

ISSN: 2456-9550

JMC

December 2021

**VOICES ARISING FROM A PLACE OF  
HYBRIDITY: CHINESE DIASPORA'S  
RESPONSES TO CANADA'S PUBLIC HEALTH  
PROTOCOLS DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC**

**GRACE LIN**

Email: [grace.Lin@johnabbott.qc.ca](mailto:grace.Lin@johnabbott.qc.ca)

Faculty member, Department of Humanities, Philosophy and Religion,  
John Abbott College, Montreal, Canada

**Volume 5, 2021**

**THE JMC REVIEW**

*An Interdisciplinary Social Science Journal of Criticism,  
Practice and Theory*

<http://www.jmc.ac.in/the-jmc-review/content/>

**JESUS AND MARY COLLEGE**

**UNIVERSITY OF DELHI**

**NEW DELHI-110021**

**VOICES ARISING FROM A PLACE OF HYBRIDITY: CHINESE DIASPORA'S  
RESPONSES TO CANADA'S PUBLIC HEALTH PROTOCOLS DURING COVID-19  
PANDEMIC**

GRACE CHENG-YING LIN \*

**Abstract**

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Chinese immigrants in Canada were exposed to complex and contradictory information heavily swayed by political and perhaps even racial agendas: the rise of Pandemic Orientalism, global political tension between China and the West, and the forceful prevention of the pandemic as a source of national pride for China. This paper examines how the Chinese immigrants interpret the public health measures against COVID-19 proposed by Canada's Chief Public Health Officer Dr. Theresa Tam during the pre-vaccine phase (December 2019–January 2021). A thematic analysis was employed to study the voices of Chinese immigrants expressed on *Jianguo Wuyou*, a popular news aggregation website. A review of the voices suggests that, to Chinese immigrants, the priority during COVID-19 was to protect life. In order to achieve that goal, they strongly supported the precautionary principle, which was not employed by the Canadian Public Health. While many Chinese immigrants focused their critiques on Canadian protocol flaws, others compared them with China's measures, and a constructed contrast between Chineseness and Canadianness was thus formed. The frustration was represented in essentialising critiques to public officials and Canadians for not following the rules. Instead of national pride, Chineseness served more like a means to express the immigrants' resistance to Canadian public health measures. The immigrants' sensitivity about this 'place of hybridity' allowed them to observe the Canadian pandemic from a unique angle. Their voices were constructed within the confrontation and negotiation with the dominant discourses in the host and home societies. The contesting discourses surrounding Chinese-ness in a Canadian context, such as

---

\* Grace Cheng-Ying Lin is a faculty member in the Department of Humanities, Philosophy and Religion at John Abbott College, Montreal, Canada. She is currently a member of a college-level project that studies the learning experiences of racialized students in higher education in Quebec, based on which resources of support for students and teachers are collected and shared. She completed her Ph.D. of East Asian Studies at McGill University. Her research interests focus on the anthropology of Chinese religion and ethnographic studies of rituals within cross-cultural dynamics. Email: Grace.Lin@johnabbott.qc.ca.

Dr. Tam's identity, illustrate how Chinese immigrants were the 'internal others' during the historical trajectory.

**Keywords:** Chinese Canadians, diaspora, Orientalism, public health, Theresa Tam

\*\*\*

### Introduction

It is not surprising that the COVID-19 pandemic triggered a conflict between the self and the other, and even superior and inferior, through different forms of nationalism and localism. Essentialism of public health measures is one of the tactics to reinforce such a dichotomy, such as discourses surrounding the 'China virus'. This paper examines how Chinese immigrants in Canada interpreted the public health measures against COVID-19 proposed by the Canadian government during the pre-vaccine phase (December 2019–January 2021). More specifically, this research examines if any sense of Chineseness and Canadianness is constructed through that interpretation. With the assistance of a social media qualitative study, this research focuses on Chinese immigrants' assessment of the public health measures proposed by Canadian Chief Public Health Officer Dr. Theresa Tam (Tan Yongshi in Chinese), which were followed by the federal government of PM Justin Trudeau and his Liberal Party. In Canada, the Public Health Agency and the position of Chief Public Health Officer were created in 2004 following the SARS outbreak during 2002–2003 'because of the inadequacies that were identified in the aftermath' (Miller 2020). Dr. Tam was born in Hong Kong and grew up in the U.K., where she received her medical degree before pursuing further training and a career in Canada. She was appointed as Canada's first Chinese female CPHO in 2017. Dr. Tam was not only highly visible to Canadian viewers during the pandemic, but also served as a signifier that embraced rich cultural and political connotations to the Chinese immigrants.

Utilising their interpretation of public health measures as a lens, the study demonstrates the struggles which Chinese Canadians experienced during COVID-19, which are deeply rooted in the trajectory of migration history in Canada. The construction of voices is a dynamic process of confrontation and negotiation with other voices. Homi K. Bhabha claims:

“What is to be done” must acknowledge the force of writing, its metaphoricity and its rhetorical discourse, as a productive matrix which defines the “social” and makes it available as an objective of and for, action. Textuality is not simply a second-order ideological expression or a verbal symptom of a pre-given political subject. (Bhabha 2004: 34)

The ‘truth’ stands inside instead of outside discourses. For Bhabha, the colonial discourse is not fixed and the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised is situated in a ‘place of hybridity (ibid.: 37)’. Being knowledgeable of the two discourses, the ‘subaltern’ is then able to go beyond the binary identities and has agency to call for ‘relocation’ and ‘reinscription’ (ibid.: 277). Therefore, minoritisation provides immigrant communities with a unique positionality to observe and examine given discourses, whether it be Canadian, Chinese, or beyond.

### **Chinese Immigrants in Canada: The Evolution of Imagined Chineseness**

Integral to the projects of imperialism and colonialism in Canada, the racism that Chinese migrants encountered in Canada during the 19th–20th centuries arose from their race (non-white) and their status (lower class) (Warburton 1999). These migrants arrived in Canada in the 18th century, and they constituted the cheap labour that contributed significantly to the rough cultivation of the West Coast (Chinese Canadian Heritage Fund & Simon Fraser University David See-Chai Lam Centre for International Communication). In the 19th century, Chinese workers fled China (particularly rural areas of the south) when the country was suffering from impoverishment caused by the First Opium War (1839–1842) and the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) (Chan 2019). Following the discovery of gold in the Lower Fraser Valley in 1857, Chinese workers were enlisted to satisfy the need of labour following the gold rush. Nonetheless, in 1872, the Indigenous and Chinese populations were denied the right to vote by the Qualification and Registration of Voters Act passed by the first Legislative Assembly in B.C. (British Columbia). In the competitive market economy, cheap Chinese labourers were imported and the white working class lost jobs. Borrowing the Anglo-Saxon pride in order to affirm their status as insiders of the ‘superior civilization’ (Warburton 1999: 117), the Workingmen’s Protection Association, which was a union, a

‘political pressure group’, an ‘anti-Chinese organization’ and a ‘form of anti-Orientalism’ (ibid.: 106) founded in B.C., urged employers to hire white workers instead of Chinese labourers as they were considered inferior to others and outsiders (ibid.: 116, 118). The image of the ‘Yellow peril’ was regarded as a threat to the Western ‘morality’ and ‘civilization’ (Cui & Worrell 2019: 234), and such an image was constructed based on a ‘competitor discourse’ (ibid.: 248). Chinese people are often represented as ‘foreign competitors/invasers’ who challenged the West’s ‘dominant positions in the global power’ (ibid.: 247, 248), so this concept reveals its anxiety and fear (ibid.: 234).

Even so, in 1882, based on the severe shortage of labour in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, more than 6,500 Chinese labourers were hired along with 2,500 other workers, to participate in its construction (CCHF & SFUDSCLCIC; Chan 2019). Chinese workers were then able to migrate to other regions across Canada (Chan 2019). However, meanwhile, more than 600 of them died during the construction due to ‘accidents, winter cold, illness and malnutrition’ (CCHF & SFUDSCLCIC). On average, a Chinese labourer earned \$225 a year with the net income of \$43 a year after all necessary expenses and costs were deducted (ibid.). In order to prevent Chinese immigrants from coming to Canada, the Federal government charged a head tax of \$50 on each individual, which was boosted to \$100 in 1901 and \$500 in 1903 (ibid.). In 1923, the newly passed Chinese Immigration Act banned them from coming to Canada (CCHF & SFUDSCLCIC; Chan 2019). The exclusion law was then lifted in 1947 (CCHF & SFUDSCLCIC) after WWII. The Chinese Canadian contribution to Canada was finally recognised by a parliament’s motion in 1980 followed by an official apology in 2006 for their mistreatment (ibid.).

Currently, Chinese Canadians are one of the biggest minority groups in Canada. According to the 2016 census, 752,650 citizens reported that they arrived from PRC. In China, starting from the 1990s, following the ‘open door’ policy that allowed for the lifting of passport restrictions and economic boom that created the emergence of a middle-income class, China entered the ‘emigration phase’ (Wallis 1998, as cited by Guo & DeVoretz 2007: 6). To meet the demand, Canada opened its immigration office in Beijing to process applications. In Canada, Chinese immigrants are portrayed in contradictory images. On the one hand, they are seen as model minority and ‘valued citizens in the west’ (Park 2011: 644); on the other, they are also a source of unease due to the global capital some immigrants own,

such as the outpouring real estate market in Vancouver (ibid.: 654). Globally, ‘Asians and Asia began to represent the west’s most significant economic and political opportunity and threat’ (ibid.: 647). The rise of Pandemic Orientalism and anti-Asian hate during COVID-19 pandemic in Canada witnessed how the white settlers’ discomfort with Chinese migrants is still entrenched in the Canadian consciousness. Moreover, the discomfort is amplified by the tension in global politics.

### **Pandemic Orientalism in Canada and Global Political Tension**

Public health or biomedicine as a form of knowledge that frames and disciplines the body, is not neutral nor universal. Instead, the political, social and cultural conditions in which such a knowledge is constructed should be examined so that the ‘moral evaluation’ (Lock 1988: 7) that helps justify the knowledge is revealed. As Edward W. Said demonstrates, Orientalism is a ‘political-intellectual culture’ (Said 1978: 12). Epidemic Orientalism can be traced back to the 17th century mentality where the imperialist West depicted themselves as ‘victims’ in need of protection from foreign threats (White 2018: xi, 6, 25). In this version, medical knowledge and disease management strategies become extremely crucial (ibid.: 7–8, 26). This self-proclaimed superiority in science and ideology divides the norm (West) and other (East). During the 2002–2003 SARS outbreak, more than 90 per cent cases and deaths happened in Canada, Canada, China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Nonetheless, with the assistance of Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital, Elaine Stavro shows how ‘Western institutions try to transmit their cultural capital to affirm their cultural superiority’ (Stavro 2014: 172). Canada gained an elevated international reputation through the media representation with its ‘knowledge, skills, education, as well as cultural advantages’ (ibid.). The Chinese were ‘dirty, secretive, the embodiment of authoritative and pre-modern practices’, while Torontonians were ‘hygienic, reliable, truthful the embodiment of democracy and modern science’ (ibid.), drawing a line between the two allowed Westerners to ease their mental stress and maintain the purity of self, and to forward the ‘fear, hate, resentment, and blame’ to the other at the same time (ibid.: 173).

In 2020, during the pre-vaccine phase of the COVID-19 pandemic, in contrast to several jurisdictions in Europe and North America, many, including China, took aggressive

measures to control the spread of the virus, such as mask usage, self-containment, and border restrictions. Serving as a possible factor, the numbers of infections in these regions varied.

**Table 1**

**A comparison: data for incidence rates (no. of new cases per 100,000) of COVID-19 observed on 18 January 2021 (Johns Hopkins University & Medicine Coronavirus Resource Center 2021)**

<u>Region</u>	<u>Incidence Rate</u>
England, U.K.	5345.46
France	4548.69
Ontario, Canada	1653.49
Hubei, China	115.17
Taiwan	3.62
South Korea	141. 86
Vietnam	1.58
Sri Lanka	249.42

The aggressive public health measures, however, were not necessarily appreciated by everyone. In fact, the COVID-19 pandemic extended this conceptualisation of ‘the other’ into the complexity of global politics. Observers have raised the terms ‘Pandemic Orientalism’ (Godamunne 2020) and ‘corona Orientalism’ (Debeuf 2020) to describe the distrust of the public health measures employed by the Chinese government. The disease was exteriorised, which explains the West’s underestimation of the pandemic in its early stage (Zhang 2021). After the global outbreak, the achievements in preventing COVID-19 in many Asian jurisdictions were rarely mentioned (Debeuf 2020), and the Global South was imagined as a

devastated area where Western support was crucially needed (Godamunne 2020). Due to the West's 'complacency' (Debeuf 2020), '(they) couldn't even understand that non-white leadership was possible' (Samarajiva 2020) and China was portrayed as an authoritarian rulership in contrast to the democratic West (Mérieau 2020; Zhang & Xu 2020; Zhang 2021). The massive anti-virus measures, employed by China, were assessed by the West through 'the lens of authoritarianism' (Zhang & Xu 2020: 214) and caused suspicion. Observers were critical of information technology such as big data and alert apps that scan and trace possible cases introduced by governments such as China, Taiwan and South Korea (Debeuf 2020), worrying it may be 'dystopian' (Adhopia 2020). For example, in September 2021, in a British Columbia restaurant, an anti-vaxxer responded to the requirement to present the province's proof of vaccination as 'tyranny' and 'Is this communist China?' (Thibault 2021). Nonetheless, in fact, polls show that more than 70 per cent Canadians supported proof-of-vaccination programmes. Apparently, the anti-vaxxer referred to communist China, not specifically because of the proof document, but to their image of odious governing.

Moreover, protocols of personal care employed in some Asian jurisdictions such as China were suspected. For example, in March 2020, a Chinese scholar in the U.S. shared a presentation delivered by Dr. Zhang Wenhong, Director of the Department of Infectious Diseases in Huashan Hospital at Fudan Treatment and Research Centre in Shanghai, a doctor who gained a nation-wide reputation due to his solid knowledge and down-to-earth advice to ordinary people. However, one American recipient of the message replied to check Google: 'click on "Coronavirus information and resources (COVID-19)". That will take you to a page that has lots of information' (Zhang & Xu 2020: 218). Apparently, this recipient found the information from China 'less trustworthy' (ibid.: 217), and Chinese norms were deemed as 'subjugated knowledge' (in Foucault's terms) (ibid.: 212). Similarly, also in March 2020, a scholar witnessed that, in a roundtable held at a university in British Columbia, after stressing the Chinese government's efforts to control the disease, a Chinese attendee urged others to examine China's performance 'on the basis of evidence and facts, and not values' (Gao 2021: 199).

The 'competitor discourse' remains prominent, as China's emergence as an economic power caused the West's 'feelings of foreignness and loss' along with its downturn (Stavro 2014: 172). The conflicts in economy, politics and ideology have been evolving with constant



events, including China's 'global expansion plan' such as the Road and the Belt Initiative (Gao 2022: 45), the Trade War between the U.S. and China, and the recent strong reaction to the treatment of the Uyghur population in Xinjiang (Zimonjic & Ling 2021). Canada's arrest of Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou on a judicial extradition request from the United States on 1 December 2018 as well as China's detention, later in the year, of two Canadians—business man Michael Spavor and diplomat researcher Michael Kovri, who were accused of illegal activities in China—led to a diplomatic brawl that has seriously derailed the bilateral relationship and plunged it to historic lows. Combining these diplomatic disputes and the global critiques against China's ways of handling COVID-19 information, it is not surprising to see the follow results of polls:

13 May 2020: '85 per cent of Canadians say Chinese government has not been honest or transparent about pandemic' (Angus Reid Institute)

12 July 2020: '53 per cent of Canadians want more aggressive response to China' (Chase & Fife 2020)

November 2020: 'Majority of Canadians (83 per cent) feel that Canada should stand up to China as Canadian national values such as the rule of law, human rights, and democracy are on the line' (Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada 2020)

Noteworthy, on the other side, the China-West dichotomy, or even 'China-West rivalry' (Gao 2022: 50), was also wielded in China during the pandemic, which influenced how many, including Chinese citizens, perceive the West. The Chinese vaccine diplomacy that distributed China-produced COVID-19 vaccines for free to more than 69 countries up to 2021 is part of the project of 'Beijing's great power ambitions', to 'reinforce and leverage existing soft power programs', and to 'capitalize on new economic and geopolitical opportunities' (Lee 2021). China's forceful public health measures are praised as means to achieve national pride that contrasted it against the 'inefficient West' (Kloet et al. 2020: 638). The remark 'Why don't they (governments in Europe, U.S.A. and Canada) just copy the homework!' was widely posted in various media platforms used by Chinese communities (ibid.; Gao 2022). Another remark that highlighted the superiority of Chinese governing style is: 'In 2020, China becomes to save the world (by delivering medical teams), while the United States, once we all regarded as super powerful, now couldn't even save itself' (Kloet et al. 2020: 638). Furthermore, Chinese transnational media, serving as an information source

for many Chinese immigrants, often reflected and created anti-Western moods and attitudes among the host society (Gao 2022). News that portrayed the host governments as incompetent or cruel to citizens is spread (senior citizens dying in hospitals for example), sometimes with the assistance of disinformation (ibid.: 45–46). The Chinese government advertised its public health measures to be the desirable method for the West to learn from while the mistreatment of citizens caused by harsh control were avoided by Chinese transnational media (ibid.: 47, 48). In fact, China was represented as the ‘foremost champion of human rights that takes good care of its citizens’ (ibid.: 50).

Chinese immigrants in Canada were thus exposed to complex and contradictory sources of information. On the one hand, they were knowledgeable. The early awareness to homeland media on the outbreak provided them with rich information to understand the virus and its risks, as well as an additional level of stress that might not have been felt by many non-Chinese communities (Zhang 2021). On the other hand, they were vulnerable. Surrounded by the tension between the host and the home societies, they were keen to both essentialising discourses of public health measures but prone to be victimised by the feeling of ‘double unbelonging’ (Gao 2021: 198). Moreover, within such a population, while there might be a cultural consistency when it comes to disease management, there might be a political inconsistency among them; for example, not all share their support for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)’s rule (Mamuji et al. 2020: 12). To understand how they responded, this paper investigates their voices expressed on media in their own language. The platforms may serve as a private public sphere on which Chinese migrants and activists could speak freely (Mar 2007: 18). For example, in Lisa Rose Mar’s research of migration history of Canada, newspapers in the Chinese language published in early 20th century were closely studied. An image of Chinese migrants in Canada that differed from the passive subjects of Canada’s racial exclusion was discovered: active in striving for rights, collaborative with non-Chinese communities and capable of making systemic changes (Mar 2007). When anti-Asian racism surged in Canada in the 21st century, it seemed that Chinese immigrants in Canada had once again encountered exclusion and isolation. The study of immigrants’ voices as a ‘documentary record’ (ibid.: 18) may allow for a more comprehensive understanding of Canadian history.

### Question and Methodology

The question of this research is: how did the Chinese immigrants interpret and assess the Canadian protocols in contrast to their own? How did the gap between reality and expectation catalyse a sense of Chineseness and Canadianness? The data was collected through online comments and critiques on media posted during the pre-vaccine phase (January 2020–January 2021) of the COVID-19 crisis. The platform where data was collected was *Jiaguo Wuyou* (51.ca), which is the top 2 news aggregation website in the Chinese language in Canada, based on Alexa Ranking (CnWeb.ca). The rationale to choose this platform was to satisfy the need for immigrants’ voices. On this public platform, news articles on Canadian public health measures were promptly shared, and the comment function allowed the registered audience to respond. The posts are public, and the profiles of the users are set to public and can be viewed by anyone. Furthermore, the keyword search function of this platform indicates that the users are aware that the posts can be viewed by many people. This media outlet was written in simplified Chinese, which is used in People’s Republic of China as standardised Chinese characters. Therefore, it is very likely that most users are first-generation immigrants (arriving in Canada as adults) and some second-generation (arriving in Canada at very young age).

Purposive sampling was employed to retrieve data. The keyword and hashtag ‘Tan Yongshi’ were utilised to locate news articles and their comments. In total, 29 posts and 642 comments were collected. The data was analysed using a qualitative analysis approach, which allowed for an in-depth acquisition of the knowledge of the context and situation within which meaning is created (Braun & Clarke 2021). The method Thematic Analysis (TA) was employed to examine the data, which required the researcher to begin with the familiarisation of data and generation of initial codes, to search, to review and eventually to define themes (ibid.). Three themes were formed: assessing Canadian public health protocols, imagining Canadianness, and imagining Chineseness. The most engaging comment (which received the biggest number of responses) and notable outliers are quoted so that a fuller picture of Chinese immigrants’ voices can be presented. To protect the media users, the researcher only views the comments without responding to them. All quotes are paraphrased and all ID handles and dates when comments were posted are removed.

### Assessing Canadian Public Health Protocols

Assessing Canadian public health protocols is described through these categories: public health information about how the virus is spread, preventive measures, and prediction of future risks. The theme conveys Chinese immigrants' dissatisfaction with the differences in the mode of knowledge production between the host society and the home society.

In early January 2020, the Canadian government reminded its citizens who planned to visit China to consult the travel notice before departure, to avoid contact with animals in China, and to seek medical assistance if they fell sick after returning. On 20 January, Dr. Tam stated: 'It is important to take this seriously, and be vigilant and be prepared. But I don't think there's reason for us to panic or be overly concerned'. On 23 January, Dr. Tam affirmed: 'The risk of an outbreak in Canada remains low'. On January 31, the United States declared state of emergency, but Patty Hajdu, Minister of Health of Canada, reiterated that Canada did not intend to follow. The majority of users expressed their criticism. A user commented:

This is a sign that the Liberal Party planned to cripple Canada by not evacuating and bringing home their nationals, spending too much time discussing with the Chinese government instead and not revealing pertinent details. Germans have found contagious yet asymptomatic cases and Canada is regressing instead by opening the door to the virus as well as the plutocrats in China since they have been barred from going elsewhere. They are further worsening the Canadian COVID situation.<sup>†</sup>

This comment criticised the government's incompetency and inefficiency, information opaqueness, incorrect knowledge about asymptomatic contagion, as well as its tendency to prioritise political values over border control. According to this user, at that very moment, the government should have taken all actions, such as closing the border to prevent the entry of the virus, even if the passenger belonged to their home country of China. Meanwhile, the user is well aware of how people can be treated unequally due to social hierarchy in their home society. On the other hand, several users agreed that it was not necessary to follow the U.S.A

---

<sup>†</sup> All comments have been taken from the platform *Jiaguo Wuyou*, and are part of the methodological arguments used in the paper as has been explicitly mentioned in the introduction.

and to keep its own path would be the best policy. A user commented:

Agree with Canada. No need to speculate U.S.' intention. Let's do our own thing.

On 5 February 2020, Dr. Tam commented on the containment and border restrictions imposed by the Chinese government: 'As you move further away from that epicentre, any other border measures are much less effective.' On 14 February 2020, the B.C. province reported the fifth case who had just come back from Shanghai; that the virus had entered Canada. A Chinese user commented:

Canada is walking straight into a catastrophe instead of taking the correct steps to avoid it in the first place.

In early March, Trudeau still insisted that border control and restrictions were 'knee-jerk reactions'. On 11 March, the WHO announced COVID-19 as a pandemic. The following week, the Canadian border was closed. Cities and provinces declared state of emergency and went into lockdown. On 21 May, Dr. Tam admitted that 'Canada waited too long to close borders'.

Along with the progress of the pandemic, it seemed that Chinese immigrants were getting more anxious and more critical of Dr. Tam's instructions. They were wondering why tests such as mandatory body temperature checks for travellers entering the country via airports or massive population tests were not implemented. In Canada, in May 2020, Dr. Tam commented: 'The more you actually understand this virus, the more you begin to know the temperature taking is not effective at all.' However, in June 2020, Trudeau announced that the four major airports in Canada would check travellers' body temperature and those who have fever would be sent back and would not be able to return to Canada until 14 days later. A Chinese user commented:

Too many have died in vain because Canada did not implement travel quarantining early enough in the outbreak to prevent the loss of innocent souls.

A pattern of the Canadian Public Health's response to the spread of virus had appeared: 1. reserved understanding of information; 2. accordingly, preventive measures were not taken immediately; 3. preventive measures were only taken after evidence of threat appeared. On the contrary, Chinese immigrants expected: 1. preemptive understanding of information; 2.

preventive measures taken promptly and reinforced; 3. accurate prediction. Along with the increase in infections and deaths in Canada, to Chinese immigrants the gap between the expectation and reality resulted in confusion, disappointment and even anger.

In fact, the Chinese community was not the sole critic. The performance of the Chief Public Health Officer Dr. Tam during the pre-vaccine phase (December 2019–January 2021) attracted strong criticism from various sectors of Canadian society including the Independent Review Panel on the Global Public Health Intelligence Network (GPHIN) and Ontario Long-Term Care COVID-19. Mario Possamai, senior adviser to a two-year commission on SARS, denounced that the Public Health failed to employ the ‘precautionary principle’ learned from SARS, which is a principle to ‘always take the safest approach in an outbreak and not wait for all of the scientific evidence before acting’ (Miller 2020). Comparing to other affected areas such as China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, who applied the precautionary principle this time, ‘Canada now (October 2020) has more COVID-19 deaths and cases than China, Taiwan and Hong Kong combined’ (Possamai, quoted by Miller 2020). On 25 March 2021, the report of Karen Hogan, Auditor General of Canada, was released, criticising how the Public Health department failed to predict this crisis and propose effective preventive and control measures because it narrowed its attention only to cases within Canada, without acknowledging or even being aware of the severe condition of the global pandemic.

These comments echoed many Chinese immigrants’ concerns. Nonetheless, despite the expected measures being exercised in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, they were overlooked in Canada. The fact that Chinese immigrants’ experiences and norms were marginalised from the knowledge production mechanism of Canada’s public health of Canada is unsurprisingly embedded in its mentality of exclusion throughout history. In the 19th century, Chinese labourers were disfranchised and refused healthcare accessibility (Grenier 2020: 637). Nowadays, urged to acknowledge its colonialist past, Canadian health professionals are expected to receive cultural competency training in order to respond to the needs of diverse clients (ibid.: 634). However, such training assumes that white professionals own ‘authentic knowledge’ and they should better their background by ‘graciously’ acquiring about the ‘Other (in Orientalist sense)’ on an individual level (ibid.: 638, 640). White-centered norms and practices still proliferate in various fields of the system, such as

pediatrics (rooted in ‘traditional Western child-rearing philosophies’) and occupational therapy (to become ‘moral, rational and socially useful human’) (ibid.: 637).

On 17 September 2020, Dr. Tam expressed her worry that Canada ‘may lose ability to keep COVID-19 cases at manageable levels’. A user commented:

Dr. Tam neglected her duty by acting as if this situation had nothing to do with her. Chinese officials might be corrupt but they are working to contain the virus, while their Canadian counterparts are corruption-free yet just twiddling their thumbs like Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

In June 2022, Dr. Tam was granted a 22 per cent salary raise and her contract was extended for three years despite her ‘missteps’ (Blacklock’s Reporter 2022). Indeed, when comparing how China and Toronto responded to SARS, Elaine Stavro claimed that there was a difference in the pressure of administrative performance. Chinese leaders were expected to be responsible and officials who were not taking their responsibilities were promptly removed from their positions. However, in Toronto, despite the various mistakes and negligence such as border control and investment in public health, ‘neither politicians nor bureaucrats were held responsible for the SARS catastrophe’ (Stavro 2014: 185). Chinese immigrants’ dissatisfaction with the Trudeau administration challenges the Orientalist portrayal of the professional, responsible and democratic West.

### **Imagining Canadianness**

The theme of imagining Canadianness is described through the following categories: governmentality style, political culture and society’s intention to comply with public health restrictions. The differences in governmentalities enabled Chinese immigrants to imagine the division, distinction and distance between host society and home society, and furthermore, to embark on the conceptual construction of Canadianness, based on which a sense of belonging or resistance was engendered.

On 29 January, Dr. Tam condemned the growing anti-Chinese/anti-Asian racism in Canada. A user commented:

The CPHO presented a false appearance of peace and prosperity (*fenshi taiping*), all the while not recommending mask usage and possible patient isolation and, instead,

spends time accusing others of racism and not finding ways to prevent the virus from spreading. They are similar to the local Wuhan officials.

Being deeply aware of both governing styles, Chinese immigrants assessed the Canadian administration through a comparison with the Chinese one. Here, Dr. Tam was understood as unprofessional, politicising her work by focusing on racism instead of public health. Her unsatisfactory performance was paralleled with the Chinese administration, based on a critical user. On the other hand, another user commented:

The misfortune of Canada is that it is too close to the U.S.A and too far from China.

The China–West or China–U.S. competition logic is employed. In this worldview, Canada’s performance is understood within the spectrum. China and U.S.A represent two contrasting styles of governmentality. In China, protection of life and public health were prioritised while the flow of information and people were tightly controlled. On the contrary, in U.S.A, the regression of the administrative functionality driven by neoliberal ideology depreciates life and the wellbeing of citizens (Yang 2020: 1). Regardless, of the keen difference between the two, through Chinese immigrants’ subjective selection, these specific aspects of the Chinese and U.S. governmentalities became metaphors that marked the unsatisfactory quality of the Canadian government’s work.

The public health measure that caused the fiercest resentment was Dr. Tam’s inconsistent information on mask usage. In March 2020, when asked about masks, Dr. Tam stated: ‘Most people haven’t learned how to use masks’ and ‘there is no need to use a mask for well people’. However, in April 2020, Dr. Tam acknowledged that there is a shortage in medical masks and she encouraged people not to easily throw away masks but reuse them. A user commented:

She should resign. She misled Canadians by firstly telling them not to wear masks and then suddenly asking them to reuse them. She only speaks from a political point of view and does not care about citizens nor their lives, just as arbitrarily as some CCP official. The CPHO does not have the ability to predict, nor does she have enough brain to suit her position of authority.



Chinese immigrants expressed ‘paradoxical’ or ‘ambivalent’ attitudes to CCP (Gao 2022: 49). On the one hand, many Chinese immigrants appreciated the way Chinese administration exercised strict control (Gao 2022). On the other hand, as shown here, CCP was transformed into a signifier to illustrate Canadian administration’s lack of work ethics and authentic knowledge. The Canadian government was externalised, but in a Sinicised fashion.

In Canada, the conceptualisation of ‘mask culture’ exemplified the Orientalist ground that allowed the West to attribute mask to the essentialist and culturalist stereotypes of the obedient Asians (Zhang 2021). Dr. Tam’s belated update was one of the factors attributed to the ‘maskaphobia’ (Gao 2021: 208) or ‘mask-based stigma’ that resulted in a ‘criticism of a common Asian cultural practice’ and exposed many Asians to verbal and physical assaults (Mamuji et al. 2020: 9–10). She eventually officially recommended the mask in May, and Canadians were perplexed (Mahal 2020). Through the mask, the boundary between ‘our’ knowledge and ‘their’ knowledge was drawn. Chinese immigrants overwhelmingly took exception to Dr. Tam’s wrongful advice about masks. Some Chinese immigrants extended their distrust to the entire Canadian government. A user commented:

Canada did not take immediate action, after the outbreak in China, to improve their mask inventory, whether it be a production line or more importations. When it came to Canada’s outbreak, there would have been a huge shortage had the government suggested that everyone wears a mask and the citizens would have blamed the authorities, thus, the ruling party promoted the *kouzhao wuyong lun* (useless mask theory), and with media cooperation, they fooled the population.

In June, Trudeau admitted that ‘we didn’t have enough (PPE) from the beginning’. Being desperate and bewildered, the *kouzhao wuyong lun* might have served as a rationalisation for Chinese immigrants to explain Dr. Tam’s inconsistent advice. Therefore, the familiar image of Chinese governmentality was appropriated. The Canadian government and the media serving as the ‘throat, tongue (*houshe*)’ of the party were portrayed as a truth-hiding, manipulative authority. The host government was externalised as a ruling apparatus lacking compassion, integrity and sense of responsibility.

Numerous conspiracy theories, such as the virus was created in a lab, found in a meat market, or generated by 5G mobile networks, were circulated during the COVID-19

pandemic. Within the Chinese immigrant community, different versions of conspiracy theories were circulated as well. In addition to *kouzhao yuyong lun*, the Canadian government is believed by some to be part of the conspiracy of herd immunity. It is said that the British PM Boris Johnson proposed herd immunity because the British government planned to ‘deliberately let the plague run loose, in order to eliminate hundreds of thousands of individuals who are old, weak or unhealthy’ (Gao 2022: 50). It is possible that Chinese immigrants circulated these theories because of the influence of the anti-West transnational media (ibid.). Nonetheless, at the same time, the subjective identification that was harmed by public health and society’s discrimination also explains why conspiracy theories were popular. As ‘explanations for important events that involve secret plots by powerful and malevolent groups’ (Douglas et al. 2017), conspiracy theories indicate distrust and disobedience towards authority. ‘Conspiracy mentality’ drives individuals away from ‘normative political acts’ (Marinthe et al. 2020). With this mentality, an individual would prefer ‘alternative rather than biomedical therapies perceived as promoted by high power institutions’ (Lamberty & Imhoff 2018, cited by Marinthe et al. 2020). During the pandemic, to Chinese immigrants, their wellbeing was ‘jeopardized’ (Gao 2021: 208) by Dr. Tam’s protocols. Can the government still be trusted? *Kouzhao wuyong lun* thus described Public Health as ‘deceptive’ (ibid.). Since the government deceives in order to cover up its deficient preparation, all the baffling instructions from Public Health could be explained. However, Chinese immigrants were equally skeptical of Canadian government for being over-accommodating or over political.

Mask wearing is one of the numerous public health protocols that made Chinese immigrants feel alienated in Canadian society. The anti-Asian violence targeted on Chinese immigrants reminded them that they are different. A user commented:

Caucasian Canadians refuse to wear masks and protest the public gathering ban. On the contrary, Chinese communities wear masks with their own initiatives, despite being harassed by some for using them.

Here, Caucasian Canadians were generalised. Canadian society’s intention to comply with public health restrictions, or at least the behaviours of ‘liberal-minded local citizens’ (ibid.: 50), caused skepticism as well. The conflicts of priorities in the political agenda between the

host society and home society caused the discussion of pro-freedom vs. pro-life among Chinese immigrants. Pro-life supporters criticised the popular political correctness in Canada that prevented it from imposing forceful public health restrictions. To them, some Canadians' refusal of the mask mandate as well as other public health restrictions was regarded as selfish. The Canadian society is essentialised into an entity where self-centered liberal norms prevail and the minority's needs are sacrificed. In January 2021, upon realising that 1,500 flights flew Canadians including 'politicians, doctors and civic leaders' (Seglins, Loiero & Rocha 2021), to 18 vacation destinations over the last three months, a user commented:

China knew how devastating the virus was and was able to contain it with extreme measures. Because of this, probably not long from now, only Chinese people will be the world's sole survivors.

During the SARS outbreak, WHO included Toronto as well as the affected jurisdictions in Asia in its travel advisory, which provoked a strong reaction from Canada. Insisting that it was an 'injustice' (Stavro 2014: 184), officials and health professionals flew to Geneva to protest the WHO ruling. Refusing to be disciplined by the travel advisory, Toronto challenged the image of the West as an 'open', 'responsible', and 'respectful' global political entity (ibid.: 183). During the COVID-19 pandemic, history repeated itself. The flights to vacation destinations during this period also caused criticism for putting Canadians and the countries of destination at risk (Seglins, Loiero & Rocha 2021), which again challenged the image of the Canadian 'good global citizen'.

### **Imagining Chineseness**

This theme consists of two categories: Chineseness interpreted in Chinese context and Chineseness interpreted in Canadian context. For this theme, the Chinese immigrants demonstrated divisive voices that should be contextualised by their identity as a racialised minority in Canada.

In October 2020, before the pandemic's second wave arrived, Trudeau commented that Canada was 'going in the wrong direction'. A user commented:

Trudeau had made a correct conclusion about heading in the wrong direction. From the day he and Dr. Tam went to Chinese restaurants for publicity stunts instead of dealing with the actual situation was the reason why the country is in this situation. Trudeau only decided to take up the preventative measures because his wife and his personal trainer both tested positive. We were deceived by the PM this whole time.

In this comment of frustration, the user listed several key events that took place back in March 2020 to argue why Canada was going in the wrong direction from the beginning. Politicians visiting Chinatown to show their support of Chinese communities were hit hard by anti-Asian hate during the COVID-19 pandemic. Nonetheless, apparently, to the user, the best way to protect the Chinese community would have been to prevent the spread of virus by avoiding gatherings instead. On 12 March, Trudeau's wife Sophie Grégoire Trudeau tested positive after returning from a trip to the U.K. This event was identified as the milestone of Canada's anti-COVID campaigns by some Chinese immigrants since the Canadian anti-virus measures were tightened after that. It was not surprising that, to the user, the PM was more concerned with his wife's wellbeing than the citizens'.

The multifaceted understanding of Chineseness was complicated when it came to the critiques against Dr. Tam. In April, Dr. Tam's contradictory advice as well as the Liberal government's laggard response stirred online petitions, believing that she excessively relied on the information provided by China through the WHO and failed to promptly respond to the rapid spread of the virus. Right-wing Rebel News reviewed Dr. Tam's 'bizarre advice' and inferred: '[t]hat never made any sense—until you realize she was taking orders from China's WHO'. Conservative MP Derek Sloan argued: 'The UN, the WHO, and Chinese Communist propaganda must never again have a say over Canada's public health!'. Trudeau described the critiques as racist remarks by affirming that 'intolerance and racism have no place in our country'. In fact, some Chinese immigrants agreed with Sloan's allegation. In the beginning of February 2020, when the Minister of Health claimed that Canada did not have the intention to declare state of emergency like the U.S., a user commented:

Canada was horrified by China, indeed, Canada's decision was later admired by Beijing for being a 'bulwark of calm'. To this user, to remain calm was a sign of obedience to the information China had to offer,

despite the Canadian government explaining this decision in a very different way. The user distrusted the professionalism of the Minister of Health, and to them, the government's decision was political.

Meanwhile, many Chinese immigrants did not find the allegations against Dr. Tam racist. A user commented:

Dr. Tam performed poorly and we should not to relegate everything to racism [sic] because then, in that context, normal critiques would then also become racist.

Some Chinese users even wondered why Dr. Tam was seen as Chinese: She was born in Hong Kong, raised in the UK and currently works in Canada. I do not perceive her as having any relations with China, and certainly not being Chinese.

Nonetheless, at the same time, some users pointed out that this dispute should be understood in a Canadian context. A Chinese user commented:

The comment was racist because Dr. Tam was said to serve China only due to her Chinese face. If she had a white face, the MP might not have made the same remark.

The difference in the definitions of a Chinese person held by the Canadian politicians and Chinese immigrants invites the investigation of Chineseness based on historical formation. What does a Chinese face mean in the Canadian context? On the one hand, Ian F. Haney López states: 'social meanings connect our faces to our souls' (López 2013: 240). Race, such as Chineseness, as a social construct could be arbitrary because of the risk of the employment of violence and manipulation (Chow 1993: 24). Heterogeneity is neglected and the line between authentic Chinese and non-Chinese persons is reinforced for political interests. On the other hand, the white settlers' fear of Chinese migrants and the rising power of China remain, and they burst at an unusual moment during the pandemic crisis. Dr. Tam was picked on by Sloan because her skin colour implied a threat to Canada. Her Chinese face was utilised to identify an outsider. In another vein, this skin colour requires special treatment in the 'nation-building' (Park 2011: 643) agenda. Trudeau and Dr. Tam's gesture to support Asian communities during the COVID-19 pandemic was symbolically significant under the multiculturalist ideology. Dr. Tam was defended by Trudeau for her skin colour, instead of her expertise as a public health specialist, probably because her minority status enabled the

political opponent's attack to be 'successfully turned away' in the name of tolerance, as a Chinese user commented. Eventually, Dr. Tam's position was secured because she was different. Her Chinese face serves as a necessity to highlight the 'position of universality for the white western subject' (ibid.: 652). The investigation of how a race is defined and framed in Canada is educational for race is an 'ongoing, contradictory, self-reinforcing, plastic process subject to the macro forces of social and political struggle and the micro effects of daily decisions' (López 2013: 240). The critique against and the defence of Dr. Tam both racialised and essentialised her, which reveal the challenges Chinese migrants in Canada continue to face as 'internal others' (Chun 2017: 59).

### **Conclusion**

Being an historical subaltern in Canadian society, Chinese immigrants constantly experience being alienated by the production mechanism of dominant political and social discourses. Their sensitivity about the 'place of hybridity' allows them to observe the pandemic in Canada from a unique angle. The review of the voices suggests that, to Chinese immigrants, the priority during COVID-19 was to protect life. In order to achieve that goal, they strongly supported the precautionary principle: all possible public health measures should have been taken to prevent the spread of virus. They insisted on wearing masks and respecting social distancing, and they criticised the government for acting too late on imposing border controls and other Canadians for not following the rules. Some of the protocols have been practised in China and in other jurisdictions, with which the immigrants were already familiar. However, the public health protocols were rarely exercised in a timely manner. When many Chinese immigrants focused their critiques on the efficacy of the protocols, others compared Canadian measures with China's, and the constructed contrast between Chineseness and Canadianness was formed. The frustration was represented in essentialising critiques to Canadian public officials and white citizens. Sometimes conspiracy theory was utilised to explain the government's failure to take care of the citizens' wellbeing. Instead of national pride, here Chineseness seems to be more like a means to express the immigrants' resistance. Moreover, at the same time, being against Canadian protocols did not prevent the immigrants from being critical of China's ruling party or the governmental officials. The contesting discourses surrounding Chineseness, held by the Canadian politicians and Chinese immigrants and unique to a Canadian context, refers to the specific characteristics that implies a historical

formation starting from the time of settlement and colonialism, and eventually reaches the moment of the West–East tension embedded in global politics. As Bhabha stresses (2004), the construction of voices is a dynamic process. The voices of Chinese immigrants expressed during the COVID-19 pandemic indicate the organic political complexity in which constant movements take place at the specific time and space. These voices were constructed within the realm of confrontation and negotiation with the dominant discourses in the host and home societies.

## References

- Adhopia, Vik. 2020. ‘Is Taiwan’s impressive response to COVID-19 possible in Canada?’, available at <https://www.cbc.ca/news/health/taiwan-covid-19-canada-1.5502194> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Angus Reid Institute. 2020. ‘85% of Canadians say Chinese government has not been honest or transparent about pandemic’, available at <http://angusreid.org/covid19-china/> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. 2020. ‘2020 National Opinion Poll: Canadian Views on Asia’, available at <https://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/publication-pdf/2020%20NOP%20Canadian%20Views%20on%20Asia.pdf> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Bhabha, Homi K. 2004. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge Classics. London: Routledge.
- Blacklock’s Reporter. 2022. ‘Dr. Tam wins 22% pay raise’, available at <https://www.blacklocks.ca/dr-tam-wins-22-pay-raise/> (accessed on 27 June 2022).
- Braun, Virginia & Clarke, Victoria. 2021. *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Chan, Anthony B. ‘Chinese Canadians’, available at <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/chinese-canadians> (accessed on 25 June 2021).
- Chinese Canadian Heritage Fund & Simon Fraser University David See-Chai Lam Centre for International Communication. ‘A Brief Chronology of Chinese Canadian History: From Segregation to Integration’, available at [https://www.sfu.ca/chinese-canadian-history/chart\\_en.html#](https://www.sfu.ca/chinese-canadian-history/chart_en.html#) (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Chow, Rey. 1993. *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Chun, Allen. 2017. *Forget Chineseness: on the Geopolitics of Cultural Identification*. Albany: SUNY Press.

- CnWeb.ca. 'CnWeb.ca provides ranking in traffic of websites in Chinese language traffic in Canada', available at <http://www.cnweb.ca/> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Cui, Dan & Worrell, Frank. 2019. 'Media, Symbolic Violence and Racialized Habitus: Voices from Chinese Canadian Youth', *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 44(3): 233–56. <https://doi.org/10.29173/cjs29597>.
- Debeuf, Koert. 2020. "'Corona Orientalism': Nothing to learn from the East?", available at: <https://euobserver.com/coronavirus/148135> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Chase, Steven & Fife, Robert. 2020. '53% of Canadians want more aggressive response to China, a new poll suggests', available at <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-more-than-half-of-canadians-want-more-aggressive-response-to-china/> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Douglas, Karen M., Robbie M. Sutton, and Aleksandra Cichocka. 'The Psychology of Conspiracy Theories', *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 26(6): 538–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417718261>.
- Gao, Zhipeng. 2021. 'Unsettled Belongings: Chinese Immigrants' Mental Health Vulnerability as a Symptom of International Politics in the COVID-19 Pandemic', *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 61(2): 198–218.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2022. 'Unsettled Belongings in Deglobalization: Chinese Immigrants' Struggle for Political Identity by Using Transnational Media in the COVID-19 Pandemic', in John Crothers Pollock and Douglas A Vakoch (eds.), *Covid-19 in International Media: Global Pandemic Perspectives*. Routledge Research in Journalism. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003181705>.
- Godamunne, Vichitra. 2020. 'Pandemic Orientalism and some realities', available at: <https://vichitra-ksg.medium.com/pandemic-orientalism-and-some-realities-76eca70455b6> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Grenier, Marie-Lyne. 2020. 'Cultural Competency and the Reproduction of White Supremacy in Occupational Therapy Education', *Health Education Journal* 79 (6): 633–44.
- Guo, Shibao & DeVoretz, Don J. 2007. 'The changing face of Chinese immigrants in Canada', *IZA Discussion Papers, No. 3018*, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), Bonn, available at <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/34535/1/545572177.pdf> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Johns Hopkins University & Medicine Coronavirus Resource Center. 2021. 'COVID-19 Dashboard by the Center for Systems Science and Engineering (CSSE) at Johns Hopkins University (JHU)', available at: <https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/map.html> (accessed on 18 January 2021).



- Kloet, Jeroen de, Lin, Jian, Chow, Yiu Fai. 2020. “‘We Are Doing Better’: Biopolitical Nationalism and the COVID-19 Virus in East Asia’, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 23 (4): 635–40, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549420928092>.
- Legislative Assembly of British Columbia. ‘1872 - Indigenous and Chinese Peoples Excluded from the Vote’, available at <https://www.leg.bc.ca/dyl/Pages/1872-Indigenous-and-Chinese-Peoples-Excluded-from-the-Vote.aspx> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Lee, Seow Ting. 2021. ‘Vaccine Diplomacy: Nation Branding and China’s Covid-19 Soft Power Play’, *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41254-021-00224-4>.
- Lock, Margaret. 1988. ‘Introduction’, in Margaret M. Lock and Deborah Gordon (eds.), *Biomedicine Examined. Culture, Illness, and Healing*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- López, Ian F. Haney. 2013. ‘The Social Construction of Race’, in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.
- Mahal, Inderveer. 2020. ‘Why Theresa Tam Changed her Stance on Masks’, available at <https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/why-theresa-tam-changed-her-stance-on-masks/> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Mamuji, Aaida. A., Rozdilsky, Jack. L., Lee, Charlotte. T., Mwarumba, Njoki., Tubula, Martin., Chu, Terri. 2020. ‘Expanding the narrative in Anti-Chinese Stigma during COVID-19’, available at: [https://www.yorku.ca/laps/sas/wp-content/uploads/sites/202/2020/11/EXPANDING-THE-NARRATIVE-ON-ANTI-CHINESE-STIGMA-DUR\\_Aaida-Mamuji.pdf](https://www.yorku.ca/laps/sas/wp-content/uploads/sites/202/2020/11/EXPANDING-THE-NARRATIVE-ON-ANTI-CHINESE-STIGMA-DUR_Aaida-Mamuji.pdf) (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Mar, Lisa Rose. 2007. ‘Beyond Being Others: Chinese Canadians as National History’, *BC Studies* 156: 13–34.
- Marinthe Gaëlle, Brown, Genavee, Delouvé, Sylvain, Jolley, Daniel. 2020. ‘Looking Out for Myself: Exploring the Relationship between Conspiracy Mentality, Perceived Personal Risk, and COVID-19 Prevention Measures’, *Br J Health Psychol*, 25(4):957–980. doi: 10.1111/bjhp.12449.
- Mérier, Eugénie. 2020. ‘COVID-19, Authoritarianism vs. Democracy: What the Epidemic Reveals about the Orientalism of our Categories of Thought’, available at : <https://www.sciencespo.fr/cei/en/content/covid-19-authoritarianism-vs-democracy-what-epidemic-reveals-about-orientalism-our-categorie> (accessed on 25 September 2021).
- Miller, Adam. 2020. ‘The key lesson from SARS that Canada failed to heed when COVID-19 hit: Experts say Canada could have fared better if it followed “precautionary

- principle” early in the pandemic’, available at:  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/health/coronavirus-canada-sars-1.5766021>
- Park, Hijin. 2011. ‘Being Canada’s National Citizen: Difference and the Economics of Multicultural Nationalism’, *Social Identities* 17 (5): 643–63.  
 doi:10.1080/13504630.2011.595206.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
- Samarajiva, Indi. 2020. ‘In the NYTimes, only white leaders stand out: The Times spends exactly one sentence on Asia’, available at: <https://indica.medium.com/in-the-nytimes-only-white-leaders-stand-out-3e2c175245f8> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Seglins, Dave, Loiero, Joseph, Rocha, Roberto. 2021. ‘1,500 flights and rising as Canadians seek sunny escapes despite surging COVID-19 crisis’, available at  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/covid-flights-travel-non-essential-1.5873947#:~:text=Thousands%20of%20Canadians%20are%20thumbing,1>.  
 (accessed on 20 October 2021)
- Stavro, Elaine. 2014. ‘SARS and Alterity: the Toronto-China Binary’, *New Political Science* 36 (2): 172–92.
- Thibault, Alissa. 2021. ‘Proof of vaccination: Social media video shows customer arguing with staff, other customers at B.C. restaurant’, available at:  
<https://bc.ctvnews.ca/proof-of-vaccination-social-media-video-shows-customer-arguing-with-staff-other-customers-at-b-c-restaurant-1.5592023> (accessed on 20 October 2021).
- Warburton, Rennie. 1999. ‘The Workingmen’s Protective Association, Victoria, B.C., 1878: Racism, Intersectionality and Status Politics’, *Labour / Le Travail*, 43: 105–20.  
 doi:10.2307/25148939.
- White, Alexandre I. R. 2018. ‘Epidemic Orientalism: Social Construction and the Global Management of Infectious Disease’, PhD theses, Boston University.
- Yang, Mayfair. 2020. ‘From Sovereignty to Governmentality and Back: China and the U.S’, *Social Anthropology/ Anthropologie Sociale (Journal of European Association for Social Anthropologists)*, special issue on Covid-19.
- Zhang, Mingyuan. 2021. ‘Writing against “Mask Culture”: Orientalism and COVID-19 Responses in the West’, *Anthropologica*, 63(1): 1–14,  
<https://doi.org/10.18357/anthropologica6312021327>, available at:  
<https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/anthro/2021-v63-n1-anthro06140/1078598ar/>  
 (accessed on 25 September 2021).
- Zhang, Yunpeng & Xu, Fang. 2020. ‘Ignorance, Orientalism and Sinophobia in Knowledge Production on COVID-19’, *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, 111 (3): 211–23, 10.1111/tesg.12441.

Zimonjic Peter & Ling, Philip. 2021. 'Canada leads international coalition calling on China to allow investigators free access to Xinjiang', available at <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/china-canada-joint-statement-un-china-1.6071184> (accessed on 20 October 2021).