and literature (pp.21-22; Henry & Tator, 2010, p.10). Democratic racism is more subtle and insidious than overt racism. It is manifested broadly through “text and talk, expressed in board meetings, job interviews, policies, laws, parliamentary debates, political propaganda, textbooks, scholarly articles, movies, TV programs and news reports in the press, among hundreds of other genres” (van Dijk, 1993, cited in Henry & Tator, 2002, p.23). Consequently, there is a constant moral tension between racialized people’s everyday experience and perceptions of dominant society who possess the power to change that reality of discrimination (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.10).

The Canadian government adopted its multiculturalism policy in 1971 and passed the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. The Multiculturalism Act acknowledges the cultural and racial diversity in Canada, affirms that all Canadian citizens are equal and enjoy the freedom to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage, and promotes ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding (Government of Canada, 2012). However, public opinion surveys in recent decades prove that racist attitudes remain pervasive among Canadians (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.6; E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, pp.351-352; Soroka & Robertson, 2010). To people who perceive their identity as Euro-Canadians based on the French-English duality, the multiculturalism policy poses a serious threat to their values and individual freedoms (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.39).

A 2007 poll shows that 57% of Canadians thought immigrants should become more like other Canadians, same as it was 14 years earlier (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, p.351; Soroka & Robertson, 2010, pp.9-11). In 1996, 41% of Canadians thought that Canada was

changing too quickly because of too many minorities; in comparison, 39% of Canadians shared the same opinions in 2007, and in 2009, 31% of Canadians felt that too much diversity can weaken Canada (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, p.351; Soroka & Robertson, 2010, pp.5-8). All of these survey results demonstrate that there is a ceiling on tolerance for religious and ethnic diversity in Canada. Many Canadians hold the attitude that they can tolerate some difference, but too much difference will cause conflict and disruption (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.15).

3.3 The History of Anti-Chinese Racism in Canada

3.3.1 Systemic Racism Towards Chinese Immigrants

Books and research papers focusing on early Chinese immigrants in Canada show that Chinese people have endured systemic racial discrimination since they first came to Canada in the 1850s, and the racial oppression reached its peak between 1923 to 1947 when the Chinese Exclusion Act was in effect (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2000; Dere, 2017; Li, 1998; Tchen & Yeats, 2014, pp.357; Walker, 2008). Early Chinese immigrants arrived around 1858 when Canada needed cheap labour for gold mining in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia, and most of them came from the west coast of the United States (Li, 1998, p.16; Walker, 2008, p.82). Later between 1881 and 1885 when the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed, about 15,700 Chinese workers were recruited from China through coolie trade as indentured labourers; 6,500 of them were directly employed to build the western section of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Li, 1998, p.21).

When Chinese immigrants arrived in Canada in the 1850s, they were considered “useful and inoffensive members of society” although “socially inferior” (Li, 1998), but not a direct threat to white Canadians; however, the prevailing attitude shifted from acceptance to hostility when the gold rush faded and brought economic hardship (p.16, pp.27-28; Walker, 2008, pp.83-86, 92). Chinese workers took on dangerous jobs that white workers refused to do and were paid one-quarter to one-half less than their white counterparts and lived under appalling conditions (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.60). It was estimated that over six hundred Chinese workers died in British Columbia during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.60). Sir Matthew Begbie, Chief Justice of British Columbia remarked in 1885:

I do not see how people would get on here at all without Chinamen. They do, and do well, what white women cannot do, and do what white men will not do (Royal Commission, 1885:75, cited in Li, 1998, p.29).

Despite their great sacrifices, early Chinese immigrants were treated by white Canadians as aliens, and unlike European immigrants, they were not accepted as permanent residents. They were deemed to be useful when the labour supply was short but blamed for competing with white workers by accepting lower wages imposed on them when jobs were scarce (Li, 1998, pp.21-22; Tan & Roy, 1985, p.10). In 1885, among 10,000 Chinese in British Columbia, almost three

quarters worked in labour-intensive industries (railway construction, mining, canning, logging, etc.), and only 121 were store owners or merchants (Li, 1998, p.23).

European settlers believed that Occidental culture and people were superior to their Chinese counterparts. Once the Chinese were perceived as competitors threatening the interests of white workers, European belief of racial superiority “provided a distorted rationale for excluding Chinese and blaming various economic and social problems on them” (Li, 1998, p.31).

Moreover, Canadian society’s intolerance towards Chinese immigrants was further bolstered by concerns over Chinese people’s overcrowded living conditions, sanitary standards, strange burial habits, opium use, gambling and prostitution (Ford, 1990, pp.2-3; Li, 1998).

Upon the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, thousands of Chinese workers were displaced, and the federal government began its efforts to control Chinese immigration through legislation. The first anti-Chinese bill – the Chinese Immigration Act was passed in 1885. It imposed a \$50 head tax on every immigrant of Chinese origin, with few exceptions including diplomats, government representatives, tourists, merchants, “men of science” and students. (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2020a). The head tax was increased to \$100 in 1900 and \$500 in 1903 (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2020a; Dere, 2019, p.18; Henry & Tator, 2010, p.64; Li, 1998, p.29). In the 1900s, \$500 was enough to buy two houses or two hundred acres of prime land in Montreal (Dere, 2019, p.18).

Despite the head tax, Chinese immigrants continued to come to Canada. To further prevent immigration from China, the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act 1923, commonly known as the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Exclusion Act prohibited all Chinese from immigrating to Canada including family members of Chinese immigrants who had already settled in Canada; the only exemptions were diplomats, children born in Canada to parents of Chinese race or descent, merchants and students (Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2020b; Li, 1998, p.30). This Act was so effective in preventing Chinese immigration that between 1923 and 1946 when the Exclusion Act was in effect only 15 Chinese people succeeded in immigrating to Canada (Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2020b). Because this Act came into effect on July 1st, 1923, Dominion Day, the Chinese community referred to this day as “Humiliation Day” and refused to celebrate Dominion Day for many years afterward (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2020b; Dere, 2019, p.36).

As Li (1998) reckoned, “no other immigrant group was subjected to the same legislative controls” as Chinese people (p.31). The Head Tax and the Exclusion Act legalized the inferior status of Chinese immigrants in Canada and brought devastating impacts on them (Dere, 2019, p.36; Li, 1998, p.35). The Chinese population in Canada had a big drop from 46,619 in 1931 to 32,528 in 1951 (Li, 1998, pp.60-61). Thousands of Chinese males in Canada were “forced to live in a predominantly married-bachelor society” for decades (Li, 1998, p.62-67). There was an extreme gender imbalance in the Chinese community. For instance, in 1911 the ratio was 2,790 Chinese men to 100 women, 25 times higher than Canada’s national level; throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the ratio was 1,300-1,500 Chinese men to 100 women, while in 1911 Chinese women

only counted 1.1% of Chinese population in Canada (Dere, 2019, 48; Li, 1998, pp.61-66). It wasn't until after World War II, that returning Chinese Canadian veterans started to fight for citizenship and repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Canadian Government finally repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act in May 1947 and ended “sixty-two years of official state racism against the Chinese” (Dere, 2019, p.43,56; Li, 1998).

The systemic racism towards Chinese Canadians was not limited to the federal level. Table 1 lists some examples of discriminatory laws, bylaws and regulations at federal, provincial and municipal levels.

Table 1. Examples of Laws & Acts Discriminated Chinese Immigrants

| Year | Government | Laws & Acts |
|------------------|--------------------|---|
| Federal Level | | |
| 1885 | Federal Government | The Chinese Immigration Act Imposed head Tax \$50 on each Chinese immigrant Raised to \$100/person in 1900, and \$500/person in 1903 |
| 1923 | | The Chinese Exclusion Act All Chinese not allowed to immigrate to Canada, including family members of Chinese immigrants living in Canada |
| 1930 | | Order in Council PC 2115 Any immigrants of an Asiatic race could not bring their wives or unmarried children under 18 to Canada unless they were citizens, while immigrants from Europe, South America and the US could bring families without citizenship requirement. The children's age was raised to 21 in 1936. |
| Provincial Level | | |
| 1875 | British Columbia | Statutes British Columbia 1875 c.2 s.1,2 Disenfranchise the Chinese |
| 1878 | British Columbia | Chinese Tax Act Imposed \$10 tax every three months on every Chinese person older than twelve (<i>declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of BC later</i>) |
| 1884 | British Columbia | The Act to Prevent the Immigration of Chinese “any native of China or its dependencies not born of British parents, or any person born of Chinese parents” were denied entering BC |

| Year | Government | Laws & Acts |
|------|------------------|--|
| | | <p><i>(The Act was disallowed by the governor-general-in-council for the sake of Canadian Pacific Railway)</i></p> <p>The Chinese Regulation Act</p> <p>Any person of Chinese race over fourteen-year-old was required to pay an annual tax of \$10 for a license to work</p> <p>The Land Act Clause 122</p> <p>Banned Chinese from acquiring Crown land, or diverting any water from natural channels of any stream, lake, or river</p> |
| 1890 | British Columbia | <p>The Coal Mines Regulation Amendment Act</p> <p>Excluded Chinese from working underground</p> |
| 1895 | British Columbia | <p>Provincial Voters' Act Amendment Act</p> <p>Chinese, Japanese, and Indian were banned to vote, and as a consequence, they were excluded from nomination for municipal office, school trustees, jury duty and election to the provincial legislature</p> |
| 1893 | British Columbia | <p>The Provincial Home Act 1893</p> <p>Chinese were banned from establishing home for the aged and infirm</p> |
| 1898 | British Columbia | <p>Labour Regulation Act (Disallowed later)</p> <p>“no Chinese or Japanese persons shall be employed in connection with or in relation to any of the works, rights, trade, business, occupation, or property given, granted, confirmed, authorized, of affected by the Act”</p> |
| 1899 | British Columbia | <p>The Liquor License Act 1899</p> <p>Chinese were not entitled to hold a liquor license</p> |
| 1920 | British Columbia | <p>The Provincial Election Act</p> <p>Chinese were disqualified from voting</p> |
| 1908 | Saskatchewan | <p>Statutes of Saskatchewan 1908, C.2</p> <p>Chinese were disenfranchised</p> |
| 1912 | Saskatchewan | <p>Statutes of Saskatchewan 1912, C.17</p> <p>Restaurants and other businesses managed by Chinese were not allowed to hire white females.</p> <p>The same law also applied in Manitoba until 1940, Ontario until 1947 and British Columbia until 1968</p> |
| 1915 | Quebec | Laundry Tax |

| Year | Government | Laws & Acts |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| | | \$50 annual tax imposed on laundry business; mostly Chinese men owned |
| 1923 | Ontario | Statutes of Ontario 1914, c.40 Restaurants and other business managed by Chinese were not allowed to hire white females |
| Municipal Level | | |
| 1881-1948 | Multiple Municipalities, mostly in BC | Chinese prohibited from being employed by multiple industries, including electric light company, gas company, mining, pharmacy, dyking, drainage, railway, ferry, etc. |
| 1893 1897 | Victoria | Health Bylaw 1893 & 1897 Authorized the municipality to remove lepers to an isolated place |
| 1919 | Oak Bay | Asians were not allowed to conduct business anywhere they were not the ethnic majority |
| 1932 | Oak Bay | Chinese could only sell their wares during restricted hours |

(Source: Bullen, 2019; Dere, 2017; Ford, 1990, p.70; Government of British Columbia, n.d.a; E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997; Morton, 1974, p. 61; Walker, 2008).

3.3.2 More Subtle and Insidious Racist Backlash

Racism is generally sustained by a social-political-economic system that is either “formally established in state policies supporting racist segregation,” or “informally organized in a context where state policies are not overtly racist while permitting (or not sufficiently opposing) racist labour recruiting and employment patterns in civil society” (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, pp.30-32).

Canada’s immigration regulations remained explicitly racist until the 1962 Immigration Law came into effect (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, pp.2-13). The 1962 Immigration Law was the first non-racist regulation that allowed immigration to “a person who by reason of his education, training, skills and other special qualifications is likely to establish himself successfully in Canada and who has the means to support himself until he is established or has come with arrangements for employment or has come under approved arrangements for establishment in a business, trade or profession or in agriculture” (A.G. Green & D. Green, 2004, p.116). The Act adopted a point-system in 1967 for immigration candidate evaluation (A.G. Green & D. Green, 2004, p.116; E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, p.9, p.34). Between 1960s and 1970s, a significant number of non-white immigrants from Asia and Africa were accepted into Canada to fill less-skilled or middle-skilled positions, even though most of these immigrants were over-qualified for those positions (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, pp.33-34).

In the early 1980s, more non-European immigrants with high level skills, business expertise and investment resources entered Canada; consequently, more Asian immigrants moved to professional, technical and managerial occupations; many were of Chinese origin (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, pp.40-42). Resentment towards the success and economic power of non-European immigrants started to rise and led to more subtle and insidious backlash racism in contemporary Canadian society (Dere, 2019, p.103; E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, pp.34-47; Li, 1998, p.4). Justice James Macpherson's remark on the class action suit for Chinese head taxpayers at the Ontario Court of Appeal on June 10, 2002 exemplifies what backlash racism is:

The Chinese head tax payers were happy to be here and had already received redress through their ability to remain in Canada... Paying the head tax is made all worthwhile when one can see their granddaughter playing first string cello for the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. (cited in Dere, 2019, p.246).

Despite their improved professional and financial conditions, from time to time Chinese Canadians are blamed for causing racial tension and social stress, skyrocketing real estate prices and urban congestion, and criticized for poor English skills and incompatibility with Canadian values and consumer patterns (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, pp.10-11; Li, 1998, p.4; Li, 2001, p.82). While the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Multiculturalism Act and the Employment Equity Act construct a legal framework to endorse the democratic principles of equality and anti-discrimination, Canadian society "tolerates and at times promotes a softer version that maintains racial distinctions as natural and as immutable differences of people" (Li, 2001, pp.90-91). Therefore, Chinese Canadians are singled out periodically not because their cultural characteristics are incompatible with Canadian traditions and customs, but rather because racial minorities always have been perceived as foreign to white Canadian hegemony, historically and culturally (Li, 1998, p.4).

3.4 Racism Associated with Infectious Disease in Canada

Researchers argued that individuals stricken by disease were often blamed for health crises (Oh & Zhou, 2012, p.263). Immigrants regularly have been accused of deadly contagious diseases such as TB, AIDS, hepatitis, Ebola, and the Chagas disease, and have been depicted as health threats to Canadians (Murdocca, 2003, p.462; Reitmanova, Gustafson & Ahmed, 2015, p.471-478). When a health crisis is attributed to a minority community, it creates racialized fears with exaggerated risk and reinforces racial discrimination against the accused segment of the population (Adeyanju, 2010, p.14; Oh & Zhou, 2012, p.263). The Chinese community long has been regarded as the "disease-carrying embodiment of danger whose presence poses a significant threat to the moral, physical, and economic being of 'legitimate' Canadians" since the 19th century (Greenberg 2000, p. 12; Reitmanova, Gustafson & Ahmed, 2015, p.474).

In the 1880s and 1890s, Chinatown was often associated with disease and filth by politicians and newspapers, and Vancouver's Chinatown was even put in the same category with "sewerage,

[slaughterhouses], and pig ranches” (Leung & Guan, 2004, pp.6-7). Early Chinese immigrants often were referred to as “Yellow Peril” that would rapidly spread across Canada and pose a great threat to Anglo-Saxon civilization (Leung & Guan, 2004, p.6; Wang, 2006, p.91). The earliest record of anti-Chinese racism associated with infectious disease dates to 1884 when a Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration traveled to Victoria and heard a question - “What personal knowledge have you of the presence of leprosy amongst them (Chinese) and have you any personal knowledge of leprosy being communicated from them to whites, and, if so, how many instances and under what circumstances?” (Ford, 1990, p.67).

During spring 1891, the City Council in Victoria, British Columbia decided to establish a leprosy colony on D’Arcy Island as it was “a very good place for the erection of the garbage crematory” (Yorath, 2000, p.73). D’Arcy Island is a tiny island of 82 hectares, approximately one kilometer long and wide, located about one nautical mile south of Sidney Island in Haro Strait (Yorath, 2000, p.59). On May 20, 1891, the first five leprosy patients were removed from Victoria to the D’Arcy leprosy colony; all of them were Chinese men (Ford, 1990, p.68; Yorath, 2000, pp.74-75). Between 1891 and 1924 when D’Arcy Island was operated as a leper colony, 49 people in total were sent there for isolation; almost all of them were Chinese with only one Caucasian; 23 out of 49 died on the Island, and no one was released from the island during that period (Yorath, 2000, p.9, 77,93).

In the late 1880s, the medical authorities in Victoria did not consider leprosy a contagious disease and it was not necessary to lock up a leprosy patient (Ford, 1990, p.65). In addition, diseases besides leprosy also had small outbreaks including smallpox, diphtheria, tuberculosis and bubonic plague, but none of these communicable diseases provoked the extraordinary measure of isolation like leprosy did (Yorath, 2000, p.49). Ford (1990) suspects two factors played a central role in the decision to send leprosy patients away for isolation – that virtually all identified leprosy patients were Chinese and the Bible associated leprosy patients with moral sin and depicted them as unclean and impure both in the spiritual and physical senses (pp.65-67).

Bylaws were passed to legally remove leprosy patients to D’Arcy Island and confine them there (Ford, 1990, pp.69-70). When D’Arcy Island was under federal control after 1906, the Leprosy Act specified that “if the disease was not at a communicable stage and the means existed to sufficiently isolate the leprosy patient at home” (Ford, 1990), then the leprosy patient could avoid isolation on D’Arcy Island (p.73). Few Chinese leprosy patients met that condition given their poor economic status (Ford, 1990, p.73). Apart from isolation from family, friends and community, there was no nursing care on the island, and supplies were delivered only once every three to four months. The physical conditions on D’Arcy Island were so dire that by 1895 the death rate reached 60% even though leprosy is not a fatal disease (Ford, 1990, pp.70-71).

Besides COVID-19, the most recent time Chinese people were blamed for a serious disease was during the SARS epidemic in 2003. Toronto was the only city outside of Asia that had a major SARS outbreak, with 251 cases and 41 deaths (Oh & Zhou, 2012, pp.261-262). Canadian news racialized SARS by repetitively associating SARS with Asia, labeling SARS as an Asian virus,

and exposing the patients' ethnic backgrounds as Chinese (Leung & Guan, 2004, pp.7-9; Oh & Zhou, 2012, p.262). The Toronto Star blamed China and ethnic Chinese for the epidemic (Oh & Zhou, 2012). Consequently, the media generated public fear and anger towards members of Chinese and other Asian communities. In turn, Chinese and Southeast Asian Canadians became targets of racial alienation, discrimination and harassment; Chinese-owned businesses suffered greater financial impacts losing 40% to 80% of income; Asian Canadians lost jobs, or endured isolation at work (Leung & Guan, 2004; Oh & Zhou, 2012). Although the British media was the one criticized by Washer for depicting Chinese as the other in its SARS news coverage (see quote below), Canadian media typically shared the attitude of their British counterparts towards the Chinese community.

The themes of difference, of dirt and "our" disgust at the way "they" live and what "they" eat begin to form into a coherent package. The (British) reader is led to place the responsibility for SARS at the feet of the Chinese and at the same time is reassured that "it couldn't happen here" because "we" do not live like that. (Washer, 2004, p. 2568).

Hence, Oh and Zhou (2012) recommended that if journalists could self-consciously avoid stereotyped reporting, media coverage on sensitive issues would not cause unfair marginalization or discrimination against minority groups (p.270).

Chinese Canadians are by no means the only minority community that face discrimination due to disease. The Black Canadian community endured similar treatment over Ebola. Ebola is a viral hemorrhagic disease with mortality rates of 50 to 90%, occurring mostly in the Democratic Republic of Congo – Sudan region (Adeyanju, 2010, p14). Even though Ebola outbreaks were remote from Canada, the news coverage of a suspected Ebola case in Hamilton in February 2001 caused great fear and anxiety. The news coverage associated the suspected Ebola case with a Black woman who came to Canada from the Democratic Republic of Congo as a visitor (Adeyanju, 2010). The media constructed the Ebola story with racially indicated titles and language and raised society's support for tightening Canadian borders and policing of racialized individuals (Murdocca, 2003, pp.29-30). Later, when medical exams ruled out Ebola and other suspected hemorrhagic fevers, the media shifted public attention to the woman's medical expenses and her being investigated for diamond smuggling (Adeyanju, 2010, p.15). Events of racial discrimination against the Black community occurred after the news exposure, such as Black students being bullied by White students, and one of the patient's acquaintances losing his/her job (Adeyanju, 2010, pp.12-15). The Black community in Hamilton felt that the news coverage "was not only racist but fanned an ember of racist prejudice and discrimination in the community" (Adeyanju, 2010, p.15). This incident revealed Canadian unease over the increasing non-European population in Canada, and the media amplified these concerns raising fear about criminality, racial impurity, and competition for scarce social resources due to non-European immigration (Adeyanju, 2010).

While Leung and Guan (2004), and Adeyanju (2010) both focused on analyzing how news coverage, titles and content racialize disease, Power (1995) investigated "the structural forces

responsible for producing the content” that racialized issues (p.105). Power (1995) argued that there was intense interdependency between political, medical and media systems, and prejudicial political and medical interests helped the media turn the Chinese people into scapegoats for the bubonic plague in San Francisco in the early 20th century; subsequently, the racialized media coverage reinforced “the perception of Chinese identity as different and inferior on criteria of morality and competence” (pp.97-105).

3.5 Media Impact: Underrepresentation and Misrepresentation of Chinese Canadians

Mass media is an important channel from which the public perceives the world. Both print and electronic media have a crucial role in “guiding, shaping and transforming” public’s perspectives and understandings of societal events, political issues, and health information (Fleras & Elliott, 1992, p.234, cited in Henry & Tator, 2010, p.256, p.274; Mahtani & Mountz, 2002, pp.6-7; Reitmanova, Gustafson & Ahmed, 2015, p.472). Media often use frames to catch readers’ attention by emphasizing certain aspects of a story while ignoring others; in this way, media not only influences readers’ perceptions of an event but also frames their understanding of the world with media’s dominant cultural perspectives (Oh & Zhou, 2012, p.262). The most popular frames used by media include “conflict, responsibility, economic consequences, morality, and human interest” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, cited in Oh & Zhou, 2012, p.263). In Canada, considering the growing Chinese population and Canada’s policy for multiculturalism, media coverage about China has a significant impact on shaping Canadian perception of China and Chinese immigrants (Goodrum, 2011, p.311).

The media is expected to “reflect alternative viewpoints, to remain neutral and objective, and to provide free and equitable access to all groups and classes” (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.256). On the contrary, researchers found the media help maintain cultural hegemony, given the “tremendous concentration of media ownership among the white male corporate elite, most of whom hold conservative or neo-conservative values” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p.39). The media pursues unusual, exotic stories the market is fond of and constructs stories in a way that will sell well to its audience of primarily European Canadians (Henry & Tator, 2010, pp.260-261). Studies demonstrate that Canadian media consistently reinforces the “we-they” mindset and describes racialized people as outsiders or troublemakers (Henry & Tator, 2010, pp.261-265; Mahtani & Mountz, 2002, p.21). Many researchers have criticized the media for the underrepresentation, misrepresentation and stereotyping of racialized people.

3.5.1 Underrepresentation of Chinese Canadians

The underrepresentation of racialized people is profoundly related to cultural racism. Researchers argue that Canadian mainstream English media is dominated by Anglo-Canadians with their belief in white Christian values which are foundational and normative in Canada (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.257; E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997, p.11). Media, especially television news, “overwhelmingly,” presents the world “through a prism of Whiteness” (Henry

& Tator, 2010, p.274). People of colour are generally invisible both in print and electronic media, as well as in the mass communication industry (Henry & Tator, 2002, pp.39-40). The participation of non-white staff in Canadian media is six times lower than Euro-Canadians (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.257). Moreover, feedback from non-white staff is not sought when the media publishes racially sensitive news. For instance, The Province's issue on February 5, 2020 used "China Virus" on its front-page headline and created a great upset in the Chinese community (CBC News, 2020, February 7). Surprisingly, the editor-in-chief did not ask any Chinese Canadian journalists on his editorial team for feedback about the headline (CBC News, 2020, February 7).

Moreover, the appearance of minorities on Canadian media is also extremely low. Perigo and Lazar (1992) monitored CBC's and CTV's programs over four weeks and found that less than 3% of interviews sought opinions from racialized minorities for stories not directly related to their communities (cited in Henry & Tator, 2010, p.257). Goodrum (2011) analyzed CBC and Toronto Star's news coverage between January and March in 2008 and discovered that despite China's significant impact on the Canadian and global economies, less than 4% of the national and local news was about or related to China, which mainly focused on conflicts, economy and sports "in a negative manner" (p.326). Although Canadian newspapers have increased coverage on China in recent years, the themes remain largely limited to business, finance and trade with very little coverage of the Chinese diaspora in Canada (China Institute at the University of Alberta, 2019. P.2). Given that Chinese people comprise the third largest immigrant group in Canada, Canadian media coverage of Chinese Canadians and their culture is very limited. For instance, the media hardly mentions the histories or lives of Chinese Canadians except some general demographic information about immigration and citizenship, and the only cultural event reported on by the National Post and The Globe and Mail is the Chinese New Year (China Institute at the University of Alberta, 2019. pp.4-5).

This underrepresentation is not limited to the news media but also exists in the advertising and film industries. A Canadian documentary film, *Moving the Mountain*, was one of the finalists for the Best Political Documentary at the Toronto Hot Docs Festival in 1994. The film reveals stories of Chinese Canadians who were victims of the Chinese Head Tax and Chinese Exclusion Act. It was screened in film festivals in Canadian cities, Hong Kong, the U.S. and other countries, but was rejected by CBC for reasons unknown (Dere, 2019, p.206). Director Dere (2019) deeply worries about "the nationalist media and politicians assailing the majority population about the constant threat to their cultural values, language and way of life that seemingly comes from the cultural minorities" (p.328).

3.5.2 Misrepresentation of Chinese Canadians

Research has shown that Canadian media often portrays ethnic minorities in negative or stereotypical ways. While the mainstream audience is assumed as "us," immigrants are often positioned as "them" and depicted as "a social problem or aberration," associated with characteristics such as being mysterious, inscrutable, threatening or incompatible with the

dominant culture (Mahtani & Mountz, 2002, pp.4-8). Researchers warned that “the negative images of immigrants promote fear and hatred within the native-born population of host countries ... and increase the existing social distance between the natives and the non-native-born groups” (Reitmanova, Gustafson & Ahmed, 2015, p.476).

There is no lack of media misrepresentation of Chinese Canadians. During the late 19th century when Chinese came to British Columbia, Victoria’s newspapers regularly published strong anti-Chinese articles (Yorath, 2000, p.69). Over a hundred years later, news related to Asian immigrants in mainstream Canadian media is still often “resented” (E. Laquian, A. Laquian & McGee, 1997), and the identity of Asian Canadians are usually revealed in negative news but rarely in positive stories (p.11).

Between July and September 1999, 599 Chinese migrants without proper legal identification arrived off the coast of British Columbia in four boats. After analyzing media coverage and public dialogue in five major Canadian English-language newspapers, Greenberg concluded that the news coverage “well illustrates Canadian’s collective anxieties stemming from social change, racial integration, and contested Euro-Canadian hegemony” (cited in Henry & Tator, 2002, p.138). Even though around 30,000 refugees come to Canada annually, the media singled out these Chinese migrants, characterizing them as “greedy, selfish, and economically driven” and repeatedly described them with pejorative terms such as “illegal migrants,” “boat people,” “illegal aliens,” “human cargo” and “detainees” (Greenberg, 2000, pp.1-5; Henry & Tator, 2002, pp.138-148). The most concerning theme mentioned in media was “threat to public health and security,” followed by “overwhelming numbers of Chinese” and “weak immigration/refugee legislation” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p.150). Yet, a study shows that most points of views published in newspapers on this issue were from politicians, governments, police personnel and lawyers while on average only 1.3% were from migrants (Henry & Tator, 2002, pp.156-157). The story quickly evolved from the problematic arrival of a few hundred migrants to a threatening crisis caused by waves of illegal Chinese migrants coming to Canada’s shores. Consequently, the media discourse successfully mobilized newsreaders to moral panic over Canada’s sovereignty and its policy on refugees and undocumented immigrants (Henry & Tator, 2002, pp.138-148; Greenberg, 2000).

3.5.3 Stereotyping of Chinese Canadians

Stereotyping is a typical type of misrepresentation. Studies of media in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom demonstrate that racialized minorities are regularly stereotyped on prime-time television programming and daily news (Henry & Tator, 2010, pp.267-271). In turn, stereotypes in the media produce and reinforce stigmatized images of racialized minorities and frame those images as “common sense knowledge” (Cui & Kelly, 2012, p.160).

Fleras (2010) argues that stereotyping is a tool used by media in pursuit of profit. Stereotypes are useful in three ways. First, media deliberately create stereotypes that “impose a simplistic pattern upon a complex mass” to create “readily identifiable themes” (Fleras, 2010); second, stereotypes make stories more convincing by satisfying viewers’ expectations and their anticipated

outcomes; lastly, stereotypes provide audiences with simplified realities they can relate to based on shared cultural codes (pp.64-65). Overtime, stereotypes reinforce the imagined reality about marginalized groups and prejudices against them.

Law (2018) argues that the two most predominant stereotypes of Chinese Canadians are the Yellow Peril and the Model Minority, which “have co-existed since the beginning of Chinese immigration to Canada” and still exist today (p.ii). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, especially prior to and during the Chinese Exclusion Era (1923-1947), Chinese immigrants were deemed poor, filthy, uncivilized, ignorant and debased (Li, 1998; Wang, 2006). Chinese immigrants were considered unassimilable by Canadian society “because of their sojourner orientation”; even worse, they were regarded as “professional gamblers” and “opium eaters” (Wang, 2006) with no moral principles of right or wrong (pp.92-93; Law, 2018, p.62). “Yellow Peril” was a foundational stereotype during that period (Law, 2018, p.15).

During WWII Chinese immigrants gained more sympathy and compassion from Canadians as they saw China as Canada’s ally fighting against Japan (Law, 2018, p.139). Later with the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the adoption of a point system for immigration and the establishment of the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971, more well-educated and wealthy Chinese immigrants came to Canada, and more entered professional careers. Thus, the broader society regarded Chinese immigrants as highly intelligent, hardworking and not protest-oriented (Law, 2018, pp.139-146). The status of Chinese Canadians leaped from “Yellow Peril” to the “Model Minority” (Coloma, 2013, p.594; Cui & Kelly, 2012, p.163; Dere, 2019; Law, 2018, p.135). Later, with more wealthy Chinese immigrants coming under investor-class immigration, the stereotype of “model minority” became more concretized (Ho, 2014, p.96). Yet, some argued that “model minority” was created by the dominant society to demonstrate how a minority should behave – achieving success within the parameters of the prevailing social order without causing trouble (Dere, 2019, p.349). Some researchers also criticized that the concept of “model minority” not only overlooked the fact that many Chinese immigrants were working-class people and struggling students but also that it was used as a “politically divisive tool” (Ho, 2014) that puts Asian immigrants against other minorities (p.81). Maclean’s magazine published an article on November 10, 2010 initially entitled “Too Asian: Some frosh don’t want to study at an Asian university”. The article attracted such heavy criticism from Asian communities, academics and governments for its offensive title, stereotype-reinforcing content and “white” privilege bias that the magazine later changed the title to “The enrollment controversy” (Cui & Kelly, 2012; Findlay & Kohler, 2010). In the past, white Canadians’ resentment toward Chinese Canadians was primarily about Chinese threatening their jobs. Now, the Model Minority discourse has directed hostility towards the academic success of Asian students (Coloma, 2013, p.582; Cui & Kelly, 2012; Law, 2018, p.216).

Law (2018) observed that “a precarious tug-of-war between the Yellow Peril and Model Minority discourses has existed from the beginning of Chinese immigration to Canada,” and a monopoly has never existed for either discourse, with both stereotypes “equally prevalent” since

1990s (p.217). In recent decades, the economic and social success of Chinese Canadians has reinforced the Model Minority discourse; while on the other hand, the rise of the People's Republic of China has made western governments and societies feel threatened, fearing that Chinese people may "supersede western hegemonies" (Billé & Urbansky, 2018; Law, 2018, pp.217-218). In that sense, Chinese Canadians are still regarded as Yellow Peril, except that the resentment and resistance have shifted from uncivilized poor Chinese workers to rich Chinese immigrants denigrated for greed, ambition and indulgent lifestyles which the media often associates with terms like "monster houses" and "unneighbourly" (Law, 2018, p.219, 227). Researchers warned that even though most foreign investors in Vancouver's real estate market were from China, singling them out for criticism caused problematic cultural profiling and fueled negative stereotyping of Chinese Canadians (China Institute at the University of Alberta, 2019, p.5).

3.6 Social Media Impact: Spread of Misinformation and Hate Messages

Traditional media used to be the primary and the most trusted source of information during infectious disease epidemics, but social media has evolved into an important platform for sharing information and carrying discussions; therefore, it is necessary to include social media in the study of public understanding of and response to epidemics (Atlani-Duault, Mercier, Rousseau, Guyot & Moatti, 2015, p.45; Chew & Eysenbach, 2010, p.2; Roy, et al., 2020, p.58).

Social media are interactive digital tools that enable users to create, manipulate and share content, facilitate timely interactive communication, and foster conversation among users (Fraustino, Liu, & Jin, 2012, p.7). Different from traditional media, social media does not rely on professional journalists and its users are not only audience but also producers, distributors and critics (Xiang, 2013, pp.252-255). It seems that each social media platform may be used for various purposes; for instance, Twitter was the one most chosen for searching and distributing breaking news during natural disasters (Chew & Eysenbach, 2010, p.3; Fraustino, Liu, & Jin, 2012, p.14). Even professional journalists use social media as a source of information for their reports (Jeremy 2009, cited in Xiang, 2013, p.256).

Unfortunately, while social media has developed into a significant source of news and information, it also enables the spread of hate and violence against minorities (Guiora & Park, 2017; Müller & Schwarz, 2020). A recent study in the U.S. discovered that anti-Muslim hate crimes have doubled since the 2016 presidential primaries, especially in countries with high Twitter usage; moreover; the study also confirmed that President Trump's inflammatory tweets triggered "waves of anti-Muslim sentiment" (Müller & Schwarz, 2020, p.2, p.4).

In addition to hate content, social media also is a hotbed for misinformation, which can lead to bias against minorities. Allcott, Gentzkow and Yu (2019) discovered that Facebook played a greater role in diffusion of misinformation than Twitter, and even though interactions spreading misinformation on Facebook dropped after the 2016 U.S. election, the absolute quantity was still as high as 60 million postings per month (pp.2-4). An experiment demonstrated that a rumor

started on Twitter can reach an average of 45.6 million members within eight rounds of communication (Doerr, Fouz & Friedrich, 2012, pp.71-75). Taking into consideration the speed of social media and the large population of users, the spread of misinformation through social media could seriously threaten democracy and broader society (Allcott, Gentzkow & Yu, 2019, p.6).

Misinformation on social media is especially common during pandemics. Research revealed social media spreading pandemic panic; in addition, the inability of social media users to distinguish true from false information increases panic and the spread of rumours (Ahmad & Murad, 2020, p.14). Research on conspiracy theories associated with the H1N1 epidemic in 2009 suggested that minority groups deemed as social “others” were repetitively blamed for various epidemics, and social media have provided new platforms for expressing and spreading such accusations (Atlani-Duault et al., 2015, cited in Roy, et al., 2020, p.59). Furthermore, “rumours abounded of conspiracies” (Atlani-Duault et al., 2015) primarily targeted three groups - the Illuminati, Freemasons, and Jews during the H1N1 epidemic in 2009 (p.50). Other research on the H1N1 epidemic during 2014 and 2016 discovered that immigrants were the second most frequently accused group following the government (Roy, et al., 2020, p.66).

3.7 Summary of Literature Review

The literature review provides a comprehensive understanding of racism and its forms within Canada’s democratic context. It also offers an in-depth examination of anti-Chinese racism in Canada, showing how discrimination towards Chinese Canadians changed from systemic racism between 1850s and 1960s, to more subtle racist discrimination from the 1960s to the present. The evolution of anti-Chinese racism in Canada emphasizes the necessity for analyzing racist belief and behavior within specific social, political, and economic contexts. The literature review also illustrates that minorities often are made scapegoats during epidemics and pandemics, and that media and social media both play a significant role in shaping public understanding of the issues and attitudes toward minorities associated with those issues.

3.8 Conceptual Framework

The concept framework was developed based on the results of the literature review (See Figure 1). The literature review helped understand what happened before. Based on that knowledge, the project investigated:

What is happening now – Current state analysis

- Present political and social context – What are the demographic characteristics of the present Chinese community in Canada? How do western countries see China especially after the outbreak of COVID-19? What is the current Canada-China relationship? How does the Canadian public view Chinese government?
- Anti-Chinese racist incidents during the COVID-19 pandemic – review racist incident reports from relevant websites and media, and identify the number and

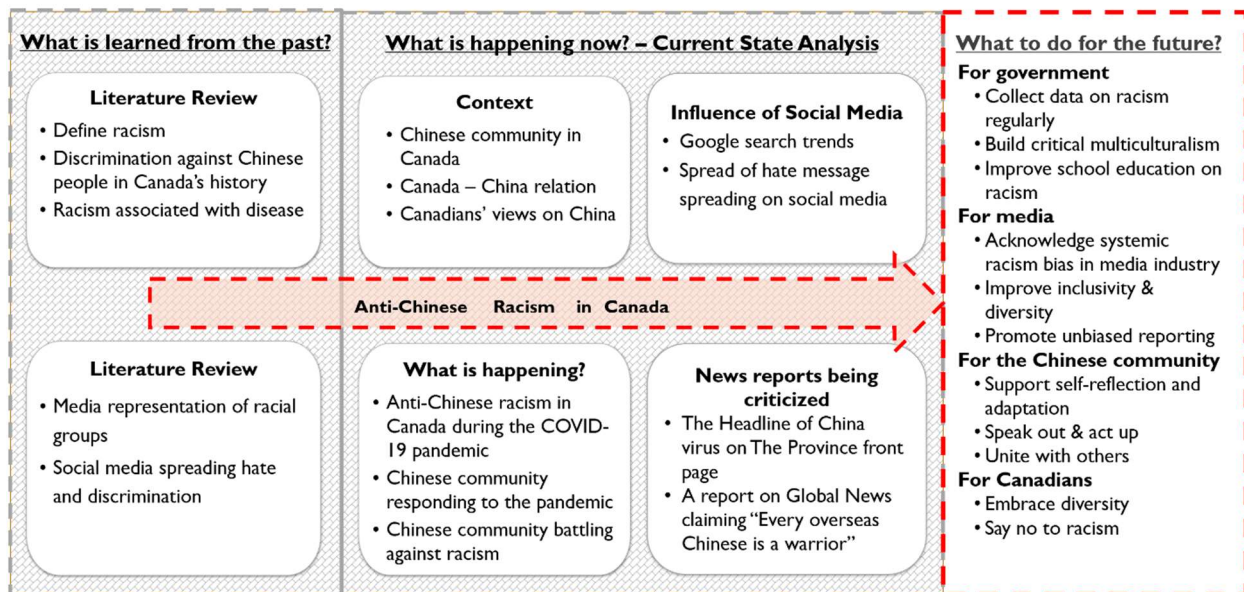
types of incidents, where did it happen, who were the victims and what was the impact on them.

- Chinese community’s responses – strategies and actions that the Chinese community in Canada took in response to both the COVID-19 pandemic and the associated racial discrimination.
- News reports – Use two news reports that received strong complaint from the Chinese community in Canada to exemplify what is considered discriminatory and biased reporting by the Chinese community.
- Impact of social media – review published research on social media data during COVID-19 pandemic to examine the impact of social media on anti-Chinese racism in Canada.

Look ahead – How can we improve?

- Recommend strategies for governments, media, Chinese community and the general public to prevent racial discrimination under similar situation in the future

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework



4.0 Findings: Current State Analysis

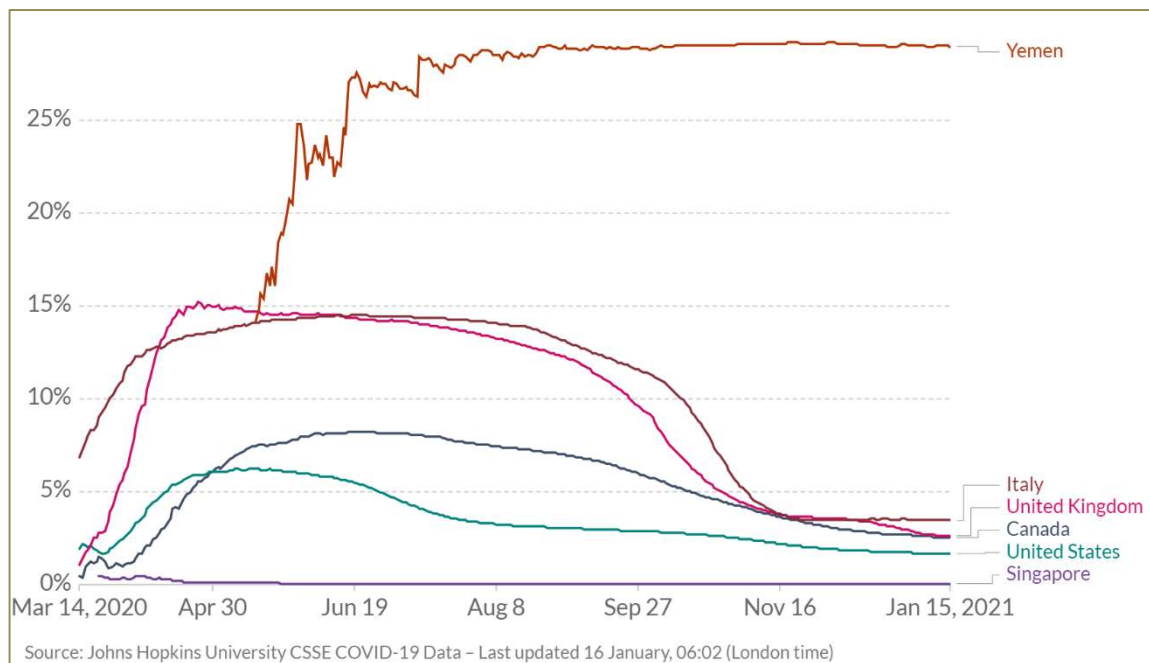
4.1 Introduction

To better understand anti-Chinese racism associated with COVID-19, it is necessary to investigate the current state of the Chinese community in Canada, the relationship between China and Canada, the presentation of COVID-19 in Canadian media and on social media platforms, and how their content affected anti-Chinese racism in Canada.

The COVID-19 outbreak started in Wuhan China near the end of 2019 (WHO, 2020, Apr.27). COVID-19 is transmitted between humans through respiratory droplets and can be spread by people with no symptoms (WHO (2020, Apr.17). Although 80% of patients recover without hospitalization, about 20% become seriously ill, have difficulty breathing, and require intensive hospital care. The case fatality ratio (CFR) for COVID-19 by country varies from 0.1% in Singapore to over 29% in Yemen (Johns Hopkins University, 2020; Roser, Ritchie, Ortiz-Ospina & Hasell, 2021) (See Figure 2).

Figure 2. CFR of COVID-19

(Canada, United States, United Kingdom, Yemen, Italy, and Singapore)



Source:

<https://ourworldindata.org/coronavirus/country/canada?country=~CAN#global-deaths-in-comparison-where-are-deaths-increasing-most-rapidly>

As COVID-19 began to spread globally, rising hostility towards the Government of China led to increased discrimination against Chinese people and others of Asian appearance around the

world (Cho, 2020; Light, 2020). Chinese people encountered disparaging language and hateful messages in person and through media reports, political statements, and social media platforms (Human Rights Watch, 2020, May 12). According to numerous authors, Canada was no exception to this racist behaviour (Flanagan, 2020 July 8; Kirkey, 2020 Jan.31).

4.2 Chinese Community in Canada

4.2.1 Growing Chinese Population in Canada

Canada has the highest proportion of foreign-born residents among developed countries (Statistics Canada, 2017, January 25). Many of Canada's foreign-born residents are from Asia. In 1986, only 18.4% of its immigrants were born in Asia, but that increased to 44.8% by 2011 with most Asian immigrants from China. The Chinese community has become one of Canada's largest ethnic groups, and Chinese is the third most-spoken language in Canada (Poy, 2013, p.10; Statistics Canada, 2013, p.15). According to the 2016 census, the population of Canadians of Chinese origin reached almost 1.8 million, which accounted for over 5% of Canada's total population (Statistics Canada, 2017 October 25; 2019, June 17). The number of Chinese immigrants from 1991 to 2000 almost doubled compared to the previous decade, and over a quarter of a million Chinese immigrants have come to Canada every decade since 2000 (Poy, 2013, p.10; Statistics Canada, 2017 October 27). Since 1980, almost one million Chinese immigrants entered Canada from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macao, and 78% of them became citizens (Statistics Canada, 2017 October 25; 2019, June 17). While most Chinese Canadians have a strong sense of belonging to Canada, only 13% of them believe others view them as Canadians (Angus Reid Institute, 2020).

In 2016, seven out of ten Chinese Canadians were foreign-born, including 649,265 born in Mainland China, 208,935 in Hong Kong, and 63,770 in Taiwan (Statistics Canada, 2017 October 25; Yan, Wong & Lai, 2019, p.455). Because of the diversity in language, culture, religion and political relations between different regions, several sub-ethnic groups exist based on origin, such as Mainlanders, Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese (Yan, Wong & Lai, 2019, p.451-453). Chinese people tend to develop friendship networks within their own sub-ethnic groups; members of different groups usually maintain "functional interaction" (Yan, Wong & Lai, 2019) in their workplaces but remain "segmented and isolated" from each other in personal life (pp.456-460). The historical trajectories and political tensions among different regions are the primary reason for the segmentation, sometimes even causing bias against each other (Yan, Wong & Lai, 2019, p.460).

4.2.2 The Changing Demographics in Canada's Chinese Community

Greater financial capacity and better education

One major objective of Canada's immigration policy is to promote economic development. As noted by various researchers, Chinese immigrants have been active contributors to Canada's economy. For example, a study conducted by the University of Toronto showed that from 1995 to 2004, every 1,000 immigrants from China brought about a \$700 million increase in Canada's

trade with China (W. Chen & Wellman, 2007, p.10). Furthermore, attracted by the benefits of immigrants arriving with sufficient capital to start their own business, Canada created a separate category for business immigrants in 1976 (Poy, 2013, p.144). Between 1986 and 2004, over half of Canada's 85,000 business immigrants were from mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan (W. Chen & Wellman, 2007, p.14). After 2011, the number of Chinese immigrants entering Canada under the business category (including both the business program and provincial/territorial nominee program) surpassed the total under the worker program (see Table 2). The increase of business immigrants from China also expanded the Chinese ethnic economy in Canada from grocery stores, laundries and restaurants, to professional services, technology industries, and manufacturing (W. Chen & Wellman, 2007, p.11).

Canada replaced its Immigration Law (1976) with the current Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2001) in 2002 (Ministry of Justice, 2019). The Act specifies that a candidate cannot apply for immigration as a Federal Skilled Worker unless he/she has a job offer of at least one year from a Canadian employer (Government of Canada, 2020, September 3). This requirement blocks most candidates from China because it is almost impossible to obtain a job offer from a Canadian employer when one lives in China and lacks previous work experience in Canada. Consequently, many Chinese immigrants under the skilled worker category were Chinese international students in Canada who applied for permanent residence after graduation. This policy contributes to a high education level and good English and/or French language skills in the Chinese community.

Table 2. Chinese Immigrant Population in Canada (1980-2016)

| Period | Place of Birth | Chinese Immigrant Population under Different Programs | | | | | | Total |
|-----------|------------------|---|------------------|--|------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| | | Worker Program | Business Program | Provincial/ Teritorial Nominee Program | Family Sponsored | Refugee | Other | |
| 1980-1990 | Mainland China | 25,680 | 4,355 | N.A. | 23,275 | 2,860 | 1,360 | 57,525 |
| | Hong Kong | 31,420 | 10,805 | N.A. | 14,175 | 1,040 | 2,285 | 59,720 |
| | Macao | 685 | 340 | N.A. | 335 | 115 | 115 | 1,605 |
| | Taiwan | 1,780 | 3,835 | N.A. | 1,165 | 15 | 475 | 7,270 |
| | Sub-total | 59,565 | 19,335 | | 38,950 | 4,030 | 4,235 | 126,120 |
| 1991-2000 | Mainland China | 73,465 | 14,405 | 70 | 49,805 | 4,700 | 6,505 | 148,960 |
| | Hong Kong | 42,000 | 25,085 | N.A. | 16,295 | 615 | 4,845 | 88,850 |
| | Macao | 900 | 720 | N.A. | 490 | 10 | 120 | 2,240 |
| | Taiwan | 12,100 | 16,220 | N.A. | 2,250 | 10 | 960 | 31,530 |
| | Sub-total | 128,465 | 56,430 | 70 | 68,840 | 5,335 | 12,430 | 271,580 |
| 2001-2005 | Mainland China | 83,250 | 12,410 | 1,180 | 35,300 | 7,985 | 475 | 140,605 |
| | Hong Kong | 2,750 | 1,425 | 105 | 1,725 | 15 | 95 | 6,120 |
| | Macao | 65 | 55 | 10 | 55 | N.A. | N.A. | 190 |
| | Taiwan | 3,745 | 2,820 | 180 | 1,145 | 25 | 25 | 7,945 |
| | Sub-total | 89,810 | 16,710 | 1,475 | 38,225 | 8,025 | 595 | 154,860 |
| 2006-2010 | Mainland China | 41,630 | 22,745 | 13,390 | 38,200 | 6,570 | 590 | 123,125 |
| | Hong Kong | 1,795 | 760 | 415 | 1,815 | 20 | 85 | 4,890 |
| | Macao | 55 | 20 | 15 | 100 | N.A. | N.A. | 185 |
| | Taiwan | 3,065 | 3,015 | 685 | 1,590 | 20 | 10 | 8,390 |
| | Sub-total | 46,545 | 26,540 | 14,505 | 41,705 | 6,610 | 685 | 136,590 |
| 2011-2016 | Mainland China | 33,155 | 23,170 | 21,425 | 45,825 | 4,885 | 555 | 129,015 |
| | Hong Kong | 1,450 | 475 | 770 | 2,205 | 25 | 40 | 4,970 |
| | Macao | 70 | 10 | 15 | 75 | N.A. | N.A. | 150 |
| | Taiwan | 1,190 | 1,050 | 440 | 1,605 | N.A. | 15 | 4,310 |
| | Sub-total | 35,865 | 24,705 | 22,650 | 49,710 | 4,910 | 610 | 138,445 |

| 1980-2016 | Mainland China | Hong Kong | Taiwan | Macao | TOTAL |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------|--------|-------|---------|
| Chinese Immigrants Population | 649,265 | 208,935 | 63,770 | 5,750 | 927,720 |

Data source: Statistics Canada, 2017, October 27

Chinese international students in Canada

International students from China are another large component of the Chinese population in Canada. In 2019, there were 827,586 international students with valid study permits in Canada (Government of Canada, 2020, October 30, p.15). Among all international students, 642,480 were enrolled from primary school to university, and 22% of them were from China (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2020, also see Table 3). Although over one third of international students were from India, Chinese students represented the largest group of foreign students in Canada's universities. Furthermore, students from China had the highest enrollment among all international students in every university program in Canada except Health and Related Fields where they were second (Frenette, Choi & Doreleyers, 2020).

Table 3. International Students from China Enrolled in Canada 2019

| | University | College | Secondary School | Primary School |
|-----------------------------------|------------|---------|------------------|----------------|
| International Students from China | 81,135 | 16,670 | 24,700 | 3,795 |

Data source: Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2020

Geographical location of Chinese Canadians

According to the 2016 census, almost 90% of Chinese Canadians lived in Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta (See Table 4). About 48% of the Chinese population lived in Ontario, and 31% lived in British Columbia. Meanwhile, 12.33% of residents in British Columbia were Chinese, the highest ratio in Canada, followed by 10.11% in Nova Scotia, 6.54% in Ontario and 4.81% in Alberta.

The 2016 census also showed that Toronto and Vancouver were the two cities where most Chinese Canadians resided, with 39.4% in Toronto and 28.67% in Vancouver. The Chinese population in both cities has increased considerably. In 2001, Toronto had 436,000 Chinese Canadians, and Vancouver had 348,000 (Lindsay, 2007, p.11). Fifteen years later, 714,695 Chinese Canadians lived in Toronto and 519,965 in Vancouver. More than one-fifth of Vancouver's total population and 12% of Toronto's population were Chinese. Other major cities and regions in Canada also had considerable Chinese populations in 2016. For instance, people of Chinese origin made up 7.68% of Calgary's population, 5.6% for Edmonton, and over 5% of the total population in Victoria, the city with the longest history of Chinese immigration in Canada.

Table 4. Chinese Population in Canada in 2016 - Provinces/Territories and Major Cities

| Regions | Total Population | Total Chinese Population * | Percentage of regional population | Percentage of Canada's total Chinese |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| Canada | 34,460,065 | 1,813,750 | 5.26% | 100% |
| Provinces/Territories | | | | |
| Ontario | 13,242,160 | 865,775 | 6.54% | 47.73% |
| British Columbia | 4,560,240 | 562,160 | 12.33% | 30.99% |
| Alberta | 3,978,150 | 191,240 | 4.81% | 10.54% |
| Quebec | 7,965,450 | 123,730 | 1.55% | 6.82% |
| Manitoba | 1,240,700 | 30,315 | 2.44% | 1.67% |
| Saskatchewan | 1,070,560 | 19,400 | 1.81% | 1.07% |
| Nova Scotia | 98,340 | 9,940 | 10.11% | 0.55% |
| New Brunswick | 730,710 | 4,550 | 0.62% | 0.25% |
| Prince Edward Island | 139,685 | 2,755 | 1.97% | 0.15% |
| Newfoundland & Labrador | 512,250 | 2,750 | 0.54% | 0.15% |
| Yukon | 35,110 | 625 | 1.78% | 0.03% |
| Northwest Territories | 41,135 | 400 | 0.97% | 0.02% |
| Nunavut | 35,580 | 115 | 0.32% | 0.01% |
| Major Cities | | | | |
| Toronto | 5,862,855 | 714,695 | 12.19% | 39.40% |
| Vancouver | 2,426,230 | 519,965 | 21.43% | 28.67% |
| Calgary | 1,374,650 | 105,510 | 7.68% | 5.82% |
| Edmonton | 1,297,280 | 72,665 | 5.60% | 4.01% |
| National Capital Region | 2,601,465 | 101,595 | 3.91% | 5.60% |
| Victoria | 357,690 | 18,280 | 5.11% | 1.01% |

* including Chinese, Taiwanese, and Tibetan

Data source: Statistics Canada, 2019, June 17

4.2.3 Contradicting Socio-economic Statistics for Chinese Canadians

The 2016 census data revealed some discrepancies between education and income level when comparing Chinese Canadians to Canada's overall population (see Table 5). On one hand, Chinese Canadians had comparatively higher education than Canada's average. Over 32% of Chinese Canadians had undergraduate or post-graduate degrees, much higher than the 19% for the overall population, and 86% of Chinese Canadians could conduct a conversation in either English or French (Statistics Canada, 2019, June 17). On the other hand, the overall income level of Chinese Canadians was lower than the national level. The average income of Chinese Canadians in 2015 was \$38,918, which was 18% lower than the national average of \$47,487; meanwhile, almost 22% of Chinese Canadians were in the low-income category, significantly higher than the national level of 14% (Statistics Canada, 2019, June 17). In 2015, 23.4% of

Chinese Canadians lived in poverty, almost doubled the level of non-racialized Canadians (Block, Galabuzi & Tranjan, 2019, p.20). Areas of employment also showed some discrepancies. For instance, the percentages of Chinese Canadians employed in “public administration” and “education, law, and social, community and government services” were one-third less than the national level. Studies demonstrated that new Chinese immigrants suffered earnings disadvantage despite higher education than Canadian-born, primarily due to non-recognition of foreign credentials and employment discrimination (Cao & Poy, 2011, pp.243-263). Conversely, Chinese Canadians held a higher percentage of management positions for companies and enterprises, as well as in business, finance and administration than Canadians overall. This was likely because a large portion of Chinese immigrants came to Canada as entrepreneurs and were required to open or buy their own business. That may also contribute to almost 7% of Chinese Canadians earning over C\$100,000, close to the national rate of 7.91% (Statistics Canada, 2019, June 17).

In summary, the Chinese Canadian diaspora has had a long and significant history in Canada. Starting as a crucial labour force for building the Canadian Pacific Railway Canada’s Chinese population now consists of business owners, international students, health care workers, and people in other roles that greatly contribute to the overall Canadian economy and social culture (Cao & Poy, 2011, p.150). Most Chinese Canadians can effectively communicate in at least one of Canada’s official languages. Many have a good education and work as professionals, while some have substantial wealth. This means that the Chinese community is better equipped with human power, ability and resources than ever before for representing themselves in the broader society and implementing significant projects. Governments have started to recognize the contributions of the Chinese community to Canada’s development and provide support initiatives meaningful for the Chinese community. For instance, the British Columbia government granted \$10 million in July 2020 to the Chinese Canadian Museum to honour the contribution of Chinese people to the province’s history (CTV News, 2020, July 16).

Table 5. Comparison between Chinese Canadians and National Average in 2016

| | Chinese Origin | Total Ethnic Origin |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Total Population | 1,769,195 | 34,460,065 |
| Bachelor Degree or Above | 32.37% | 19% |
| English or French Speaking | 86.20% | 98.20% |
| Born in Canada | 30% | 76% |
| Born in Europe | 0.35% | 6% |
| Born in Asia | 67.33% | 11% |
| Born in China | 42.12% | 2% |
| Unemployment Rate | 7.90% | 7.70% |
| Average Total Income in 2015 | \$38,918 | \$47,487 |
| Average employment income in 2015 | \$43,357 | \$46,057 |
| Total Income above \$100,000 | 6.94% | 7.91% |
| Total Income below \$19,999* | 42.36% | 29.87% |
| Low Income Family Rate | 21.89% | 14.16% |
| Total Labour Force Population in All Industry Categories | 871,720 100% | 18,268,125 100% |
| Population in Public Administration | 36,340 4.17% | 1,128,940 6.18% |
| Population in Education, law and social, community and government services | 74,515 4.21% | 2,328,560 6.76% |
| Population in Management of Companies and Enterprises | 1,815 0.21% | 28,795 0.16% |
| Population in Business, finance and administration occupations | 169,815 9.60% | 2,874,305 8.34% |

Adjusted after-tax income below \$15,430 in 2015 were considered low-income in 2016.

Data source: Statistics Canada, 2019, June 17

4.3 Canada-China Relationship

This section examines deteriorating Canada- China relations and its impact on Canadian views of China’s government and Chinese people.

“Canada’s relationship with China was born of hope and wavers on fear” (Paltiel, 2018 p.344). Formal diplomatic relations between Canada and China began in October 1970, earlier than most

western countries and the United Nations (Cao & Poy, 2011, p.126). From 1970 to 2006, Canada's China policy mainly focused on engaging China into the international society with hopes "partially rooted" in Canada's "missionary impulse" (Evans, 2014) to change China's behaviour (pp.12-13, cited in Lim, 2020, p.27; Cao & Paltiel, 2016, pp.81-82). The Tiananmen Square event in 1989 led Canada to include human rights in its China policy and superimpose its four-pillar policy for China in 1994, which included peace and security, sustainable development, economic partnership, as well as human rights, good governance, and the rule of law (Cao & Paltiel, 2016, pp.90-93; Cao & Poy, 2011, p.127). From 2006 to 2015, Stephen Harper's Conservative government distanced Canada's diplomatic relations in a hardline approach with constant criticism of China's economic espionage activities in Canada and human rights practices (Cao & Paltiel, 2016, pp.98-100; pp.137-138; Ong, 2020; Paltiel, 2018, p.345). After the Liberals won the 2015 election, Justin Trudeau's government endeavoured to repair relations with China while holding a hardline on human rights (Lim, 2020, pp.26-30; Paltiel, 2018, p.343).

Canada's approach was compromised by growing concerns over China's increasing international influence and President Trump's America-First foreign policy that displayed outright hostility towards China. Sino-Canada relations were derailed when Canada arrested Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou under the US-Canada extradition treaty in 2018 (Lim, 2020, pp.26-27; Paltiel, 2018, pp.343-344; The Canadian Press, 2020, May 26). While the arrest of Meng occurred within the legal extradition process between Canada and the US, the Chinese government condemned "Canada doing America's bidding" and aiding America's economic cold war against China by using Meng as a hostage (Glodenberg, 2020; Ong, 2020). Ten days after Meng's arrest, two Canadians, Michael Kovrig (a former diplomat) and Michael Spavor (a businessman) were arrested in China (The Canadian Press, 2020, May 26). Since then, there has been an ongoing tug of war between China and Canada over the release of Meng and the two Michaels.

China's leveraging response to Meng's arrest angered Canadians. A year after Meng's arrest, two-thirds of Canadians had an unfavourable view of China, a considerable increase from 51% in 2018; even more pointedly 90% of Canadians surveyed did not trust China on human rights and the rule of law (Angus Reid Institute, 2019, December, p.3). On October 13, 2020, the 50th anniversary of Canada-China diplomatic relations, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau strongly criticized China's "approach of coercive diplomacy" and its "increasingly repressive and aggressive actions" in Hong Kong and abroad (Fife & Chase, 2020, October 13).

China's economic growth has been unprecedented since the implementation of its open policy in 1978. Pew Research Centre surveyed fourteen countries in Asia, Europe and North America in October 2020, and the results revealed that 48% considered China as the world's leading economic power, followed by the U.S. with a median of 35% (Silver, Devlin & Huang, 2020, p.14). Brand Finance (2020) released the Global Soft Power Index 2020 based on an assessment of 100 countries in seven key areas – Business & Trade, Governance, International Relations, Culture & Heritage, Media & Communication, Education & Science, and People & Values

(pp.20-21). China ranked 5th, while the US topped the index and Canada ranked 7th; moreover, China ranked 2nd for influence with a score of 7.1, second to the US with a score of 7.7 (Brand Finance, 2020, pp.30-33).

Economic progress has brought China increased power, which has become a challenge to America's global dominance. For decades, Chinese leaders had crafted and adhered to the low-profile diplomacy (韬光养晦 *taoguang yanghui*), which advocated "hide your capacities, bide your time, [and] accomplish things where possible" (Lim, 2020). President Xi abandoned it and adopted an assertive and aggressive strategy in international affairs. After China removed the two-term limit on its presidency in 2018, western countries, including Canada, became increasingly concerned that China's already worrisome one-party system would change to one-man rule.

As China became an increasingly powerful player in the global political and economic systems, western countries began to worry about China's expanding influence and to treat China not only as an economic challenge but also a threat to national security and democracy (Rogelja & Tsimonis, 2020, pp.103-104.; Pavličević & Kratz, 2018, p.152; Canadian Security Intelligence Service [CSIS], 2018, pp.15-22). CSIS (2018) cautioned that an "asymmetrical bipolarity" has formed between the US and China, which has intensified "Sino-Western geostrategic antagonism" and warned that "[t]he rise of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is one of the most important issues of our time" (p.23; p.55).

Moreover, the recent escalation of tensions between the United States and China, exemplified by the closure of China's Houston consulate and America's Chengdu consulate, has brought US-China relations to the lowest point since President Nixon normalized relations with China in 1972 (Usher, 2020, July 24). President Trump's tweets calling COVID-19 China Virus and Kong Flu immediately promoted prejudice and hate towards people of Chinese origin (Yam, 2020, March 16; The Guardian, 2020, June 21). The long-term impact of worsening US-China relations on the Chinese diaspora is uncertain but worrisome. Although the Government of Canada recognizes and promotes multiculturalism, given the close geographic, political and economic ties between the US and Canada, increasing US-China tensions likely will worsen anti-Chinese discrimination in Canada.

While deteriorating relations between Canada and China soured the attitudes of Canadians towards the government of China, the COVID-19 outbreak drove Canadian opinions of China even lower. In 2020, after coronavirus spread in Canada and other countries, the general public's opinion towards China dropped historically low (Vanderklippe, 2020, October 13). Between 2005 and 2018, most Canadians held somewhat positive views of China, with the highest level of 73% in 2005; in 2020, the numbers flipped with 73% of Canadians regarding China negatively and only 14% holding favourable attitudes (Silver, Devlin & Huang, 2020, p.10; Angus Reid Institute, 2019, December, p4; 2020, May, p.3). The percentage of Canadians holding negative views of China increased from 45 % in 2018 to 67% in 2019, and dissatisfaction with China's handling of the COVID-19 outbreak pushed the number to almost three quarters in 2020 (Silver,

Devlin & Huang, 2020, pp.10-13). The Pew Research Centre's survey in October 2020 also confirmed that after the COVID-19 outbreak, negative views of China reached the highest level in Canada and other countries around the world (Silver, Devlin & Huang, 2020). At the end of 2019, 51% of Canadians thought the diplomatic tension between Canada and China would be resolved and the Sino-Canada relationship would return to normal (Angus Reid Institute, 2019, December, p.11). Yet after Canada was stricken with COVID-19, only 11% of Canadians wanted Canada to build closer ties with China (Angus Reid Institute, 2020, May, p8). As negative views about China rose, so did verbal and physical assaults against Chinese Canadians, undoubtedly the consequence of people re-directing their frustration and anger about the Chinese government towards innocent people of Chinese appearance.

4.4 Anti-Chinese Racism During COVID-19 in Canada

The Director-General of WHO, Dr. Tedros Ghebreyesus (2020), warned that “[t]he greatest enemy we face is not the virus itself; it’s the stigma that turns us against each other”. This section examines stigmatization in Canada and increasing racist incidents targeting Chinese Canadians during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Historically, research has shown upsurges of xenophobia accompany pandemics and worsen as the disease becomes more deadly (Gover, Haper & Langton, 2020, p.652; Muzzatti, 2005, pp.119-121). During the COVID-19 pandemic, there were numerous instances where Chinese people have been blamed for the spread of coronavirus globally.

Chinese Canadians started to notice the “wave of racism” (Cecco, 2020) in January 2020 when there were only three COVID-19 cases confirmed in Canada. Police in Canada's major cities have noticed increase in hate crimes in 2020 (Wells, 2021, March 19). Vancouver police reported that hate crimes targeting the Asian community in 2020 increased over 700% compared to 2019 (Beattie, 2020, May 22; Vancouver Police Department, 2021). Police in Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto also reported noticeable increases in the number of hate-motivated incidents targeting Asian Canadians (Wells, 2021, March 19; CBC News, 2021, March 2). The actual number of hate crime could be much higher. Over 90% of hate crime victims did not report to police because some of them were afraid that the police would not believe them, and in comes cases, victims believed the police to be discriminatory (Chung, 2021, March 1). For instance, one victim in Montreal reported a racist incident caused by her neighbour to police but was reminded by the police that her neighbour had the freedom of expression (Chung, 2021, March 1). Starting in the spring of 2020, incidents of racial harassment were increasingly reported across Canada, such as students of Chinese descent targeted at schools in Ontario, Chinese individuals experiencing verbal and physical assaults in multiple cities, buildings in Chinatown vandalized in Vancouver, Victoria and Montreal, as well as Chinese restaurants being threatened, defaced, or damaged by arson in Calgary (CityNews, 2020, March 4; Kelly, 2020, June 6; Kirkey, 2020, January 31; Lam, 2020, May 7; Little, 2020, May 20 & May 29; The Canadian Press, 2020, April 1; White, 2020, June 24). Some incidents were merciless and violent. For example, a 92-year-old Asian man with dementia was insulted and physically

assaulted in Vancouver (Chiu, 2020, April), and two Korean men were stabbed in separate incidents in Montreal on March 15, 2020 (CityNews, 2020, March 18). Two days later, the Consulate of South Korea posted a warning on its website to warn all Korean Canadians in Montreal to be careful (Rowe, 2020, March 17). Non-Asian people mistaken for Chinese also were targeted. For example, Inuit people in Montreal encountered street harassment from strangers (Richardson, 2020, April 14). Racial prejudice was not limited to unknown assailants. Public figures also were attacked. For instance, Canada's Chief Public Health Officer, Dr. Theresa Tam has spent most of her life and professional career in Canada (WHO, n.d.). Yet MP Derek Sloan tweeted a video questioning whether Dr. Tam worked for Canada or China; Sloan's comments quickly drew criticism condemning him of racism and xenophobia. (Harris, 2020, April 23).

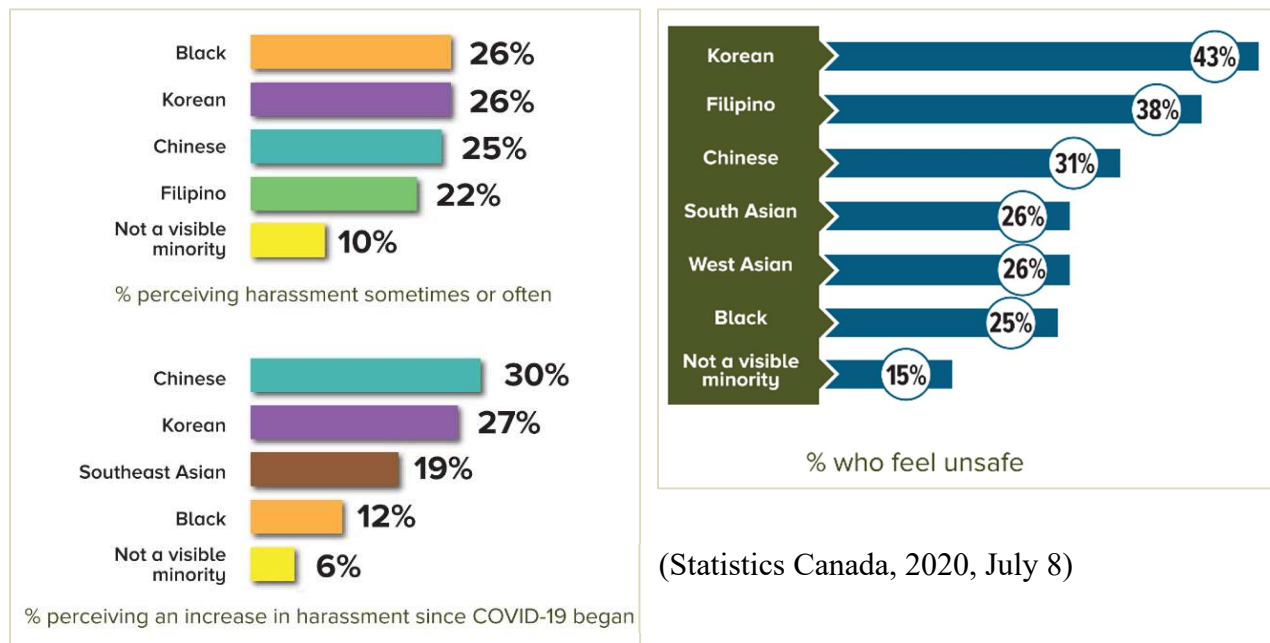
Several surveys were conducted to better understand the spike of anti-Chinese and anti-Asian racism after the outbreak of COVID-19. One online reporting site shows that the number of anti-Asian incidents in Canada increased almost 30 times from January 2020 to April 2020 (Project 1907, 2020). Responding to the surge of anti-Chinese racism in Canada, the Angus Reid Institute and the University of Alberta together conducted an online survey in June 2020 involving a representative randomized sample of 516 self-identified adult Chinese Canadians. Their report confirmed the severity and scope of anti-Chinese racism across Canada and called it a "shadow pandemic" (Shore, 2020, June 22). Half of the surveyed participants reported experiencing name calling or offensive remarks, 43% had been intimidated, and 30% were frequently exposed to anti-Chinese social media messages, propaganda and graffiti (Angus Reid Institute, 2020, June).

Another poll in B.C. revealed that from March 8 to May 17, 2020, one-in-four residents of East Asian and South Asian descent had endured "racial slurs or insults" (Canseco, 2020, June). Statistics Canada (2020, July 8) conducted crowdsourcing among "visible minorities in Canada" to learn how safe they felt during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results showed that Asian Canadians noticed a much higher rate of harassment in their neighbourhoods and felt unsafe, especially compared to white Canadians (see Figure 3; Flanagan, 2020, July 08). Another Statistics Canada (2020, September 17) report confirmed that Chinese, Korean, Southeast Asian and Black people were more than twice as likely as white Canadians to experience discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic. Almost 60% of Chinese participants reported experiencing discrimination during the pandemic, and less than 40% of them felt a sense of belonging to the local community (Statistics Canada, 2020, September, pp.8-10).

To better track the number and type of racist harassment, three online platforms were created for people to report racial harassment – EliminateHate, Fight COVID Racism (FCR), and the Groupe d'Entraide contre le racisme envers les asiatiques au Québec (GECREAQ, in French). The

Elimin8hate is a collaboration between Project 1907³ and the Vancouver Asian Film Festival. It allows people to safely report racist incidents online in multiple languages, including Simplified Mandarin, Traditional Mandarin, Korean, Japanese and Filipino (Project 1907, 2020). The FCR website was created by the Chinese Canadian National Council - Toronto Chapter (CCNC-Toronto), Chinese Canadian National Council for Social Justice (CCNC-SJ), Chinese and Southeast Asian Legal Clinic (CSALC), and Civic Engagement Network Society of Canada (CENSC), to track and report anti-Asian racism in Canada (FCR, 2020). GECREAQ (2020) is a public Facebook group where people can report racism incidents and provide support to victims. While this Facebook group does not compile and analyze data as the other two platforms do, it offers an interactive site for group members to discuss discrimination and share tips for dealing with it.

Figure 3. Perceptions of Personal Safety during the COVID-19 Pandemic



(Statistics Canada, 2020, July 8)

In the midst of the pandemic, on September 9, 2020, the anniversary of Vancouver’s Anti-Asian riot in 1907, Project 1907 and the Vancouver Asian Film Festival joined CCNC-Toronto and CCNC-SJ to combine data from both Elimin8hate and FCR to produce a mid-term national report on anti-Asian racism in Canada during COVID-19 (Project 1907, 2020). According to this mid-term report, over 600 incidents of anti-Asian racism were reported across Canada from late January to early September 2020, which was higher than the US per capita. British Columbia

³ Project 1907 is a community group led by Asian women to elevate Asian voices, and the number 1907 refers to the year of the three-day violent Anti-Asian Riots in Vancouver’s Chinatown and Japan-town.

reported most incidents per capita in Canada, which was higher than California and New York, while Ontario was only slightly lower than New York (See Figure 4).

Among people who reported incidents, 83% self-identified as East Asian. Most victims were women, 70% in British Columbia, with the national average of 60%. More than three-quarters of victims were from 19 to 54-years old, while 8% were youth and children (Project 1907, 2020, See Figure 5). Vancouver and Toronto, the two cities with the highest Chinese Canadian populations, had the highest numbers of incidents reported. In addition, most incidents happened in public spaces, including on streets, in stores, on public transit, in parks, at beaches, and in schools and universities (Fionda, 2020, June 15; also see Figure 6). Most incidents were verbal harassment with racial slurs, name-calling, threats or swearing, but physical assaults increased from 21% by May 2020 to 30% by September 2020, which included targeted coughing, spitting and other physical attacks (Fionda, 2020, June 15; also see Figure 7). Given that COVID-19 can be fatal, intentionally coughing or spitting at others is life-threatening, and can cause more upset and fear for the victims.

(Note: In some charts, the total is over 100% because the source data includes responses with multiple types of incidents).

Figure 4. Reported Anti-Asian Racism Incidents Per Capita

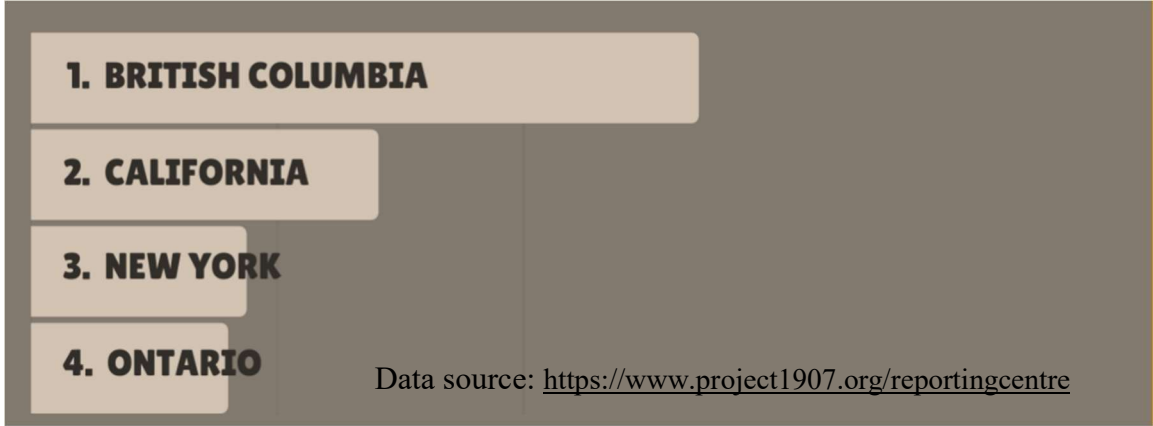


Figure 5. Who Were the Victims?

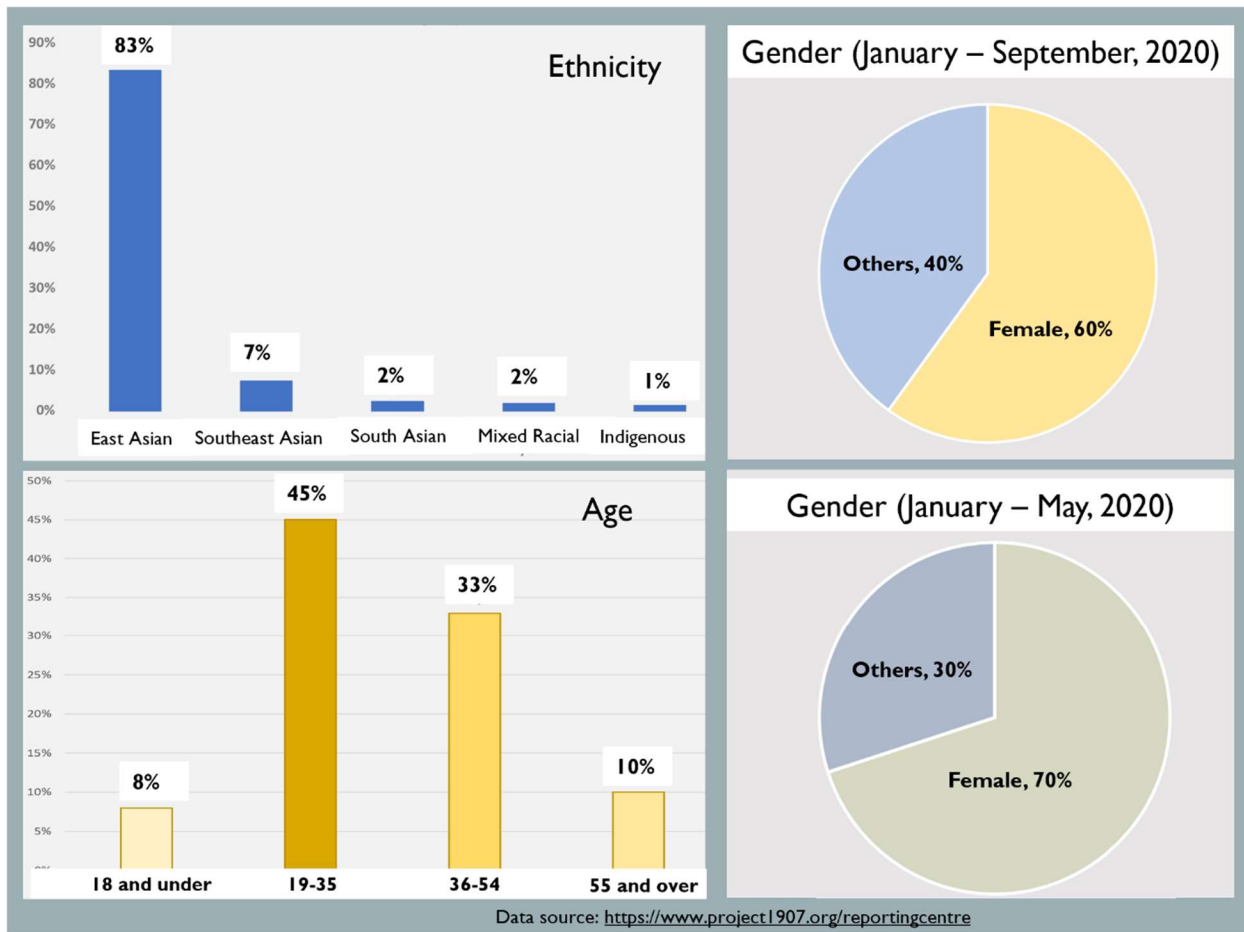


Figure 6. Where Did it Happen?

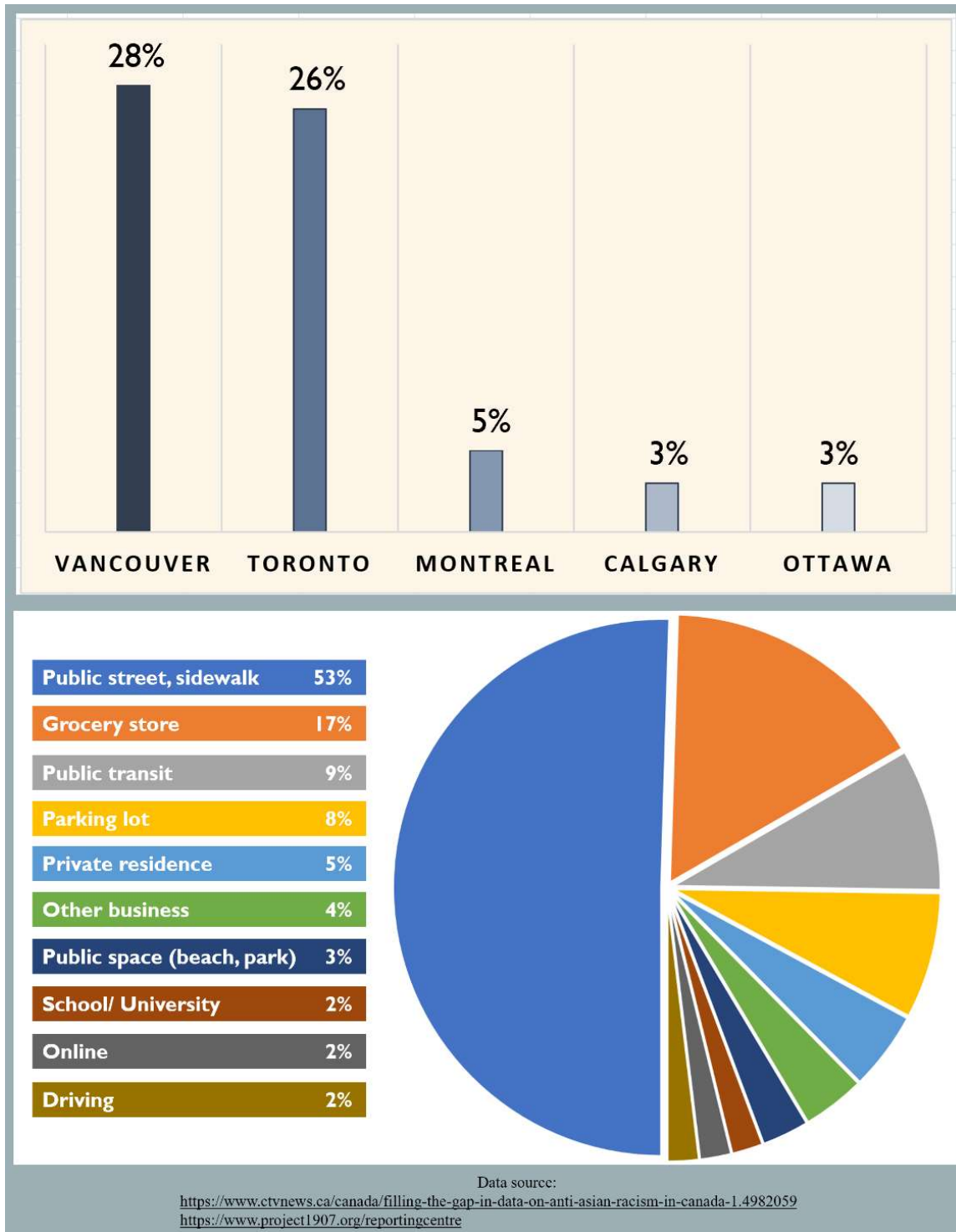
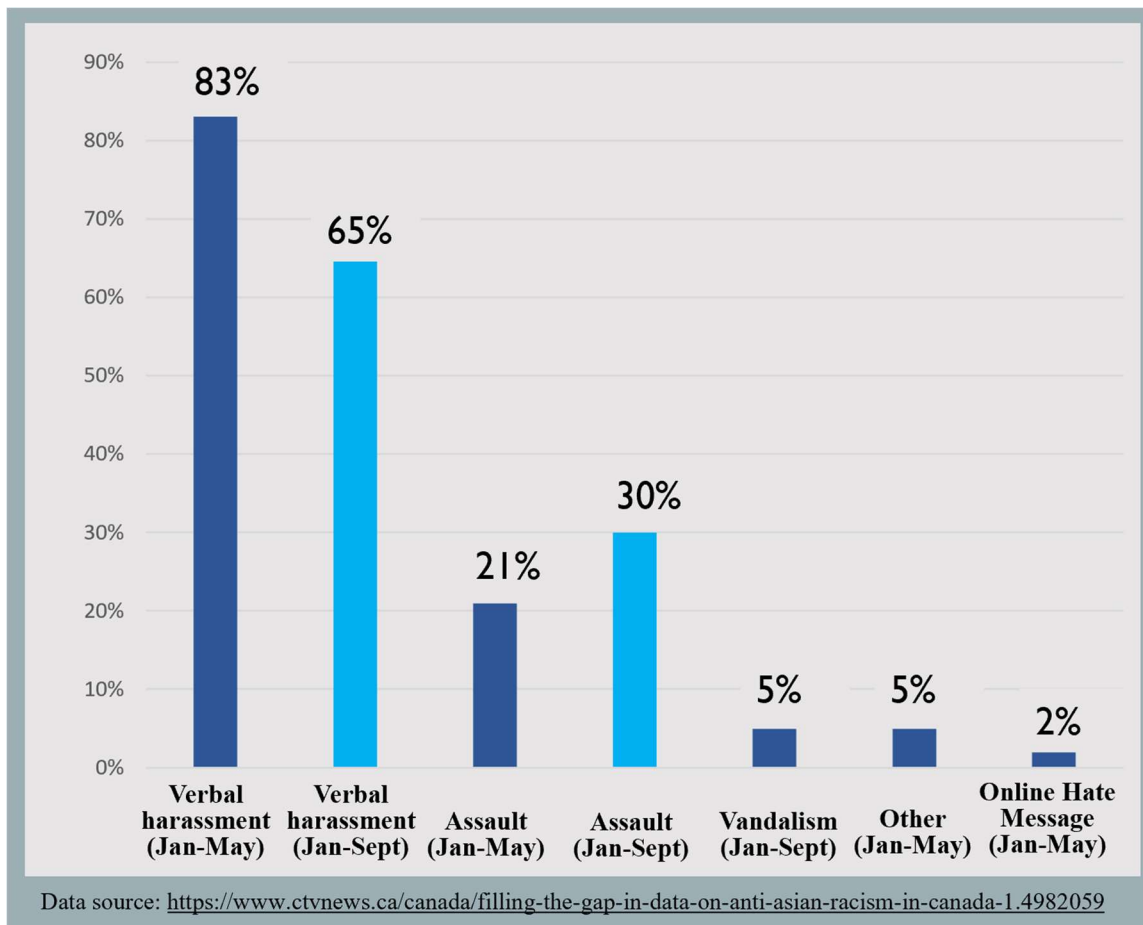


Figure 7. What Happened?



In March 2021, CCNC-Toronto published the final national report on anti-Asian racism attacks across Canada based on the cases reported on Eliminate Hate and FCR. This final report updated numbers with data collected from March to December 31, 2020 (Kong, Ip, Huang & Lin, 2021, March). While the numbers are different from the mid-term report mentioned above, the trends stayed the same. According to CCNC-Toronto’s final report, 1150 racist incidents were reported across Canada from March 10, 2020 to February 28, 2021 (Kong, et.al, 2021, March). Most incidents were reported in British Columbia and Ontario – 44% in British Columbia and almost 40% in Ontario (See Table 6). While public spaces (parks, sidewalks, streets), grocery stores and public transport remained the most common places where racist attacks happened, the percentage of incidents that happened in other stores and online both doubled compared to mid-term report data (Table 7). This final report has more detailed categories for the types of discrimination than mid-term report. The top three types were verbal harassment (73.41%), physical harassment (10.73%) and being coughed at or spat on (9.95%). There also were incidents reported as abuse of power by police or police brutality, even though it was only 0.16%.

Table 6: Incidents Reported in Provinces

| Provinces | Percentage of Incidents |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| British Columbia | 44.44% |
| Ontario | 39.64% |
| Quebec | 6.46% |
| Alberta | 5.41% |
| Saskatchewan | 2.85% |
| Manitoba | 0.60% |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 0.30% |
| Nova Scotia | 0.15% |
| Prince Edward Island | 0.15% |

(Source: Kong, et.al, 2021, March)

Table 7: Location of Reported Incidents

| Locations | % in Mid-term Report (January-September 2020) | % in Final Report (March-December 2020) |
|--|--|--|
| Public space (street, sidewalk, beach, park) | 56% | 49.14% |
| Grocery store | 17% | 17.11% |
| Public transport | 9% | 9.33% |
| Parking lot | 8% | 3.11% |
| Private residence | 5% | 6.22% |
| Other business (not grocery) | 4% | 8.24% |
| School/University/Educational Institution | 2% | 2.95% |
| Online | 2% | 4.35% |
| Driving | 2% | Not included in the report |
| Other places (Offices, place of worship, and other places) | Not included in the report | 9.96% |

(Source: Kong, et.al, 2021, March; Project 1907, 2020)

Research has found that racial attacks cause lingering impacts for victims, including depression, anxiety, lower self-esteem and poor health (Okazaki, 2009, p.105). Racial discrimination also reduces trust and confidence in institutions and causes a weakened sense of belonging to the local society (Statistics Canada, 2020, September 17, pp.5-7). Research has shown that many victims of racism live in fear (Mamuji, et al., 2020, p.7). For example, over 60% of participants in Angus Reid’s survey on anti-Asian racism had adjusted their routine due to concerns of racism (Angus Reid Institute, 2020, June, p.8). CCNC-Toronto discovered that over 73% victims of racist incidents experienced mental distress or emotional harm (Kong, et.al, 2021, March). A specific example is when Salina Guo, a sixteen-year-old girl, born in Canada and living in Toronto, felt “afraid to be Chinese” when she had to teach her mother how to respond to racial attacks in English (CBC Kids News, 2020, July 20). In another incident, Mary Zhu, a 22-year-old medical student at Queens University, was attacked by a white man on the street in Kingston in March 2020 (Dai, 2020). Mary came to Canada from China when she was three years old and grew up in Toronto. This incident made her feel scared even at home, anxious about everyone encountered on the street; she lost her sense of security and did not go out for at least 10 days. Another victim described that “The hateful acts have become scarier for us than the COVID-19 pandemic itself” (Feith, 2020, May14). One victim experienced “immense anxiety, deep depression and sleeplessness” (Kong, et.al, 2021, March), and the racial attack made him so fearful that he felt maybe one day he may have to escape from his “beloved Canada” to save his life. Racism profoundly affects its victims, as former Globe and Mail journalist Jan Wong (2012) describes, “Unless you have experienced racism, it is hard to explain its corrosiveness. You feel frightened and violated and impotent all at once. When race is perceived to be a factor, the hurt from almost any slight, even an innocent, unintended one, can last a lifetime.”

In another example, Justin Tang encountered a man at an Ottawa mall who said to his face “When they make me wear a mask, that makes me want to kill Asian people” (Helmer, 2020, October 11). When Tang told this man what he said was unkind, the man shrugged and replied, “A war is a war” (Helmer, 2020, October 11). Tang told the journalist, “We should be shocked that this sort of thing happens, but also we shouldn’t be shocked because we have this long history and we haven’t dealt with it.” (Helmer, 2020, October 11). Tang’s remarks are insightful and likely represent the attitudes of many Chinese Canadians.

4.5 Chinese Community’ Responses to the Pandemic and Associated Racism

4.5.1 Responding to COVID-19

- Individuals React Early and Build Support Through WeChat

The Chinese community was probably one of the first groups in Canada alerted to the outbreak of coronavirus. When the first few cases were reported in China around the Chinese New Year in 2020, many Chinese Canadians heard stories about the coronavirus from Chinese media, as well as their families and friends in China. They were told that the virus was dangerously contagious. Therefore, Chinese Canadians reacted faster than many other groups in Canada. In late January

and early February, when China was the centre of the COVID-19 crisis, many Chinese Canadians bought personal protection items such as facial masks and gloves and sent them to their families and friends in China. Later in March, when Canada started to face the serious challenges of the pandemic, medical supplies were no longer urgently needed in China. Friends and families in China sent medical supplies to Chinese Canadians. Some Chinese individuals, like Ms. Zhang in Vancouver (Xu, 2020, March 25), voluntarily organized members of the Chinese community to donate medical supplies to local hospitals and long-term care facilities and to share them with their Canadian neighbours.

While the risk for transmission in Canada remained low in January and February 2020, many Chinese Canadians already had started to take preventive actions such as wearing masks and social distancing and urged Canadian officials to adopt more rigorous public health measures. Some Chinese restaurants voluntarily required staff to wear masks and regularly checked employees' temperature and disinfected their premises (Mamuji, et al., 2020, p.8; Yeung, 2020, June 8). The Toronto Chinese community canceled their annual Chinatown celebration for the 2020 Chinese New Year in response to the coronavirus (Mamuji, et al., 2020, p.8). Before quarantine was requested by the Canadian government, Chinese people already had started self-quarantine after they returned from China, even though most of them did not arrive from Wuhan where the coronavirus storm started (Zarzour, 2020, March 4). On February 27, 2020, twenty-three Chinese Canadian doctors practicing in Toronto signed an open letter urging every traveler coming to Canada from China and other regions with COVID-19 outbreaks, such as South Korea, Iran and Italy, to self-quarantine for 14 days (Blackwell, 2020, February 27). At that time, Canada's protocol only required travelers who had been to Wuhan to isolate themselves for 14 days after they arrived in Canada (Blackwell, 2020, February 27). In April 2020 despite British Columbia having relatively fewer reported COVID-19 cases compared to other provinces, Canada Committee 100 Society⁴ openly urged the government of British Columbia to implement more robust measures to contain the coronavirus, including improving coronavirus testing, requiring masks in public, voluntary self-isolation after traveling to Canada from overseas, and stricter limits on social gatherings (Ding & Zhang, 2020).

Dozens of groups were organized through WeChat by Chinese volunteers in cities across Canada to support people under voluntary quarantine. Each group had one or more leaders. Group members included both volunteers and people needing help, and they all voluntarily joined the groups. There were almost 300 members in the Montreal group, over 200 in both Toronto and Mississauga groups, and many other groups across Canada had more than 100 members (Brown, 2020; Donnelly, 2020; Gamrot, 2020; Payne, 2020; Viau, 2020; Yeung, 2020, June 8; Zarzour, 2020, March 4). Volunteers provided essential services to people under self-quarantine,

⁴ The Canada Committee 100 Society (n.d.) is a membership-based non-profit organization. It focuses on enhancing the overall capacity of the Chinese community in Canada and uniting Chinese with other ethnic groups to promote the development of an equal, healthy and sustainable Canada.

including no-contact pickups from the airports, grocery shopping, filling prescriptions and even providing suitable places for self-quarantine (Donnelly, 2020). Members kept track of how many people were in isolation and for how long; when people completed self-quarantine, they usually chose to become volunteers (Donnelly, 2020).

Strategies were created and shared within and between the groups. For instance, for non-contact pick-up, two volunteers (or family members/friends) would each drive one car to the airport; then the traveler(s) drove one home, while the two volunteers drove the other vehicle back, and the traveler(s) entered quarantine immediately (Yeung, 2020, June 8). The researcher herself is in the Victoria group, which has over 280 members. Besides providing essential services, members in Victoria group keep each other informed about coronavirus updates, new regulations on travel and social gathering, clarify misinformation or misunderstanding, and share information on special support from the government such as Canada Emergency Response Benefit and the Recovery Benefit in British Columbia. One Victoria member, Thomas Hu, has been voluntarily updating COVID-19 in British Columbia every day on his own website since March 11, 2020 (Hu, 2020). Hu's update compiles a statistical record of COVID-19 cases in Canada and British Columbia, related news and research on coronavirus, current government regulations and aid programs. It is written in Chinese with links to sources of news and data. Due to its comprehensiveness, ease to follow and objectivity, Hu's update has become one of the essential sources for Chinese people in Victoria to keep track of the COVID-19 situation in Canada and British Columbia.

Chinese Canadians' efforts resulted in lower rates of COVID-19 cases in the Chinese community. For example, more than half of residents in Richmond, British Columbia, are of Chinese ethnicity, the highest in the province. Yet, Richmond had the lowest percentage of COVID-19 cases in British Columbia (Yeung, 2020, June 8). Early data showed that from February 23 to March 9, 2020, only nine confirmed cases in British Columbia were linked to recent travel in China, which accounted for 11.7% of total cases in British Columbia as of March 9th, 2020 (Ding & Zhang, 2020). Some researchers argued that some early actions taken by the Chinese diaspora were "overzealous" (Mamuji et al. 2020); for instance, petitions pleading for suspension of all flights from China to Canada and strict quarantine regulations (p.10). On the contrary, the proactive approach of Chinese Canadians received praise from an infectious disease specialist, Dr. Peter Phillips (Yeung, 2020, June 8). On balance, valuable experience and contributions from the Chinese community helped slow the spread of coronavirus, but that largely has been unrecognized by Canadian media and the broader society.

- Organizational Efforts on Fighting COVID-19

When the coronavirus spread to Canada, there was a shortage of personal protective equipment (PPE) such as surgical masks, face shields, gloves and gowns (Bensadoun, 2020). By then the pandemic in China was largely under control, and the production of PPE in China had resumed. Many Chinese organizations and individuals in Canada made efforts to secure PPE supplies from China for donation to Canadian organizations and individuals. For instance, the Confederation of

Toronto Chinese Canadian Organizations (CTCCO) donated hundreds of thousands of units of medical supplies, including surgical gloves, masks and isolation gowns, to 60 organizations in Ontario, including hospitals, nursing homes and police forces (Adler, 2020, July 14; CTCCO, 2020, July 23; Ke, 2020, March 21). CTCCO also launched the campaign “Canada is my home; we are the guardians” on the Chinese social media WeChat and raised about \$100,000 to support Canada’s fight with coronavirus (CTCCO, 2020, May 29). The Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations (2020a) and its member organizations donated over \$120,000, including funds and medical equipment, to Vancouver General Hospital, Richmond General Hospital and Burnaby General Hospital.

Some organizations created online support platforms to help the Chinese community with COVID-19 prevention and mental health issues. For instance, the Chinese Volunteer Association in Canada (CVAC, <http://cvacca.org/>) in Montreal provided numerous supportive programs on its website and through its WeChat account. CVAC also offers zoom webinars on policy explanation, infection control, mental health, nutrition and health, and legal matters. To help people deal with isolation, volunteer-run virtual programs are regularly organized in music, dance, Chinese opera and exercise (CVAC, 2020, December 25).

COVID-19 Info Hub (CIH) is another resource provider under the Project PROTECH (Pandemic Rapid-response Optimization to Enhance Community-Resilience and Health). Project PROTECH (n.d.) is a “community-engaged action research project”. Its website is presented in three languages – English, simplified Chinese and traditional Chinese. The project addresses the psychosocial impacts of the pandemic and helps the community to build resilience. The project team includes university professors, physicians and people with medical or nursing expertise; most team members are of Chinese descent (Project PROTECH, n.d.). In addition to providing COVID-19 updates and suggestions on how to stay healthy, Project PROTECH also provides mental health webinars, information on financial and legal assistance, and tools to fight against racism and build self-resilience (Project PROTECH, n.d.).

4.5.2 Responding to Stigma and Racism

Responses to anti-Chinese racism during the pandemic mainly included four actions – online reporting of incidents, campaigning and online petitioning against discrimination, and training to empower individuals to fight against racism. The two major online reporting platforms, Fight COVID Racism and Eliminate, are introduced in section 4.4. This section focuses on campaigning, online petitioning and training initiatives.

- Campaigning Initiatives

Reacting to widespread anti-Chinese racism in Canada, campaigns were organized by Chinese organizations and individuals in multiple cities and online.

The Chinese Canadian National Council for Social Justice (CCNC-SJ) started confronting racism immediately after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. Fearing a reoccurrence of the racism experienced by the Chinese community during SARS in 2003, CCNC-SJ organized a press

conference with Toronto’s Mayor John Tory and medical officials on January 29, 2020 (Madani, 2020, January 29). During the news conference, Amy Go, the interim president of CCNC-SJ, called for proactive efforts to prevent stigmatization and stop the spread of panic caused by misinformation when only two confirmed cases had been reported in Canada (Boisvert, 2020, January 29). On March 3, 2020, CCNC-SJ launched its **Stop the Spread Campaign** in Toronto (Patton, 2020, March 3; See Figure 8). Members of CCNC-SJ dressed in hazmat suits handed out “Stop the Spread of Racism” branded hand sanitizers to raise public awareness around discrimination towards the Chinese community and called on people to combat racism (Patton, 2020, March 3). CCNC-SJ (n.d.) also led the **FaceRace Campaign** that not only raises awareness about anti-Asian racism associated with COVID-19 in Canada but also empowers individuals to fight all racism, including the BlackLivesMatter movement. The City of Toronto (2020) started the initiative End Anti-East Asian Racism in response to the rise of anti-East Asian discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic. Both Stop the Spread Campaign and FaceRace Campaign were part of this Toronto initiative.

Figure 8. Stop the Spread Campaign



Source: <https://www.stopthespread.ca/>

On July 11, 2020, over 10,000 Chinese people in Canada joined **Alberta Anti-Racism Cross-Canada Online Rally** through Zoom (We Canadian, 2020, July 11). The campaign was organized by several Chinese Canadians in Alberta through WeChat. In the notice for this rally, which was widely shared within the Chinese community, the organizers called upon all members of the Chinese community across Canada to unite and act against all types of racial discrimination (See Appendix B). Alberta Premier Jason Kenny sent his support in a video recording, and Minister of Culture, Multiculturalism and Status of Women, Minister of Mental Health and Addictions, Minister of Community and Social Services and other provincial and municipal leaders attended the rally (We Canadian, 2020, July 11).

The Action! Chinese Canadians Together (ACCT) Foundation⁵ (<https://acctfoundation.ca/>) and ACT2endracism⁶ (<https://act2endracism.ca/>) are working together on a **Video Campaign Against Misinformation and Disinformation** that fuel anti-Chinese and anti-Asian racism (See Appendix C). ACT2endracism recommends strategies for youth, seniors and the overall population to respond to hate incidents, as well as guidance for bystanders to help targeted individuals. ACT2endracism also encourages people to make short videos to share their experiences and insights on racism. In response to racist incidents associated with COVID-19, the ACCT Foundation provides services for reporting racist incidents through text messages or online reporting in seven languages (English, French, Traditional Chinese, Simplified Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese). Moreover, its website offers both in-depth learning about racism in Canada and easy-to-understand infographic illustrations on various topics related to anti-Chinese discrimination throughout Canada's history.

- Utilizing the Power of Online Petition

Online petitioning is another tool the Chinese community utilized during the pandemic to respond to politicians' xenophobic remarks and media's inaccurate reports. On February 5, 2020, The Province ran its front page with a racially discriminatory headline "2nd China Virus Case in B.C." (CBC News, 2020, February 7; Nassar & Kelly, 2020, February 6; See Figure 10 in Section 4.6). A couple of petitions were initiated on change.org by people with Chinese last names, and over 16,000 people signed the petitions (C. Chen, 2020; Yuan, 2020). In April 2020 after Derek Sloan questioned whether Canada's Chief Health Officer, Dr. Theresa Tam, worked for China or for Canada, Justin Fung (2020) started a petition and received almost 15,000 signatures from supporters. On April 30, 2020, a report published on Global News called "every overseas Chinese is a warrior" presenting Chinese diaspora as puppets of a foreign government (Cooper, 2020; See Figure 11 in Section 4.6). Concerned about the accuracy of the report and the prejudices it could provoke against Chinese Canadians, another two petitions were made on change.org, which had about 8,400 supporters (X. Chen, 2020; Pan, 2020). More recently, in February 2021, the Ale House pub in London, Ontario put up a sign that said, "Mr. Ford History will show lockdowns caused more damage 2 the public then the China virus" (CTVNewsLondon.ca Staff, 2021, February 19), and it was later changed to "We love Chinese People we hate the genocide and China virus your commie govt has inflicted on us" (See Figure 9). Despite criticism from local politicians, Chinese community and five post-secondary institutions, the pub owner still denied that his sign had "any racism to it at all." (CTVNewsLondon.ca Staff, 2021, February 19; Trevithick, 2021, February 19). According to the petition on change.org, the pub owner also refused service to some Chinese customers in his restaurant after a Chinese student in that group asked him to remove the sign using the phrase

⁵ The ACCT Foundation focuses on improving civic participation of Chinese Canadians and promoting racial equality.

⁶ ACT2endracism is a network with over 40 member organizations across Canada, and it focuses on activities and campaigns against COVID-19 triggered racism.

“China virus” (Jing, 2021, February). This petition were signed by over 85,00 supporters in approximately one month.

Figure 9. Signs from the Ale House Pub in London



Source: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/london/london-bar-sign-racism-discussion-1.5918749>

- Training and Education Programs

Pandemic Acceptance and Commitment to Empowerment Response (PACER) training is part of Project PROTECH. PACER training combines mindfulness, acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT) and group training on social justice and collective empowerment (Project PROTECH, n.d.). It is designed for frontline service providers, Asian individuals and families directly impacted by COVID-19, and community leaders and volunteers who intend to promote community collective resilience (Project PROTECH, n.d.).

Cultivating Growth and Solidarity (<https://www.growthandsolidarity.ca/>) is a guide for youth and adults to “explore their experience as racialized individuals of Asian ancestry in Canada” and deal with the mental distress linked to racial discrimination. The creation of this zine was led by a group of professors at the University of Victoria.

Some organizations have developed timely anti-racism guides. For instance, three leaders from Ryerson University and Judge Maryka Omatsu, all women of Asian descent, developed the Responding to Hate Toolkit (2020). And the Federation of Asian Canadian Lawyers Ontario Chapter (2020) compiled the Responding to Hate and Discrimination Guide.

4.6 Disturbing News Reports

Kim Noels, a social psychologist at the University of Alberta observed that media reports on the tense relations between Canada and China likely contributed to discrimination against Chinese Canadians during COVID-19 (McMaster, 2020). Many Chinese Canadians also believed that North American media coverage promotes negative impressions of people of Chinese ethnicity (Angus Reid Institute, 2020, June, p.2). During the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, two news

reports received strong reaction from the Chinese community – one was on The Province newspaper, and the other one was on Global News. These two news reports exemplify the racist overtones and bias in Canadian media reporting that the Chinese community worried about.

4.6.1. The Headline of “China Virus” on the Province Newspaper Front Page

The Province newspaper ran its front page on February 5, 2020, with a headline containing the phrase "2nd China Virus Case in B.C." (CBC News, 2020, February 7; Nassar & Kelly, 2020, February 6). The linked news was regarding the second case of novel coronavirus identified in British Columbia. The front page image was shared on WeChat, and it immediately caused great upset and anger in the Chinese community. Some individuals wrote to the editor-in-chief of the newspaper but did not “get a constructive response” and felt “the lack of apology... [added] insult to injury” (Nassar & Kelly, 2020, February 6). Some started a petition on the Change.org website, which soon collected over 16,000 signatures (C. Chen, 2020; Yuan, 2020). Meanwhile, China’s Consul General in Vancouver, Madame Tong Xiaoling issued a statement, condemning the headline with “obvious racial discrimination” (Consulate-General of the People’s Republic of China in Vancouver, 2020, February 6) and criticized The Province for being irresponsible, “unprofessional” and “inconsistent with the Canadian core values” (CBC News, 2020, February 7). Both the Chinese community in Canada and Madame Tong demanded an immediate apology from the newspaper. The editor-in-chief, Harold Munro, responded in an interview with the CBC on February 7, 2020. He explained that the use of “China virus” was to “geographically locate the origin of the virus, not to discriminate” (CBC News, 2020, February 7). While Mr. Munro expressed his lack of interest in hearing from the Chinese consul general, he eventually apologized to the Chinese community “for causing any hurt” and promised not to use “those words again in any headline out of respect for local sensibilities” (CBC News, 2020, February 7). At the same time, thirteen complaints regarding this headline were sent to the National NewsMedia Council (NNC); however, NNC (2020) did not think using “China virus” as part of the headline was discriminating against China or Chinese people and dismissed all complaints.

Headlines are the most conspicuous part of a news report. Readers use headlines to quickly determine their interest in the news content. Generally, headlines are written by editors to attract readers with a “catchy title” (van Dijk, 1991) while expressing the most important content of the news; thus, headlines are subjective, and the choice of wording reveals the editor’s “opinions, emotions or social positions” (pp. 51-53). The editor’s perspective can influence readers’ understanding of the events through the headlines (van Dijk, 1991, pp50-51).

“In the media, form is content” (Middlestadt & Barnhurst, 1999, p.264). Printed words create two images - the “word image” (van Leeuwen, 2005) depicted by the text and the “typography image” presenting a visual tone of the news (p.138). The visual design is an influential part of headlines. Although “China virus” was only part of the headline, the presentation of the headline was sensational. While the full headline was “Coronavirus threat: 2nd China virus case in B.C. – Local officials preparing for imminent return of people stranded in city of Wuhan, epicenter of global crisis,” the words “2ND CHINA VIRUS CASE IN B.C.” were all capital letters, bolded

and in a much larger font size compared to the rest of the headline. Moreover, the words “CHINA” and “CASE” were in solid black while the words “2ND,” “VIRUS,” and “IN B.C.” were in solid red. To the left of the headline was an enlarged image of the novel coronavirus that took up more than one-quarter of the page (See Figure 10). Cognitive research proves that readers generally attribute higher importance to words in extra-large letters and remember them longer than words in smaller type (Luna, Nogueira & Albuquerque, 2019). While the presentation of the front page successfully expressed the significance and seriousness of the coronavirus situation in British Columbia, the visual features of the headline could draw readers to associate coronavirus with China. Taking typographic features of the headline into consideration, the Chinese community’s concern about this headline being pejorative seemed reasonable.

Figure 10. The Province Frontpage on February 5, 2020

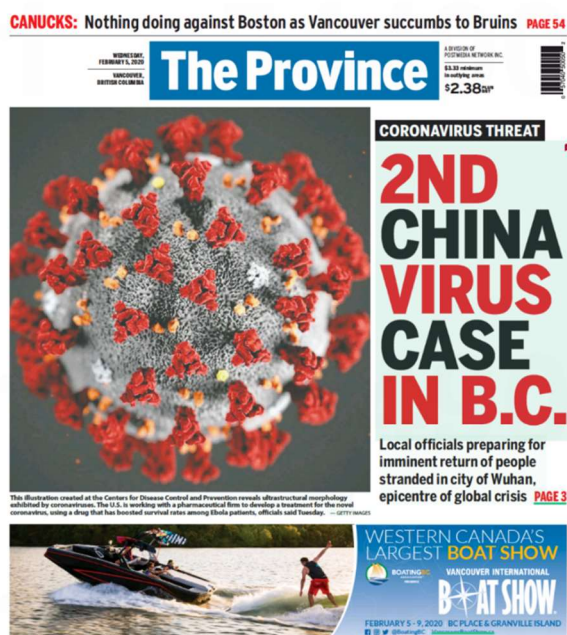


Image source:
<https://www.pressreader.com/canada/the-province/20200205/page/1>

4.6.2. A Global News Report on China’s United Front Groups in Canada

- Every Overseas Chinese is a Warrior?

On April 30, 2020, Global News published a report by Sam Cooper (2020) titled “United Front groups in Canada helped Beijing stockpile coronavirus safety supplies.” In the report, Cooper accused millions of overseas Chinese of helping China hoard personal protective equipment (PPE) under direction from China’s United Front Work Department (UFWD). Cooper stated that there were over 100 tonnes PPE shipments from Canada to China in January and February 2020, which was mainly organized through Chinese consulates in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

Cooper investigated three Chinese organizations in Canada that actively contributed to the PPE drive from Canada to China:

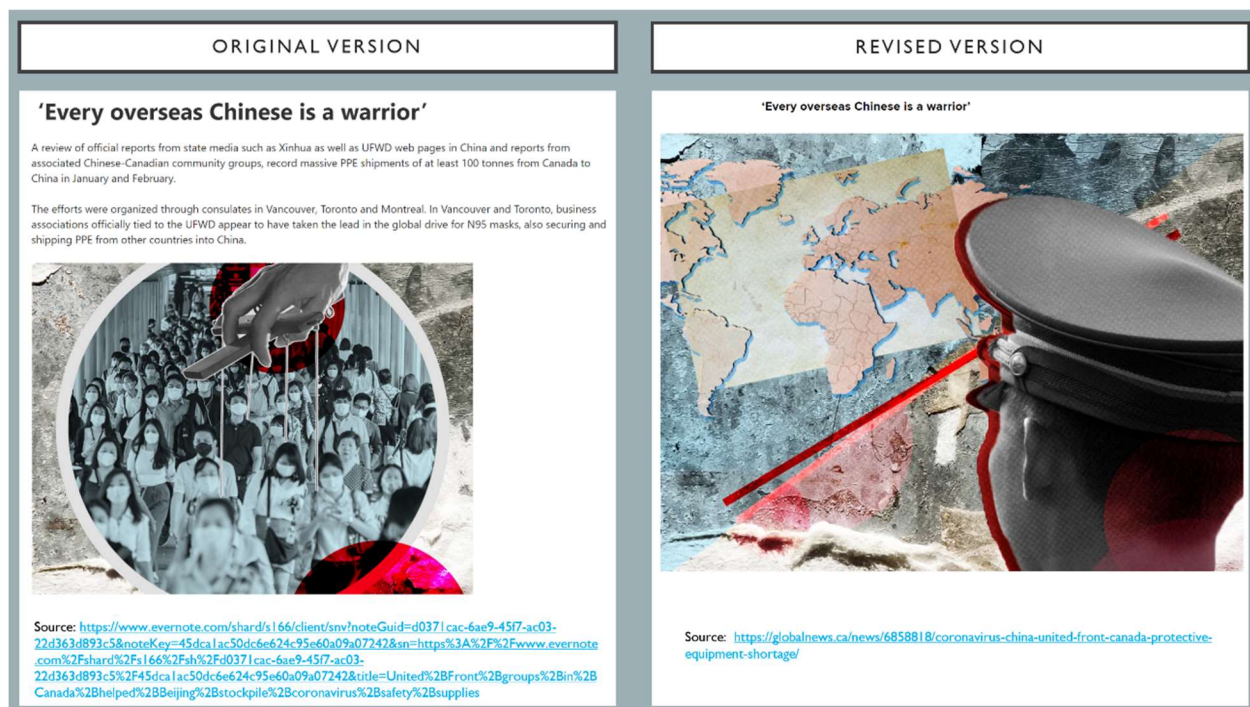
- 1) Toronto Fuqing Chamber of Commerce (TFCC) - The TFCC president visited China before 2020 Chinese New Year, but immediately flew back to Toronto right after he learned about the shortage of PPE in China and organized TFCC members to buy and send medical supplies to China. The case used by Cooper to demonstrate the connection between TFCC and UFWD was that TFCC attended a “United Front-linked anti-Hong Kong democracy rally” in Ontario in 2019.
- 2) Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations (CACA) – CACA leaders worked with the Vancouver consulate to raise funds and organize purchase of PPE for Wuhan, China. Cooper (2020) stated that CACA is a “controlling level” United Front group in Canada but did not explain what does “controlling level” mean.
- 3) Canada Chao Shan Association in Vancouver – Cooper translated the organization’s name from a Chinese news report he cited. The organization actually is registered as Teo Chew Society of Vancouver, Canada (TCSV, <http://www.tcsv1987.org/>). Cooper (2020) pointed out that TCSV assisted the Chinese consulate in PPE drive, and helped CACA in shipping PPE from Philippines to China. While Cooper (2020) did not illustrate any direct connection between TCSV and UFWD, he revealed that a TCSV member had criminal charges and was suspected of underground financial activities, and then used Australia as an example to demonstrate that UFWD groups used organized crime to cover political operations.

Cooper (2020) claimed that “Every overseas Chinese is a warrior”. This sentence stood alone in bolded fonts and was followed by a graphic depicting a group of people of Chinese appearance wearing masks as marionettes, which was later replaced with a war-indicating picture after receiving strong complaints from the Chinese community (See Figure 11). Cooper stated that this sentence was the subtitle of a Chinese report published by China’s state media, Xinhua News. The researcher’s due diligence examination showed that the original sentence in the quoted Chinese report was in fact “每一位侨胞都是战“疫”者,” which means “every overseas Chinese is a warrior in the battle against the epidemic”⁷ (Chen & Xie, 2020, February 3). Cooper (2020) criticized that the Chinese subtitle “bursts with militaristic descriptions that have the ring of propaganda”. Yet, it is not unusual to use military metaphors such as “war” and “battle” for handling medical crises (Sontag, 1989, cited in Muzzatti, 2005, pp.120-121). Canadian media also used that metaphor during the COVID-19 pandemic. For instance, The Globe and Mail published an article on April 6, 2020 with the title “We are at war with COVID-19. We need to fight it like a war” (Potter, 2020).

⁷ WHO announced COVID-19 pandemic on March 11, 2020 (WHO, 2020, April). This sentence appeared on a report published in February 2020.

Cooper (2020) quoted Ruji[e]⁸ Feng, the president of the TCSV, that “the local communities actively-co-operate with the embassies and consulates to promote and contact all community overseas Chinese groups to prepare various medical supplies”. This quotation was cited from a report published by the All-China Federation of Returned Chinese Overseas (ACFRCO) on March 21, 2020, which Cooper mistakenly dated March 23. Cooper only quoted part of Feng’s sentence. The part he omitted said that “some overseas Chinese federations immediately organized emergency groups or volunteer groups to help overseas Chinese, international students and local people in need... and urged local government agents to take appropriate measures for pandemic control through active communications” (ACFRCO, 2020). This ACFRCO report described overseas Chinese people’s endeavours in the pandemic as fighting a two-halves battle, and praised that overseas Chinese helped their motherland during the first half and supported their countries of residence during the second half. The first half was in January and February 2020 when China was the centre of the pandemic and most of the world remained safe. Overseas Chinese secured and sent PPE to China to help their families and hometowns. The second half started when the pandemic spread to other countries around the world, and overseas Chinese obtained PPE from China and donated to local communities where they reside.

Figure 11. A Snapshot of Cooper’s report on Global News April 30, 2020



- Reactions from the Chinese Community

⁸ Cooper misspelled Rujie Feng’s first name as Ruji in his report.

Cooper's report immediately raised strong criticism in the Chinese community. Several Chinese organizations and thousands of members in the Chinese community expressed their concerns that Cooper's report could lead to more discrimination towards Chinese Canadians and demanded apology from Global News and the reporter.

CACA (2020b) called Cooper's accusation of "every overseas Chinese is a warrior" a "palpable lie," and criticized that Cooper "vilified" Chinese Canadians' voluntary charitable and humanitarian donations to support their families, close relatives and friends in China fight against coronavirus as an act directed by the Chinese government. CACA also denounced Cooper's allegation of CACA being a subordinate organization under China's UFWD. CACA declared that it is a "non-profit, non-political and non-religious" organization registered in British Columbia in 2008, and its work has focused on social charities and services to its members. Furthermore, CACA pointed out that Global News and Sam Cooper "singled out" CACA's donation to China while ignoring CACA's great contributions to Canada and local communities over decades and during the COVID-19 pandemic. CACA also questioned Cooper's "deliberate editing" of the quotation from a Chinese report "Every overseas Chinese is a warrior against the epidemic" into "Every overseas Chinese is a warrior", and suspected Cooper's intention was for "sensationalism by altering its connotation." CACA also condemned that Cooper's report depicted Canadian Chinese as "a group totally manipulated by the Chinese government" which could "incite discrimination and hatred sentiments against the Chinese community". As a result, CACA questioned Cooper's "objectivity, fairness, credibility and authenticity" in news reporting (See Appendix D).

The Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver (CBAV, 2020, May 27) also issued an open letter to Global News expressing their concerns over Cooper's report. CBAV criticized that Cooper's report "maliciously condemned" Chinese Canadians' voluntary donation of PPE to China during the early stage of COVID-19 outbreak as a "treasonous act of supporting a foreign power and the hoarding of supplies to the detriment of Canada." CBAV stressed that since the pandemic, anti-Asian, especially anti-Chinese racism were rising in Canada. During such time when all Canadians should unite to fight the pandemic, this report added "fuel to the growing anti-Asian racism and targeted hate crimes." CBAV pointed out that PPE sent to Wuhan by Chinese Canadian organizations and the Canadian government not only helped China contain the coronavirus, but also slowed the spread of the virus and bought valuable time for Canada and the rest of the world to get prepared for the pandemic (See Appendix E).

On May 10, 2020, a virtual meeting was held on Zoom with the theme "Opposition against Global News discrimination against Chinese" (Mackin, 2020, May 25), to discuss "how to approach Cooper's reporting" (Nuttall, 2020, May 26). Richmond city councilor Chak Au attended the meeting (Shen & Clarke, 2020, June 1). Based on his observations from the meeting, councilor Au later commented that he had never seen as much fear among the Chinese community regarding racism over the 32 years of his life in Canada (Shen & Clarke, 2020, June 1). On May 14, 2020, a group of concerned Chinese Canadians who attended the May 10th online

meeting formed a non-profit organization, Maple Leafs Anti-Racism Actions Association (MLARA), whose mission is to fight racism and hate crimes in Canada (MLARA, 2020). Meanwhile, a MLARA supporter posted an appeal soliciting donations to fund a lawsuit against Global News and Sam Cooper in Liberal MP Joyce Murray's WeChat group, but without permission from either MLARA or Minister Murray (Mackin, 2020, May 26). This raised questions about MLARA's intentions (Nuttall, 2020, May 26). Minister Murray denied she had given approval for this post (Connolly, 2020). MLARA (2020) immediately acknowledged the wrongdoing of its member and apologized to Minister Murray. On June 1, 2020, MLARA issued a public statement, demanding "a balanced, accurate and factual report from Global News" that also reveals contributions Chinese Canadians made to communities across Canada in the battle against the pandemic. While acknowledging journalists' intention of exposing dangers to the public, MLARA (2020) also cautioned that "sowing mistrust towards the Chinese-Canadian community in the minds of the general public is a danger to the harmony and multiculturalism of our country" (See Appendix F).

In addition, a petition was initiated on Change.org on May 1, 2020, questioning the accuracy of Cooper's report and expressing deep concerns in the Chinese community about how the report provoked fear of Chinese people in Canada and aggravated the rise of anti-Chinese and anti-Asian racism (X. Chen, 2020; Pan, 2020). Over 8,400 people signed the petition.

- An Incomplete Story Missing Voices from the Chinese Community

It is beyond this project's capacity to determine the truthfulness and reliability of Cooper's accusation of connections between some Chinese Canadian organizations with UFWD. Canada has long seen UFWD as China's tool for influencing political leaders, facilitating espionage and accessing strategic resources in foreign countries (CSIS, 2018, pp.75-76; Manthorpe, 2019). Cooper's suspicion of UFWD's involvement is understandable. Nonetheless, stating that "every overseas Chinese is a warrior" may cast doubt on the loyalty of Chinese Canadians to Canada and risks fueling hatred and mistrust. Chinese community's demand for fair and factual reporting is legitimate. If their loyalty to Canada is doubted, they deserve the opportunity to prove their innocence.

The researcher conducted a google search for articles containing keywords "COVID" and "Chinese" published on globalnews.ca between April 30 and June 1, 2020, one month after Cooper's report was published. In total 258 articles were found. No article followed the complaints about Cooper's report, nor did Global News interview any Chinese individual or organization in Canada who sent PPE to China in January and February 2020 to learn their motives. If Global News interviewed members in the Chinese community, they would have been able to present a more complete story. The story Global News missed would have revealed that Chinese Canadians were warriors in the battle against COVID-19 both for China and Canada, the country they choose to call home.

4.7 When COVID-19 Racism Meets with Social Media

Racial discrimination incidents during the COVID-19 pandemic remind Chinese Canadians of their similar experience in 2003 when SARS happened, but two factors likely made things much worse in 2020. First, COVID-19 has caused far more harm on a much greater scale, over a much longer period than SARS. During the SARS epidemic from November 2002 to July 2003, a total of 8,096 cases and 744 deaths worldwide were reported to WHO, with 251 cases and 43 deaths in Canada (WHO, 2015, July). By comparison, there were more than 118 million COVID-19 cases and almost 2.7 million deaths worldwide, with 899,757 cases and 22,371 deaths in Canada, as of March 11, 2021 (Government of Canada, 2020; Worldometer, 2021, March 11). Final numbers of cases and casualties will be higher as it is unknown how long the pandemic will continue.

Further, social media did not exist during the SARS epidemic, but now billions of people use the various social media platforms regularly. The five most popular social networks - Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, and WeChat, all arrived after 2003. Facebook launched in 2004; YouTube was founded in 2005; and WhatsApp was started in 2009 (Gruzd, et.al, 2018; Leskin, 2020; Phillips, 2007; Rowan, 2014; Statista, 2020). The first tweet was posted in 2006 (Picard, 2011). WeChat, the most popular social media used by Chinese people, began in 2011, and it already has acquired over one billion active monthly users in less than 10 years (Grant, 2019; Ren, 2018; Statista, 2020). Social media has developed so rapidly that platforms like Facebook and Twitter “are reshaping the way people communicate and take collective action” (Doerr, Fouz & Friedrich, 2012).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, many countries locked down public places, banned non-essential travel, enforced social distancing, and confined people to their homes to contain the spread of coronavirus. This caused many more people to turn to the internet and social media platforms for work, study, communication, and entertainment (L1ght, 2020). Researchers warned that rumors spread much faster on social media than most other network topologies (Doerr, Fouz & Friedrich, 2012). Social media was also criticized for enabling much worse anti-Chinese racism than during the SARS crisis (Kwong, 2020). Although no research has specifically investigated the connection between social networks and the surge of anti-Chinese racism in Canada, data from international sources and research on Chinese Americans’ experience shed some light on the situation for Chinese Canadians.

From December 2019 to March 26, 2020, L1ght⁹ (2020) detected a 200% increase in traffic to hate sites and posts with anti-Asian messages. Twitter was particularly problematic, with 900% growth in tweets containing anti-Chinese hashtags such as “#chinaliedpeopledied,” “#kungflu,” “#communistvirus” and “#chinesevirus”.

Based on the analysis of social media messages containing anti-Chinese slurs, mostly on Twitter, researchers contend that stigmatizing terms such as “Chinese virus” further engrained the

⁹ L1ght is an AI-based organization, founded in 2018, that “detects and filters toxic online content to protect children” (2020, March).

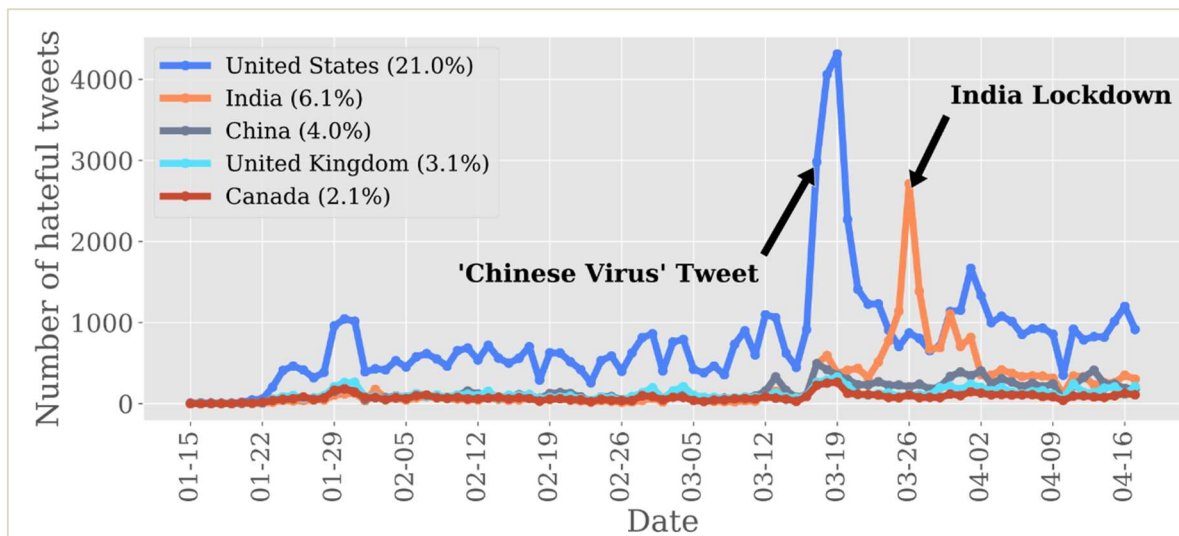
historically rooted ideology that Asians are “perpetual foreigners” (Darling-Hammond, et al., 2020) and immediately worsened anti-Asian discrimination (p.8; Ziem et al., 2020; Schild et al., 2020). These researchers also identified a marked increase in sinophobic terms on Twitter after the outbreak of coronavirus, and some revealed a connection between the surging number of racist Tweets and real-world events. For instance, after U.S. politicians Mike Pompeo and Paul Gosar used “Wuhan virus” and “Chinese virus” on television and Tweets on March 7th and 8th, 2020, Twitter retweets using those terms increased 650% on March 8th and 800% on March 9th, 2020 (Darling-Hammond, et al., 2020, pp.1-2).

A group of researchers from the Georgia Institute of Technology analyzed over 30 million tweets in English between January 15, 2020 to April 17, 2020, which contained both anti-Asian hate and counter-hate messages to learn how racial hate spread on Twitter during the pandemic. The research defines anti-Asian hate as antagonistic speech based on three criteria:

- 1) contains at least one COVID-19 keyword, such as #coronavirus
- 2) targets an Asian individual, group, organization, country or government, and
- 3) is abusive, derogatory, or blames the targeted individual or group for creating, spreading, misrepresenting or mismanaging COVID-19 (Ziems et al., 2020, p.3).

This research identified Canada as the country with the 5th largest number of hate tweets; noticeably, hate tweets in Canada spiked after President Trump’s “Chinese virus” tweet went viral on March 16, 2020 (See Figure 12).

Figure 12. Top Five Countries with COVID Hate Tweets



(Source: Ziems et al., 2020, p.5)

Another research inspected hate speech and conspiracy theories on Twitter based on 676 million Tweets across 18 languages containing at least one variation of “coronavirus,” “COVID-19” or closely related terms posted between February 21, 2020 and April 17, 2020 (Moonshot, 2020a).

Over that period, the dominating conspiracy theories were anti-Chinese, using hashtags like #CCPVirus, #ChinaLiedPeopleDied, #KungFlu, #Chinazi, #CoronaVirusCoverUp, and #China_is_Terrorist (Moonshot, 2020a). The worst time was in mid-March when the number of tweets quadrupled in a week and peaked on March 19, 2020, with the most hostile hashtags, including #NukeChina, #BombChina and #DeathtoChina (Moonshot, 2020a). Canadian Twitter users contributed to nearly 4% of all the sinophobic tweets, ranking number four after U.S. (43.16%), India and UK (Moonshot, 2020a). While 4% seems much lower than 43%, when considering Canada's population is approximately one-tenth of the U.S. population, then Canadian Twitter users tweeted almost as many anti-Chinese messages and conspiracy theories per capita as Americans.

Ryerson University researchers conducted a nation-wide survey to examine Canadians' access to COVID-19 news and experience with misinformation in 2020 (Grutzd & Mai, 2020). They found that while Canadians used television, news websites and apps as the primary sources for COVID-19 news, 22% of Canadians strongly preferred social media. Facebook and Reddit were the most popular social media platforms used by Canadians for coronavirus information, followed by Twitter, TikTok and YouTube. Misinformation was reported on all top ten social media platforms and messaging apps; in particular, 80% of Facebook users and 70% of Reddit, Twitter, TikTok and YouTube users encountered misinformation about COVID-19 sometimes or more frequently.

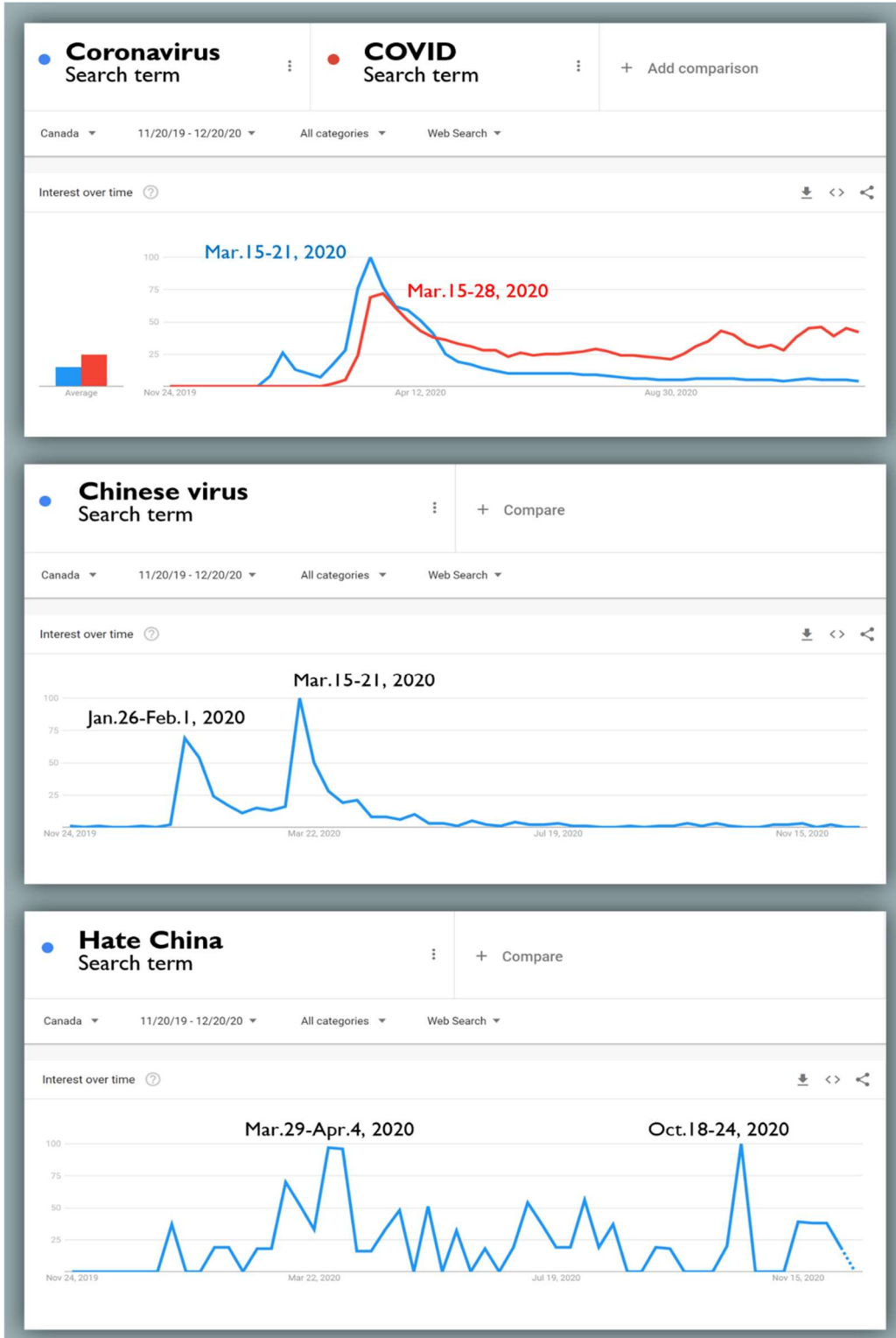
An analysis of Google Trends data in the U.S. from December 24th, 2019 to March 24th, 2020 revealed a correlation between the rise in search rates for anti-Chinese slurs and coronavirus (Vachuska, 2020). The researcher conducted her own search on Google Trends in Canada (See Figure 13), and the result echoes Vachuska's analysis for the U.S. The search rates in Canada for "Chinese virus" or "hate China" peaked in mid-March, around the same period when the search rate for "coronavirus" or "covid" was highest. As mentioned above, anti-Chinese tweets also went viral in mid-March. It was noticeable that the search rate for "hate China" in Canada had another spike from October 18th to 24th 2020. That spike probably was linked to the heated diplomatic tension between Canada and China after Chinese ambassador, Cong Peiwu, warned the Canadian government not to grant political asylum to Hong Kong protesters on October 15 (Blanchfield, 2020).

In terms of who is more actively engaged in racism on Twitter, researchers suggest that "only a handful of users are responsible for spreading hate propaganda" (Ziems et al., 2020), and that male and users under 35 are more likely to create or spread hate tweets (p.5; Lyu, Chen, Wang & Luo, 2020; Schild et al., 2020, p.2). Moreover, it seems that the more exposed a Twitter user is to hate messages the more likely this user would adopt hate speech (Ziems et al., 2020, p.7). Therefore, hate speech needs to be detected and removed as early as possible to reduce its presence and limit its spread online (Ziems et al., 2020, p.8).

Overall, while social media helped people stay connected during the pandemic, social networks such as Twitter also were exploited for disseminating hate messages, misinformation and

conspiracy theories targeting China and Chinese people, causing widespread anti-Chinese hate crimes and racist incidents (Boutilier & MacCharles, 2020, May 12; Croucher, Nguyen & Rahmani, 2020; McKinley, 2020, May 10; Schild et al., 2020).

Figure 13. Google Search Trends in Canada



4.8 Conclusion of Current State Analysis

COVID-19 caused a shadow pandemic -- a wave of anti-Chinese prejudice that spread along with the virus. The deteriorating Canada China relationship along with people's dissatisfaction with the Chinese government's failure in reporting promptly and containing coronavirus brought more Canadians to adopt negative views towards China and Chinese people. The bias and discrimination lingering from the past have been agitated by inaccurate news reporting, inflammatory messages on social media, and antagonistic political rhetoric referring to coronavirus as Kung Flu and China virus. Consequently, Chinese Canadians have experienced more cases of discrimination and hate during this pandemic than Chinese Americans on a per capita basis. The Chinese population in Canada has steadily grown and become more visible, educated and prosperous. They organized voluntary efforts across Canada to fight the virus and support people in need. Meanwhile, the Chinese community has taken a multi-faceted approach to battle against racism, including incident reporting tools, petitions and campaigns, and education and training programs.

6.0 Discussion and Analysis

This chapter links findings from the literature review and current state analysis with the overall purpose of answering the research questions. The first section answers the research questions. The subsequent section analyzes journalistic standards in Canada's media industry for addressing racial discriminating language and reporting. Then this chapter discusses Canada's need for strengthening regulations to control the spread of hate message and misinformation on social media platforms. The following section discusses two occasions when some members in the Chinese community may have been oversensitive about racism. The last section provides recommendations for future research.

6.1 Answering the Research Questions

The population of Canadians of Chinese origin is about 1.8 million, which represents over 5% of Canada's total population. In 2020 after the COVID-19 pandemic reached Canada, Chinese Canadians experienced an upsurge of racial discrimination. This research found a greater increase in racist incidents targeting Chinese and Asian Canadians in 2020. While 1150 incidents were reported online across Canada from March 2020 to February 2021 (Kong, et.al, 2021, March), it is reasonable to suspect that many incidents were not reported for several reasons. First, some people may not have been aware of the online reporting platforms. Second, some victims may have felt ashamed of experiencing racial harassment and therefore were unwilling to report it. Besides, some victims might lack access to the internet or have technical or language difficulties. In addition, some non-Asian victims were mistaken as Chinese or Asian, and they may not have associated their experience with anti-Chinese discrimination. While the racist incidents were primarily verbal harassment, Chinese Canadians also encountered assault, vandalism and online hate messages. The majority of the victims were females and people aged 19 to 54. While almost 84% incidents happened in British Columbia and Ontario, Vancouver and Toronto saw more racist incidents than any other cities in Canada. Moreover, almost 70% of incidents happened on public streets or in grocery stores, and the most common types of incidents were verbal harassment, physical harassment and being coughed at or spat on.

Some news reports elicited strong reaction from the Chinese community due to the use of inappropriate language or inaccurate reporting which may mislead the public to wrongfully associate Chinese Canadians with the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, key findings show the spread of anti-Chinese slurs on social media worsened anti-Asian discrimination in real life. Members of the Chinese community actively provided support to their local communities and each other to get through the pandemic while organizing campaigns fighting racial discrimination, but much of their efforts were unreported hence unknown to the outside of the Chinese community.

6.2 Journalistic Standards in Canada Guarding Racial Discrimination

6.2.1. Reporting Facts Does Not Need Racially Discriminatory Language

In the past, there have been infectious diseases named after locations or ethnicities, such as Spanish flu, Hong Kong flu, Mexican flu or Ebola, but no disease is known as “American flu,” “Canadian flu” or “European flu” (Hoppe, 2018, 1463; Yam, 2020, March 22). Academics argue that other than coincidence, it could also reflect “global inequalities” (Hoppe, 2018) with powerful countries attributing epidemics to foreign countries but not themselves (p. 1463). Some diseases did not even originate in the places for which they were named. For example, the 1918 influenza epidemic was wrongfully named Spanish flu despite it was first reported in Kansas, U.S. then carried over to Europe by American soldiers (Hoppe, 2018, p.1462; Influenza 1918: The First Wave, n.d.). Researchers warn that associating diseases with countries may encourage irrational fear and stigma (Hoppe, 2018, p.1462; Yam, 2020, March 22). The WHO (2015) cautions against naming disease with geographic locations, people’s names, species, cultures, populations, industries or occupations in order to “minimize unnecessarily negative impact ... and avoid causing offence to any cultural, social, national, regional, professional or ethnic groups”. Nevertheless, the National NewsMedia Council (NNC, 2020) thought it was acceptable for The Province to use “China virus” in the headline arguing the story told the facts. Using the same criteria, would NNC accept using “Canada virus” in media headlines or stories if the news was about an infectious disease first identified in Canada? Moreover, is the term “China virus” so critical that replacing it with a proper disease name would distort the story or make it less accurate? Or is the term “China virus” so eye-catching that any harm it might cause to Chinese Canadians can be ignored? What was the motivation? As corporations, media prioritize their accountability to shareholders; therefore, media produce sensational news to recruit as many readers and viewers as possible, but often “at the cost of conventional social values” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p.51). The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ, 2010) alerts that while sensational reporting helps with newspaper sales it also promotes a “fearful climate” in society (p.97).

Perhaps Harold Munro, editor-in-chief of The Province, was sincere when he said he only used “China virus” to “geographically locate the origin of the virus” (CBC News, 2020, February 7), and any bias was unintentional. But when Mr. Munro finally apologized to the local Chinese Canadian community for causing hurt and promised not to use “China virus” in any future headlines due to “local sensibilities” (CBC News, 2020, February 7), he did not acknowledge any error in that headline or that “China virus” was discriminatory. Mr. Munro’s promise of avoiding “China virus” in future headlines left other questions unanswered. Does it mean that the term may appear in the body of an article? Does a prejudicial term depict racial discrimination only when it is in a headline, but not so if it is within the article? The former President of the National Federation of the Italian Press, Roberto Natale, argued during the Ethical Journalism Initiative in 2008 that “[j]ournalists have a duty to avoid fanning the flames of racial hatred” (IFJ, 2010), and suggested journalists use appropriate language, stick to the facts, and avoid spreading inaccurate, simplified or distorted information (p.96). During a pandemic, unbiased and accurate reporting can be challenging, but it is more important than usual.

6.2.2. The Need for a National Journalistic Standard in Canada

NNC (2020) received thirteen complaints about The Province newspaper's front-page headline on its February 5, 2020 printed edition. The complaints stated that The Province used "China Virus" on its front-page headline despite WHO advice to avoid naming disease in a way that could stigmatize people or places. The Council was aware of a petition on Change.org requesting The Province apologize for its inappropriate headline; therefore, NNC clearly recognized this problematic headline had caused great concern in the Chinese community. Yet, NNC argued that even though associating war, natural disaster or disease with a geographic location could draw "negative attention" to people from there, it was the job of journalism "to provide facts and information about such events". The Council further argued that the term "China virus" was only part of the headline and the linked report was about local officials dealing with the COVID-19 crisis. NNC dismissed the complaints, concluding that "no evidence of discrimination against China or the Chinese community was identified" in the headline or story, and no breach of journalistic standards had occurred (See Appendix G).

While NNC determined that The Province did not violate journalistic standards, it is important to note that the council does not have its own standards. When resolving a complaint, NNC refers to criteria including the news organization's own code of conduct, widely adopted journalistic standards from the Canadian Press and the Canadian Association of Journalists (CAJ), as well as appropriate legal or ethical guidelines (NNC, n.d.). This research was unable to find any mention of journalistic standards or ethics guidelines on the websites of The Province or its owner, the Postmedia Network Canada Corporation which also owns National Post, Financial Post, Vancouver Sun, Toronto Sun, and over 100 other media brands. Toronto Sun was found to regularly represent people of colour and indigenous people with prejudice; the National Post was ranked the most biased according to an assessment of coverage of seven newspapers' on the Islamic community over a three-year period (Henry & Tator, 2002, p.49). About twenty years later, the Postmedia Network Canada still has not learned lessons from the past and has failed to adopt a higher standard for performance.

Associations of journalists, newspapers, and television and radio stations may have their own principles and ethical policies, but no Canadian national journalistic standards were identified by this research. Most associations' principles cover freedom of the press, independence, accuracy and fairness, privacy, accountability and diversity. Some associations have guidelines on racial tension or avoiding discrimination. For instance, The Canadian Press' (n.d.) policies point out that "potential for offence lurks in every news story" and caution journalists to "use fairness, sensitivity and good taste when identifying age, colour, creed, nationality... and any other heading under which a person or group may feel slighted," and to be careful with labeling. Besides, the Canadian Press (n.d.) also requires that "the appearance of racial minorities in news reports should not be confined to accounts of cultural events, racial tension or crime". CAJ (2011) declares in its ethics guidelines that journalists should avoid all sorts of stereotypes such as race, geography or physical appearance. But some associations do not have policies regarding

racial sensitivity or discrimination at all. For instance, News Media Canada, formerly known as News Paper Canada (n.d.), adopted its Statement of Principles in 1977 which does not include guidelines for avoiding discrimination, and the principles have not been revised since 1995. By comparison, the International Federation of Journalists had already declared in its principles in 1954 that “[t]he journalist shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins” (Islam, Peters & White, 2007, p.7).

In any case, expression of high-minded principles and good intentions are not enough, and the lack of a clear, consistent national journalistic standard needs to be remedied. While the social landscape in Canada has significantly changed media attitudes towards marginalized groups have not kept up. In the 1980s, The Province was criticized for repetitively constructing images of the Sikh community as being violent, conflict-ridden, unstable and destructive (Henry & Tator, 2002, pp.44-45). During the 1990s, Canadian Daily Newspaper Association sought feedback from Chinese, South Asian, Black, Muslim and other marginalized groups, and learned that almost half of readers from those groups felt that daily newspapers were discriminatory towards non-whites and did not portray them fairly (Henry & Tator, 2002, p.46). Media representations have constructed the social classification of “we” and “other” (Henry & Tator, 2002). The images of marginalized groups created and spread by media have great impacts on these groups and their access to cultural, social, economic and political power (Henry & Tator, 2002, p.27). Sound journalism demands that media report the facts truthfully with editorial integrity and independence while minimizing harm to any group. The Canadian media should establish and abide by a national journalistic standard that promotes and achieves inclusive and unbiased reporting and penalizes failure to do so.

6.3 Improve Inclusivity and Diversity in the Media Industry

This research encountered unexpected and considerable difficulty in finding media coverage on the contributions of the Chinese community to fighting COVID-19 and racial discrimination, compared to news reports on racist attacks. For instance, an online rally against all racism held by the Chinese community in Alberta in July 2020 drew over 10,000 participants across Canada, including senior provincial officials. The rally was briefly reported on CTV News Calgary at 6 (2020, July 11, 0:06:07) without mentioning important details such as the substantial number of participants and the organizers. No other media report on this event was discovered by this research. A recorded video posted on YouTube by the rally organizers was found with difficulty, and that was used as the primary reference for this event. In addition, Chinese community’s proactive approach to preventing the spread of COVID-19 did not gain much media attention. When local media reported Chinese community organizing voluntary support groups on WeChat, they failed to regard those voluntary groups as part of a nation-wide network but treated them as isolated actions in local communities. Besides, during this project, the researcher tried to find out

how many health care workers, senior care workers and essential service providers were people of Chinese or Asian descent, but no media report on that regard was identified.

The unbalanced reporting and underrepresentation of racialized communities in media directly result from the power structure in the newsroom. Sunny Dhillon's experience offers some explanation for why stories sympathetic or favourable to racialized groups are not covered by the media. Dhillon (2018) quit his job at The Globe and Mail after he had worked there for almost eight years (The Globe and Mail, n.d.). As a journalist of colour, he had struggled with the feeling that he was not "seen or heard, or understood" (Ore, 2018), and the insights he brought to the table were ignored (Dhillon, 2018). His resignation was triggered by his last assignment, but it also was because of his continuous battle with the "lily-white" (Dhillon, 2018) culture in Canadian journalism. His final assignment was to write a story about the newly elected Vancouver City Council in 2018 (Dhillon, 2018). At that time, about half of Vancouver's population was non-European, and Chinese was the largest ethnic group. The election had two results worth writing about – one was that eight out of ten elected councilors were women; the other was that nine out of ten were white along with mayor-elect Kennedy Stewart (Lindsay, 2018). Dhillon was told to focus on the lack of diversity in the new council (Dhillon, 2018; Ore, 2018). A few hours later after Dhillon had spoken to some election candidates from racialized groups, the bureau chief instructed Dhillon to switch focus from the issue of racial imbalance to the eight elected female councilors. While trying to express and explain his disagreement with the second instruction to the bureau chief, he was told that what he thought did not matter and the newsroom was "not a democracy" (Dhillon, 2018). The bureau chief's blunt response astounded Dhillon, and at that moment he sensed "being a person of colour at a paper and in an industry that does not have enough of us — particularly at the top — felt more futile than ever before." He finally decided to leave The Globe and Mail, a dream job for many journalists (Dhillon, 2018).

Canada's demography has changed greatly with most immigrants and refugees from non-European countries in recent decades, but the media industry remains dominated by people of European ancestry, while minority groups continue to be underrepresented or stereotyped (Miller, 2005). Significant gaps in minority employment were identified in all newspapers regardless of the size of circulation, and employees from racialized communities were more than six times underrepresented in the newspaper industry (Miller, 2005, p.6; See Table 6). There are even fewer people from racialized groups in leadership roles in Canadian media. Research on leadership of the lead newspapers and television stations in the Greater Toronto Area discovered that less than 5% of leaders, including Board Directors, newsroom editors and producers, and senior managers, were from "visible minority" (Cukier, Miller, Aspevig & Carl, 2012, p.8). Mass media is a key means by which the public perceive societal change. Academics argue that because journalists are essentially constrained by dominant cultures and structure in the media industry, increased diversity on media teams can lead to more inclusive news coverage (Cukier, Miller, Aspevig & Carl, 2012, pp.3-4). Canadian Journalists of Colour and Canadian Association of Black Journalists (2020) advocate for actions making the media more "equitable and truly

representative of Canada’s racial diversity” and recommends the media to hire more journalists from racialized communities and regularly collect demographic data to assess progress.

Table 8. Racialized Population in Community vs. in Newsroom in Canada

| Size of Circulation | Racialized Population in Canada (%) | Racialized Population in Newsroom (%) |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Over 100,000 | 24.7 | 4.1 |
| 25,000 – 100,000 | 14.5 | 2.2 |
| Under 25,000 | 6.9 | 1.0 |

(Miller, 2005, p.6)

Even though research revealed journalists from ethnic communities were under-represented in the media industry, almost all research projects were conducted at least ten years ago (Cukier, Miller, Aspevig & Carl, 2012). Besides, all previous research was based on an analysis of a limited number of media providers. There has never been any data compiled on diversity over the entire Canadian media industry. By comparison, the News Leaders Association (n.d.) in the U.S. has conducted newsroom employment census annually since 1978. In 2016, Canadaland¹⁰ (<https://www.canadaland.com/>) sent a survey to Canada’s 18 largest paid daily newspapers asking for data about employee diversity. Even though the researchers promised confidentiality and to present data as an aggregate, only three out of eighteen - Times Colonist, the Toronto Star, and the Hamilton Spectator - returned the survey (Mochama, 2016). In 2020, CAJ started the first Canadian Media Diversity Survey and planned to conduct this survey annually. The survey has been sent to the editor-in-chief or equivalent at radio, television, digital and print news outlets across Canada, and responses are expected by April 2, 2021 (CAJ, 2020). Hopefully this time CAJ will get enough responses to produce the first comprehensive diversity report on the Canadian media industry.

6.4 Regulating Social Media to Control the Spread of Hate Messages and Misinformation

During the COVID-19 pandemic, hate messages and false association of Chinese people with coronavirus on social media platforms drove the upsurge of anti-Chinese racism. The current self-moderating approach for social media has been ineffective in dealing with inflammatory posts and users spreading them. Financial consideration seems a more powerful motivation than public good for social media companies. Twitter’s chief executive, Jack Dorsey, had resisted demands for terminating Trump’s account for four years because he believed that having world leaders on Twitter was newsworthy and drew more attention to Twitter, even if “their views

¹⁰ Canadaland is a news site and podcast network focused on Canadian media, news, current affairs and politics. It is a limited liability corporation registered in Ontario.

were heinous” (Conger & Isaac, 2021). Trump’s Twitter account was not permanently suspended until after the Capitol riot on January 6, 2021 “due to the risk of further incitement of violence” (Conger & Isaac, 2021; Twitter Inc., 2021). Conversely, the only option for victims of online hate to hold the platforms accountable is to take them to court, and that process often ends with the plaintiffs being “priced out” (Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, 2020) of justice, or forced out due to the “asymmetry of financial power” between plaintiffs and social media companies (p.4, p.30). The Canadian governments and lawmakers need to take serious steps to reduce online harm and hold social media companies liable for their involvement in spreading unlawful content and not to leave the burden to individual victims.

Some argue that the essence of democracy is protecting civil and political rights, foremost, the freedom of expression. A key section of Canada’s election law aiming to curb misinformation during elections was ruled as “an unjustifiable restriction on Canadians’ right to free speech” and declared unconstitutional in March 2021 (Thompson, 2021, March 14). It is a core tenet of a democratic society to allow the airing of different even contradictory opinions. But freedom of expression does not permit any individual or platform to distribute hate speech or misinformation harmful to others (Guiora & Park, 2017, p.958). A poll in 2019 showed that 60% of Canadians wanted government to regulate social media platforms; over three-quarters of respondents supported requiring platforms to delete posts with hate speech and intentional misinformation in a timely manner, and 70% agreed that social media platforms should develop third-party fact checking verification of news posts (Wong, 2019). In December 2020, CCNC-SJ submitted a proposal to the Virtual Roundtable with Minister Steven Guilbeault for regulating social media platforms on countering online harm (See Appendix H). In the proposal, CCNC-SJ argued that proposed Bill C-10 would make the situation worse by eliminating the liability of social media platforms for unlawful posts made by its users, and urged the Canadian government to establish regulations to hold social media companies accountable for spreading hate content and misinformation on their platforms.

Some countries have shown leadership in adopting tougher rules for social media companies to ensure online safety, such as UK and France. Under UK’s proposed Online Safety Bill companies failing to abide by the regulation will face penalties up to £18 million or 10% of annual global turnover, whichever is higher, and government can impose criminal sanctions on senior managers (Government of UK, 2020). The Bill also requires the most popular social media sites to explicitly state how they will manage content that could cause physical or psychological harm to adults. France passed a hate speech law on May 13, 2020, and a specialized jurisdiction was created to handle online hate content (Assemblée Nationale France, 2020). The French law requires social media platforms to withdraw content tolerating “crimes, causing discrimination, hatred or violence or denying crimes against humanity, aggravated insults, sexual harassment, child pornography as well as provocation to terrorism or its apology” within 24 hours after notification, and terrorist and child pornography content must be removed within one hour upon notification. Companies fail to comply can face penalties up to €1.25 million.

Recommendations for regulating social media companies for controlling the spread of online hate speech and misinformation include:

- Define explicitly what constitutes hate speech and what is considered misinformation
- Set clear limits of free speech, clarifying what is prohibited (CCNC-SJ, 2020)
- Set up a government agency that will investigate complaints against social media companies and take enforcement actions on behalf of the victims (Friends of Canadians Broadcasting, 2020)
- Develop a system to identify harmful content and send notifications to social media platforms for remedies (CCNC-SJ, 2020)
- Set a timeframe for platforms to remove hateful content (CCNC-SJ, 2020)
- Define legal consequences when companies breach the regulations. Sanctions may include significant penalties proportionally matching the magnitude of the harm the platforms have caused, suspending problematic accounts, or temporarily blocking platform operations (Friends of Canadians Broadcasting, 2020)
- Require social media platforms to have well-explained strategies on how to monitor hate messages and manage accounts that repetitively create or spread hate messages
- Solicit input from legal experts and diverse communities during the development process

6.5 Be Proactive, Not Over Sensitive

The researcher observed two occasions that ignited debate within the Chinese community on whether racial discrimination was the hidden motive. Although neither incident was directly associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, they demonstrated the level of sensitivity on racism among Chinese Canadians while they experienced COVID provoked racial slurs and assaults. One was the case of Mona Wang, a university nursing student of Chinese ethnicity, who was handcuffed, dragged and stepped on by a policewoman during a mental health wellness check (Little, 2020, July). Responding to Mona Wang's case, BC's solicitor general, Mike Farnworth, said he would "make reviewing police response to mental health cases part of the province's review of the Police Act" (Woodward, 2020). To determine if any racial bias played a role in Mona Wang's incident, an independent investigation to review RCMP accountability and the misconduct of the policewoman should be conducted.

The other debate over racism occurred during the 2020 provincial election in British Columbia. Some members of the Chinese community complained about British Columbia's foreign-buyers tax intentionally targeting Chinese investors. Some made sensible argument that a policy may create different impacts on various ethnic groups, but that does not necessarily lead to the conclusion of hidden discrimination. Therefore, accusations that the foreign-buyers tax is discriminatory against Chinese buyers do not hold up.

In August 2016 the Liberal government in British Columbia introduced the Additional Property Transfer Tax (commonly known as foreign-buyers tax) that applies to residential property transferring to foreign owners in the Greater Vancouver Region (Kassam, 2016, August 2). The

amount started in 2016 at 15% of the fair market value for foreign buyers' share of the purchased property; in 2018 the NDP government raised it to 20% and extended the tax to Victoria, Nanaimo, the Fraser Valley and Kelowna (Government of British Columbia, n.d.b; Kassam, 2016, August 2).

National Bank Financial (2016) estimated that in 2015 homebuyers from China invested C\$12.7 billion in residential properties in the Greater Vancouver region, which accounted for one-third of total sales (pp.3-4). Research on residential real estate transactions in the University Endowment Lands, Dunbar and Point Grey neighbourhoods in Vancouver between August 2014 and February 2015 revealed that two-thirds of detached houses were sold to buyers with Chinese names, including 88% of houses exceeding C\$5 million (Gold, 2015; Lee, 2016, p.15). Those buyers included foreign investors, permanent residents and Canadian citizens. The Macdonald Real Estate group's analysis of its 1500 transactions in 2014 showed that 16% of transactions involved purchasers from Mainland China, and 70% of properties over C\$3 million were sold to Chinese buyers (Lee, 2016, p.15).

No data was found showing if most foreign buyers in British Columbia are of Chinese origin or if Chinese home buyers paid more tax than foreign buyers of other ethnicities. Given the high percentage of Chinese buyers in Greater Vancouver's luxury housing market, it is reasonable to deduce that a significant number of Chinese buyers paid considerable foreign-buyers tax. Besides, members of the Chinese community were more likely to hear about Chinese buyers impacted by the additional property transfer tax than purchasers from other countries. That led some Chinese Canadians to erroneously conclude that the foreign-buyers tax targets Chinese investors. In March 2017 a Chinese woman who lived in Burnaby, British Columbia filed a class-action lawsuit against the province's foreign-buyers tax, claiming the tax discriminated against people of Asian ancestry (CBC News, 2017, March 4). Two and half years later, the BC Supreme Court rejected this lawsuit, ruling that "the structure of the tax is not responsible for any unequal burden on Asian persons" and "[b]uyers from Asian countries, such as China, receive equal treatment that is proportionate to the demand from those countries" (Proctor, 2019, October 25).

To decide whether the foreign-buyers tax is discriminatory against Chinese buyers, it is essential to understand why the British Columbia government introduced this tax. Real estate prices in Vancouver have kept increasing for decades, and 2016 saw the fastest growth since 1977 (McElroy, 2016). Housing unaffordability has become one of the most important issues for the majority of Vancouver residents (Angus Reid Institute, 2016, July). Data collected by the province over five weeks during the summer of 2016 revealed that more than C\$1 billion in real estate was bought by foreign investors, which occurred primarily in the Greater Vancouver region and represented about 8% of total sales. (Kassam, 2016, August 2). On the conviction that foreign money was contributing to skyrocketing real estate prices in Vancouver, the government initiated the additional property tax in the Greater Vancouver district first and later expanded it to other regions (Government of British Columbia, n.d.b.). All foreign buyers are required to pay

the same tax ratio regardless their nationality. In Greater Vancouver, 90% of residents supported this tax (Angus Reid Institute, 2016, July). Even though it seems more Chinese buyers paid this tax than buyers of other nationalities, that does not validate the accusation that this tax discriminates against Chinese buyers. Furthermore, mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan all have extra regulations, limitations and taxes for foreign buyers. Reflecting on similar regulations in their hometowns may help Chinese Canadians comprehend British Columbia's foreign-buyers tax more objectively.

6.6 Gaps in the Research and Further Research

6.6.1 Impacts of COVID-19 on Ethnic Groups

Research in New York City revealed that Asians had the second highest rate of testing positive (27.9%) while Chinese patients had the highest mortality rate (35.7%) among all racial groups (Marcello, et al., 2020). Researchers argued that such severe COVID-19 outcomes among Chinese Americans may be caused by several factors, including multi-generational living, working as frontline or essential workers, lack of access to healthcare from Chinese doctors, and reluctance or fear of seeking test or care due to increasing anti-Chinese discrimination in America (Marcello, et al., 2020). In Canada, no jurisdiction reported COVID-19 cases based on ethnicity (Blair, et al., 2020). Such practice may protect privacy and prevent discrimination against ethnic groups with higher rates of infection. On the other hand, health officials and academics in Canada have urged governments to collect race and ethnicity data for COVID-19 cases to study differing impacts on racial groups, identify health disparities and promote equality in health care for all Canadians (Field & Quon, 2020; McKenzie, 2020; Wiafe & Smith, 2020). An analysis conducted by Statistics Canada examined impacts on "population groups designated as visible minorities" from the first wave of COVID-19 between March to July 2020 in the four provinces with the highest numbers of deaths caused by COVID-19 – Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia (Subedi, Greenberg & Turcotte, 2020). The results revealed that the age-standardized mortality rate was higher in neighbourhoods with a larger portion of population identified as visible minorities. Specifically, the greatest disparity of age-standardized mortality rate was in British Columbia, where the rate in neighbourhoods with the highest proportions of visible minorities was 10 times that found in neighbourhoods with the lowest proportions of visible minorities; in comparison, the ratio in Ontario and Quebec was only three times higher (Subedi, Greenberg & Turcotte, 2020). Nonetheless, this report does not provide data for separate racial groups. After the COVID-19 pandemic is over, the outcomes for various ethnic groups should be investigated to determine the causes of higher infection and mortality rates, and identify measures taken in ethnic communities who experienced lower rates of death and transmission.

6.6.2 Examining the Progress in Canadian Media Coverage on Pandemic

Canadian media were criticized for causing discrimination against the Chinese community with racialized reporting on SARS in 2003 (Leung & Guan, 2004; Huang & Leung, 2005). In 2020,

the media was under the same criticism during the COVID-19 pandemic (Angus Reid Institute, 2020, June). Future research can conduct a content analysis on media coverage for COVID involving Chinese people and compare the results to Leung and Guan's research on SARS. Through the comparison, the researcher may be able to discover if Canadian media have made some improvements in reporting health crisis involving racialized communities since SARS was over. Leung and Guan (2004) analyzed media coverage for SARS on National Post, The Globe and Mail, Maclean's and Time (Canadian Edition), and identified several problems such as revealing SARS patients' ethnicity, associating the disease with Chinese people and using xenophobic language in reports. Future research can choose the same four media platforms or add media with different size of circulation. Interviewing readers or viewers to learn how media reports influenced their understanding of coronavirus and its association with Chinese Canadians is also recommended. Such research will identify trends and progress in Canadian media and identify areas for improvement.

6.6.3 Hate Speech on Social Network in Canada during COVID-19

Canada lags on researching and curtailing the spread of hate messages on social media, compared to the U.S. and UK. So far, most research on social media regarding racial stigmatization has focused on Twitter because of the accessibility of user data. Future research can collect data from Canadian Twitter users during COVID-19 and analyze the relationship between the trend of hate tweets against Chinese people and the pandemic status in Canada, as well as seminal events and speeches from public figures that may have caused negative impression of Chinese people or the government of China. Given the cultural diversity in Canada, data collection should consider including social media posts in multiple languages, including English. Because the volume of data over the whole course of COVID-19 pandemic will be substantially large, it would be more practical to focus on the first wave of the pandemic in Canada from March 2020 to July 2020. Such research may help understand how inflammatory messages spread online among Canadian users, recognize characteristics of active hate message distributors in Canada, and recommend methods to identify hate posts as early as possible in order to stop their spread more effectively.

7.0 Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The Chinese word for crisis is Wei Ji (危机). Wei means danger or risk, and Ji means opportunity or crucial turning point. The COVID-19 pandemic has imposed a great threat on public health globally, while overseas Chinese people faced another threat, the shadow pandemic of racism associated with coronavirus. Everyone can be stricken by coronavirus, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, and wealth. The pandemic should have been a reminder that all of us are equal members of human society and deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. We must reflect on anti-Chinese racism, examine our individual and societal responsibility for allowing it and act to prevent such discrimination against any group in the future. Although government, media and social media bear special responsibilities in dealing with racial inequality, everyone has a role in countering racism so that every person in Canada is fully accepted regardless of their skin colour or ethnicity.

7.2 Recommendations for Canadian Governments

Anti-racism refers to “thought and/or practice that seek to confront, eradicate and/or ameliorate racism” and to “enable equality of races and ethnic groups” (Bonnett, 2000, p.3; Bonnett, 2006, cited in Berman & Paradies, 2010, p.218). Anti-racism has been a long battle in Canada. Henry and Tator (2010) criticize that most of the anti-racism approaches in Canada have been “too little, too late,” “too superficial, too simplistic”; moreover, most anti-racism practices are “underfunded, short term, ad hoc, and isolated interventions that lack coordination,” usually addressing symptoms without tackling the root causes (p.366).

Recommendation 1 - Collect data to improve awareness of discrimination in Canada

Target: Government of Canada, provincial and territorial governments that collect general demographic data

Anti-Chinese racism cannot be prevented without dealing with all forms of racism and discrimination. While academics and governments talk about reducing inequality and discrimination, Canada does not systematically compile data on racist incidents. Statistics Canada (2021) produces an annual report on police-reported hate crimes. Yet many racist incidents are not considered hate crimes. Besides, many victims do not report the incidents due to fear and other concerns. Also, research usually focuses on selected groups in chosen locales. Therefore, Canada’s racism landscape outside the boundary of hate crimes is largely unclear.

Every five years, Statistics Canada collect demographic information through a national census. The census acquires broad data for all ethnic groups in Canada. The federal government could include questions about racist incidents regarding motivation, location, action, etc. For example, have you experienced or witnessed any racial discrimination in the past five years? Where did it

happen? What type of racist incident did you encounter? How did the incident affect you? Who was the offender (gender, age, ethnicity)?

Recommendation 2 - Build critical multiculturalism policies and practices

Target: Government of Canada, provincial and territorial governments

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (S.C. 2001, c.27) (2019) states that Canada's objectives of immigration are "to enrich and strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society, while respecting the federal, bilingual and multicultural character of Canada...., and to promote the successful integration of permanent residents into Canada while recognizing that integration involves mutual obligations for both new immigrants and Canadian society" (p.2). Multiculturalism has been Canada's national policy since 1970s, although some argue that Pierre Trudeau started the policy more to contain the Quebec independence movement than to promote inclusivity of minority groups (Dere, 2019, p.350; Este, Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018, p.335). Some researchers criticize multiculturalism for being an ideology lacking funding and political instruments for implementation, and a superficial celebration failing to deal with deeply embedded racial inequality (Leung, 2011, pp.28-29; Este, Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018, pp.338-345; Brosseau & Dewing, 2018, pp.11). Take the Order of Canada as an example. It is one of the highest honours for people who have made "extradentary contribution to this nation" (Governor General of Canada, n.d.). The overwhelming majority of recipients of the Order have been White (Sachdeva, 2020). Only 7.4% of its 2020 recipients were from "visible minorities" (Harris, 2021).

Academics advocate critical multiculturalism that "calls for a radical restructuring of the power relations between ethno-racial communities and challenges the hierarchical structure of society" (Henry & Tator, 2010, p.380; Este, Lorenzetti & Sato, 2018, pp.346-352). Government policies are essential to building critical multiculturalism that ensures everyone equal opportunity to "participate in social, cultural, economic and political life" (Berman and Paradies, 2010, p.220). To build critical multiculturalism, governments should:

- Change practices that prioritize certain cultural, religious or racial identity. For instance, three out of eleven Canada's public holidays¹¹ are Christian holidays, and no other religion's holidays are statutory. Employees belonging to other religions should enjoy the same right as Christians to celebrate their most important holidays without sacrificing salary or paid vacation. Another example is Quebec's Bill 21 which forbids civil servants and teachers from wearing religious symbols at work (Montpetit, 2020). Yet civil servants can wear Christian symbols such as a crucifix. Not to mention that much of Canada's iconography on National Assembly, flags and awards derive from Christianity

¹¹ The eleven holidays include New Year, Good Friday, Victoria Day, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, Canada Day, Civic Holiday, Labour Day, Thanksgiving Day, Remembrance Day, Christmas Day and Boxing Day (Government of Canada, 2020, December).

alone. If religious symbols are banned at work, the rule should apply equally for all religions. Representing one faith alone in Canadian iconography expresses supremacy.

- Remove structural barriers and create space for multiculturalism at every level of government to create a broader social framework accommodating diversity (Leung, 2011, p.31).
- Ensure multicultural policies explicitly address racial discrimination at each level of government.
- Provide sufficient funding for long-term anti-racism initiatives, and regularly monitor and update the initiatives.

Recommendation 3 - Support multicultural education and anti-racism discussions in school education

Children's understanding of their own culture and others starts early in childhood; hence respectful multicultural learning environments in classrooms are vital to helping children construct healthy self-identification, build awareness of and respect for cultural differences, and prevent racial bias (Acar-Ciftci, 2016). In higher grades, more in-depth learning and discussion about immigration and multiculturalism in Canada should be included in the curriculum. For instance, British Columbia includes the history of Chinese immigration in Canada in its curricula for grade 5 and grade 9 (Province of British Columbia, 2015). While the teaching materials address Chinese immigration from 1800s to 2014, including the discriminatory Head Tax and Chinese Exclusion Act, it is left to individual teachers to decide whether or not to examine contemporary racism during the learning process. Understanding Canada's racism problem and the impacts of discriminatory racial regulations and practices is important for students. Training and learning materials should be provided to enable teachers to effectively instruct the discussion of racial discrimination and anti-racism strategies in class.

7.3 Recommendations for Canadian Media

Recommendation 4 - Acknowledge and develop a plan to eliminate systemic racist bias in media

Canadian media is relatively progressive compared to many other countries, and news workers rarely intentionally produce misrepresented or marginalized news, but while racism has become less blatant in mainstream media, it never disappeared (Fleras, 2010). News about racialized groups often are "filtered through a white perspective [,] and news is collected from predominantly white elite institutions" (van Dijk, 2006, cited in Fleras, 2010, p.68). Scholars argue that racism in media is the product of systemic bias that defines what is normal and desirable through a Eurocentric perspective and promote superficial diversity while ignoring significant differences that need to be respected (Fleras, 2010, pp.67-70). At the same time researchers conclude that the systemic bias in media is "driven by the institutional, not the personal; the consequential, not the intentional; the routine, not the random; the cultural not the conspiratorial; and the structural, not the attitudinal" (Fleras, 2010, p.76). Therefore, it is

essential that the media recognize the bias and address it with a commitment to fairness, transparency and inclusivity in its reporting and hiring.

Recommendation 5 - Improve inclusivity and diversity in the media industry

To improve inclusiveness and diversity both in employment and news reporting, the following recommendations are made:

- Require newspapers to regularly report demographic data on employees. At present, only broadcasters are required to collect data on gender and race of their employees (Miller, 2005).
- Conduct annual newsroom diversity survey
- Hire more reporters from racialized communities and include representatives from racialized groups on the media's hiring committees
- Promote competent journalists from racialized communities to leadership positions such as editors, senior producers and senior managers
- Establish advisory committees that well represent racialized communities. The advisory committee can provide advice and feedback on news coverage on ethnic groups to avoid discrimination or misunderstanding.
- Create scholarships and internship opportunities for journalism students from racialized communities (Canadian Journalists of Colour & Canadian Association of Black Journalists, 2020).

Recommendation 6 - Provide additional training and other supports to promote accurate and unbiased reporting

Professional journalism requires accurate reporting with informed objective content. In the world full of conflicts, journalists need to be more sensitive when news content may cause negative impacts on some groups.

- Each media should have a clear explanation of how they are accountable for their reporting.
- The media should require reporters to provide accurate and complete context for their media coverage and to fairly reflect the communities' views
- Interview members of racialized communities when reporting stories about them, not just government officials or academics from mainstream society
- When journalists or editors make a mistake in reporting, they should own their errors and make sincere apologies and proper corrections
- A national journalism guide should be developed and used as a reference when investigating a complaint.
- Sound editorial judgement is required for media's current self-monitoring system, and the mechanism dealing with complaints must be objective, transparent and in the public interest.

- When a report causes tension with a racialized community, a credible effort must be made to investigate and report the community's side of the story, unless it is objectively determined to be false.

The International Federation of Journalist (2010) suggested some questions for reporters to ask themselves when reporting a story involving members of racialized communities:

- What are my assumptions about the people I am reporting on?
- Am I open to accepting ideas for stories that go beyond my own cultural standpoint?
- Have I any prejudicial attitude to the issue or people at the heart of the story I am covering?
- If I mention colour, ethnicity or physical appearance is it strictly relevant?
- Am I using the correct terms to describe people and their culture?
- Have I talked with experienced colleagues or people from different backgrounds about the story?
- Have I used a variety of opinions and sources including from the group involved?
- Is there a dominant discourse? Have I questioned this approach?
- Have I ensured that my work does not reflect stereotypes?
- Am I sensitive to the needs of the people involved directly in the work?
- Have I considered the impact of the story or the images on the lives of others? (pp.97-98)

7.4 Recommendations for Chinese Canadians

Recommendation 7 – Support self-reflection and adaptation

Leung (2011) suggests the effectiveness of the system ultimately relies on the integrity of all actors in the system (p.31). Therefore, Leung (2011) advocates that while mainstream Canadians need to engage in learning from immigrants, it is also necessary for racialized groups to adapt to Canada's social environments and make some compromises or adjustments while maintaining their cultures and identities (p.29). Eventually, it is up to Chinese Canadians to decide what are their ethnic identities and to what degree they want to preserve their cultures within the larger society (Leung, 2011, p.29).

An article published in the Cariboo Sentinel of Barkerville in 1867 listed six prevailing complaints about Chinese people living on the west coast of Canada:

- 1) They are aliens not only in nationality but also in habits, religion and allegiance
- 2) They are not good citizens; they never serve on juries or fire companies, and they never settle in any country
- 3) They only interact within Chinese community and contribute little to the wealth of the country where they are located
- 4) They exploit Canada and send money back to China
- 5) They avoid paying taxes
- 6) They take away white men's jobs by accepting a lower payment

(cited in Walker 2008, p.87).

This article concluded that “if they adopted the country as a home, and fulfilled all the duties of a good citizen, then we should have no reason to object to them” (cited in Walker 2008, p.87). Over 150 years have passed, and the social, political and economic circumstances in Canada and the relationship between Canada and China have markedly changed. Chinese Canadians have a much better socio-economic status compared to the 1870s. Nonetheless, some of the six complaints still arise, particularly at times of crisis. Members of the Chinese community should ask themselves if they have adopted Canada as a home and fulfilled all responsibilities of a good citizen before complaining about being treated as “outsiders”.

Recommendation 8 - Speak out and act up

Model minority has become a stereotype for Asians in North America, including Chinese Canadians (Ho, 2014; Law, 2018; Dere, 2019). The concept of model minority was created in the 1960s in American as part of the effort to promoting the social standing of Asian Americans while degrading African Americans (Padgett, Lou, Lalonde, & Sasaki, 2020, pp.1-2). This concept depicts Asian Americans as a group that has overcome discrimination and achieved success through diligent work and perseverance other than through civil rights activities. They are considered intelligent with a strong work ethic but shy, nerdy and with poor English skills.

Under the influence of Taoism, Chinese people are taught to avoid trouble whenever possible (多一事不如少一事 duo yi shi bu ru shao yi shi). When Chinese get the short end of the stick, they are taught that a bad bargain is a kind of blessing, and that adversity and loss make one wise (吃亏是福 chi kui shi fu; 吃一堑长一智 chi yi qian zhang yi zhi). Confucianism teaches Chinese to be restrained; therefore, their resistance tends to be modest and muted. Yet in western culture the squeaky wheel gets the grease. Chinese community needs to learn to raise awareness of their issues by making noise and getting more involved. Advocate for fair treatment and respect for everyone. And be wise that while everyone should speak up for herself/himself, racism is too daunting for any individual to fight alone. Therefore, Chinese individuals and associations should work collectively among themselves and with others. There are many Chinese associations across Canada, yet there is no one over-arching organization coordinating collaboration among Chinese associations. The Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC) used to have chapters in Edmonton, London and Toronto¹², but only the Toronto Chapter is still around at present. In comparison, Jewish Federations of Canada -UIA (JFC-UIA, <https://www.jewishcanada.org/>) is a central body of Canada’s Jewish community and works in partnership with Jewish Federations and communities across Canada. The JFC-UIA creates a great platform for engaging Jewish communities across Canada in collective national actions. This is a good lesson for the Chinese community to learn.

¹² CCNC chapters in Edmonton, London and Toronto are listed on <http://www.asian.ca/community/>. But only the link for CCNC Toronto chapter still exists.

Recommendation 9 - Unite not isolate

First, Chinese Canadians need to unite with each other to battle racism. It is noticeable that Chinese people from different places of origins have bias against each other, and many biases originated from historical and political conflicts among mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan (Yan, Wong & Lai, 2019, pp.459-460). Recently, socio-political tensions between mainland China and Hong Kong have been high due to the increasing direct intervention of the Chinese government in Hong Kong's socio-economic affairs. Regardless whichever subethnic groups they belong to, they all share the same ethnic identity in Canada – Chinese Canadian and face the same challenges as “others” in the dominant society in Canada. Whenever anti-Chinese discrimination happens, the target is the whole Chinese community. Chinese members must cross boundaries between subethnic groups, put different political and cultural perspectives aside and unite to fight against racial discrimination.

Second, unite with other racialized communities and form solidarity against all discrimination. Chinese community's effort should not be limited to anti-Chinese racism. All kinds of discrimination should be opposed, whether based on gender, faith, ethnicity, age or any other motivations. Chinese community should actively participate and support other marginalized groups' fight against discrimination of all forms. Only when all people are treated fairly and with respect can the Chinese community stop worrying about discrimination.

In the end, Chinese Canadians should follow the ABC process recommended by the Honourable David C. Lam, former lieutenant governor of British Columbia, to achieve success in Canada.

- Acceptance – learn cross-cultural communication and accept each other
- Belonging – create a sense of belonging by committing to calling Canada home while keeping Chinese heritage
- Commitment – contribute your best to Canada

(Lam, 1993; Poy, 2013, p.165).

7.5 Recommendations for All Canadians

Recommendation 10 – Embrace diversity and say no to racism

The demographic portrait in Canada has changed over time and will continue changing. From 1986 to 2011, the percentage of Canada's immigrants born in Europe dropped from 62.2% to 31.6%, while immigrants born in Asia increased from 18.4% to 44.8% (Statistics Canada, 2017, January 25). Due to the evolving situation of COVID-19 and its impact on permanent resident admissions, Canada has increased its target for permanent resident admission from 351,000 to 401,000 in 2021, from 361,000 to 411,000 in 2022, and will accept as many as 430,000 permanent residents in 2023 (Government of Canada, 2020, October 30, p.24; Ibbitson & Dickson, 2020). Moreover, it is estimated that in 2036 about 55.7-57.9% of immigrants will be born in Asia, mostly in China, India and the Philippines, while only 15.4-17.8% of immigrants will be born in Europe (Statistics Canada, 2017, January 25). Furthermore, the population of

immigrants and second-generations together will comprise almost half of the entire Canadian population in 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2017, January 25).

As diversity in Canada keeps growing, Canadians will need to learn to embrace that reality. Try to know each other through meaningful contact rather than being misguided by stereotypes. Make newcomers feel welcome and help them learn Canadian culture and values. Most importantly, do not be a silent bystander, like those who watched while a young Asian woman was attacked and robbed by four teenagers on a bus in Vancouver and did nothing to stop the offenders (Little, 2020, August). Stand up and say no to racism. We are all in this boat together. As German pastor Martin Niemöller, who bravely defied the Nazis, taught us:

First, they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out

Because I was not a socialist.

Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out

Because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out

Because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me, and there was no one left to speak for me

(United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2012).

8.0 Conclusion

Anti-Chinese racism has existed in Canada since the first Chinese immigrants arrived in the mid-1800s and has been sustained ever since by systemic bias favouring Euro-Christian Canadians. Over more than a century it has ebbed and flowed, rising and falling with immigration trends, as well as global and domestic affairs. Racism arises and endures when one group holds dominantly greater power in constructing norms in society. Then, when that dominant group is under threat from a crisis like the COVID 19 pandemic, fear fuels racism against groups that rank lower in the society's power structure, especially those more easily scapegoated for the crisis. The coronavirus outbreak presents a good example of what happens when prejudice and a public crisis combine in a toxic mix of fear and irrational reaction. It also offers insights into the need and opportunity to address systemic racism, in this case against Chinese Canadians. The pandemic made 2020 a difficult year for the whole world. While people anxiously hunkered down and awaited vaccines and other relief from the pandemic, media, social media and public discourse were full of anti-Chinese bias, whether directed at China or at people of Chinese ancestry.

Sooner or later the COVID-19 pandemic will end, but what of the shadow pandemic of racism, will it ever disappear? Can human beings immunize themselves against the virus of racism? Yuval Noah Harari (2016) argued that evolution has made *homo sapiens* a xenophobic creature, and humans instinctively divide society into two groups, us and them (p.195). Yet difference does not justify discrimination. It is also true that a good neighbour is better than a cousin afar, especially during a crisis. Racism may never be wiped out, but it can be reduced and controlled. Our governments, the media, social media and people with power and influence to change protocols, policies and social norms bear extra responsibility. That power and responsibility also rest in each person's hands to fight against discrimination with conscience and respect.

This report informs about Chinese Canadians' contribution to the effort in Canada to deal with the pandemic. Moreover, this research will help people understand the impacts of racism on the Chinese community and their endeavours in peacefully defending themselves. It raises attention to racism associated with public crises, and calls for improvement in legislation, policies, education, media practices and social media regulation so that no group will experience what the Chinese community suffered during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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<https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/27-04-2020-who-timeline---covid-19>
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<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/british-columbia/article-chinese-canadians-collect-personal-protective-equipment-for-donation/>
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<http://arxiv.org/abs/2005.12423>

Appendix A: List of Documents Reviewed for Current State Analysis

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|---|---|---|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| Impacts of the COVID-19 Pandemic | | | | | | |
| 1 | COVID-19: Those least equipped to endure economic downturn bearing the brunt of layoffs | Angus Reid Institute | 2020, Mar.25 | n.a. | Survey report | Angus Reid Institute website |
| 2 | Coronavirus disease (COVID-19): Outbreak update | Government of Canada | 2020 | n.a. | Statistics data | Government of Canada website |
| 3 | Mortality Analyses | Johns Hopkins University | 2020, Aug.17 | n.a. | Statistics data | Johns Hopkins University website |
| 4 | Coronavirus Pandemic (COVID-19). | Roser, M., Ritchie, H., Ortiz-Ospina, E., & Hasell, J | 2021, Jan.15 | n.a. | Statistics data | Our World in Data website |
| 5 | Coronavirus World Map: Tracking the Global Outbreak | The New York Times | 2020 | n.a. | Statistics data | New York Times |
| 6 | Q&A on coronaviruses (COVID-19). | World Health Organization | 2020, Apr.17 | n.a. | Webpages | WHO Website |
| Chinese Community in Canada | | | | | | |
| 7 | Canada's Colour Coded Income Inequality | Block, S., Galabuzi, G.-E., & Tranjan, R | 2019, December | n.a. | Report | Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives |
| 8 | Global Soft Power Index 2020 | Brand Finance | 2020 | n.a. | Research report | Brand Finance website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|---|---|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 9 | International Students in Canada | Canadian Bureau for International Education | 2020 | n.a. | Statistics data | CBIE website |
| 10 | International Student Enrolment in Postsecondary Education Programs Prior to COVID-19 | Frenette, M., Choi, Y., & Doreleyers, A | 2020 | n.a. | Statistics data | Statistics Canada website |
| 11 | Six selection factors – Federal Skilled Worker Program (Express Entry) | Government of Canada | 2020, Sept.3 | n.a. | Legal instrument | Government of Canada website |
| 12 | 2020 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration | Government of Canada | 2020, Oct.30 | n.a. | Statistics data | Government of Canada website |
| 13 | The Chinese community in Canada, 2001 | Lindsay, C. | 2007 | n.a. | Census data | Statistics Canada website |
| 14 | Passage to Promise Land: Voices of Chinese Immigrant Women to Canada | Poy, V | 2013 | ✓ | Book | ProQuest Ebook Central website |
| 15 | Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a multicultural society | Statistics Canada | 2003 | n.a. | Survey report | Statistics Canada website |
| 16 | Immigration and ethnocultural diversity in Canada: National Household Survey, 2011 | Statistics Canada | 2013 | n.a. | Survey report | Statistics Canada website |
| 17 | 2006 Census Topic-based tabulations | Statistics Canada | 2014 | n.a. | Census data | Statistics Canada website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 18 | Immigration and diversity: Population projections for Canada and its regions, 2011 to 2036 | Statistics Canada | 2017, Jan.25 | n.a. | Census data analysis | Statistics Canada website |
| 19 | Census in Brief: Ethnic and cultural origins of Canadians: Portrait of a rich heritage | Statistics Canada | 2017, Oct.25 | n.a. | Census data analysis | Statistics Canada website |
| 20 | Immigrant population by selected places of birth, admission category and period of immigration, Canada, provinces and territories, census metropolitan areas and areas outside of census metropolitan areas, 2016 Census. | Statistics Canada | 2017, Oct.27 | n.a. | Census data analysis | Statistics Canada website |
| 21 | Data tables, 2016 Census | Statistics Canada | 2019, June 17 | n.a. | Census data | Statistics Canada website |
| 22 | Subethnic interpersonal dynamic in diasporic community: A study on Chinese immigrants in Vancouver | Yan, M. C., Wong, K. L. Y., & Lai, D. | 2019 | ✓ | Journal article | Asian Ethnicity |
| Canada – China Relations | | | | | | |
| 23 | As unfavourable views of China rise, Canadians are split over wisdom of Meng arrest | Angus Reid Institute | 2019, December | n.a. | Survey report | Angus Reid Institute website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|---|--|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| 24 | Canadian opinions of China reach new low | Angus Reid Institute | 2020, May 13 | n.a. | Survey report | Angus Reid Institute website |
| 25 | Rethinking security: China and the age of strategic rivalry | Canadian Security Intelligence Service | 2018 | n.a. | Program report | Government of Canada website |
| 26 | Facing China as a New Global Superpower: Domestic and International Dynamics from a Multidisciplinary Angle | Cao, H., & Paltiel, J. | 2016 | ✓ | Book | Springer eBook |
| 27 | The China Challenge: Sino-Canadian Relations in the 21st Century | Cao, H., & Poy, V | 2011 | ✓ | Book | JSTOR eBook |
| 28 | Doing Business at Home and Away: Policy Implications of Chinese-Canadian Entrepreneurship | Chen, W., & Wellman, B | 2007 | ✓ | Book | Asian Pacific Foundation website |
| 29 | Trudeau vows to stand up to China's 'coercive diplomacy.' | Fife, R., & Chase, S. | 2020, October 13 | n.a. | News | The Globe and Mail |
| 30 | Opinion: Want to bring the Michaels home? Send Meng Wanzhou back to China | Glodenberg, E. | 2020, January | n.a. | Opinion | The Globe and Mail |
| 31 | Sino-Canadian relations in the age of Justin Trudeau | Lim, P. | 2020 | ✓ | Journal article | Canadian Foreign Policy Journal |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| 32 | Navigating Canada-China Relations in a Turbulent Era | Ong, L. H. | 2020 | × | Project report | Public Policy Forum website |
| 33 | Facing China: Canada between fear and hope. | Paltiel, J. | 2018 | ✓ | Journal article | International Journal |
| 34 | Testing the China Threat paradigm: China's high-speed railway diplomacy in Southeast Asia | Pavličević, D., & Kratz, A. | 2018 | ✓ | Journal article | The Pacific Review |
| 35 | Narrating the China Threat: Securitising Chinese Economic Presence in Europe. | Rogelja, I., & Tsimonis, K | 2020 | ✓ | Journal article | The Chinese journal of international politics |
| 36 | Unfavorable views of China reach historic highs in many countries. | Silver, L., Devlin, K., & Huang, C. | 2020 | n.a. | Survey report | Pew Research Center website |
| 37 | Donald Trump calls Covid-19 "kung flu" at Tulsa rally. | The Guardian | 2020, June 21 | n.a. | News | The Guardian |
| 38 | Why US-China relations have reached a low | Usher, B. P. | 2020, July 24 | n.a. | Newspaper report | BBC |
| 39 | Businesses mark 50th anniversary with calls for Canada to end Meng Wanzhou case, broaden trade. | Vanderklippe, N. | 2020, October 13 | n.a. | Newspaper report | The Globe and Mail |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 40 | Trump tweets about coronavirus using term “Chinese Virus.” | Yam, K. | 2020, March 16 | n.a. | News | NBC News |
| Anti-Chinese Racism in Canada | | | | | | |
| 41 | Fight COVID Racism | | 2020 | n.a. | Website | The Racism online reporting website |
| 42 | Blame, bullying and disrespect: Chinese Canadians reveal their experiences with racism during COVID-19 | Angus Reid Institute | 2020, June 22 | n.a. | Survey report | Angus Reid Institute website |
| 43 | Trudeau Condemns Surge of Anti-Asian Hate Crimes In Canada HuffPost Canada | Beattie, S. | 2020, May 22 | n.a. | News | Huffington Post |
| 44 | Some British Columbians perceive more crime in their community. | Canseco | 2020, June | n.a. | Survey report | Research Co. website |
| 45 | Salina describes how coronavirus-driven anti-Asian racism has affected her | CBC Kids News | 2020, July 19 | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 46 | Anti-Asian crime spiked in Montreal last year, police say | CBC News | 2021, Mar.2 | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 47 | Dozens of statues and religious artifacts vandalized. | CityNews | 2020, Mar.4 | n.a. | News | CityNews |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| 48 | Asian community in Montreal fear attacks amid COVID-19. | CityNews | 2020, Mar.18 | n.a | News | CityNews |
| 49 | Attack on elderly Asian man with dementia 'racially motivated,' Vancouver police say | Chiu, J. | 2020, Apr.22 | n.a | News | Toronto Star |
| 50 | Racist Attacks Against Asians Continue to Rise as the Coronavirus Threat Grows | Cho, D. J. | 2020, Mar.17 | n.a | News | People.com website, belongs to Meredith Corporation, a publicly held media and marketing services company based in U.S. |
| 51 | In 2021, Asian Canadians Document Hate Crimes To Be Believed | Chung, A. | 2021, Mar.1 | n.a. | News | Huffington Post |
| 52 | COVID & Who I Am Now | Dai, D. | 2020 | n.a. | T.V. Program | CBC |
| 53 | Abuse or racism toward people of Asian descent is now being documente | Feith, J. | 2020, May 14 | n.a. | News | Montreal Gazette |
| 54 | Filling the gap in data on anti-Asian racism in Canada. <i>CTV News</i> | Fionda, F. | 2020, June 15 | n.a | News | CTV News |
| 55 | StatCan survey shows new evidence of increase in anti-Asian sentiment, attacks | Flanagan, R. | 2020, July 8 | n.a | News | CTV News |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|---|--|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---|
| 56 | Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Exploring the Reproduction of Inequality | Gover, A. R., Harper, S. B., & Langton, L. | 2020 | ✓ | Journal article | American journal of criminal justice |
| 57 | Conservatives blast MP who asked whether top pandemic doctor “works for China” as Scheer steers clear | Harris, K. | 2020, Apr.23 | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 58 | Two incidents targeting Asian men reported to Ottawa police as hate crimes | Helmer, A | 2020, Oct.11 | n.a. | News | Ottawa Citizen |
| 59 | Racist message posted on historic Chinatown building | Kelly A. | 2020, June 6 | n.a | News | CTV News |
| 60 | A year of racist attacks: Anti-Asian racism across Canada one year into the COVID-19 pandemic. | Kong, J., Ip, J., Huang, C., & Lin, K. | 2021, March | n.a. | Survey report | Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter website |
| 61 | The ‘Shadow Pandemic’ of Anti-Asian Racism. The Tyee; The Tyee | Lam, F. T. | 2020, May | × | Online magazine article | The Tyee |
| 62 | Coronavirus: Vancouver’s Chinatown hit with more racist graffiti | Little, S. | 2020, May 20 | n.a | News | Global News |
| 63 | Lion statues in Vancouver’s Chinatown hit with racist graffiti again | Little, S. | 2020, May 29 | n.a | News | Global News |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|---|---|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| 64 | UBC student says no one intervened as she was attacked, robbed on Vancouver bus | Little, S. | 2020, Aug.1 | n.a | News | Global News |
| 65 | Expanding the narrative on anti-Chinese stigma during COVID-19—Initial report | Mamuji, A., Rozdilsky, J., Lee, C., Mwarumba, N., Tubula, M., & Chu, T. | 2020 | Pre-print | Research paper | Figshare website, a research share platform |
| 66 | Bits of Falling Sky and Global Pandemics: Moral Panic and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). | Muzzatti, S. L. | 2005 | ✓ | Journal article | Illness, crisis, and loss |
| 67 | Surveys find more than 1,000 self-reported incidents of anti-Asian racism since start of pandemic: Report | Nicholson, K. | 2021, Mar.23 | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 68 | Impact of Racism on Ethnic Minority Mental Health | Okazaki, S. | 2009 | ✓ | Journal article | Perspectives on Psychological Science |
| 69 | Racism incident reporting centre | Project 1907 | 2020 | n.a. | Website | The Racism online reporting website |
| 70 | Inuit getting caught up in anti-Asian hate crimes in Montreal, advocates say | Richardson, L. | 2020, Apr.14 | n.a. | News | APTN News |
| 71 | COVID-19: Korean consulate issues warning after violent attack in Montreal | Rowe, D. J. | 2020, Mar.17 | n.a | News | CTV News |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|---|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 72 | Anti-Asian racism on the rise in Canada's biggest cities amid COVID-19 crisis: Poll. | Rowe, D. J. | 2020, Apr.27 | n.a | News | CTV News |
| 73 | Anti-Chinese racism is Canada's "shadow pandemic," say researchers. | Shore, R. | 2020, June 22 | n.a. | News | Vancouver Sun |
| 74 | Perceptions of personal safety among population groups designated as visible minorities in Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic | Statistics Canada | 2020, July | n.a | Survey report | Statistics Canada website |
| 75 | Experiences of discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic | Statistics Canada | 2020, September | n.a. | Survey report | Statistics Canada |
| 76 | Police investigate COVID-19 threats to Chinese restaurant, Indigenous people | The Canadian Press | 2020, April 1 | n.a | News | The National Post |
| 77 | Racist graffiti found in restaurant in downtown Calgary following break-in, suspicious fire | White, R. | 2020, June 24 | n.a | News | CTV News |
| Chinese Community's Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic | | | | | | |
| 78 | Coronavirus: Can Canada get front-line health workers what they need before it's too late? | Bensadoun, E. | 2020, April | n.a. | News | Global News |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|--|--|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 79 | “Nothing to do with discrimination”: Chinese-Canadian MDs urge everyone returning from China to self-quarantine. | Blackwell, T. | 2020, February | n.a. | News | National Post |
| 80 | Chinese Canadians support others returning from China through self-imposed quarantine | Brown, D. | 2020, February | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 81 | 加拿大华人社团联席会为本地三家总医院捐物捐款抗疫 [Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations made donations to three local hospitals] | Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations (CACA) | 2020 | n.a. | Statement | CACA website |
| 82 | Chinese Volunteer Association in Canada. | CVAC | 2020 | n.a. | Webpage | CVAC website |
| 83 | B.C. must do more testing and urge more use of masks in public to defeat the coronavirus. | Ding G., & Zhang K. | 2020, April | n.a. | Open letter | Canada Committee 100 Society website |
| 84 | Chinese-Canadian community using social media to coordinate self-quarantines to prevent spread of COVID-19 | Donnelly, A. | 2020, February | n.a. | News | The Guardian |
| 85 | Mississauga’s Chinese community aiding those who | Gamrot, S. | 2020, February | n.a. | News | Toronto Star |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|----|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| | self-quarantine during coronavirus crisis | | | | | |
| 86 | 疫情统计- BC 省疫情(12 月 28 日更新) [COVID-19 Statistics – BC (updated on December 28)] | Hu, T. | 2020 | n.a. | Webpage | victoriasummer.ca website |
| 87 | Expanding the narrative on anti-Chinese stigma during COVID-19—Initial report. | Mamuji, et al. | 2020 | Pre-print | Research report | Canadian Institutes of Health Research under Operating Grant: Canadian 2019 Novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) Rapid Research Funding Opportunity - Public health response and its impact – No. 202002OV7 |
| 88 | How Ottawa’s Chinese community set up a “wall of love” against novel coronavirus | Payne, E. | 2020, March | n.a. | News | Ottawa Citizen |
| 89 | PACER Training. Project PROTECH | Project PROTECH | n.d. | n.a. | Webpage | Project PROTECH website |
| 90 | Pandemic Rapid-response Optimization to Enhance Community Resilience and Health | Project PROTECH | n.d. | n.a. | Webpage | Project PROTECH website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|--|--|---|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| 91 | 多伦多华联总会 20 万防疫口罩捐安省 [CTCCO Donated 200,000 surgical masks to the Province of Ontario] | The Confederation of Toronto Chinese Canadian Organizations (CTCCO) | 2020, July | n.a. | Statement | CTCCO website |
| 92 | Chinese community group aids self-quarantined Windsorites amid coronavirus outbreak | Viau, J. | 2020, February | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 93 | 'Stand alongside us': Advocates call for action on violence against Asian Canadians. | Wells, N. | 2021, Mar.19 | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 94 | Chinese Canadians collect personal protective equipment for donation to front-line medical staff | Xu, x. | 2020 | n.a. | Newspaper report | The Globe and Mail |
| 95 | Early efforts by B.C.'s Chinese community to curb COVID-19 should be "applauded," doctor says | Yeung, L. | 2020 | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 96 | It takes a team to tackle coronavirus: Chinese Canadian community | Zarzour, K. | 2020 | n.a. | News | YorkRegion.com (a subsidiary of Torstar) |
| Chinese Community's Responses to Pandemic Associated Racism | | | | | | |
| 97 | Cultivating Growth and Solidarity: An Anti-Racism Zine for Asian Youth | | n.d. | n.a. | webpage | Cultivating Growth and Solidarity website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|-----|--|--|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 98 | Fight COVID Racism (FCR) | | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | FCR website |
| 99 | ACT2ENDRACISM – Asian Canadians Together to end racism | ACT2endracism. | n.d. | n.a. | webpage | ACT2endracism website |
| 100 | Action! Chinese Canadians Together (ACCT) | ACCT Foundation | n.d. | n.a. | webpage | ACCT Foundation website |
| 101 | Chinese Canadians, health officials taking stand against “unfair stigmatization” during coronavirus outbreak | Boisvert, N | 2020, January | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 102 | 强烈要求环球新闻网及记者向加拿大华人道歉 [A strong demand for an apology from Global News to the Chinese community in Canada] | Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations (CACA) | n.d. | n.a. | Statement | CACA website |
| 103 | B.C. newspaper called out for racial discrimination amid coronavirus outbreak | CBC News | 2020, February | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 104 | Hundreds in Montreal denounce anti-Asian racism with march, vigil | CBC News | 2021, March 21 | n.a. | webpage | CBC |
| 105 | Stop calling “Novel Coronavirus” as “China virus.” | Chen, C. | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |
| 106 | To press Global News to retract two reports against | Chen, X. | 2020, May | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|-----|---|--|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| | Chinese Canadians and to apologize | | | | | |
| 107 | 121 個團體共同簽署：打擊歧視仇恨犯罪支持民眾齊心抗疫—致加拿大三級政府公開信 [121 organizations signed: Combating Discrimination and Hate Crimes and Fighting the Pandemic Together—An open letter to the three levels of government in Canada. | Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver (CBAV) | 2020, May 27 | n.a. | Statement | CBAV website |
| 108 | FaceRace Campaign | Chinese Canadian National Council for Social Justice (CCNC-SJ) | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | CCNC-SJ website |
| 109 | Stop the Spread | | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | CCNC-SJ website |
| 110 | Anti-East Asian Racism | City of Toronto | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | City of Toronto website |
| 111 | “I make no apologies for that”: London, Ont. bar owner stands by signs many have called racist | CTVNewsLondon.ca Staff | 2021, Feb.19 | n.a. | News | CTVNews |
| 112 | Demand Derek Sloan’s resignation for his racist comments against Dr. Theresa Tam | Fung, J. | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |
| 113 | 0 tolerance for political virus! | Jing, Y. | 2021, February | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--|
| 114 | Toronto mayor denounces xenophobia against Chinese community amid coronavirus fears | Madani, D. | 2020, January | n.a. | News | NBC News |
| 115 | “Racist”, “irresponsible”: B.C. newspaper under fire for novel coronavirus-related headline | Nassar, H. M., & Kelly, A. | 2020, February | n.a. | News | City News |
| 116 | “每一位侨胞都是战‘疫’者” = ‘Every overseas Chinese is a warrior’?! | Pan, J. | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |
| 117 | Chinese Canadian group creates ‘Stop the Spread’ awareness program aimed at COVID-19 related racism | Patton, J. | 2020, March | n.a. | News | Global News |
| 118 | Racism incident reporting centre | Project 1907 | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | Project 1907 website |
| 119 | PACER Training. Project PROTECH | Project PROTECH | n.d. | n.a. | webpage | Project PROtech website |
| 120 | London politicians, federal NDP leader condemn Ale House ‘China virus’ signs. | Trevithick, M. | 2021, Feb.19 | n.a. | News | Global News |
| 121 | Alberta Anti-Racism Cross-Canada Online Rally #ACevent711 YouTube Live Steaming | We Canadian | 2020, July | n.a. | video clip | Youtube (the researcher participated the recorded event) |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
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| 123 | “Overseas Chinese” Are Canadians Too | Zhou, Z. | 2020 | | Opinion post | Harvard Political Review |
| The Province Frontpage Headline on Feb.5, 2020 | | | | | | |
| 124 | B.C. newspaper called out for racial discrimination amid coronavirus outbreak | CBC News | 2020, February | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 125 | Stop calling “Novel Coronavirus” as “China virus.” | Chen, C. | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |
| 126 | The Blurring of Headline Sizes under New Editing Technology | Everett, S. E., & Everett, G. A. | 1988 | ✓ | Journal article | Journalism Quarterly |
| 127 | Discourses of domination: Racial bias in the Canadian English-language press | Henry, F., & Tator, C. | 2002 | ✓ | Book | |
| 128 | “Spanish Flu”: When Infectious Disease Names Blur Origins and Stigmatize Those Infected | Hoppe, T. | 2018 | ✓ | Journal article | American Journal of Public Health |
| 129 | Journalism in the face of intolerance and racism. | International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) | 2010 | n.a. | Forum article | IFJ website |
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| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
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| | Explaining the belief that font size affects memory. | | | | | |
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| 132 | “Racist”, “irresponsible”: B.C. newspaper under fire for novel coronavirus-related headline. | Nassar, H. M., & Kelly, A. | 2020, February | n.a. | News | City News |
| 133 | 2020-12: Various vs Vancouver Province. | National NewsMedia Council (NNC) | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | NNC website |
| 134 | Influenza 1918: The First Wave. | PBS | n.d. | n.a. | Media report | PBS website |
| 135 | Racism and the Press | van Dijk, T. A. | 1991 | ✓ | Book | |
| 136 | Typographic meaning | van Leeuwen, T. | 2005 | ✓ | Journal article | Visual Communication |
| 137 | Progress is why viruses aren't named after locations anymore, experts say | Yam, K. | 2020 | n.a. | News | NBC News |
| 138 | Boycott the Province newspaper | Yuan, L. | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |
| Cooper's Report on Global News on Apr.30, 2020 | | | | | | |
| 139 | 同心抗疫，广东省侨联携手海外华人华侨齐抗疫。 [Fight the pandemic together, Guangdong Federation of | All-China Federation of Returned Chinese Overseas | 2020 | n.a. | News | All-China Federation of Returned Chinese Overseas website |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
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| | Overseas Chinese work with overseas Chinese to fight the pandemic] | | | | | |
| 140 | Rethinking security: China and the age of strategic rivalry | Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) | 2018 | n.a. | workshop report | Government Canada website |
| 141 | 榕籍海外乡亲凝聚起驰援战“疫”的磅礴力量 [Overseas Chinese from Fujian Untied to Help China Fight the virus] | Chen, Y. & Xie, X. | 2020, Feb.3 | n.a. | News | Xinhua News (China) |
| 142 | To press Global News to retract two reports against Chinese Canadians and to apologize | Chen, X. | 2020, May | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |
| 143 | Tory MP presses minister to apologize for WeChat group post crowdfunding lawsuit | Connolly, A. | 2020, May | n.a. | News | Global News |
| 144 | United Front groups in Canada helped Beijing stockpile coronavirus safety supplies | Cooper, S. | 2020, Apr.30 | n.a. | Media report | Global News |
| 145 | Analysis: Facts or fearmongering? Richmond politician links racist graffiti, assaults to Second World War injustice | Mackin, B. | 2020, May 25 | n.a. | News | The Breaker.News website |

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| 146 | Exclusive: Liberal minister's WeChat group promotes lawsuit against journalist who highlighted China's mask-hoarding | Mackin, B. | 2020, May 26 | n.a. | News | |
| 147 | Racism has no place in Canada | Maple Leafs Anti-Racism Actions Association (MLARA) | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | MLARA website |
| 148 | Claws of the panda: Beijing's campaign of influence and intimidation in Canada | Manthorpe, J. | 2019 | ✓ | Book | |
| 149 | Bits of Falling Sky and Global Pandemics: Moral Panic and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). | Muzzatti, S.L. | 2005 | ✓ | Journal article | Illness, Crisis & Loss |
| 150 | Global News defends journalist against what it calls 'effort to discredit' reporting on Beijing-COVID-19 masks | Nuttall, J. | 2020, May | n.a. | News | Toronto Star |
| 151 | “每一位侨胞都是战‘疫’者” == ‘Every overseas Chinese is a warrior’?! | Pan, J. | 2020 | n.a. | webpage | Change.org website |
| 152 | We are at war with COVID-19. We need to fight it like a war. | Potter, A. | 2020, April | n.a. | News | The Globe and Mail |

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| 153 | Richmond-based group demands apology from Global News | Shen, N., & Clarke, K. | 2020, June | n.a. | News | Richmond News |
| Hate Message Spread on Social Media | | | | | | |
| 154 | Chinese envoy warns Canada against granting asylum to Hong Kong protesters | Blanchfield, M. | 2020 | n.a. | News | CBC |
| 155 | COVID-19 ‘infodemic’ reaching Canadians through social media and apps, survey suggests. | Boutilier, A., & MacCharles, T. | 2020, May | n.a. | Newspaper report | Toronto Star |
| 156 | Prejudice Toward Asian Americans in the Covid-19 Pandemic: The Effects of Social Media Use in the United States. | Croucher, S. M., Nguyen, T., & Rahmani, D. | 2020 | ✓ | Journal article | Frontiers in Communication |
| 157 | After “The China Virus” Went Viral: Racially Charged Coronavirus Coverage and Trends in Bias Against Asian Americans | Darling-Hammond, S., et al. | 2020 | ✓ | Journal article | Health Education & Behavior |
| 158 | Why rumors spread so quickly in social networks | Doerr, B., Fouz, M., & Friedrich, T. | 2012 | ✓ | Research report on a digital magazine | ACM (Association for Computing Machinery) Digital Library |

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| 160 | The state of social media in Canada 2020 | Gruzd, A., & Mai, P. | 2020 | n.a. | Survey report | The Social Media Lab (Ryerson University) |
| 161 | Inoculating against an Infodemic: A Canada-wide COVID-19 News, Social Media, and Misinformation Survey | Gruzd, A., & Mai, P. | 2020, May | n.a. | Survey report | The Social Media Lab (Ryerson University) |
| 162 | Association of “#covid19” Versus “#chinesevirus” With Anti-Asian Sentiments on Twitter: March 9–23, 2020 | Hswen, Y., Xu, X., Hing, A., Hawkins, J. B., Brownstein, J. S., & Gee, G. C. | 2021 | ✓ | Journal article | American Journal of Public Health |
| 163 | I experienced anti-Chinese racism during SARS. But with coronavirus scare, social media makes it so much worse | Kwong, E. | 2020 | n.a. | News | Toronto Star |
| 164 | Rising levels of hate speech & online toxicity during this time of crisis | L1ght | 2020, March | n.a. | Statistics data | L1ght.com website |
| 165 | YouTube history: How the video-sharing website became so popular | Leskin, P. | 2020 | n.a. | Research report | The Business Insider Intelligence, data-driven research on driving industries |

| | Name of Document | Authors / Organizations | Time of Publication | Peer-reviewed | Type of Data | Sources |
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| 166 | Sense and Sensibility: Characterizing Social Media Users Regarding the Use of Controversial Terms for COVID-19 | Lyu, H., Chen, L., Wang, Y., & Luo, J. | 2020 | ✓ | Data Analytical Report | IEEE Transactions on Big Data |
| 167 | Unlike previous pandemics, there's so much information to keep the public informed— And misinformed. | McKinley, S. | 2020, May | n.a. | Newspaper report | Toronto Star |
| 168 | From #CoronavirusCoverUp to #NukeChina: An analysis of conspiracy theories, hate speech and incitements to violence across Twitter related to Covid-19 | Moonshot | 2020 | × | Data Analytical Report | Moonshot CVE, a tech company analyzing audiences consuming extremist content, conspiracy theories and disinformation |
| 169 | The impact of COVID-19 on Canadian search traffic. | Moonshot | 2020 | × | Data Analytical Report | |
| 170 | A brief history of Facebook | Phillips, S. | 2007 | n.a. | Newspaper report | The Guardian |
| 171 | The history of Twitter, 140 characters at a tim | Picard, A. | 2011 | n.a. | Newspaper report | Globe and Mail |
| 172 | Know Your Chinese Social Media | Ren, Y. | 2018 | n.a. | Magazine report | New York Times |
| 173 | WhatsApp: The inside story | Rowan, D. | 2014 | n.a. | Magazine report | Wired magazine (UK) |

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| 174 | “Go eat a bat, Chang!”: An Early Look on the Emergence of Sinophobic Behavior on Web Communities in the Face of COVID-19 | Schild, L., et al. | 2020 | pre-print | Data Analytical Report | arXivLabs (Cornell University) |
| 175 | Most used social media platform | Statista | 2020 | n.a. | Statistics data | Statista webstie |
| 176 | Initial Effects of the Coronavirus Pandemic on Racial Prejudice in the United States: Evidence from Google Trends | Vachuska, K. F | 2020 | pre-print | Data Analytical Report | SocArXiv, an online paper server for the social sciences |
| 177 | Racism is a Virus: Anti-Asian Hate and Counterhate in Social Media during the COVID-19 Crisis | Ziem, C., et al. | 2020 | pre-print | Data Analytical Report | arXivLabs (Cornell University) |

Appendix B: Notice for Anti-Racism Cross Canada Rally on July 11, 2020

Date: July 11, 2020

Time: 14:00 - 16:00pm (MDT)

16:00 – 18:00 (Eastern Time)

12:00 – 14:00 (Pacific Time)

Location: Online Zoom Conference

Attendees: Government Representatives, Scholars, Community Leaders

Audience: Participants across Canada

App Download: https://zoom.us/download#client_4meeting

Meeting Links:

Alberta 1:

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/78831129496?pwd=UXJoRktsOGZPZUpvaU5wZVB3WXc1QT09>

Meeting ID: 788 3112 9496

Password: 20200711

Alberta 2:

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/79928787153?pwd=QXZsTTITckxNNFIVS3ZkRnVycTlNQT09>

Meeting ID: 799 2878 7153

Password: 20200711

British Columbia & Ontario:

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/75691626127?pwd=K2xGUUdqRlhqY2lMemhmNzBjcWdjdz09>

Meeting ID: 756 9162 6127

Password: 20200711

Others:

<https://zoom.us/j/98778184626?pwd=VUtmMkxMR2dmeEloY3d0ZmMreHJsdz09>

Meeting ID: 987 7818 4626

Password: 20200711

Backgrounds

It is a blessing we live in Canada, a cultural mosaic that values diversities and multiculturalism. At the same time, our nation is certainly not immune to racism including but not limited to racism affecting Black Canadians, racism that has haunted indigenous Canadians, and now racist acts against Chinese and Asian Canadians.

With waves of anti-racism and calls for social justice sweeping the globe, we are witnessing history being made. This is a sign that at our heart, there is still hope for humanity and justice in society. People and communities will no longer continue to put up with the abuse and hatred of racism or discrimination. People are taking action – and we would like to call upon you to join us in taking immediate actions here in Canada.

Our anti-racism Online Rally calls for united actions against racism in Canada and highlight the principles in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms made for ALL Canadians. As we continue this global journey, a critical step is to make sure the voices from Canada's ethnic minorities are heard. Your participation and input is critical. It is our time to participate instead of turning a blind eye and remaining silent. It is time for us to be united and together, let's take action against all racial discrimination.

Themes

- 1) Anti-racist and anti-discrimination commentaries, analysis, and strategies.
- 2) Personal experiences with discrimination, reflections, and call for actions.
- 3) Notable contributions to defending Canadian multiculturalism and equal rights.

Source: WeChat group “大维疫情互助群” [Support Group in the Greater Victoria], July 10, 2020

Appendix C: Request for Proposal – Video Campaign Against Misinformation and Disinformation (From ACCT and ACT2endracism)



Request for Proposal (RFP) Video campaign against misinformation and disinformation¹

ABOUT ACCT and ACT2endracism

The Action, Chinese Canadians Together (ACCT) Foundation was formed in 2017 with the aim to advancing Chinese Canadian civic participation and leadership development; strengthening community capacity; and furthering education on racial equality of minorities including Chinese Canadians. The ACCT Foundation is the sponsoring organization of the ACT2endracism coalition.

ACT2endracism is a national coalition of over 40+ community organizations with the goal of addressing COVID related racism against Canadians of East and SE Asian descent. The objectives of the coalition are to: 1). Raise awareness about COVID-19 racism 2). To develop and disseminate anti-racism resources and tools 3). To monitor hate incidents/hate crimes through a multi-lingual, national registry and 4). To engage government to exercise their responsibility to protect the safety and security of all Canadians 5). To dismantle systemic racism by influencing public policy.

ABOUT THE VIDEO CAMPAIGN

The goal of the video campaign is to counter disinformation and misinformation that has fueled anti-Asian sentiment, targeted assaults, and everything from micro aggressions to violent hate crimes in this challenging time. The ACCT Foundation in partnership with ACT2endracism, is seeking interested film makers or social media creatives to **develop four digital graphic/video projects** (each one being approximately 2 minutes in length). The topics for each project are:

1. Model minority paradox
2. Perpetual foreigner myth
3. Yellow peril
4. To be announced

The digital graphic or video will be made public and shareable as a community resource for promoting awareness and education, to further conversation and dialogue within our communities and with the general public, and to influence policy makers. The project will be made available on our organization's website to share and will be promoted on social media and other platforms.

CALLING ARTISTS, FILM MAKERS, SOCIAL MEDIA CREATIVES

- You are able to tell a clear and compelling story about the topics through your experience with East and SE Asian communities, anti-racism work, and research.
- Your research on the topic will help to inform 4 short and succinct videos that will help others to understand the subject and to break down the misconceptions about the East and SE Asian community in Canada.

¹ Misinformation vs. disinformation – article on the differences <https://www.dictionary.com/e/misinformation-vs-disinformation-get-informed-on-the-difference/>



- You will work with key members of ACT2endracism to formulate a strong slogan/message for each video.
- You will be able to access archival footage that members of our network already have access to and also access anti-racism videos/messages created during our recent public awareness campaign.
- And lastly, you will produce a series of evocative, eye-catching, conversation starting videos that goes beyond raising awareness to say something about the roots of disinformation and misinformation that is fueling racism today and is little understood by both the general public and even within our own communities.

PROPOSAL GUIDELINES

All potential candidates are asked to submit all documents in pdf format. Proposal must include the following documents:

- Biography or resume of lead creative (may also include biographies of other members of your team if relevant)
- 2-3 page proposal on your preliminary vision/ideas of the project including content, format, impact
- Web link to 2-3 samples of digital media/graphic/video produced by candidate

All proposal queries and submissions to be e-mailed to: events@acctfoundation.ca

BUDGET

- Project total maximum is \$20,000 plus GST for all 4 videos

TIMELINE

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| • Proposal submission deadline | Thursday, Dec 17, 2020 at 11:59 p.m. (MST) |
| • Notification of awarded proposal | Tuesday, Dec 22, 2020 |
| • Launch first video | Friday, Feb 12, 2021 |
| • Launch second video | Friday, Feb 26, 2021 |
| • Launch third video | Friday, Mar 12, 2021 |
| • Launch fourth video | Wednesday, Mar 31, 2021 |

APPENDIX: DIGITAL MEDIA RESOURCE EXAMPLES

Model Minority stereotype:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/business/the-myth-of-the-model-minority/2017/04/14/aa6c4bf4-213a-11e7-bb59-a74ccaf1d02f_video.html

Model Minority Stereotype:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PrDbvSSbxk8>



Historica video on SARS disinformation

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k8R7MukHImA>

Systemic Racism – explainer

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YrHIQIO_bdQ

Systemic/institutional Racism - explainer

<https://theconversation.com/explainer-what-is-systemic-racism-and-institutional-racism-131152>

Malcolm (Asian-American Visual Poem – on internalized racism)

<https://youtu.be/AHRVFziw9fc>

Video on the reaction to Anti-Asian racism in time of Covid

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqU9VxiMIZU&feature=youtu.be>

(Source: <https://act2endracism.ca/video-campaign-rfp/>)

Appendix D: Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations' Demand for an Apology from Global News to the Chinese Community in Canada

On 30 April, a report titled “United Front Groups in Canada Helped Beijing Stockpile Coronavirus Safety Supplies” written by a Mr. Sam Cooper was published in Global News. The report alleged that the procurement of masks in large quantity by many Canadian Chinese to be shipped back to China in support of its combat against the Coronavirus that was raging the country was a governmental action initiated by Chinese consulates all over the world. He also alleged that “Every Overseas Chinese is a Warrior!” under the leadership of the United Front Work Department of China. He even went further in an alarmist tone that China, by stockpiling and controlling the global PPE, aims at compromising the political decision making and democracy of Canada.

What a palpable lie it is! The voluntary donations by the Canadian Chinese to support the combat against the Coronavirus in their motherland was vilified as an act dictated by the Chinese government to stockpile PPE for Beijing. Every Canadian Chinese has family members, close relatives and friends living in China. Each Canadian Chinese was so gravely concerned, and heartbroken upon sad news of infections, hospitalization and deaths of relatives or friends during such a catastrophe. What could be wrong when they purchased and shipped medical supplies to save their fellow countrymen under such circumstances? Did they need to be organized by the Chinese consulates? Such act on the part of the Canadian Chinese is nothing but humanitarian, benevolent and charitable deeds! Should similar calamities occur in England and France, wouldn't our Anglophones and Franco-phones have done the same thing? It takes such a heartless soul to give such a bad name to such good deeds!

In his report Sam Cooper named specifically CACA as a subordinate organization under United Front Work Department of China. This again is an out-and-out slander! CACA is a non-profit, non-political and non-religious society registered in BC. Since its inception in 2008, CACA's major functions focus on social charities in addition to services to its members. Charitable campaigns and huge amount of fund raising have been conducted over the last decade for hurricane in South Asia, earthquakes in Nepal, China and Japan, cyclones in Taiwan and Vancouver, Forest fires in Alberta, flood in BC, refugees of Syria, orphans in Richmond, as well as for Burnaby General Hospital and Richmond General Hospital. Among them, \$270,000 for Fire in Alberta in 2016, \$140,00 for Fire in BC in 2017. During this combat against Covid-19, CACA initiated donations both in cash and in kind, to China early on, and then, when the epidemic began to raze Canada, CACA took the lead to donate funds as well as supplies to local communities. Mr. Yongtao Chen, the Chairman of CACA, contacted his friends and relatives in China to procure medical supplies and, despite the extremely difficult transportation conditions, air-freighted such procurement back to Vancouver, and donated these supplies(30,000 clinical masks, 1000 protective gowns plus cheque) to Vancouver General Hospital, Richmond General

Hospital and Richmond General Hospital respectively(Attached are Letters of Appreciation and donation photos).

And there were more: those societies and association affiliated to CACA- Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations, such as: Vancouver FuQing Friendship Society and FuQing Chamber of Commerce, Canada Shandong Chinese Business Association, Hebei Business Society of Canada, Canada, United Global Chinese Women's Association of Canada, Canada Jiangsu Overseas Federation Society, Guangdong-Hongkong-Macau Alliance of Business Association of Canada, Guangzhou Fellow-Students Association of Canada, Chinese Culture Trade Association of Canada & Shanghai, Haihe Fellowship Association of Canada, Lingnan Association of Canada, Guizhou Chamber of Commerce of North America, Guizhou Canadian Fellowship Association, Sichuanese Friendship Association, United Jiangxi Business Council of Canada, Vancouver Jiangxi Fellowship Association, Canada Fujian Industry & Commerce Association, Shenzhen United Association of Vancouver, The Chinese Cultural Harmony And Unity Society of Canada, North America Zhejiang (TaiZhou) Chamber of Commerce, VCCPS-Vancouver Chinese Culture Promotion Society, Canada Wenzhou Friendship Society, etc. They all donated respectively to hospitals, senior homes and charity agencies with funds and supplies to combat Covid-19 (Attached are details of those donations).

Not bothering themselves with further investigation, totally ignoring the tremendous contributions to Canada and local communities by CACA over the decade in general and its recent donations to Greater Vancouver during the pandemic in particular, Global news and its reporter singled out our donation to China in support of its counter Covid-19 efforts, and labeled CACA as one of the subsidiary organization of United Front Work Department of China to hoard and stockpile PPE for China. One could not help asking: what are their proofs for such allegations? Even more malicious was the deliberate editing of one quotation from a Chinese document, namely, “Every overseas Chinese is a warrior against the epidemic”, into “Every overseas Chinese is a warrior”. The intentional omission of the key phrase “against the epidemic” was intended for sensationalism by altering its connotation.

The stigmatization of the humanitarian acts of the Canadian Chinese harbors an ulterior motive. It was echoing the “Conspiracy Theory” trumpeted by US President Donald Trump to finger-point China as the culprit by picturing the Canadian Chinese as a group totally manipulated by the Chinese government so as to incite discrimination and hatred sentiments against the Chinese community. Such racial discrimination phenomenon, though condemned and boycotted by the Canadian government and the mainstream public, still scrabbles for an upsurge whenever there is any chance. As a reporter of a major Canadian media, Mr. Sam Cooper forsook his objectivity, buried himself in hearsay, spiced it with his own subjective speculations and came up with a fake news report. He has thus made himself an instigator of racial discrimination against the Canadian Chinese. We challenge his objectivity, fairness, credibility and authenticity in his news reporting! We also have serious concerns about the motive of Mr. Cooper and, Global News for that matter, of writing and publishing such an article.

Though immigrating from China, we have become Canadian citizens or permanent residents. Many have received higher education in Canada. We love Canada and her democracy and equality, peace and freedom, and have deep faith in her social values. We refuse to be manipulated by any political forces. We are making our due contributions to the Canadian society in general, and to social charities. Therefore, this type of stigmatization of CACA and racist propaganda against the Canadian Chinese by an influential news media such as Global News are unacceptable. In view of the extremely negative social repercussion caused by this report we hereby strongly demand that Global News and Mr. Cooper make a public apology. We also strongly appeal to the Canadian government to condemn unequivocally such racist fake news.

Canadian Alliance of Chinese Associations

(Source: <https://www.ca-ca.ca/en/component/content/article/119-2016/events/2020-news/444-%E5%BC%BA%E7%83%88%E8%A6%81%E6%B1%82%E7%8E%AF%E7%90%83%E6%96%B0%E9%97%BB%E7%BD%91%E5%8F%8A%E8%AE%B0%E8%80%85%E5%90%91%E5%8A%A0%E6%8B%BF%E5%A4%A7%E5%8D%8E%E4%BA%BA%E9%81%93%E6%AD%89.html?Itemid=862>)

Appendix E: An Open Letter from Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver Regarding Two Reports on Global News, April, 30,2020

Combating Discrimination and Hate Crimes: Fighting the Pandemic Together!

Coronavirus (COVID-19) is a global pandemic that has drastically impacted the world with devastation and has claimed many lives. As of May 21, 2020, a global total of 5.14 million people have been diagnosed with this virus and 330,000 have died. In Canada, 81,324 were diagnosed nationally with a death toll of 6,152. COVID-19 has created chaos in the economy and turmoil to people's livelihood.

This is a time where Canadians should be united to fight this epidemic, and not to fight among ourselves. Since the pandemic, racism and hate crimes against Asians, and especially against the Chinese community, are on the rise across the country. Racist remarks, hateful and threatening messages, and physical attacks have been directed to Canadians of Asian descent. Some examples that has been widely broadcasted include a 92-year-old Chinese elderly man that was physically dragged out of a convenience store and thrown to the ground resulting in bodily injury. Another incident involved a young Asian lady who was assaulted in the face as she was waiting to cross the street. Sadly, the list goes on.

Adding fuel to the growing anti-Asian racism and targeted hate crimes, two articles published by Global News on April 30, 2020 maliciously condemned Chinese Canadian organizations for voluntarily sending Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) to family and friends in China during the early stage of the COVID-19 outbreak in China, calling this a treasonous act of supporting a foreign power and the hoarding of supplies to the detriment of Canada. We should note that Canada was also shipping PPEs to China around the same time frame.

When Canada was impacted by the pandemic, Chinese Canadian organizations have generously supported the local communities by donating imported medical equipment from China. It is perplexing why these contributions were not included in the Global News articles.

The support provided to Wuhan by Canadian community groups and the Canadian government has helped contained the COVID-19 virus in China and slowed the spread of this virus. This has strategically bought valuable time for the rest of the world, including Canada, to get prepared.

Sowing the seeds of hatred and the spreading of prejudice must not be tolerated. Canada is a democracy that takes pride in multiculturalism and is an advocate for human rights. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, which was incorporated into the Canadian Constitution in 1982, clearly states that any racial discrimination is illegal. Canadians need to uphold our values, protect the safety of our communities and the civil rights of our citizens, regardless of race, colour, ethnicity and origin.

We urge the authorities to take swift actions to crackdown on hate crimes and prosecute the offenders. There needs to be more public awareness to recognize and reject racism, to embrace

diversity, and to celebrate the long history of the contribution of the Chinese and other ethnic communities in the building of Canada. Throughout history, disease outbreaks have ravaged humanity and have never been known to discriminate against any specific ethnicity. Canadians should focus their efforts to unite Canadians in the fight against COVID-19 and not be detracted to engage in racial and hateful behaviours.

Finally, we wish to express our sincere gratitude and respect to the medical staff and public service personnel who are at the forefront fighting the COVID-19 pandemic. We hope that, with everyone's effort, the "curve" will be flattened very soon, and Canada's social economic activities will return to normal in the near future.

Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver

May 27, 2020

Tel: (604) 681-1923 Fax: (604) 682-0073

Email: info@cbavancouver.com

(Source: <https://www.cbavancouver.com/?p=7852>)

Appendix F: Public Statement by Maple Leafs Anti-Racism Actions Association Regarding a Report on Global News on April 30, 2020

Date: May 27, 2020

We are a not-for-profit society formed by a group of Canadians and permanent residents. The association was registered under the BC Societies Act on May 14, 2020 under incorporation number S0073177.

One of the purposes of our society is to fight against racism and end hate crimes in Canada.

The society was formed by a group of people who felt they were unfairly portrayed in a report written by Mr. Sam Cooper that appeared on Global News on April 30, 2020.

While the central thrust of the report was about the People's Republic of China, the Communist Party of China, and the United Front Work Department of the PRC, the use of a provocative graphic and an inaccurately translated caption conveyed a damaging portrayal of Overseas Chinese and Canadians of Chinese descent.

Mr. Cooper's report, either intentionally or un-intentionally mischaracterized Chinese-Canadians' humanitarian efforts to support their relatives in China as some sinister actions taken on behalf of a secretive foreign agency.

As Canadians, we know the important work of media across the country. We are not attacking the integrity of Mr. Sam Cooper or calling him a racist. What we are trying to do, however, is to point out that Mr. Cooper's report, in tone and effect, has created an impression on the report's readers and viewers that Chinese-Canadians had, on the order of a foreign country, bought up critical medical supplies to the detriment of Canadians.

One of the most critical aspect of Mr. Cooper's report concerning the alleged actions of a Chinese-Canadian organization was based on a report published by Xinhua in Chinese. Mr. Cooper admitted in his article that Global News had not independently verified its content.

Mr. Cooper's report used a caption taken from the Xinhua report but had it inaccurately translated. We believe this mistake, together with the use of an unverified foreign report mentioned in paragraph 7 above, demonstrated that Mr. Cooper's report fell short of Global News' own principles and practices of "reporting news without distortion or misrepresentation" as well as "getting it right."

We believe what Mr. Cooper's article, intentionally or un-intentionally had sow mistrust and dare we say, hatred on the minds of Canadians towards Canadians of Asian heritage. We have noticed a sharp increase in hate crimes and verbal harassment towards Asian Canadians. We firmly believe that the type of biased and unbalanced portrayal of Chinese-Canadians by Mr. Cooper has to be stopped.

An independent journalist and who is unaffiliated with our association, Mr. Weng Hoong Ng had written to the Global News complaining Mr. Sam Cooper's report. As a result of his action, Global News had removed the offending graphic but has not amended the mis-characterization of the actions of Chinese-Canadians or mention the positive contributions of Chinese-Canadians towards Canada's efforts to fight the pandemic.

We are, therefore, asking Mr. Cooper and Global News to retract the portion of the report that deals with Chinese-Canadians and to apologize to the Chinese-Canadian community.

We are exploring the option of whether to take legal action against Mr. Sam Cooper and Global News not because we want to silence them. We are doing so because we genuinely felt we were being maligned by Mr. Cooper's report.

We expect that some Canadians of Chinese heritage may not feel the same way as we do towards Mr. Cooper's report. The Chinese-Canadian community is not a monolithic community but rather a complex one. We do not claim to represent the entire Chinese-Canadian community.

We are committed to the Canadian value of freedom of the press and we regret that we have to take this action to protect our community's image and integrity.

We offer our apologies to Minister Joyce Murray for the inadvertent action of one of our overly enthusiastic members who posted a funding appeal in a WeChat group of Ms. Murray's supporters. But her actions demonstrated her deep concern about Mr. Cooper's unbalanced article and her feeling is shared by all of us at MLARA.

(Source: <https://mlara.org/>)

Appendix G: The National NewsMedia Council’s Decision on Complaints About the Headline Published in The Province on February 5, 2020



2020-12 Various v Vancouver Province

February 19, 2020

The National NewsMedia Council has dismissed 13 complaints about discrimination and inaccuracy in a headline published in the February 5, 2020, edition of the Vancouver Province.

The NewsMedia Council received a number of similar complaints about the front-page text, “2nd China virus case in B.C.” Complainants stated concern that the term “China Virus” was not the appropriate medical term and that it discriminated against Chinese people.

Many of the complaints reflected statements, some verbatim, in a Change.org petition that called on the news media organization to apologize for its headline. While the NNC is cognizant that at least some of the complaints originated as part of a campaign, it is nevertheless responsible for examining complaints that allege breaches of journalistic standards.

Consistent with NNC process, each complaint was carefully reviewed, and a representative complaint was selected. The complainant, Sophia Hou, took issue with the fact that the words “China Virus” appeared in large letters on the front page, compared to the term “coronavirus,” which appeared on the front page and elsewhere. The complainant argued that in contrast other viruses—such as the Zika virus, Ebola, or H1N1—were not interchangeably used or strictly referred to by their place of origin. She also referred to statements from the World Health Organization that caution against naming diseases that could stigmatize people or places.

The NNC reviewed the article and headline, and heard from the news media organization about the steps it had taken to respond to the complaint.

The news media organization stated that it had sought to address concerns raised by individual readers by explaining to them that the use of the term served only to geolocate the initial outbreak of the virus, not to replace the official name of the virus. The editor of the Vancouver Province also responded publicly to accusations that the headline discriminated against Chinese Canadians, in an appearance in a local radio program.

The NNC accepts the news organization’s position that it did not use the term to replace the proper name of the virus in this instance and that it does not intend to in any future headlines.

In reviewing the complaints and relevant material, the NNC notes that the term “coronavirus” was used in the front-page headline, which reads in full, “Coronavirus threat – 2nd China virus case in B.C. – local officials preparing for imminent return of people stranded in city of Wuhan, epicenter of global crisis.” Additionally, the online version of the The Province’s story on February 4, 2020 uses the term “coronavirus.”

The front-page headline in The Province clearly directs readers to a story on page three. The story adhered to standard journalistic practice by finding a local angle and relating the breaking news about what local officials were doing in light of the crisis. No evidence of discrimination against China or the Chinese community was identified in the print or online versions of the headline or story.

The coronavirus story is a global one, and from a news perspective worthy of front-page placement. This headline states the medical name and provides both general and specific locators – China and Wuhan city. No evidence was provided to dispute these facts.

The NNC recognizes that association with war, natural disaster, or disease can bring negative attention to a geographic location and the people living there. However, it remains the job of journalism to provide facts and information about such events.

In this case, the NNC found that the headline provided information about a concerning topic that is of both global and local interest. No evidence of inaccuracy or pejorative comment was identified in the headline or reporting in question. For these reasons, the NNC found no breach of journalistic standards and dismissed the complaint.

(Source: <https://mediacouncil.ca/decisions/2020-12-various-vs-vancouver-province/>)

Appendix H: CCNC-SJ Submissions on Proposed Regulations for Social Media Platforms on Countering Online Harm

December 8, 2020

The Chinese Canadian National Council for Social Justice (“CCNC-SJ”) has been invited by the Heritage Minister Steven Guilbeaut to make submissions on the proposed regulation to regulate social media platforms as they relate to online harms.

CCNC-SJ makes the following demands:

1. Defining hate speech
 - The Canadian government seek adequate community input to create a clear, robust and thorough definition of hate speech.
2. Timelines for removing hate speech
 - The Canadian government adopt timeframe requirements for social media companies to remove harmful material that are similar to those in existing and proposed legislation in the EU.
3. Identifying and removing (and not removing) content
 - An adequate identification and notification system be put in place should the government adopt a notice and action mechanism for identifying and removing harmful content.
 - More funding be provided to equity groups developing online tools to identify and flag harmful content.
4. Fringe cases
 - A specialized body such as a tribunal be created to expeditiously make determinations regarding fringe cases of online hate, and equity organizations have an opportunity to define hate speech and be involved in the creation of such bodies.
5. Penalties
 - Penalties be sufficiently high so as to discourage social media companies from allowing harmful material on their platforms.
 - Some civil recourse be provided to communities and individuals for harms caused by online hate speech or fake news.

Introduction: The harms of social media

It is well accepted that social media companies are not passive actors in the spread of hate speech and fake news online. Social media companies acknowledge that their

algorithms rank, sort and curate what users see in order to drive up engagements with their platform.¹

With hate speech and fake news drawing significantly more engagements due to its provocative and inflammatory nature, social media companies are profiting off this sort of hateful material.²

The societal harms and the corporate benefits from the promotion of hateful content are very real even if social media companies may not be intentionally promoting hate speech and fake news. Furthermore, the concerns expressed by these companies have little credibility when they take slow or ineffective action to curb the harmful content.

In a time when the Asian-Canadians and other communities are increasingly experiencing the widespread harm of online hate and disinformation, the public is becoming more aware of the major and direct involvement of social media companies in the spread of this harmful content. To this end, CCNC-SJ supports the Canadian government's decision to regulate social media companies as they relate to harmful content online.

The current state of the law

Unfortunately, despite enhanced scrutiny, legislative reform in Canada continues to fail to acknowledge the modern realities of social media's role in disseminating information.

Ostensibly as it stands now, Canada may be prohibited by American legislation from categorizing social media companies as publishers. As a signatory of the United States – Mexico – Canada Agreement in 2018, Canada may be obliged to implement s. 230 of the United States legislation, the *US Communications Decency Act*, which explicitly grants internet companies immunity from being held as publishers.³

Moreover, *Bill C-10*, announced on November 3, 2020, if passed, will amend the *Broadcasting Act* to add liability provisions for online broadcasting, but explicitly adds carveouts to ensure that social media platforms are NOT liable for posts made by its users.⁴ Why such a proposal has suddenly been tabled is disappointing, given the

¹ Facebook Company, "News Feed Ranking in Three Minutes Flat", (22 May 2018), online: *About Facebook* <<https://about.fb.com/news/2018/05/inside-feed-news-feed-ranking/>>.

² Peter Dizikes, "Study: On Twitter, false news travels faster than true stories", online: *MIT News | Massachusetts Institute of Technology* <<https://news.mit.edu/2018/study-twitter-false-news-travels-faster-true-stories-0308>>.

³ "Online platforms must be made liable for third-party hate content — and it might happen soon", (30 October 2020), online: *thestar.com* <<https://www.thestar.com/business/opinion/2020/10/30/online-platforms-must-be-made-liable-for-third-party-hate-content.html>>.

⁴ Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, "On the Proposed Amendments to the Broadcasting Act", (4 November 2020), online: <<https://friends.ca/explore/article/on-the-proposed-amendments-to-the-broadcasting-act/>>.

increased attention to the harms caused by social media, with some organizations suggesting it is the result of pressure and lobbying from large social media companies.⁵

Under ss. 318 to 320 of the Canadian *Criminal Code*, individuals can be liable for wilfully inciting hatred and genocide against an “identifiable group”, which encapsulates people “distinguished by colour, race, religion, national or ethnic origin, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, or mental or physical disability”. This incitement may also trigger penalties under the *Criminal Code* when the incitement of hatred and genocide is made online, and the *Code* empowers a judge to remove online hate propaganda.⁶

However, the *Criminal Code* fails to adequately protect people from the spread of online hate perpetuated by social media companies, because the provisions require that the incitement of hatred be wilful. This is a high bar to prove and has resulted in very few cases being pursued, and as such, very few convictions.⁷

Moreover, the *Criminal Code* provision may not apply to social media companies because the reason social media companies’ algorithms spread online hate is because it drives up interactions, not because they want people to be incited to hate or kill people of an identifiable group.

Given the current state of the law, it is imperative that Canada implements legislative reform to hold social media companies accountable for spreading hate speech and fake news online.

Requirements for effective anti-hate speech and fake news legislation

Defining hate speech

It is imperative that what constitutes hate speech is properly defined for this proposed legislation to work effectively and avoid public rebuke.

As noted, the anti-hate speech provisions of the *Criminal Code* do not adequately protect individuals from online harm, and likely do not cover social media companies.

It is therefore proposed that a definition of hate speech that does not have an intent requirement (similar to the now repealed section 13 of the *CHRA*) be enacted,⁸ or

⁵ Sarah Andrews, “Update to the Broadcasting Act: The Federal government surrenders to pressure from Netflix et al.”, online: *Friends of Canadian Broadcasting* <<https://friends.ca/explore/article/update-to-the-broadcasting-act-the-federal-government-surrenders-to-pressure-from-netflix-et-al/>>.

⁶ *Criminal Code*, RSC, 1985, c C-46, ss 318–320.

⁷ Richard Moon, *Submission to the Canadian Human Rights Commission concerning section 13 of the Canadian Human Rights Act and the regulation of hate speech on the internet prepared by Richard Moon* (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2008) at 15–16.

⁸ Richard Moon, *supra* note 7.

alternatively, some definition that recognizes that social media companies can spread online hate without intending to persuade others to adopt those hateful messages.

The definition of hate speech must also be sufficiently robust, so as to address the effect that fake news can have on the standing and reputation of racialized communities and individuals.⁹

At the same time, it is imperative that the definition of hate speech be clearly defined, so as to avoid being so overbroad as to unduly infringe on freedom of speech. This will ensure that social media companies are able to properly comply with the legislation, as well as to avoid causing public rebuke of the legislation proposed, which is what happened with Germany's anti-hate speech social media law; the Network Enforcement Act.¹⁰

CCNC-SJ therefore stresses the need for the Canadian government to seek adequate community input to create a clear, robust and thorough definition of hate speech.

The process for removing (and not removing) material

From our review of other countries' existing and proposed legislation governing social media companies, several logistical, but crucial processes must also be clearly determined in order for such legislation to be effective. These processes are:

- a) How quickly will harmful material have to be taken down?
- b) How will offensive content be identified efficiently to social media companies?
- c) How will fringe cases be resolved?
- d) How will the quantum of penalties be determined and enforced?

a) How quickly will harmful material have to be taken down?

It is well established that the defamatory and inflammatory effect of hate speech and fake news is exacerbated the longer the content is available, as it will reach more people. As such, it is crucial that harmful material is removed expeditiously.

While CCNC-SJ has no exact position on what amount of time is reasonable, save that the sooner the better, we note that Germany's Network Enforcement Act¹¹ and the European Union's Code of Conduct on Illegal Online Speech requires harmful content to be removed by social media companies within 24 hours of notification.¹²

⁹ "China coronavirus: Misinformation spreads online about origin and scale", *BBC News* (30 January 2020), online: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-51271037>>.

¹⁰ "Germany: Flawed Social Media Law", (14 February 2018), online: *Human Rights Watch* <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/02/14/germany-flawed-social-media-law>>.

¹¹ "Germany starts enforcing hate speech law", *BBC News* (1 January 2018), online: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-42510868>>.

¹² European Commission, *European Commission and IT Companies announce Code of Conduct on illegal online hate speech* (2016).

b) *How will offensive content be identified efficiently to social media companies?*

Current proposals and legislation on social media legislation rely heavily on “notice and action” mechanisms which initiate content removal processes once social media companies are notified that harmful or illegal content has been identified. Examples of this model include the European Union’s Code of Conduct on Illegal Online Speech and the European Union *Digital Services Act*.¹³

The reason that this notice and action system has been adopted is likely because social media companies claim that they cannot adequately monitor and prevent the dissemination of all hate speech and fake news due to the sheer volume of social media posts made by users each day.¹⁴

However, notice and action systems are deeply flawed in its current state, because it puts the burden of identifying harmful material on users and or the government, rather than the social media companies who are best positioned to identify this content. Not only would it be extremely expensive for private individuals or the government to monitor all social media posts constantly for harmful content, it would likely be ineffective, particularly as social media companies’ algorithms may not be presenting the harmful content to those parties who are attempting to identify and report that harmful content. Coupled with the time-sensitive nature of removing harmful content, the notice and action system is not well-suited presently for regulating social media companies by itself.

A notice and action system can only be effective if it merely supplements adequate tools for identifying harmful content online. These tools may take the form of social media companies innovating or developing their algorithms to better understand what their algorithms are actually presenting to people, or alternatively that third-party tools and algorithms be developed to trawl through social media platforms to identify and report harmful material on a scale that people cannot.¹⁵

CCNC-SJ is currently involved in developing such a third-party tool. The tool in its present form works to detect online hate speech against Chinese Canadians in light of COVID-19 and will give users the option to hide or learn more about why a particular online post constitutes hate speech or misinformation. If the government is intent on using the notice and action system despite its serious limitations, then more funding must be provided to organizations like CCNC-SJ and the YWCA to develop such third-party tools to properly identify and report online hate.

¹³ European Commission, *Digital Services Act package: deepening the Internal Market and clarifying responsibilities for digital services* (2020).

¹⁴ Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, “Platform for Harm: Internet intermediary liability in Canadian law” (2020), online: <<https://friends.ca/workspace/uploads/documents/platform-for-harm-2020-friends.pdf>> at 14.

¹⁵ Juan Carlos Pereira-Kohatsu et al, “Detecting and Monitoring Hate Speech in Twitter”, (26 October 2019), online: <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6864473/>>.

c) *How will fringe cases be resolved?*

It is inevitable that cases will arise where it is unclear whether the speech rises to the level of hate speech. For example, Bryan Adams was widely criticized for blaming “bat eating, wet market animal selling, virus making greedy bastards” for the Coronavirus outbreak, which for many was a clear snub at people of Chinese or Asian descent, and perpetuating the negative sentiment that Asian people were responsible for the Coronavirus outbreak. While Adams apologized, he claimed that his tweet was not aimed at a particular ethnic group, but was a promotion of veganism.¹⁶ This excuse has not been accepted by many, as it ignores the allusions to Asian people, such as the fact that wet markets are a common cultural practice in Asia, as well as with conspiracy theories that the Coronavirus is a result of Asian people’s dietary habits¹⁷ or was engineered by Chinese people as a biological weapon.¹⁸

As the Bryan Adams case exemplifies, it may be likely, perhaps even common, for fringe cases of hate speech to occur, particularly when the hate speech is made by persons who fear the repercussions of their actions, or do not realize they are harboring racist views.

CCNC-SJ takes the position that where fringe cases arise, social media companies should err on the side of removing the impugned material due to the time-sensitive nature of avoiding harms caused by hate speech and fake news.

To compensate for this, it will therefore be imperative that some process is created for determining or contesting whether impugned speech arises to the level of hate speech. This process must be accessible to either one of, or both, social media companies (who wish to receive a determination of whether content is hate speech or other illegal material that must be removed promptly) and private individuals (who claim their freedom of speech has been unfairly infringed and wish to seek a reversal of the decision to remove their content).

It is recommended that a specialized adjudicative body such as a tribunal be created that is empowered to decide on such fringe cases in an expeditious manner.

To be effective, it will be imperative that the adjudicative body has sufficient guidance as to what content may rise to the level of hate speech. This guidance must be robust and flexible and should be created with input from various stakeholders. While these recommendations are not exhaustive, CCNC-SJ recommends that factors like the hallmarks of hate determined in the case of *Warman v Kouba*¹⁹ be adopted:

¹⁶ “Singer Bryan Adams slammed as racist for post blaming ‘bat eating’ people for coronavirus”, online: <<https://www.nbcnews.com/pop-culture/pop-culture-news/singer-bryan-adams-slammed-racist-post-blaming-bat-eating-people-n1205166>>.

¹⁷ note 9.

¹⁸ “Coronavirus: US and China trade conspiracy theories”, *BBC News* (25 April 2020), online: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-52224331>>.

¹⁹ *Warman v Kouba*, [2006] CHR D No 50 .

- a) The targeted group is portrayed as a powerful menace that is taking control of the major institutions in society and depriving others of their livelihoods, safety, freedom of speech and general well-being;
- b) The messages use 'true stories', news reports, pictures and references from purportedly reputable sources to make negative generalization about the targeted group;
- c) The targeted group is portrayed as preying upon children, the aged, the vulnerable, etc.;
- d) The targeted group is blamed for the current problems in society and the world;
- e) The targeted group is portrayed as dangerous or violent by nature;
- f) The messages convey the idea that members of the targeted group are devoid of any redeeming qualities and are innately evil;
- g) The messages communicate the idea that nothing but the banishment, segregation or eradication of this group of people will save others from the harm being done by this group;
- h) The targeted group is de-humanized through comparisons to and associations with animals, vermin, excrement, and other noxious substances;
- i) Highly inflammatory and derogatory language is used in the messages to create a tone of extreme hatred and contempt;
- j) The messages trivialize or celebrate past persecution or tragedy involving members of the targeted group; and
- k) the messages contain "Calls to take violent action against the targeted group".

CCNC-SJ again stresses the importance of community input for determining what constitutes hate speech.

Moreover, should a specialized body such as a tribunal be created to make determinations of what constitutes hate speech, CCNC-SJ stresses the importance that community and equity organizations like CCNC-SJ play a role in presiding over those tribunals.

d) How will the quantum of penalties be determined and enforced?

Adequate penalties must be determined to properly deter social media companies from allowing harmful content to be disseminated on their platforms. Without sufficiently large penalties, social media companies, particularly companies like Parler whose business model depends on allowing harmful material on their platform²⁰, may deem these regulatory fines simply as the cost of doing business, rather than seek to address and remove harmful content.²¹

Given the complex corporate structure of these large international social media companies, many of which are based in the United States, it will also be necessary for

²⁰ "Parler, a Twitter Alternative for Conservatives, Shatters Download Record Post-Election", (9 November 2020), online: MSN <<https://www.thewrap.com/parler-twitter-alternative-conservatives-shatters-download-record/>>.

²¹ Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, *supra* note 14 at 45.

the Canadian government to ensure that any order for damages or regulatory penalty can be adequately enforced against social media companies.

Finally, there must be some guidance as to whether private individuals or communities may be able to seek redress for harms caused by the propagation of harmful material by social media companies.

Currently, there is no proven method for seeking private redress from social media companies for harms caused by online hate and fake news. It would therefore be prudent to clarify in this legislation whether, like the Manitoba *Intimate Image Protection Act*, assistance will be provided to affected individuals to help them seek redress. This may be in the form of civil recourse (such as pursuing a defamation action against social media companies by proving social media companies are publishers²², or seeking recourse under the *Canadian Human Rights Act*)²³, or creating a new statutory cause of action to allow civil court actions.

Finally, CCNC-SJ recommends any regulatory fines must be sufficiently high so as to encourage social media companies to innovate to prevent their algorithms to disseminate hateful material. Furthermore, at least some portion of these fines should be used to redress the harm caused to affected individuals and communities. This can be achieved either by directing some portion of the regulatory fines as compensation to affected parties or have that sum directed towards appropriate NGO's or government funded awareness and reconciliation projects.

Conclusion: Summation of Recommendations

With official recognition and empirical evidence of the social problems caused by online hate and inflammatory fake news targeted at Asian Canadians and other communities, CCNC-SJ has the following demands:

1. Defining hate speech
 - The Canadian government seek adequate community input to create a clear, robust and thorough definition of hate speech.
2. Timelines for removing hate speech
 - The Canadian government adopt timeframe requirements for social media companies to remove harmful material that are similar to those in existing and proposed legislation in the EU.
3. Identifying and removing (and not removing) content
 - An adequate identification and notification system be put in place should the government adopt a notice and action mechanism for identifying and removing harmful content.
 - More funding be provided to equity groups developing online tools to identify and flag harmful content.

²² Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, *supra* note 14.

²³ Richard Moon, *supra* note 7 at 5.

4. Fringe cases

- A specialized body such as a tribunal be created to expeditiously make determinations regarding fringe cases of online hate, and equity organizations have an opportunity to define hate speech and be involved in the creation of such bodies.

5. Penalties

- Penalties be sufficiently high so as to discourage social media companies from allowing harmful material on their platforms.
- The Canadian government must ensure that regulatory fines or other penalties are enforceable against large social media companies that can have complex corporate structures.
- Some civil recourse be provided to communities and individuals for harms caused by online hate speech or fake news.

Contact:

ryanc@ccncsj.ca

Ryan Chan

For media contact:

national@ccncsj.ca

<https://ccncsj.ca/>

Victoria Yeung at 647-613-0435

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