DISCOURSE, DIFFERENCE, AND DEHUMANIZATION: JUSTIFYING THE CANADIAN JAPANESE INTERNMENT, 1940 – 1949

by

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ABSTRACT

Discourse, Difference, and Dehumanization: Justifying the Canadian Japanese Internment 1940 – 1941

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This thesis argues Canadian Members of Parliament used the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbour as an opportunity to enforce a dominant "us versus them" narrative in order to justify the internment of approximately 22,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry. National and local newspapers reinforced this narrative through uncritical and biased reporting which negatively framed the Japanese against a more idealized and white "Canadian" identity. Critical discourse analysis was applied on several debates in the House of Commons and news articles in the *Daily Colonist* and the *Globe and Mail* between 1940 and 1949, to examine the articulation of social relations – in this case, race and ethnicity – with the goal of uncovering the power relations embedded within the discourse. The findings reveal a clear "us versus them" narrative, whereby Canadians of Japanese ancestry were constructed as "yellow," "bad," and "unwanted," as opposed to white Canadians who were "good" and "loyal."

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Chapter One

This thesis argues Canadian Members of Parliament used the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor as an opportunity to enforce a dominant "us versus them" narrative, in conjunction with fear-based security threats, in order to justify the internment of approximately 22,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry. From 1941 to 1949, national and local newspapers reproduced and reinforced this narrative through uncritical and biased reporting which negatively framed Canadians of Japanese ancestry against a more ideal, white "Canadian" identity. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) on several debates in the House of Commons and news articles published in the *Daily Colonist* and the *Globe and Mail* between 1940 and 1949, will examine the articulation of social relations – in this case, race and ethnicity – with the goal of uncovering the power relations embedded within the discourse. The findings from the comprehensive nine-year sample clearly demonstrate what Mazepa (2012) calls a "regressive continuum", whereby Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were categorized, then stereotyped and marginalized, demonized, and ultimately, dehumanized (Mazepa, 2012, p. 246). I will argue the parliamentary and press discourse was used to reinforce a structure of dominance based on socially constructed categories of what it meant to be "Canadian," and what it meant to be "Japanese." Using language like, "yellow," "unassimilable," and "dangerous," Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were all grouped together under one category and defined in opposition to Canadians who were framed as, "white," "loyal," and "vulnerable." As a result of this type of discourse, 22,000 people categorized as "Japanese," the majority of who were Canadian citizens, were forced out of their homes in British Columbia (B.C.) and sent to live in internment camps. Their property and belongings were confiscated and sold without their consent. For nearly a decade, Japanese Canadians endured discriminatory treatment from their government and fellow

Canadians citizens. This thesis will identify the "us versus them" narrative in the Hansard, *Daily Colonist,* and the *Globe and Mail* archives from 1940 to 1949, and explain how it was used, in conjunction with security threats, to legitimize internment and other related discriminatory government policies.

To date, the majority of published literature on the internment[1] of Canadians of Japanese ancestry focuses on the American experience more so than the Canadian side of the story. The studies and books on the Japanese Canadian internment tend to focus on the historical timeline of events that occurred in the 1940s or on the redress movement in the 1980s (Adachi, 1976; Miki, 2004; Miki & Kobayashi, 1991). Most often, scholars use interviews with survivors, photographs, or first-person narrative to tell the story of the Japanese internment (Kunimoto, 2004; Sugiman, 2004; Oikawa, 2012; Ujo Nakano, 2012).

In a special 2016 edition of *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly,* scholars challenged what was known about the British Columbia Nikkei[2] during the years surrounding the internment by drawing on a variety of "untapped sources" and situating the history of Canadians of Japanese ancestry within a broader national and imperial framework (Geiger, 2016). For example, in Matsumura's (2016) article, she examined Japanese-language sources to show how reports on an intelligence test from 1925 were used for propaganda that promoted racial and

[1] Although there has been scholarly debate over the use of the term "internment," since it is typically used to refer to the mass confinement of enemy aliens, I have chosen to identify the act as an internment since Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were forced to register as an "alien" and were treated as such. "Internment" shows the brutal extent of the mistreatment Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry received. Any other term would be a euphemism.
[2] Nikkei is generally used to refer to people of Japanese ancestry living abroad. I prefer to use the terms "Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry," "Canadians of Japanese ancestry," and "Japanese Canadians" to emphasize the fact that the majority of those affected were Canadian citizens, either born in here or naturalized.

classist hierarchies in North America and in the Japanese Empire during the 1920s and 1940s (Matsumura, 2016). These hierarchies were also present earlier in Canadian media, as Robinson (2016) found in his analysis of Canadian news articles in French and English newspapers about the 1907 anti-Asian riots in Vancouver (Robinson, 2016). He situated the debates around the riots within a broader discussion around race, nation, citizenship, and belonging in Canada (Robinson, 2016). Also filling in some of the historical gaps before the internment was declared, Lemire (2016) examined essays written in Japanese by schoolchildren of Japanese ancestry in B.C. that were published in their school newsletters prior to the start of World War Two (Lemire, 2016). Lemire's study revealed the "competing cultural pressures that framed their lives during the years leadings up to the outbreak of the Second World War and provide new insight into the role of such schools in shaping understanding of events such as Japan's invasion of China" (Geiger, 2016, p. 14). Using English language sources, including some news articles from the *Vancouver Sun* and *Victoria Daily Times,* Roy (2016) examined the equivocal stance a number of members of the Anglican church took toward British Columbia residents of Japanese ancestry between 1902 and 1949 (Roy, 2016). Roy identified that while some Anglicans fought for their justice, others fought to have them removed from the coast and the country all together. Her article examines the conflicting views within the Anglican church and the effects they had before, during, and after the Second World War. As Geiger (2016) noted, Roy's article, "reminds us that there is still a great deal of critical work to be done with English-language sources" (Geiger, 2016, p. 14).

This thesis is based on a comprehensive text sample of the recorded speeches in the federal parliament (Hansard) as well as newspaper coverage on both a national (*Globe and Mail)* and local level in British Columbia *(Daily Colonist)*. Spanning from 1940 to 1949, it thus

provides an original contribution to the history of the Japanese internment in Canada and to the study of critical discourse analysis and critical race theory.

In addition to there being gaps in the published literature on the Japanese internment in Canada, there is also a gap in the awareness and understanding of the internment among the general public. Wood (2012) argues that in Canada there is "a shared reluctance to confront the causes and consequences of historical injustices endured by ethno-cultural minorities has hampered efforts by educators and activists in British Columbia to inform the public about Japanese Canadian internment during World War Two" (Wood, 2012, p. 2013). For the most part, the Japanese internment is a page or two in an elementary or secondary school history textbook. As a Canadian student, the only thing I can recall being taught about the Japanese internment in secondary school, is simply the term, "Japanese internment." This was also the conclusion of a university professor Oikawa (2012), who said: "In my experience, very few university students that I taught between 1996 and 2009 in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Ottawa knew about this history, and those who did had scant knowledge of its occurrence" (Oikawa, 2012, p. 281). However, it's not only the Japanese internment that's missing in Canadian history curriculums, since Indigenous studies and other "controversial" topics tend to get neglected as well (Brown, 2016; Mickleburgh, 2012; Vowel, 2015). In fact, some provinces in this country do not even require high school students to take *any* history classes at all (Brown, 2016). According to a 2016 study by Historica Canada, there are no compulsory Canadian history courses or credits in high schools in Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador (Brown, 2016). It is important to study the past in order to understand how to change in the present so that there can be a better future. The mistakes and injustices of the past need to be acknowledged so that they can be rectified. Throughout my

experience researching and writing this thesis, I realized there were so many people who had never even heard about the Japanese internment or thought it only happened in the United States. It is from this general lack of awareness of some of the darkest years in Canadian history, that I was so deeply inspired to tell this story. The significance of my thesis is that it provides a comprehensive account of the way Canadian political and press discourse was used to justify acts of racial discrimination against Japanese Canadians. It is important to identify how this occurred in order to work towards discourse that does not divide people, whether by race, or other forms social discrimination (Mazepa, 2017).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese [Navy] dropped bombs on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, killing more than 2,000 soldiers and civilians (Marsh, 2012). In response to the attack, the United States declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941, marking its official entrance in the Second World War. Canada had entered the war a couple years earlier, on September 10, 1939, almost two weeks after Britain and France declared war on Germany following its attack in Poland on September 1, 1939 (Stacey, 2013). After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Canada declared war on Japan ("Canada is at War with Japanese," December 8, 1941, p.2). In British Columbia, the Canadian government shut down Japanese language newspapers and impounded nearly 1,800 Japanese Canadian fishing boats (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991, p.20). At the time, there were nearly 22, 000 people of Japanese ancestry living in British Columbia (p.32). In 1941, out of the total number of people of Japanese ancestry that lived in Canada, 95 percent lived in B.C., and in 1942, it was 96 percent (p.32). On January 14, 1942, about a month after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Canadian government passed Order in Council PC 365, "which designated an area 100-miles inland from the west coast as a 'protected area'" (p.22).

According to the order, all male Japanese nationals between the ages of 18 and 45 were to be removed from that area (p.22). Then, on February 25, 1942, the Canadian government passed Order in Council PC 1486 which expanded, "the power of the Minister of Justice to remove any and all persons from a designated protected zone" (p.24). The order was applied to *all* Canadians of Japanese ancestry, and all 22,000 were forced out of their homes and sent to live in confinement camps and "ghost towns" across the country (Miki, 2004, p.3). Historical accounts tell stories of families being torn apart, young kids crying throughout the night, and a pregnant woman being "evacuated" out on a train used for transporting cattle (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991, p.34). Survivors referred to their living conditions as, "degrading and barbaric" (p. 34). In some cases, Japanese Canadians had to sleep in six-by-eight-foot horse stalls where, "the stench from years of horse urine soaked in the floors was enough to make a healthy person ill" (p.26). While they were locked away, the government seized their homes and all of their belongings. They sold their property and possessions without their consent, for bargain prices (Miki, 2004, p.3). The most disturbing fact is that the majority of those affected were Canadian citizens, either born here or naturalized (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991, p.16). Some Canadians of Japanese ancestry had lived in Canada for 40 years, while others were newborn babies (Marsh, 2012; Miki, 2004). In many cases, the only homeland they ever knew was Canada, and yet Canadians politicians and the press labelled them as "foreigners" and treated them like criminals. Constantly referred to as "enemies," "spies," and a "threat," Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were forced into internment, which according to Members of Parliament and newspaper coverage, was the only solution to maintain national security. Even after the end of World War Two and the American Japanese internment, the Canadian government continued to discriminate against Japanese Canadians for years. By 1946, the Canadian government had deported nearly 4,000 people of

Japanese ancestry out of the country, the majority of whom were born in Canada or had been naturalized ("6,750 Japanese Staying in B.C.," February 11, 1947, p.1). It wasn't until April 1, 1949 that the last restrictions over Japanese Canadians had been lifted and they were finally allowed to return home to British Columbia (Garson, 1949, p. 1507). From the start of the 1940s to the very end of the decade when they were finally able to return home, Japanese Canadians remained innocent victims, with no charges of disloyalty or espionage laid against them (King, 1944, p. 5916). The only "crime" they ever committed was being born of Japanese ancestry.

Although the focus of this thesis is on the internment in Canada, some context of the American side of the story is necessary here to show the brutal extent the Canadian government went to in their discriminatory restrictions over Canadians citizens of Japanese ancestry. Even though America was the country that had been attacked by the Japanese Navy, the U.S. government treated its citizens of Japanese ancestry less severely than the Canadian government did. The U.S. allowed Japanese Americans to return to their homes along the coast in January 1945, but Japanese Canadians could not return until April 1949 (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991, p. 51). In addition, the Canadian government forced Japanese Canadians to pay for their own internment by charging them for rent and food while living in the camps, while the American government provided Japanese Americans with housing and food at no cost (p. 51). After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Canadian government also seized and sold all Japanese Canadian-owned land and all of their belongings, but the American government did nothing of the sort (p. 51). Furthermore, after World War Two ended, the Canadian government sentenced Japanese Canadians to deportation – either they went to Japan or moved east of the Rockies in Canada, but the American government never enforced any policies relating to exile or dispersal (p. 51). These differences between the Canadian and American policies are significant because they illustrate

the extremes the Canadian government went to in order to separate, suppress and exclude Canadians of Japanese ancestry from British Columbia and the rest of the country.

In 1940, the year before the attack, Assistant Commander Mead of the RCMP, reported to RCMP commissioner Wood, "no fear of sabotage need to be expected from the Japanese in Canada" (Sunahara, 1981, p. 23). Mead then said, "I feel this is a broad statement, at the same time I know it to be true" (p. 23). In an eerily foreshadowing manner, Mead said he felt the actual danger was in the "provocative and at times like these, downright dangerous agitation" created by "anti-Japanese" individuals (p.24). Moreover, during a meeting between the armed forces and the RCMP in January 1942, Lieutenant General Stuart told Major-General Pope, "From the Army point of view, I cannot see that they constitute the slightest menace to national security" (Adachi, 1976, p. 203). Despite the fact that RCMP and military officials agreed that Canadians of Japanese ancestry did not pose a threat, the internment was still declared on February 24, 1942 less than three months after Pearl Harbor. Canadians of Japanese ancestry were told they were, "being moved for reasons of national security" (Sunahara, 1981, p. 48). Two years into the inhumane sentencing, the Prime Minister at the time, William Lyon Mackenzie King, said no Japanese had been charged with any crimes, and yet Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry continued to face discriminatory restrictions until April 1, 1949 (Miki, 2004, p. 3).

This series of events thus begs the question – *how* did the Canadian government justify its discriminatory treatment of Japanese Canadians? Since the military and RCMP did not suggest the internment, our attention must turn to where the important conversations about Canadians citizens of Japanese ancestry took place – the House of Commons. In order to examine what was said about Japanese Canadians that lead to the internment and related

discriminatory restrictions, critical discourse analysis was applied on a variety of Hansard transcriptions between 1940 and 1949. The analysis revealed a prominent "us versus them" narrative, whereby some vocal Members of Parliament (MP) were racist in repeatedly describing Japanese Canadians as undesirable and demanded they be excluded from "Canada." Unlike the good Canadians that were "white," "loyal," and "in danger," Japanese Canadians were "yellow," "untrustworthy," and "dangerous." The majority of MPs that dominated the debates over the nine years had a history of making racist remarks in the House and even ran their political platform on matters of race (Adachi, 1976, p. 203). For example, in 1944, Liberal MP Mackenzie (Vancouver), the Minister of Pensions, said in his nomination speech, "Let our slogan be for British Columbia: 'No Japs from the Rockies to the seas'" (Miki and Kobayashi, 1991, p. 51). The other MPs that dominated the debates and asserted their power to define Canadians of Japanese ancestry were Independent MP Neill (Comox-Alberni), Liberal MP Reid (New Westminster), and Conservative MP Green (Vancouver South), who were known to be "anti-Japanese" for decades before the attack on Pearl Harbor (Adachi, 1976, p. 202). A Liberal advertisement from 1935 bluntly stated, "a vote for the Liberal candidate in your riding is a vote against Oriental enfranchisement. The Liberal party is opposed to giving the Orientals the vote" (p. 179). Evidently, racism was alive in the House and in the minds of Canadian Members of Parliament before the Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor. What will become clearer throughout this thesis, is how racist MPs used the attack as "proof" of their "us versus them" narrative in the House and were able to convince Prime Minister King (also a liberal) that Canada citizens of Japanese ancestry were different, dangerous and deserved to be interned.

The conversations that took place in the House that led to changes in the perception and policies relating to Japanese Canadians in British Columbia, were then published and circulated

in both the local and national newspapers. A critical discourse analysis on articles published between 1940 and 1949 in the *Daily Colonist* and the *Globe and Mail* will reveal how the language the MPs used to talk about Canadians of Japanese ancestry and the attack on Pearl Harbor were repeated uncritically in the newspapers, further amplifying the "us versus them" narrative. For the most part, Japanese Canadians were excluded from the conversations in both newspapers. The government also effectively cut of all their forms of communication by confiscating their radios, censoring their mail, and shutting down all their newspapers and magazines, except one, *The New Canadian*. Without any opportunity to speak in the House or in any major newspaper, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were silenced and sentenced to nearly a decade of discriminatory treatment.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

To classify and help explain this discriminatory discourse, this thesis is situated in critical race theory. Scholars and activists who work with critical race theory (herein referred to as CRT), study and attempt to transform the relationship between race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 3). CRT questions and challenges, "the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law" (p. 3). A proposition of CRT, according to Delgado and Stefancic, is that racism is "ordinary," meaning it is not acknowledged and thus harder to address or "cure" (p. 7). Secondly, CRT argues the hierarchical social division of white over colour serves significant purposes for the dominant group (p. 7). The third element of CRT is the, "social construction thesis," which states, "race and races are products of social thought and relations" (p. 8). While CRT helps us to understand race and its relationship with socially constructed hierarchies in this thesis, a limitation is that it alone does not provide a satisfactory

explanation of the racial stereotypes and discrimination observed in Canadian government policy and media.

Omi and Winant (1986) argued the social sciences have rejected the biological notions of race for a more social approach that views race as something socially constructed, rather than defined by biology (Omi & Winant, 1986, p.60). The scholars argue, "racial categories and the meanings of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded" (p.60). In other words, what it means to be "Japanese" will depend on how that category gets defined and who has the power to define it. As this thesis will show, the differences between the "yellow" and "white" population in Canada was defined and reinforced through parliamentary discourse and the press, in order to justify the Japanese internment. In regards to the role of the press, Omi and Winant argued, "the power of the media lies not only in their ability to reflect the dominant racial ideology, but in their capacity to shape that ideology in the first place" (p. 63). This is highly problematic because although race is a socially constructed concept, those with power discursively construct the "difference" between races to appear *real* and *natural*. As Omi and Winant argued, "skin colour 'differences,' are thought to explain perceived differences in intelligence, physical and artistic temperaments, and to justify distinct treatment of racially identified in individuals and groups" (p.63). When powerful and influential institutions like the government and commercial press facilitate and reinforce the "differences" between race, they can appear to seem "real" and used to justify discriminatory treatment against the "inferior" race.

Similar to Omi and Winant's (1986) understanding of race as a social construction and means of division, Mazepa (2012) describes this construction as stemming from, "a regressive understanding of social relations [which] begins by viewing the social as if *naturally* divided into

distinct, immutable categories" (Mazepa, 2012, p. 246). Mazepa argued that regression begins when these categories are, "used to legitimize and maintain hierarchical order in dominant parings such as man over nature, rich over poor, white over black, men over women, or Canadians over immigrants" (p. 246). Drawing on Berlet and Lyons (2000), Mazepa advanced the concept of a regressive continuum as a step-by-step process that continually reifies difference such that people who are categorized by race and ethnicity for example, can become marginalized, stereotyped and objectified in a process aimed at asserting and advancing power relations over them (p. 246). Once people are separated as "abnormal," or "labeled as them or the other," they can be demonized and/ or dehumanized (p. 248). Mazepa explained that this includes labeling the group as untrustworthy, evil, foreign, enemies, or aliens (p. 248). This regressive continuum thus acts as a "means of social control," and can, "ultimately establish the basis for justifying internment and extermination" (p. 248). In subsequent sections of this paper, Mazepa's regressive continuum will be used to explain how discourse was used to categorize Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry and ultimately justify their internment.

In order for the government to be able to uproot Canadians citizens of Japanese ancestry and place hefty restrictions upon them, MPs advocating this treatment made sure to only use the term "Japanese" or "Japs". The 22,000 Japanese Canadians that were affected were otherwise not distinguished by their age, gender, citizenship, or any other identifier apart from ethnic origins – they were *all* simply "Japanese." To explain how this was possible, we should also remember what Anderson (1983) described as "imagined communities." He argued a nation is an "imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1983, p. 6). He continued, "it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or hear of them, yet in the

minds of each lives in the image of their communication" (p.6). After the attack on Pearl Harbor and Canada's entrance into the Second World War, Canadian politicians used nationalism as a means of excluding Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry from the nation of Canada, both symbolically and literally. By associating Japanese Canadians with the Japanese Navy who attacked Pearl Harbor, MPs were able to frame "them" as threat to Canada as a nation. Using specific discourse like "Japs," "they," and racist descriptors such as "yellow," in direct opposition to "Canadians," "us," and "white," politicians stripped Japanese Canadians of their Canadian citizenship and roots, and excluded them from the nation and nationality of Canada.

Moreover, Anderson argued that "print-capitalism" as he called the commercial and mass-produced media, also had a dominant role in the social construction of meaning, and "made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways" (p. 37). After the attack on Pearl Harbor, local and national newspapers published the MPs' security threats about Japanese Canadians word-for-word, without any critical voices or valid evidence to support their claims. The local and national circulation of the newspapers amplified the "us and them" narrative by taking it from the mouths of Members of Parliament in the House and spreading it to readers across the nation. As Anderson argued, a nation is only "imagined," which means that the definition of who and what constitutes that nation, is not fixed nor grounded in truth. Thus, the people who get to define the nation and those who get to share in the nationality of it, comes down to a much larger question of power.

Hall's (1996) work on identification will help explain how the "us and them" narrative manifested within the discourse that aimed to categorize and exclude Japanese Canadians from belonging to the Canadian national identity. Identification, according to Hall (1996), "is

constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation" (Hall, 1996, p.2). With Canada fighting in a world war and the dust still settling from the bombs at Pearl Harbor, racist Members of Parliament had the perfect opportunity to appeal to nationalism and construct an enemy out of anyone that didn't fit their definition of "Canadian." Hall argued that the discursive approach to identification understands that identity is a "construction," which is always changing and never fully completed (p.2). Moreover, he argued, "identities are constructed through, not outside, difference" (p.4). According to Hall, "it is only through the relation of the Other," in which one can define what they are *not,* that identity is constructed (p.4). As the Hansard and newspaper sample will show, MPs repeatedly stressed the *difference* between "Japanese" and "Canadian" identities in order to justify their discriminatory treatment.

Prior to Hall, Said's (1979) work on Orientalism is particularly relevant to explain why distinctions between "the Japanese" and the "Canadians" were easily made. Historically, according to Said, "Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them)," (Said, 1979, p. 54). Furthermore, Said argued, Orientalism is a discourse that is, "produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power" (p. 13). This intellectual framework supports the notion that categories of race are constructed and placed in a hierarchical order which gives power to those who get to define what it means to be a part of "us" and those who don't. As my findings show, racist MPs commonly used colours (white/yellow) and racialized terms like occidental/Oriental and East/West in direct opposition to each other to stress the binary between Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry and those that

were not. They assigned meanings to each category and framed Japanese Canadians as animalistic, uncivilized, and disloyal, as opposed to "Canadians" who were gentlemen, rational, and loyal. These differences were articulated so often in the House and in national and local newspapers, that a clear "us and other" narrative emerged.

As Mountz (2009) argued, in socially divisive narratives the term the "Other" is both a noun and a verb. She explained that as a noun, the 'other' is a person or group of people different from oneself (Mountz, 2009, p. 270). As a verb, "'other' means to distinguish, label, categorize, name, identify, place and exclude those who do not fit a societal norm" (p. 270). When this process is articulated by political figures and exercised through governmental action, there can be significant consequences such as the Japanese internment. For example, in a more recent Canadian context, Kozolanka (2015) argued that members of the former Conservative government used fear to evoke the Muslim Other by capitalizing on fear in order to justify their domestic agenda and consolidate power (Kozolanka, 2015, p. 31). She argued the Conservative Party linked issues of crime, immigration and defense to construct an "image of real Canadianness and an image of non-Canadianness or the Other" (p. 46). Similarly, Steuter and Wills (2009) examined the way Canadian news headlines constructed and framed the "enemy" in their coverage of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p.7). Steuter and Wills found that, "the Canadian media have participated in mediating constructions of Islam and Muslims, mobilizing familiar metaphors in representations that fabricate an enemy-Other who is dehumanized, de-individualized, and ultimately expendable" (p.7). Moreover, the authors argued that the animalistic framing of the Other can lead to racist backlash, prisoner abuse and even genocide (p.7).

Several other scholars have analyzed various constructions of the "us and them" narrative in Western media throughout recent history. Identifying how media can be used to incite violence in a specific country, Oberschall (2000) argued that citizens living in the former Yugoslavia had been living in ethnic cooperation and in a peace frame of mind during "normal" times. He advanced that the combination of elite contention and mass media propaganda awakened what he calls a dormant "crisis frame" that was anchored in World War Two and historical memories of ethnic divisiveness was drawn upon and used to justify acts of hatred by continually repeating the "us versus them" narrative and justifying national division and war as the only solution. Another indication of just how consistent this narrative is over time and place is suggested by Carruthers (2004) who examined Western media constructions of Africa as a "hopeless continent" and juxtaposed African savagery against Western humanitarianism during conflicts that took place in Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s. In her argument, identity is relational, categories are defined against each other: what the other is, one is not. This is significant because the other is essential in the construction of oneself. "We," as Westerns, like to see ourselves as "good," and that constructed against the "other," which in Carruthers' case are Africans. In the context of this paper, we will see that the "we" is constructed as white, European Canadians and the "other" is Canadians of Japanese ancestry who were framed as dangerous, disloyal, and evil.

Van Dijk (1991) argued the press plays a role in the "maintenance and legitimization of ethnic power relations" and in the "reproduction of racism in Western media" (Van Dijk, 1991, p.4). By applying critical discourse analysis on articles, headlines, and letters to the editor published in the *Daily Colonist* and *Globe and Mail,* we can examine the role the press played in the formation, reproduction and maintenance of the "us and them" narrative that was used to

legitimize the Japanese internment in Canada. Similar to much of the examples referenced above, according to Van Dijk, the press is not passive in its reproduction of racism and hierarchies of power, and in fact, "the press also produces its own dimension of the power structure" (p. 42). Reporters and editors at news institutions consciously decide which stories get covered, whose voices are heard, and where the story is placed in the newspaper. As Van Dijk argued, "through its specific discursive and cognitive strategies of selection, emphasis, focusing, exaggeration, relevance assignment, description, style, or rhetoric it has a powerful role in the final definition of the situation" (p. 42). In his later work on elite discourse and racism, Van Dijk (1993) places an explicit emphasis on the role discourse plays in racism (Van Dijk, 1993). He argued racism is not natural, it is something that is learned, and that it is largely through public discourse that this takes place (1993).

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS METHODOLOGY

In order to identify if politicians and the commercial media used the attack on Pearl Harbor as an excuse to evoke an "us and them" narrative, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was applied to several transcriptions of debates that took place in the House of Commons between 1940 and 1949. In addition, in order to examine the role newspapers played in the reproduction and reinforcement of the "us and them" narrative, CDA was employed on an extensive sample of news articles printed in the local B.C. newspaper, *Daily Colonist,* and the national newspaper, *Globe and Mail,* between 1940 and 1949. The combination of text from the Hansard, *Daily Colonist,* and *Globe and Mail* archives allows for a comprehensive understanding of the events surrounding the decision to intern Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry and the nearly long decade of discriminatory restrictions that followed. The decision was made to use a combination of discourse from parliament and national and local press in order to determine if there was

evidence of systemic racism. Like Parliament, the news media is a powerful institution in Canada. In liberal democratic societies, the news media is supposed to be unbiased and act as a "watchdog," by critically reporting on and holding the government accountable for their actions. However, as Van Dijk (1991) argued, the press constructs and actively reproduces racism and hierarchies of power by choosing how to define situations and the people or nations involved (Van Dijk, 1991). As Anderson (1983) also argued previously, commercial and mass-produced media played a dominant role in the social construction of meaning and nation-building, as it "made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways" (Anderson, 1983, p. 37). Thus, the way newspapers frame the nation and draw borders around who belongs and who doesn't, matters immensely. As Carruthers (2004) found, during conflicts in Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s, Western media constructed its own identity as positive by contrasting their humanitarianism against African "savagery" (Carruthers, 2004). The West was viewed as "good," while Africa was deemed "hopeless" and "bad" (2004). Examining the discourse used in the national and local newspaper, along with what was said in the House of Commons, will reveal how Japanese Canadians were framed and portrayed by these powerful institutions. Using these three different text sources enables us to make comparisons between the discourse that was used in Parliament and the press to describe Canadians of Japanese ancestry and the justifications given for their discriminatory treatment.

While the Hansard gives us the opportunity to hear the type of discourse Members of Parliament used, the newspaper samples gives us the opportunity to hear from a broader range of voices including journalists, organizations like the YMCA, church groups, and the general public. Another advantage of examining the newspaper text is that it includes letters to the editor

which provide a unique opportunity to hear from the public, which would otherwise be excluded in the Hansard documents. Together, the text from the Hansard, *Globe and Mail,* and *Daily Colonist,* come together to tell an in-depth story about what happened between 1940 in 1949, when the democratic nation of Canada labelled and treated their own citizens as enemies and criminals because of their racial origin.

Critical discourse analysis is the best method for this study because it examines the ideologies and power relations embedded within language (Fairclough, 1995). Scholars who work with CDA view, "language as a means of social construction: language both *shapes* and *is shaped* by society" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.4). CDA is used to explore relationships between discourse and wider social structures (Fairclough, 1995). Under this framework, discourse is seen as an action – it is something that produces and reproduces structures of power. As Machin and Mayr (2012) argue, "the primary focus is on how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.5). Using CDA on Hansard and newspaper texts related to the Japanese internment will reveal the power relations involved in the racism Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry faced and how it was maintained through political and press discourse. Given that this thesis argues language played a central role in reinforcing structures of dominance over Japanese Canadians, CDA is best suited for this type of research.

An explanation and justification for the selection of Hansard documents will now take place, followed by the exact steps that were taken to conduct this study. The same explanation and justification will then take place for the local and national newspaper sample.

Hansard Sample

After reviewing the historical timeline of events relating to the Japanese internment, several key dates were used to identify corresponding transcriptions of House of Commons debates (Hansard). Subsequently, the following seven volumes from 1940 to 1949 were selected to form the political discourse sample:

1. Nov 7, 1940 to Feb 26, 1941: Volume one, second session of the 19th parliament
2. May 29, 1941 to Jan 21, 1942: Volume four, second session of the 19th parliament
3. Jan 22, 1942 to March 4, 1942: Volume one, third session of the 19th parliament
4. May 28, 1943 to July 1, 1943: Volume four, fourth session of the 19th parliament
5. July 27, 1944 to Jan 31, 1945: Volume six, fifth session of the 19th parliament
6. Sept 6, 1945 to Oct 17, 1945: Volume one, first session of the 20th parliament
7. March 2, 1949 to March 23, 1949: Volume two, fifth session of the 20th parliament

The first document in the sample is volume one from the second session of the nineteenth parliament, which is comprised of parliamentary records from November 7, 1940 to February 26, 1941. The entire volume is 1066-pages long. This time period was selected because it was one year before the attack on Pearl Harbor. This was done intentionally in order to have a solid basis for comparison between the discourse that was used to talk about Japanese Canadians before and after the attack.

The second Hansard in the research sample is volume four from the second session of the nineteenth parliament, which covered the House of Commons debates from May 29, 1941 to January 21, 1942. This 1228-page document was chosen because it contains the parliamentary discourse that transpired during the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The House of Commons

was on official "recess" from November 14, 1941 until January 2, 1942, which means they were not in session when the bombs were dropped. However, Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister at the time, came to Ottawa to address the Canadian government on December 30, 1941, which was transcribed and included in this volume. Apart from Churchill's address, this volume is useful because it includes the recording of the last debate before the attack as well as the first debate when they returned back to session.

The next Hansard that was analyzed was volume one from the third session of the nineteenth session of parliament, which took place from January 22, 1942 to March 4, 1942. The document is 1162-pages long and it was included in the sample because it covers the timeframe when the Japanese internment was officially declared.

The fourth Hansard document included in the research sample is volume four from the fourth session of the nineteenth parliament, which covers May 28, 1943 to July 1, 1943. The document is 1162-pages long. This timeframe was selected because it was just over a year after the internment came into effect and thus served as a good vantage point to identify any changes in the discourse that was used to talk about Canadians of Japanese ancestry.

The next Hansard in the sample was volume six from the fifth session of the nineteenth parliament, spanning debates from July 27, 1944 to January 31, 1945. This 1522-page document was selected because it covers the time period when Prime Minister King stated in Parliament that Japanese Canadians had not actually committed any crimes (King, 1944, p. 5916). King declared this on August 4, 1944, and yet the internment and other forms of discriminatory policies against Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry remained in effect for several years later. This sample provides an opportunity to examine how the MPs justified the continuation of their discriminatory restrictions over Japanese Canadians.

The sixth Hansard document in the sample is volume one of the first session of the twentieth parliament between September 6, 1945 and October 17, 1945. It is 1240-pages long and was chosen for the sample because it covers the first set of debates that took place in House after World War Two ended in September 1945. This time period was important to include because it accounts for the discourse that was used to talk about Japanese Canadians when the war was officially over.

The final Hansard selected for the research sample was volume two of the fifth session of the twentieth parliament, covering the debates that took place between March 2, 1949 and March 23, 1949. It is 870 pages long. This Hansard was selected because it covers the time period that the MPs discussed removing the final restrictions over Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry. On March 15, 1949, all the Orders in Council over Japanese Canadians were officially revoked and the reactions from MPs were recorded.

The overall Hansard and newspaper sample that was selected covers a significant range of time, which includes before the Pearl Harbor attack and after the attack, spanning nine years in total. This sample size was necessary in order to be able to provide a comprehensive look at what type of discourse was used both in Parliament and in local/ national newspapers to justify the Japanese internment and the related restrictions forced upon them. Since the sample size covers nine years, there were opportunities to identify changes in discourse, but also to note the discourse that didn't change, regardless of the fact that the internment continued even after World War Two had ended, Japanese Americans had been allowed to return to their homes and there had been announcements from King that no Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry had committed or been charged with any crimes. This nine-year sample of Hansard and newspaper text was ultimately necessary in order to identify the way discourse was used by MPs and

newspapers to frame the attack on Pearl Harbor as an excuse to intern Canadians of Japanese ancestry and construct a clear "us versus them" narrative that grouped all Canadians of Japanese ancestry, and pit them *against* the "Canadians."

Hansard CDA Process

In each of the seven Hansard documents, the search tool (control + F) was used with "Jap" as the keyword. This was chosen after a preliminary search through the transcriptions. It was decided that "Jap," would detect the most relevant areas of discourse since most politicians most often referred to Japanese Canadians as either "Jap" or "Japanese." The number of hits that matched the keyword per volume were noted and subsequently documented in a chart to compare the amount of time spent talking about Japanese Canadians over the nine-year sample. The surrounding discourse that matched the keyword "Jap" was then recorded and subsequently analyzed using CDA. As Machin and Mayr (2012) explain, "The process of doing CDA involves looking at choices of words and grammar in texts in order to discover the underlying discourse(s) and ideologies" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p.20). In particular, the use of pronouns like "we/us," and, "they/them," were noted along with how were used to describe "Canadians" and "Japanese Canadians." From the information gathered in the Hansard, themes and reoccurring constructions of Canadians of Japanese ancestry emerged.

In addition to the actual discourse that was used to talk about Japanese Canadians, the names and political affiliations of the MPs who got to talk about them were recorded. This information was used to determine who the major players were in the construction of Japanese Canadian identity. Moreover, details like the length of time MPs spent talking about Japanese Canadians were noted, as well as any communicative strategies such as yelling (observed through use of exclamation marks), and interrupting others was noted.

Newspaper Sample

In order to examine the role that the media played in the reproduction of racism against Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry during this time, one local and one national newspaper was selected for the research sample. Specifically, articles and headlines pertaining to Japanese Canadians that were published in Victoria's *Daily Colonist* and the Canadian national newspaper, *Globe and Mail*, between 1940 and 1949 were examined. Like the Hansard sample, the total newspaper sample spans over nine years. This was chosen in order to have a substantial basis to examine the discourse that was used to talk about Japanese Canadians before the attack on Pearl Harbor, all the way up until the final internment restrictions were lifted. The nine-year period also allowed for coverage on events relating to Japanese Canadians and their discriminatory treatment that were not found in the Hansard sample, since both of the newspapers published daily and the Hansard sample was not as comprehensive in that the House did not meet every day. A detailed explanation and justification of the two newspapers selected will follow, along with the steps used for CDA.

Daily Colonist

In 1942, there were 22,837 people of Japanese ancestry living in Canada (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991, p. 32). Of these, 21,975 were residing in British Columbia (p. 32). Since the vast majority of Japanese Canadians were in B.C. during the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor and when the internment was declared, a local B.C. newspaper was necessary to include in the sample. The *Daily Colonist* was chosen as the local B.C. newspaper due it's circulation and proximity in Victoria, B.C. The *Daily Colonist* was a daily local Victoria newspaper during the timeframe under analysis. Since Victoria is a city on Vancouver Island off the B.C. coast, King deemed it as a "protected area" in February 1942, and all Japanese Canadians that had been

living there were forced out. Originally titled, the *British Colonist*, the newspaper was one of the earliest published newspapers in B.C., with its first edition printed in 1853. The newspaper changed its name to the *Daily Colonist* in 1910, and in 1980, it merged with the *Victoria Daily Times* to form the *Times Colonist*, which continues to publish local Victoria news today.

CDA was applied to articles and headlines published between 1940 and 1949 in the *Daily Colonist* that pertained to Japanese Canadians. Using the *Daily Colonist* online archival database, each year of the nine-year sample selected was examined individually with the keyword "Jap." This keyword was selected in order to remain consistent with the research conducted in the Hansard sample. The following is a table with the number of articles, per year, that came up in the database as a match with the keyword "Jap:"

Table 1.1
Number of Times that the Key Word "Jap" was used in the *Daily Colonist*
Victoria, B.C.
1940-1949

Year	**Number**
1940	118
1941	210
1942	566
1943	394
1944	352
1945	459
1946	121
1947	81
1948	80
1949	96
Total	*N= 2477*

The articles and headlines that matched with the keyword were then chronically sorted through, and the relevant articles were then examined. CDA was applied to the articles and

headlines that discussed Japanese Canadians living in B.C., and more generally, in Canada. Articles include stories written by editorial staff, re-prints from other news sources, official notices from the government, political advertisements and letters to the editor. An extensive handwritten record was taken of the related articles and the discourse that was used in them to describe Japanese Canadians. From this information, themes and reoccurring constructions of Japanese Canadians were further analyzed. Special attention was given to discourse that contributed to the "us and them" narrative, threats of security, mentions of Pearl Harbor, the use of euphemisms in regards to the "evacuation" of Japanese Canadians, their new living conditions and work, the treatment they received, and any discourse that related to the justification for their discriminatory restrictions. Discourse that was repeated within a single article was noted, as well as discourse that appeared over and over again across the nine-year sample.

In addition, the date and the page the article was published on was recorded, along with the author and all the sources named in the article. Notes were also taken on the length of the article, where it was published within the newspaper (e.g. front page), and the number of articles relating to Japanese Canadians per page and per edition.

Globe and Mail

In order to examine if the "us and them" narrative was visible not only in local B.C. newspapers, but also in Canadian press, a national newspaper was selected as the third source of discourse in this sample. Articles pertaining to Japanese Canadians within the *Globe and Mail* between 1940 and 1949 were used to examine if systemic racism was visible. Since Japanese Canadians were kicked out of B.C. and scattered throughout the country, the national newspaper served as an important opportunity to measure the reception and opinions the rest of the nation had toward them. The *Globe and Mail* was chosen because of its national circulation across

Canada and current archival accessibility. Founded in 1936, the *Globe and Mail* was the creation of George McCullagh who merged two influential and historically recognized dailies, *The Globe* and *The Mail and Empire*. The newspaper continues to publish national news today under the slightly modified name of, *The Globe and Mail*.

Exactly like the steps taken for CDA on the *Daily Colonist,* CDA was applied to articles and headlines published between 1940 and 1949 in the *Globe and Mail* that pertained to Japanese Canadians. Using the *Globe and Mail* online archival database, each year of the nine-year sample selected was examined individually with the keyword "Jap." This keyword was selected in order to remain consistent with the research conducted in the Hansard and *Daily Colonist* sample. The following is a table with the number of articles, per year, that came up in the database as a match with the keyword "Jap:"

Table 1.2
Number of Times that the Key Word "Jap" was used in the *Globe and Mail*
Canada
1940-1949

Year	**Number**
1940	421
1941	783
1942	2083
1943	1125
1944	1098
1945	1385
1946	317
1947	210
1948	158
1949	166
Total	*N= 7701*

The articles and headlines that matched with the keyword were then chronologically sorted through, and the relevant articles were then examined. CDA was applied to the articles and headlines that discussed Japanese Canadians. Articles include stories written by editorial staff, re-prints from other news sources, official notices from the government, political advertisements and letters to the editor. An extensive handwritten record was taken of the related articles and the discourse that was used in them to discuss Japanese Canadians. From this information, themes and reoccurring constructions of Canadians of Japanese ancestry were further analyzed. Special attention was given to discourse that contributed to the "us and them" narrative, threats of security, mentions of Pearl Harbor, the use of euphemisms in regards to the "evacuation" of Japanese Canadians, their new living conditions and work, the treatment they received, and any discourse that related to the justification for their discriminatory restrictions. Discourse that was repeated within a single article was noted, as well as discourse that appeared over and over again across the nine-year sample.

In addition, the date and the page the article was published on was recorded, along with the author and all the sources named in the article. Notes were also taken on the length of the article, where it was published within the newspaper (e.g. front page), and the number of articles relating to Canadians of Japanese ancestry per page and per edition.

Chapter Two
Constructing the Category "Japanese"

Canadian versus Japanese

The critical discourse analysis on the parliamentary and press sample reveal how discourse was used to construct and reinforce a structure of dominance based on socially constructed categories of what it meant to be "Canadian" and what it meant to be "Japanese." Mazepa (2012) argued this structuring is "underpinned by an epistemology and ontology that identify and separate phenomena on the basis on difference, which begins by viewing the social as if *naturally* divided into distinct, immutable categories" (Mazepa, 2012, p. 246). These categories are understood and promulgated as naturally formed structures rather than as a result of social relations of power (Ibid.). Using binary and polarizing discourse, Canadian Members of Parliament described Canadian citizens of Japanese racial origin as inherently *different* than white "Canadians" living in British Columbia. Local and national newspapers reinforced the binary between the "Japanese" and "Canadian" categories by constantly reprinting the same polarizing discourse expressed in the House with little to no criticism of it. As the findings below will show, language played a central role in both parliament and the press in the construction and reinforcement of the "Japanese" versus "Canadian" racial identity.

"Categorizing" Japanese

On February 17, 1941, Prime Minister King declared in the House that, "we have witnessed an unfortunate recrudescence of anti-Oriental and particularly anti-Japanese feeling in British Columbia" (King, 1941, p. 815). This statement indicates that were hostilities toward Japanese Canadians almost a year before the attack on Pearl Harbor even occurred. The fact that

King used the terms, "anti-Oriental" and, "anti-Japanese," shows the prominent role race and ethnicity played in the discrimination Canadians of Japanese ancestry faced. PM King then said, "this campaign was characterized by wholly unsubstantiated and irresponsible charges and accusations against our fellow nationals and other residents of British Columbia who are of Japanese racial origin" (p. 815). This statement is significant because it highlights the fact that the charges and accusations Japanese Canadians faced were considered by the Prime Minister at the time to be, "wholly unsubstantiated" and "irresponsible." In other words, there was no reason or evidence to suggest Canadians of Japanese ancestry were in any means "deserving" of the hostilities they were facing in B.C.

The next day, on February 18, 1941, the *Globe and Mail* ran the headline, "Report Against Calling Japs to Train" ("Report Against Calling Japs to Train," February 18, 1941, p.13). The article announced a report had been tabled in the House that, "investigated the Oriental situation in B.C." (p.13). According to the article, the report had, "recommended that for the present, Canadians of the Japanese-race should not be called up for military training" (p.13). The committee that drafted the report was comprised of four men, led by Colonel Sparling. Even though the article found, "there is no evidence that the Japanese population of Canada has been engaged in any disloyal or subversive activity," it recommended a registration of *all* Japanese in B.C. (p.13). Moreover, it suggested that B.C. police exercise "continued vigilance" and "keep a close watch for signs of disloyal acts, particularity in the way of sabotage" (p.13). The socially constructed racial category "Japanese" is reinforced throughout the article by using terms like, "Oriental situation," "Canadians of the Japanese-race," and the "Japanese population of Canada." Race is clearly being used as a means of identifying and grouping Canadians of Japanese ancestry together. The article and the recommendations in the report, rely on race as a means of

justifying discriminatory policies like registration and police surveillance.

A few days later, on February 25, 1941, King approved a motion in parliament to make all Japanese Canadians living in British Columbia register and carry around a special card with additional information about who they were. The registration cards were a way of making the socially constructed Japanese racial category concrete and "real." The registration cards formalized the difference between what it meant to be "Japanese" and what it meant to be "Canadian" at the time. According to MP Green (Vancouver South), "in addition to the information contained on the ordinary registration card for Canadian residents," there would be space for a photo, description and national status for Canadians of Japanese ancestry (Green, 1941, p. 1016). By using the word "ordinary" to describe the Canadian registration cards, MP Green reinforced the *difference* between being Canadian and being Japanese. News of the registration policy was published on the front page of the *Globe and Mail* the following day. The article reported, "*all* Japanese in B.C. – children as well as all adults," had to have their thumb prints documented for a, "special re-registration of Japanese" (Thumbprinting Ordered in B.C. Jap Registration," February 26, 1941, p.1). Here we see the Japanese category being defined as "all" Japanese, irrespective of age or any other markers of identity. The article reported MP Green (Vancouver South), had urged Prime Minister King for a "complete ban" on Japanese immigration (p.1). The discourse used in the article constructed Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry as belonging in the same "category" as all future immigrants from Japan. Likewise, MP Neill (Comox-Alberni), further reinforced the racial categorization of Japanese Canadians in the House when he declared that they, "are all alike; you cannot tell one from the other," (Neill, 1941, p. 1018). He also stated, "we in B.C. are firmly convinced that 'once a Jap, always a Jap'" (p. 1017). Not only is MP Neill exerting power by claiming to speak for all of people in B.C., he

also grouped the entire Canadian population of Japanese ancestry together under the term "Jap." Before the attack on Pearl Harbor even happened, discourse used in parliament and in the press, was evidently being used to construct Japanese Canadians as one racial category – *"Japanese."* This type of categorization diminished their individuality and completely ignored the fact that the majority of them were Canadian citizens, either born here or naturalized (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991, p.16).

White Over Yellow

Canadian Members of Parliament further articulated and reinforced their perceived *differences* between Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry and Canadian citizens of European racial ancestry by using skin color as an apparent marker of the racial binary. During a February 1941 debate in the House, MP Neill (Comox-Alberni), accused Japanese Canadians of switching fishing licenses between themselves and then quoted Kipling, an English poet, who said it's impossible to breed a white man in a "yellow hide" (Neill, 1941, p. 1018). The "yellow" Japanese Canadians are clearly being framed as less desirable and inferior than the "white" population, since Kipling and Neill are insinuating the yellow men should act white. It should also be noted that the fact that MP Neill is even quoting Kipling in the House to justify hatred toward Japanese Canadians is an indicator of his own personal racism. In 1899 Kipling wrote a famous poem called, "The White Man's Burden," in which he called upon white men to colonize and rule other nations.

The racism and anti-Japanese sentiments continued throughout the debate on February 25, 1941, with MP Reid (New Westminster), adding in that Japanese Canadians were, "not an assimilable [sic] race and are different in their outlook from any other national in Canada" (Reid,

1941, p. 1020). According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the word "assimilate" is a transitive verb which means it is characterized by transition, or in other words, a change (Merriam-Webster's dictionary, n.d.). Assimilate is defined as, "to absorb into the cultural tradition of a population or group," and/or, "to make similar" (Merriam-Webster's dictionary, n.d.). Thus, by calling Canadians of Japanese ancestry an "unassimilable race," MP Reid meant that they could never be like the rest of the white, population in Canada. This is to say that in order for Japanese Canadians to be welcome or a part of Canada, they needed to be as "white" as possible. Moreover, if assimilate means "to make similar," then by calling Japanese Canadians "unassimilable," MP Reid was framing them as different. This discursive construction of people of Japanese ancestry being inherently "different," is further articulated in his statement that they, "are different in their outlook from any other national in Canada" (Reid, 1941, p. 1020). MP Reid clearly associated "Japanese" with difference, which is exactly what Said (1979) defined as Orientalism. Said argued, "Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them)," (Said, 1979, p. 54). Furthermore, Orientalism is a discourse that is "produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power" (p. 13). In this case, MP Reid asserted the power ascribed to him as an elected member of parliament to enforce a constructed hierarchy of power based on race, whereby Japanese Canadians were different and inferior to the white, European population in Canada because of their Japanese ancestry.

During the same debate, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F) MP MacInnis (Vancouver East) actually stood up for Japanese Canadians and called the attitude toward them a "disgrace to Canada" (MacInnis, 1941, p. 1018). MP MacInnis identified the way Japanese Canadians had been categorized based on their race and offered an alternative construction of

them, stating, "they are no longer Japanese or foreigners; they are *Canadians*" (p. 1018). This is an obvious, positive change from the previous discourse that was used to describe Canadians of Japanese ancestry. MP MacInnis' claims directly challenged the racial binary MP Reid (New Westminster), MP Neill (Comox-Alberni) and MP Green (Vancouver South) created and used to defend their dislike for Japanese Canadians in B.C. After MP MacInnis (Vancouver East) identified Canadians of Japanese ancestry as "Canadians," he was immediately shut down by MP Fraser (Peterborough West). MP Fraser interrupted MP MacInnis to call him an "optimist" (Fraser, 1941, p. 1018). In this moment, MP Fraser exercised two discursive strategies. The first was calling MP MacInnis an "optimist," which served to discredit his statement about Japanese Canadians by implying he lives in some sort of fantasy world. The second was interrupting, which is a form of intimidation and assertion of power.

Being "Japanese" Post-Pearl Harbor

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese Navy attacked the naval base at Pearl Harbor and killed more than 2,000 soldiers and civilians (Marsh, 2012). The next day the front page of the *Daily Colonist* and the *Globe and Mail* were plastered with articles relating to the tragic event. The local British Columbia newspaper, *Daily Colonist,* featured a large headline across the full width of the paper that stated, "Japan Makes War on United Sates and Britain" ("Japan Makes War on United Sates and Britain," December 8, 1941, p.1). On the next page, a headline read, "Canada is at War with Japanese; All Preparations Made" ("Canada is at War with Japanese; All Preparations Made, December 8, 1941, p.2). The fact that the editors chose to use the word "Japanese" instead of "Japan" to identify who Canada's enemy is significant to note because it groups everyone of Japanese ancestry as the "enemy." This is amplified in the sub-headline that declared, "Security measures for Dominion to include rounding up Japanese already registered –

Defenses of Pacific Coast 'on the alert' for possible enemy action here" (p.2). By stating, "Canada is at war with Japanese," and then immediately stating below that security measures were being taken against Canadians of Japanese ancestry, the newspaper framed Japanese Canadians as a threat and an "enemy" to Canada. Moreover, under the subheading, "apprehend aliens," the article reported PM King had said, "all necessary security measures are being taken," followed by a list of restrictions over Canadians of Japanese ancestry (p.2). The article continued, "all persons of Japanese origin in Canada have been registered and fingerprinted and any individuals whom there is reason to believe may be dangerous to the state are being apprehended" (p.2). There is a clear emphasis on Canadians of Japanese ancestry being connected to national security concerns with the term "security concerns" and "security" mentioned three times throughout the article, including once in the sub-heading. The association of the attack of the Japanese Navy on Pearl Harbor with Japanese Canadians became the justification for treating them as a "threat."

Similarly, the *Globe and Mail* framed Canadians of Japanese ancestry as part of the same category of concern that surrounded the Japanese Navy. One of the December 8, 1941 headlines stated, "Canada, Japs Now at Work" ("Canada, Japs now at Work," December 8, 1941, p.1). The article reported war had been declared and according to PM King, "'all necessary security measures' for the defense of Canada have been taken" (p.1). The article included a reminder from the Prime Minister that Canadians of Japanese ancestry had been registered, fingerprinted and were under police and military watch (p.1). By associating the attack on Pearl Harbor with Japanese Canadians, the "Japanese" socially constructed racial category was not only made clear, it had also gained national attention. With anti-Japanese sentiments already in place, the attack on Pearl Harbor became the "evidence" racist members of parliament and newspapers used to

discursively construct and reinforce a prominent "us versus them" narrative in order to justify the Japanese internment.

Chapter Summary

As the findings in this chapter show, even before the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred, Canadian Members of Parliament, including the Prime Minister, were using race as a means of identifying and categorizing Canadians of Japanese ancestry. Using terms like, "anti-Oriental," "anti-Japanese," "Oriental situation," "yellow hide," and "Jap," Canadians of Japanese ancestry, were all categorized as one and pitted against the "white," population that formed the "Canadian" identity. The fact that this divisive language was based entirely on race, which Omi and Winant (1986) argued is solely a social construction and not actually based on a biological reality, provided the foundation for Members of Parliament to justify and validate discriminatory treatment against Japanese Canadians. The binary and racialized terminology used in the House then made its way into the local and national press, with the *Daily Colonist* and *Globe and Mail* repeating and reinforcing the idea that were two "categories" of people – "Japanese" and "Canadians."

Gasher, Skinner, and Lorimer (2016) argued the stories and images we see in the news, "are never presented simply or 'naturally,' but are instead highly constructed by people with particular sets of technical or aesthetic skills, organized within a specific production environment, and guided by some combination of ideals, ideologies, conventions, regulations and institutional demands" (Gasher, Skinner, & Lorimer, 2016, p.270). This process of mediation, although seemingly invisible from the audience's perspective, consists of a series of choices that heavily influence the way people or events are presented in the media (p.270). One

of the most important roles of the media is its political function – the media provides information on public life, the government, political debates, elections, and so on. Journalists rely on the government for information and the government relies on the media to disseminate information. In liberal democratic societies, the media are supposed to act as a "watchdog," acting as a whistleblower and keeping the government accountable for their actions. As Gasher et al., argued, "while the news media can serve as watchdogs on power, they can serve equally as lapdogs when they report uncritically on governments and corporations" (p.281). The voices that are included in news stories, the discourse that is used to describe events, and deciding which stories even make it to the press are all ways in which the media shape political stories. Likewise, the government can also shape media coverage, and thereby political opinion, by controlling what information is available to the press, refusing to give interviews, and muzzling certain voices (p. 38). Thus, the competing interests of the political agenda and the media agenda can significantly alter the way political news is presented in the news media. As observed in the findings from this chapter and especially those that follow, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Daily Colonist* clearly played the role of the "lapdog" rather than the "watchdog" in their political coverage relating to Canadians of Japanese ancestry.

Chapter Three
Marginalization and Stereotyping

Assigned common characteristics and separated as abnormal, inferior and labelled as "them"

With clear racial categories in place, Canadian Members of Parliament and the press used marginalizing and stereotypical discourse to fill the socially constructed "Japanese" and "Canadian" boxes with meaning. In the months following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were identified as "arrogant," while Canadians on the other hand were constructed as "fair and tolerant." Using pronouns like "we," and "us," MPs identified themselves and their fellow white Canadians as the legitimate citizens of the country. Conversely, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were constructed outside of the Canadian national identity and labelled as "them." This type of discourse indicates the first steps in Mazepa's (2012) regressive continuum whereby Canadians of Japanese ancestry were *marginalized* – "separated as abnormal or inferior in some way and labelled as 'them' or as the 'other,'" and *stereotyped* – "assigned common signifiers, characteristics, specific social traits, or habits that are deemed inferior or distained" (Mazepa, 2012, p.246). National and local B.C. newspapers reinforced the binary between the two socially constructed racial categories by publishing the same polarizing and stereotypical discourse used in Parliament. The letters to the editor published in the newspapers reveal how the regressive discourse that was used by Members of Parliament and journalists had made its way into the mouths and minds of the public as well.

Marginalizing Canadians of Japanese ancestry

On December 12, 1941, the *Globe and Mail,* ran the headline, "Feb. 7 Deadline Fixed for

Japs" ("Feb. 7 Deadline Fixed for Japs," December 12, 1941, p.11). The article reported that Japanese nationals and those naturalized after 1922, had until February 7 to report to RCMP and sign an, "undertaking required of all enemy aliens" (p.11). More significantly, the article reported *all* Canadians of Japanese ancestry had to register as "aliens" for the "purpose of the defense regulations" (p.11). Under Order in Council PC 9760, all Japanese Canadians, regardless of their citizenship, had to register with the Registrar of Enemy Aliens. This discursive change in the "status" of Canadians citizens of Japanese ancestry was paramount in both symbolic and real effects. The Order in Council meant that Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry, both born and naturalized in Canada, had their rights as citizens completely eroded and replaced with the status of "alien" in their own home country. The discursive change meant that for many people, they were now a "foreigner" in the country they were born in. As Hall (1996) argued, identities are not fixed and that they, "are constructed through, not outside, difference" (Hall, 1996, p.4). As the *Globe and Mail* article shows, the identity of Canadians citizens of Japanese ancestry formally *changed* following the attack on Pearl Harbor when the Canadian government used their power to force them to formally register and identify themselves as an "alien." Considering Anderson's (1983) "imagined community," it clear how forcing Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry to identify as "aliens," further marginalized and excluded them from the "nation" and "nationality" of Canada.

As a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese-language schools in B.C. were shut-down. On December 19, 1941, a week after the announcement was made, an article titled, "Study Status of Japanese," ran on the front-page of the *Daily Colonist* ("Study Status of Japanese," December 19, 1941, p.1). The sub-headline reported, "Schooling presents complex problem where racial stocks mingle" (p.1). The discourse used in this sub-heading is highly problematic

for a number of reasons. First, to refer to school being a "complex problem" because young Canadian students of Japanese ancestry are learning alongside 'white' kids, is blatantly racist. The article reinforces the idea that race is some sort of biological determinate that separates humans in their ability to co-exist. The fact that "racial stocks" mingling at school is such a concern reinforces the sentiment that race is a hierarchical structure and that racial hegemony is ideal. The article also framed race as a legitimate excuse to segregate the inferior group so that the whites could go to school in "peace."

In a letter to the editor published in the *Daily Colonist,* on January 3, 1942, B.C. resident, H. May quoted British Prime Minister Churchill's speech to the Canadian House of Commons, reminding readers to treat Japanese everywhere as, "infected persons, to be shunned and isolated as far as possible" (May, January 3, 1942, p. 17). May used Churchill's statement to insinuate Japanese Canadians constituted the status of an "infected person." He questioned the loyalty of the Japanese Canadians and invited readers to do the same, writing, "If a Canadian had lived many years in Japan, would his children, or his grandchildren feel themselves Japanese at heart?" (p. 17). This is a clear example of May enforcing the idea that Canadians of Japanese ancestry could not be trusted. He then exercised the "us versus them" narrative when he wrote, "let every person who values the safety of himself and his family, take strong measures to urge the government to make it impossible for Canadians of Japanese ancestry to follow the call of duty, by striking a blow for Japan" (p.17). In his letter, May framed Canadians as in danger, and those who cared about their safety and the safety of their families, were the ones who did whatever it took to prevent Canadians of Japanese ancestry from following "the call of duty."

The local B.C. newspaper published another letter to the editor on January 4, 1942, under the heading, "The Japanese in B.C." In his letter, Percival wrote about "some facts," that, "*we*,"

know about Japanese Canadians (Percival, January 4, 1942, p. 20). Percival's use of the pronoun "we," served to align his views with the rest of Canadians while placing Japanese Canadians outside of that construction. The use of the word "facts" and the pronoun "we," suggests the knowledge Percival shared about Canadians of Japanese ancestry is assumed to be true and agreed upon by all. One of these "facts," was, "the Japanese can be excessively and unnecessary polite — when it suits their purpose — and brutally arrogant" (p. 20). Percival stereotyped the entire population of Canadians of Japanese ancestry as manipulative and arrogant without any actual evidence of such behaviour. Stereotyping provides a foundation for the regressive continuum as they can be used to justify and reify difference in order to advance the exercise of power (Mazepa 2012, p. 246/7). For example, when political theorist Walter Lippmann coined the term "stereotype," he explained that they were not "neutral," and not "merely a short cut" to explain something or someone (Lippmann, 1956, p. 96). He argued, "It is our guarantee of self-respect; It is the projection upon the world of our own sense of value, our own position and our own rights" (p. 96). Building off Lippmann's work, Dyer (1999) also argued stereotypes serve particular interests, and thus, understanding who controls and gets to defines them, is very important (Dyer, 1999, p. 246). According to Dyer, the most important function of stereotypes is, "to maintain sharp boundary definitions, to define clearly where the pale ends and thus who is clearly within and who clearly beyond it" (p. 246). Moreover, Dyer argued stereotypes make social categories "visible" and insist on boundaries between them, when it reality, there are none (p. 245). This function is evident in Percival's letter since he used stereotypes and marginalizing discourse to reinforce the constructed binary between Canadians of Japanese ancestry and white Canadians.

In his letter, Percival also claimed it was a fact that anyone of Japanese ancestry were,

"intensely loyal and patriotic to their own 'God descended' — emperor and country" (Percival, January 4, 1942, p. 20). He used this construction of anyone of Japanese ancestry as being disloyal to argue, "they constitute a most formidable enemy both in and outside of our country" (p. 20). Percival's letter is full of attempts of fear mongering and discursively identifying Canadians of Japanese ancestry *outside* of the Canadian identity. He wrote, "Japanese born here in this province tune in their radios to broadcast in Japan, and some Japanese in this province anticipated the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor" (p. 20). By repeating twice in the same sentence that he is talking about Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry who were born and lived in B.C., Percival reinforced the idea that readers should be fearful of their Japanese Canadians neighbors. He continued to fan the flames of fear with his statement that, "there may or may not be enemy raids on this coast, but if there are, the enemies in our midst, by acts of sabotage and incendiarism and flashlight code signals from housetops, might increase devastating damage and loss of life very materially" (p. 20). Note his use of imagery here which served to paint Japanese Canadians as sneaky and dangerous. With his confident claims and anecdotal make-belief stories about Canadians of Japanese ancestry on rooftops flashing secret codes to each other planted in the reader's minds, Percival then stated that since they cannot tell which "alien people" can trusted, *all* should be moved into the interior (p. 20). He closed the letter stating, "democracy is a fine concept, but it can be awfully stupid" (p. 20). To call democracy "stupid," in reference to subjecting all Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry to internment solely based on their racial origin, is extremely ironic.

Racist Rants

On February 2, 1942, MP Reid (New Westminster) gave a speech in the House where he referred to Canadians of Japanese ancestry as a, "menacing situation" (Reid, 1942, p. 224),

"problem," (p. 224), "unassimilable race" (p. 226), "who cannot in the strictest sense become truly Canadians" (p. 226), and that "no community in British Columbia really wants them" (p. 224). MP Reid's choice of discourse to describe Japanese Canadians all work to position the minority group outside of the imagined community that is "Canada." He further discursively constructed the binary between "Japanese" and "Canadians," when he said the "Oriental mind," is, "as different as night from day when compared with that of the occidental" (p. 227). By using the terms Oriental and occidental in opposition of one another, MP Reid is implying that there is a genuine biological difference between the races that determines the way they think and their level of intelligence. This is a prime example of MP Reid using race as a justification for discriminatory treatment of Canadians of Japanese ancestry. In the same breath, MP Reid assured the House of his, "desire to be fair and tolerant in all that I have to say in connection with the Japanese dwelling within our country" (p. 224). This attempt to deflect accusations of racism or prejudice, by claiming to be "fair" and "tolerant," re-affirms MP Reid's power as a Member of Parliament and white male by allowing him to mask his racist remarks so that they appear to be "natural." Moreover, MP Reid said he refrained from, "making any public statements which might in any way incite racial feelings amongst our own people," referring to how "dangerous such feelings," could be for Canadian citizens that were living in Japan at the time (p. 224). Note how the only justification MP Reid gives for not wanting to incite racial feelings is only for the sake of the Canadians safety who were in Japan at the time. In his speech, MP Reid managed to completely exclude Canadians of Japanese ancestry from the nation and nationality of "Canada" through his choice of discourse.

During a debate on February 19, 1942, MP Neill's (Comox-Alberni) racism toward to Japanese Canadians was made even more clear when he said he had "begged" the Prime Minister

to follow the U.S. policy of 1924 of a, "total exclusion act against Orientals, including Japanese" (Neill, 1942, p. 712). The fact that MP Neill proudly reminded the House that he wanted anyone of Japanese ancestry banned from Canada almost twenty years prior, shows he had discriminatory feelings toward Japanese Canadians long before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Now that the bombs had been dropped on Pearl Harbor, MP Neill had an excuse and momentum in the House to push for the total exclusion of Canadians of Japanese ancestry. MP Neill admitted, "yes, we are all bad because we want a white British Columbia and not a place like Hawaii!" (Neill, 1942, p. 719). He continued, "fifty years from now, unless something is done to stop it, all west of the Rockies will be yellow" (p. 719). Using the colours, "white," and "yellow," MP Neill constructed white Canadians as "pure," and "good," as opposed to Canadians of Japanese ancestry who were framed as polluted and unwanted. Claiming to speak on behalf of Canadians, MP Neill said, "we simply want to be left alone, like New Zealand and Australia, all white" (p. 719). This is a clear representation of race as a hierarchical structure manifesting within political discourse. MP Neill used his power as an elected white politician to frame his racist opinions as being aligned with the entire population of Canada and to reaffirm the notion that white was "better" than yellow.

Chapter Summary

As the findings in this chapter have shown, following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were increasingly constructed using stereotypical and marginalizing discourse in the House and in the press. MPs and news articles stereotyped Japanese Canadians as all the same, arrogant, and sneaky. The use of pronouns like "they/them," and terms like "unassimilable," served to marginalize Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry as it separated them as abnormal, inferior, and excluded them from the Canadian identity. As

Anderson (1983) argued, this indicates how a nation can be an, "imagined community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1983, p.6). This chapter has shown how Canadians of Japanese ancestry were discursively constructed *outside* of the nation and nationality of Canada. The Canadian government's policy that forced Canadians of Japanese ancestry to identify as "aliens" clearly illustrates the way discourse was used to marginalize and separate them from the white Canadians and indicates how this discourse became reified in policy (Mazepa, 2017). As Hall (1996) argued, this was bolstered by identities that are constructed through difference as, "it is only through the relation of the Other," that one can define their identity (Hall, 1996, p. 4). In this case, to be Canadian, meant that you were not of Japanese ancestry, and to be Japanese meant that you were an "alien" in Canada. The constructed difference between the races were further reinforced through binary discourse such as, Oriental/ occidental and yellow/ white. This type of discourse represents Said's (1976) notion of Orientalism, which is a "political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (Said, 1976, p.54). In both Parliament and the press, Canadians of Japanese ancestry (Oriental, yellow) were framed as inherently *different* than Canadians (occidental, white). As Said argued, the discourse of Orientalism is, "produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power" (p. 13). Without a voice in Parliament or the press, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were identified by the white Canadians as different, inferior, and "them."

Chapter Four
Demonization

Untrustworthy, irrational, sinful or evil

As the previous chapters have indicated, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were categorized solely based on their race and then Canadian Members of Parliament used stereotypes and marginalizing discourse to define what it meant to be "Japanese" at the time. Both the local British Columbia newspaper and the national press reinforced the "us and them" narrative and framed Canadians of Japanese ancestry outside of the Canadian identity. Mazepa (2012) argued that further down the regressive continuum, people become so "differentiated" that they become *demonized* – "identified as untrustworthy, irrational, conspiratorial, sinful or evil" (Mazepa, 2012, p.247). This chapter will examine the ways in which Canadians of Japanese ancestry were demonized throughout the parliamentary and press texts.

Demonizing Canadians of Japanese Ancestry

During a House of Commons debate on January 29, 1942, MP Fraser (Peterborough West) asked the Prime Minister if he could confirm all radios, cameras, and firearms had been taken away from "all Japanese residing in Canada" (Fraser, 1942, p. 131). Before PM King answered, MP Green (Vancouver South) chimed in, referring to Canadians of Japanese ancestry as the, "grave danger on the Pacific Coast," and that, "the only complete protection we can have from this danger is to remove the Japanese population from the province" (Green, 1942, p. 156). Here we see Japanese Canadians being constructed as a "threat" and the only possible solution to that threat is the complete removal of them. The "us and them" narrative continued with MP Green stating, Canadians were "entitled to" and "insisted on getting complete protection from treachery, protection from being stabbed in the back" (p. 156). By repeating the word

"protection" twice in the same sentence, MP Green strongly reinforced his argument that Canadians were in serious danger of sabotage from Canadians of Japanese ancestry. MP Green further added to his discursive construction of the "us and them" narrative when he said, "In this dark and challenging time, Canadians look to us here in the Canadian parliament. Let us rise to the occasion and give them the bold and far-seeing leadership to which they are so justly entitled" (p. 157). Using mythical language, MP Green constructed the MPs as the heroes set out to save their white Canadians brothers and sisters from the "dire peril" caused by Japanese Canadians (p. 157). MP Green's choice of discourse served to demonize Canadians of Japanese ancestry by framing them as dangerous (dire peril) and untrustworthy (treachery).

Demands of Internment

In January and February of 1942, before the internment was officially declared, the *Daily Colonist,* published a variety of letters and articles that called for the internment of all Japanese Canadians living in British Columbia. From the, "native sons of B.C. asking Ottawa" ("Want Japanese Here Interned," January 6, 1942, p. 2), to a "women plea for action" ("Council Urges That Air Raid Shelters be Constructed in B.C.," January 13, 1942, p. 7), the local paper circulated discourse, "calling for the immediate internment of all Japanese in this province" ("Want Japanese Here Interned," January 6, 1942, p. 2). Throughout the newspaper articles and letters to the editor, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were referred to as the, "Oriental problem on the Pacific Coast," ("Want Japanese Here Interned," January 6, 1942, p.2), "dangerous enemies" (Littlewood, January 7, 1942, p.4), "Japanese plague" (Hart, January 8, 1942, p. 4), and "the Japanese problem" ("Council Urges That Air Raid Shelters be Constructed in B.C.," January 13, 1942, p. 7). The "Canadians," on the other hand, were constructed as, "in grave danger of the present situation in regard to the thousands of Japanese in our midst" (Littlewood, January 7,

1942, p.4), Thus, according to L.K. Littlewood, a resident of Mount Newton, Saanich, "it is *imperative* that *all* Japanese in B.C. be interned *immediately*" (p.4) Or, as Hart phrased it in her letter on January 8, 1942, "a *clean sweep* of 'all' the Japanese would be the loyal thing to do for all Canadian people, and that would only be a fragment of what is yet required for their security" (Hart, January 8, 1942, p.4). These letters to the editor clearly articulate the demonizing "us versus them" narrative, whereby Canadians of Japanese ancestry were "bad," and in order to "protect" Canadians from them, they needed to be interned. This indicates how powerful the regressive discourse that was used to talk about Japanese Canadians in parliament and press was at the time. Citizens were not only using the same polarizing discourse the MPs and newspapers used to negatively construct Canadians of Japanese ancestry against white Canadians, they were also using it to justify their own demands for Japanese internment. This change in the public's social construction of Japanese Canadians can be explained by the regressive continuum. As Mazepa (2012) argued, "Once such categories gain hegemonic momentum, physical and social segregation, violence or imprisonment – as a reaction or a means of social control – can ultimately establish a basis for justifying internment and extermination" (Mazepa, 2012, p. 247). The letters to the editor indicate the "us and them" narrative was the hegemonic way of thinking about Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry at the time. Moreover, the fact that people were writing to newspaper editors demanding that all Canadians of Japanese ancestry should be interned, indicates the extent of how effective demonization had become.

Fear the Japanese

Tactics of fear-mongering were clearly evident throughout the parliamentary and press discourse. Members of Parliament and news stories often framed Canadians of Japanese ancestry as disloyal, untrustworthy and dangerous. During a debate on February 9, 1942, MP Mayhew

(Victoria) asked the House if anyone could guarantee that the, "Japanese have not already cached munitions and arms of various kinds in different places along that long coast line" (Mayhew, 1942, p. 433). He played on security fears by claiming Canadians of Japanese ancestry could have used their thousands of fishing boats to travel 300-500 miles out to sea to deliver guns. MP Lacroix (Quebec- Montmorency), added Japanese Canadian fishermen were where, "the greatest potential danger lies" (Lacroix, 1942, p. 442).

A few days later, on February 16, 1942, MP McNiven (Regina City), stated in the House that the people in the prairies shared the same "anxieties" as the B.C. population did about the "Japanese problem" (McNiven, 1942, p. 610). He continued, "the revelations respecting Pearl Harbor have justified that anxiety, an anxiety which I may say to you, sir, is the most real, and not imaginary" (p. 610). McNiven framed Canadians of Japanese ancestry as dangerous and threating and used the attack on Pearl Harbor as "proof" of that. On February 19, 1942, MP Mayhew (Victoria) presented the House with a petition titled: "Request for internment of Japanese adults in B.C." He said the petition was signed by 1,100 residents of Nanaimo to urge the Canadian government to, "eliminate all possibility of subversive acts by the resident Japanese in this province" (Mayhew, 1942, p. 708). The petition further solidified the regressive continuum Canadians of Japanese ancestry were spiraling down. Already racially categorized, marginalized and stereotyped, Japanese Canadians were now being demonized as means of justifying calls for their internment.

During the same debate that MP Mayhew's (Victoria) petition was presented in the House, MP Neill (Comox-Alberni) further demonized Canadians of Japanese ancestry when he claimed their loyalty would always be to Japan (Neill, 1942, p. 714). He said one day Canadians might even see Canadians of Japanese ancestry, "peering over the side of the bridge of a German

gunboat in Vancouver," (p. 714). MP Neill also told the House that he "fears" that some Japanese Canadians live close to the airport and said one was seen taking pictures from an airplane (p. 716). This demonizing construction of Canadians of Japanese ancestry was amplified in both the local and national press. The day after MP Neill's comments were made in the House about the threat of Japanese Canadians in B.C., they were printed on the front page of the *Daily Colonist* ("Says Ottawa Indifferent," February 20, 1942, p.1). The article quoted MP Neill complaining in the House that the government was not moving fast enough in regards to Japanese Canadians and as a result, "they have now gone home with their charts and plans and with a local knowledge that could not be brought for any money" (p. 1). The *Globe and Mail,* reported the exact same demonizing threats from MP Neill under the headline, "Neill Warns Jap Situation Serious in B.C." ("Neill Warns Jap Situation Serious in B.C.," February 20, 1942, p.3). In both the local B.C. and national newspaper, MP Neill's statement in the House that one day the people of B.C. might see Canadians of Japanese ancestry that once lived among them, "peering over the side of the bridge of a German gunboat," is printed word-for-word ("Says Ottawa Indifferent," February 20, 1942, p.1; "Neill Warns Jap Situation Serious in B.C.," February 20, 1942, p.3). The fact that both the local and national newspapers published MP Neill's fear-inducing discourse word-for-word, without any critical voices in either stories, shows how the newspapers reinforced the "us and them" narrative the MPs had constructed.

Newspaper Headlines

In addition to using unbalanced and uncritical reporting, the *Daily Colonist* and *Globe and Mail* also contributed to the demonization of Canadians of Japanese ancestry by framing them as a threat in their headlines. The point of a headline is to grab the reader's attention by providing a very short indication as to what the article is about. The headline is likely the first

thing the reader will see, and as such, it helps define the story for the reader (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 50). Since the reader sees it first, the headline is used to process information about the rest of the story (p. 50). The headline indicates what the, "main topic," of the story is, and since it is only a few words long, it often an incomplete sentence with vagueness and ambiguity (p. 50). In some cases, a reader might only read the headline and leave with an assumption of what the rest of the story entails based on only a few words. Thus, the headline plays a "special and ideological function" (p. 50).

The box below shows some of the headlines that appeared in the *Daily Colonist* and the *Globe and Mail* just before the internment was declared in 1942. Canadians of Japanese ancestry are identified as, "Japanese peril," "Japanese problem," "Japanese danger," and "Japanese situation." All of these examples serve to demonize Japanese Canadians by framing them as dangerous and threatening. The MPs on the other hand are constructed as, "warning" the House and feeling "worried" about the threat of Canadians of Japanese ancestry.

Daily Colonist, 1942

- "The Japanese **Peril**" (January 7, 1942, p.4);
- "Military to Advise on Japanese **Problem**" (January 20, 1942, p.16);
- "**Warns** House of Japanese **Danger**" (February 13, 1942, p.1).

Globe and Mail, 1942

- "Japs in B.C. **Worry** MP" (February 18, 1942, p.25);
- "Neill **Warns** Jap Situation Serious in B.C." (February 20, 1942, p.3).

These headlines are significant for a few reasons. First, the association between the "fear" of Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry being tied to the House implies a certain level of seriousness and truth in the claim. Political figures like MPs and the Cabinet Minister are ascribed a certain level of power in democratic nations, and thus, the things they say in the House and in the press, carry a degree of authority and potential influence. Someone reading a newspaper headline that says an MP, or the whole House, declared Canadians of Japanese ancestry a "threat," or a "cause for concern," could understandably take the statement as somewhat of a "fact." Second, since the newspaper is ultimately a commodity, something that is bought and sold, the news organization has an invested interest in making money. Headlines like, "Neill Warns Jap Situation Serious in B.C." (February 20, 1942, p.3), are both attention grabbing and tied to a governmental authority which makes MP Neill's threat seems serious and "true." The *Daily Colonist* article under the headline, "Warns House of Danger," used a quote from MP Slaght (Parry Sound) that said, "let us get the Japanese out of B.C. before irreparable damage may be done" (February 13, 1942, p.1). It also reported, "their presence, as outlined by Mayhew, is a constant menace to the safety and security of the coastlines of B.C." (p.1).

Chapter Summary

As the findings in this chapter have indicated, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry had been pushed down the regressive continuum to the point where they had been categorized, marginalized and stereotyped, and demonized as *untrustworthy*, *irrational*, and *evil*. The findings show discourse in Parliament and the press referred to Canadians of Japanese ancestry as a "threat," "dangerous enemies," "plague," and "peril." This demonizing discourse was used in juxtaposition to terms used to describe the white Canadians who were in "grave danger," and the Members of Parliament who would, "rise to the occasion and give [Canadians] the bold and far-

seeing leadership to which they are so justly entitled." The implications of this type of discourse is that it solidified the socially constructed binary between the white Canadians and Canadians of Japanese ancestry as "good versus evil." At this point, Canada was actively apart of the Second World War and it is reasonable to assume civilians may have had some anxieties regarding their safety and well-being. It is thus highly problematic that the Canadian Government and press actively framed 22,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry as a "threat" and an "enemy." By appealing to people's emotions and fear, Canadian Members of Parliament and the press, constructed and reinforced a "good versus evil" narrative in order to justify the Japanese internment.

Chapter Five
Dehumanization

Foreigners, enemies and aliens

At the end of Mazepa's (2012) regressive continuum is *dehumanization* (p. 247). As the findings have shown so far, this continuum was initiated when race was used to categorize and clearly differentiate who was "Japanese" and who was "Canadian." Members of Parliament ascribed meaning to the categories by filling the boxes with marginalizing and stereotypical discourse to create an "us versus them" narrative. The more that the difference between Canadians of Japanese ancestry and white Canadians was constructed and reinforced in Parliamentary discourse, policies and the press, the more it appeared as 'common sense.' Mazepa explains the consequence of this culmination: "Once such categories gain hegemonic momentum, physical and social segregation, violence or imprisonment – as a reaction or a means of social control – can ultimately establish a basis for justifying internment and extermination" (p. 247). As Canadians of Japanese ancestry were forced to the end of the regressive continuum, they were labelled as "foreigners," "enemies," and "aliens." For the majority of them, the only home they had ever known was Canada. This is where they were born, where they grew up and where they had gone to school. This chapter will identify the discourse that was used in the parliament and the press to dehumanize Canadian of Japanese ancestry and justify their internment and deportation.

The Japanese Internment

The racism displayed by various MPs in the House was turned into official government policy after a secret session of the House on February 24, 1942, when Order in Council PC 1486,

was passed. The next day, Prime Minister King laid a copy of the Order in Council on the table in the House and announced, "the defense of Canada regulations, as now amended, give the Minister of Justice full power to take any required security measures with regard to any person if in the protected area" (King, 1942, p. 809). This area was defined as the coastal area between the cascade mountains and the sea, including all the islands off the coast of B.C. The Order in Council essentially gave the government the power to do whatever they wanted, to whoever they wanted, as long as they claimed it was for "security." In fact, Order in Council PC 365, which was passed in January 1942, gave the Minister of National Defense, with the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, the power to, "declare any area in Canada a protected area" (p. 809). With the loosely defined policies now in place, Order in Council PC 1486 that was passed on February 24, authorized the removal of all Canadians of Japanese ancestry from the B.C. coast.

PM King told the House the new regulation, "corresponds very closely to the proclamation issued by the President of the U.S.," which was made less than a week prior (King, 1942, p. 810). He then listed seven other Orders in Council that pertained to Canadians of Japanese ancestry which had been passed between December, 7 1941 and February 24, 1942:

1. Compulsory registration (PC 9591, December 1941 and PC 9760, December 1941)
2. Control of all vessels used by Japanese (PC 9761, December 1941)
3. Prohibition of fishing licenses and serving on vessels (PC 251, January 1942)
4. Establishment of Canadian-Japanese construction corps (PC 1271, February 1942)
5. Authorization of work camps for Japanese males (PC 1348, February 1942)
6. Prohibition of possession of firearms or explosives of person of the Japanese race (PC 1365, February 1942)
7. Regulations on the Japanese acquisition of land and growing crops (PC 1457, February 1942).

A couple days after PM King made his official announcement of the removal of Canadians of Japanese ancestry in B.C., he told the House about the establishment of the, "British Columbia Security Commission," a three-member committee headed by Austin Taylor. According to PM King, the B.C. Security Commission would be in charge of, "directing and supervising the evacuation," including organizing the transportation, placement and accommodations for Japanese Canadians (King, 1942, p. 917). The Minister of Justice, St. Laurent, also announced a dusk-to-dawn curfew for Canadians of Japanese ancestry along with notice for them to give up all motor vehicles, radios and cameras (St. Laurent, 1942, p. 919).

The Reaction from Canadians of Japanese Ancestry

In the weeks following PM King's evacuation orders, the pages of the *Daily Colonist* were filled with official government notices for Canadians of Japanese ancestry in the area to follow and articles relating to their forced removal out of their homes. According to an article published on February 27, 1942, the news of the dusk-to-dawn curfew had come as a, "very great shock," to Canadians of Japanese ancestry ("Apply Curfew Order to all Japanese in B.C. Coast Districts," February 27, 1942, p. 1). In a rare instance, the newspaper actually included the voice of a Japanese Canadian who asserted, "Canadian-born Japanese are loyal citizens to this country, willing to fight for Canada against any enemy" (p. 2). On March 1, 1942, the paper published another story about the curfew and the Government's plan to confiscate all automobiles from all Japanese Canadians, "irrespective of their citizenship status" (March 1, 1942, p.1). The front-page article reported that Canadians of Japanese ancestry did, "accept their new restrictions without undue resentment," and that the restrictions had been, "felt most by the young Japanese of the second-generation, who for the first time, found themselves classified as *aliens,* instead of Canadian citizens" (p. 1). This statement is significant because it shows how children who were

born in Canada had been forced to regress from identifying themselves as a "Canadian citizen" to being classified as an "alien" in their own country. Moreover, the article reported, "Born here and raised and schooled along their Canadian friends, they suddenly found themselves cut off from their normal evening social and sports pursuits, and even without a radio to wile away the hours" (p. 1). This short anecdote sheds light on who actually was affected by the restrictions. Rather than calling them, "spies," "savages," or "untrustworthy," Canadians of Japanese ancestry in this article are identified as Canadian-born kids who no longer could play soccer with their white friends or listen to music on the radio because they happened to be of Japanese racial ancestry. In a way, this article actually humanizes Canadians of Japanese ancestry, which was rare in the press and Parliament, as indicated by the Government's plan to remove more than 22,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry from the province.

On April 19, 1942, the *Daily Colonist* reported all Japanese Canadians living in Victoria, B.C., had only two days to leave the city and could only bring, "light luggage" ("Orders Given to Japanese to Leave Town," April 19, 1942, p. 1). On April 23, 1942, the newspaper reported, 273 men, women and children of Japanese ancestry had been "evacuated" and taken to the mainland by SS Princess Joan ("Last Japanese Leave Victoria," p. 2). The group ranged in age from seven months to seventy years old (p. 20). This mention of the age range here is significant because it shows how all Canadians of Japanese ancestry were treated as one – it didn't matter how young they were or what their citizenship status was, they were *all* classified as "Japanese," and *all* treated like criminals because of it.

Dehumanizing Living Conditions

In addition to the dehumanizing act of labelling and treating Canadian citizens as "foreigners" and "aliens" in their own country, the Canadian government also subjected Japanese

Canadians to inhumane living conditions. Stories from survivors told years later described how they lived in flimsy tents during the harsh Canadian winters where, "our bed froze solid and the blankets all stuck to the side" (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991, p.35) Another described the, "so-called sick bay," which was a six-by-eight horse stall where, "the stench of horse urine soaked in the floors was enough to make a healthy person ill" (p.26). Articles published in the *Globe and Mail* during 1942 identified the various types of living quarters Canadians of Japanese ancestry were sent to as: "Camp sites" ("First Japs due North soon," March 19, 1942, p.4), "northern camps" ("Japs Happy on Arrival at Schreiber," April 2, 1942, p. 3), "new homes" ("Pact Covers Care of Japs," April 14, 1942, p. 14), "ghost town" (Smith, July 30, 1942, p. 24), and "abandoned mining towns" (p.24). According to a March 10, 1942 article about life at a B.C. road camp, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were sleeping in, "tents with wooden floors and framework, heated by big stoves" ("B.C. Japs Yield Autos, Other Assets by Order," March 10, 1942, p.2). A quote from one of the men who lived in a road camp stated, "these tents are not to be compared with brick homes as far as warmth and coziness go, but they do provide adequate shelter" (p.2). The majority of the interned Japanese Canadians were placed in a "holding center" in Vancouver at the Exhibition Buildings at Hastings Park while they waited to be moved into the interior. Under the March 17, 1942 headline, "400 Coast Japs Arrive at Pool," the *Globe and Mail* article explained that soldiers had turned the, "livestock building and the women's building at the grounds into a manning pool, with facilities for about 2,000 Japanese of both sexes" ("400 Coast Japs Arrive at Pool," March 17, 1942, p. 11). The article described their bed as, "double-deck cots and straw filled mattresses" (p. 11). Another article published a few weeks later had reported, "a delay in the arrival of mattresses made sleeping conditions somewhat

uncomfortable," for the Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry sent to Ontario to work (April 4, 1942, p. 13).

If living in these conditions wasn't degrading and unjust enough as it was, the Canadian government also made Canadians of Japanese ancestry pay for their own internment ("B.C. Japs Play Poker for More Than a Pastime," April 17, 1942, p. 13; "Schreiber Japs Will Be Moved to Beet Areas," May 20, 1942, p .4). This is an important difference between the Japanese internment that happened in Canada and the one that happened in America. Even though the attack on Pearl Harbor happened in the United States, Canadians of Japanese ancestry faced longer and harsher discriminatory restrictions than Japanese Americans. According to an article published on April 17, 1942, Japanese Canadians who were exiled from their homes and sent to work camps across the country were paid twenty-five cents an hour and from that, "the workers must allot $20 monthly to his wife, who in addition receives a $5 monthly allowance for her first child under 16 and $4 for every other child, with a limit of five children. From this, her board is deducted, leaving enough for clothing and incidentals" ("B.C. Japs Play Poker for More Than a Pastime," April 17, 1942, p.13). An article from May 20, 1942 reported Japanese Canadian farm workers were, "paid prevailing rates of wages, which work out to $22 per acre, from which is deducted living costs" ("Schreiber Japs Will Be Moved to Beet Areas," May 20, 1942, p.4). The fact that Canadians of Japanese ancestry had to pay for their own internment is especially appalling. They had everything taken from them – their homes, their possessions, their careers, their families – and in return, they were given hard-labor jobs and the little money they made they had to use to pay to live in internment camps.

Japanese Labor: From Humans to Objects

With Canada fully engaged in World War Two, most able-bodied males were off fighting, leaving an abundance of vacant jobs. Following the Government's announcement regarding the Japanese internment, there was a clear and frequent emphasis on the "need" for workers across the country in articles published in the national newspaper. On March 10, 1942, the *Globe and Mail* reported B.C. Premier Hart had announced 5,000 people would be needed for B.C. road projects ("B.C. Japs Yield Autos, Other Assets by Order," March 10, 1942, p.2). On March 19, 1942, another article in the national newspaper claimed there was a labor shortage in the pulp and lumber mills, so it was "necessary" to put most of the 3,000 Japanese Canadians being sent to Ontario to work in those industries ("First Japs Due North Soon," March 19, 1942, p.4). The emphasis on the "need" for workers due to wartime conditions was again evident in a March 20, 1942 article when Labor Minister Mitchell said in an interview, "the 9,000 Japanese males available for work will be a mere drop in the bucket in the growing need for man power" ("Start Japs' East Soon," March 20, 1942, p.12).

Against the backdrop of the clear discursively constructed "need" for workers, the freshly evacuated and interned Canadians of Japanese ancestry were constructed as the solution to the labor shortage problem. Grouped together as "the Japanese," the language used to talk about the able-bodied men objectified them into a "thing," that was simply there for the white man's taking. This objectifying and colonizing discourse is evident in the *Globe and Mail* headline, "Hepburn offers to take Japs for Farm Work" ("Hepburn Offers to Take Japs for Farm Work," March 14, 1942, p.4). The word "offers" insinuates the Ontario mayor is doing some sort of good deed by "taking" the evacuees from their home province and putting them to work on his farm thousands of miles away. Moreover, an article from March 24, 1942, declared, "so far orders

have come from Ontario for only 200, all Canadian-born Japanese" ("Canadian-Japs Ready to Leave for Ontario," March 24, 1942, p. 24). To refer to the hiring of these men as putting in an "order," is highly degrading and objectifying. People "order" food, clothes and other objects for their use, *not* other people. When Ontario Mayor Hepburn saw how hard-working his new workers were, he asked the B.C. Security Commission, "to send two more for a friend" ("Hepburn Asks for More Japs," April 17, 1942, p. 2). This is another example of an elected political leader using discourse to maintain the racial hierarchy over Canadians of Japanese ancestry by constructing them as mere objects to be "sent" around for whatever the white man pleases. Moreover, this type of discourse echoes colonizing behavior whereby white men conquered and controlled the Asian body for their own interests in the labor field.

This colonizing and objectifying discourse appeared often throughout the *Globe and Mail* articles in May and June 1942, thereby reinforcing the racial hierarchy that placed "white" above "yellow." For example, on May 20, 1942 a headline reported, "Hepburn's Japs Aid Red Cross" ("Hepburn's Japs Aid Red Cross," May 20, 1942, p. 8). The phrase, "Hepburn's Japs," objectified the men working on Hepburn's farm by insinuating they "belonged" to Hepburn. Likewise, a headline from June 16, 1942, declared, "Demand for Single Japs Greater than Supply" ("Demand for Single Japs Greater Than Supply," June 16, 1942, p.4). By referring to the evacuated Canadians of Japanese ancestry as a "supply," the article completely degraded them from being Canadian citizens and individuals. An article published the next day, shows a similar discursive construction of Japanese Canadian workers ("Offer Farmers Jap Families," June 17, 1942, p. 15). Under the heading, "Offer Farmers Jap Families," the subheading reported, "Heenan reveals plan as labor solution" (p.15). Again, Canadians of Japanese ancestry

were constructed as something for the white Canadians to use as they please, "offering" them to employers and as a "solution" to the labor shortage.

"Jap Workers Not Wanted"

Similar to the way the local British Columbia newspaper had framed Canadians of Japanese ancestry as "unwanted" in the province, the national newspaper reported the same type of feeling as news spread of their arrival at worksites across the country. On March 19, 1942, the *Globe and Mail* reported 3,000 Japanese Canadians were on their way to Ontario to work in pulp and lumber mills but, "It was emphasized that the Japanese will not be put to work alongside white workers, but will form their own group in any undertaking to which they are assigned" ("First Japs Due North Soon," March 19, 1942, p.4). Here we see race, and more specifically, colour, being used as a reason to spatially marginalize and segregate Japanese Canadian workers. In a letter to the editor of the national newspaper, George McCandiess of Toronto demanded the government, "keep these foreigners out of lumber camps" (McCandiess, March 25, 1942, p. 6). A couple days later, an article reported citizens in Ontario, "do not welcome the Japanese but are anxious to have this section of the highway completed" ("Japs Leave Coast Today for Ontario Work Camps," March 30, 1942, p. 8). A *Globe and Mail* headline on May 11, 1942, put it bluntly, "Jap Workers Not Wanted" ("Jap Workers Not Wanted," May 11, 1942, p. 2). The article went on to report Kent residents in Ontario were protesting the Federal labor plan "vigorously," in order to keep Canadians of Japanese ancestry from coming to work on farms in the area (p. 2).

Reinforcing the Us and Them Narrative

After the internment was declared, both the national and local newspapers continued to publish polarizing and marginalizing discourse to describe Canadian citizens of Japanese

ancestry. *They* were "foreigners" (McCandiess, March 25, 1942, p.6), as opposed to, "*our* own people" (Saul, July 7, 1942, p.4). In a letter to the editor, published in the *Daily Colonist,* Robert Broneth of Sannich, B.C. called Canadians of Japanese ancestry, "enemy aliens," and said they be put into concentration camps, "for the sake of *our* own morale" (Broneth, August 4, 1942, p. 4). The chart below shows other examples of the discourse that was used in the press to talk about the "Japanese" and "Canadians" in the months following the internment was declared:

Table 5.1
Newspaper Constructions of "Japanese" and "Canadians"
Daily Colonist and *Globe and Mail*
March – October 1942

Japanese	**Canadians/ Canada**
Foreigners (McCandiess, March 25, 1942, p.6)	Our people (Saul, July 7, 1942, p.4)
Canada's problem ("'Good old Toronto,' Rebuked for Stand Against B.C. Japs," April 24, 1942, p.17)	Responsible for solving an acute national problem (April 24, 1942, p.17)
Enemy aliens ("To Bring Japs from B.C. for Sugar Beet Fields," May 6, 1942, p.4)	Acting in the interest of Canadian unity ("Post-War Resettlement of Canadian Japs Urged," October 15, 1942, p. 12)
Not wanted ("Jap Workers Not Wanted," May 11, 1942, p.2)	Won't stand for bringing any more back in ("Doesn't Want Any Japanese Brought Back," August 30, 1942, p. 1).
Thoroughly bad people ("Jap Problem a Lesson," June 23, 1942, p.6)	Acting as a benevolent host to 25,000 thoroughly bad people (June 23, 1942, p.6)
Arrogant ("Japanese in B.C.," June 28, 1942, p. 4)	Boosting national morale (Broneth, August 4, 1942, p. 4)
Threat ("Hepburn Fears Attacks Here," July 25, 1942, p.4)	Defending national security ("'Good old Toronto,' Rebuked for Stand Against B.C. Japs," April 24, 1942, p.17)

Even though Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry had already been forced out of their homes and scattered across the country to live in road side camps, old livestock buildings, and "ghost towns," the "us and other" narrative was still being reinforced in the national and local newspapers to justify measures like increased surveillance over Japanese Canadians, concentration camps, and their permanent exclusion from B.C. With Canadians of Japanese ancestry out of the province, the local newspaper reported a dominant political consensus – they were not welcome back. Some politicians even used the "Japanese problem" as a political stance. For example, on April 5, 1942, under the headline, "Will Oppose Any Return of Japanese," Pensions Minister Mackenzie was quoted saying, "Every single [Japanese] men, woman and child will be removed from the defense areas of this province, and it is my personal intention, as long as I remain in public life, to see that they never come back here" ("Will Oppose Any Return of Japanese," April, 5, 1942, p. 3). A few months later, on August 30, 1942, the *Daily Colonist* ran the headline, "Doesn't Want any Japanese Brought Back," on the front-page ("Doesn't Want Any Japanese Brought Back," August 30, 1942, p. 1). The article reported, B.C. Mayor Cornett said, "We don't want to wish them on any other province but we know enough now to be positive that we can't assimilate the ones we have and won't stand for any more being brought in" (p. 1).

In the House, Members of Parliament also continued to categorize, marginalize, demonize and dehumanize Canadians of Japanese ancestry through their choice of discourse. During a debate in June 1943, MP Reid (New Westminster) declared, "Japs think of *us* as dirt beneath *their* feet," and that they, "look at *us* with distain" (Reid, 1943, p. 4173). MP Reid's strategic use of pronouns reinforce the "us versus them" narrative by pitting Canadians of Japanese ancestry against white Canadians. In a similar binary fashion, MP Neill (Comox-

Alberni) declared, "*They* can never assimilate with *us*. *They* can never become a part of *us*. *They* can never be absorbed" (Neill, 1943, p. 4209). In the same debate, MP Neill called Canadians "gentlemen," as opposed to Japanese Canadians who were "tigers" (Neill, 1943, p. 4208). Not only does this type of discourse dehumanize Canadians of Japanese ancestry by calling them animals, it also reinforces the racial hierarchy by placing "Canadian" (gentlemen) over "Japanese" (animalistic). MP Nicholson (Mackenzie) took the dehumanizing frame a step further by referring to anyone of Japanese ancestry as "cancer" (Nicholson, 1943, p. 3840). Steuter and Wills (2009) argued, "The final metaphoric devolution in media discourse is to characterize the enemy as a disease so that the enemy is not only inhuman, but an utterly different kind of organism: the microbial, the bacterial, the viral or the cancerous" (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p.17).

The chart below outlines the other divisive and dehumanizing ways Canadians of Japanese ancestry were constructed by white, Canadian Members of Parliament during debates in June 1943 in the House of Commons.

Table 5.2
Parliamentary Constructions of "Japanese" and "Canadians"
June 1943

Japanese	**Canadians**
Enemy aliens (Gillis, 1943, p. 3192)	Loyal (Cruickshank, 1943, p. 4218)
Cancer (Nicholson, 1943, p. 3840)	In danger (Church, 1943, p. 3441)
Yellow (Green, 1943, p. 4209)	White (Green, 1943, p. 4209)
Savages (Green, 1943, p. 4210)	Christian (McIvor, 1943, p. 3450)
Tiger (Green, 1943, p. 4209)	Gentlemen (Green, 1943, p. 4209)
Unassimilable (Green, 1943, p. 4170)	Ordinary (Green, 1943, p. 4209)

The chart clearly indicates the sharp binary that was created between the two races by Canadian Members of Parliament who had the power to speak in parliament. This type of

discourse served to reinforce a structure of dominance whereby Canadians of Japanese ancestry were inferior and subordinate to the white Canadians. On June 30, 1943, MP Green (Vancouver East) said the reaction of the Canadian and U.S. government to intern Japanese Canadians, was only "*natural*" (Green, 1943, p. 4203). He declared in the House, "it was not a matter of persecution; it was a matter perhaps of life and death for the Canadian people" (p. 4203). The fact he called the decision to intern Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry "natural," represents the end of Mazepa's (2012) regressive social relations spectrum whereby Canadians of Japanese ancestry were fully dehumanized as their internment was not only justified, but labelled as "natural."

Framing Japanese Deportation

The "us and them" narrative continued to be enforced in the press and in Parliament during 1944, two years after the internment had been declared. With Canadians of Japanese ancestry already kicked out of their homes and out of British Columbia, there was now an increasing demand to keep them permanently out of the province and country. The text box below shows examples of the some of the headlines demanding deportation from the *Daily Colonist* and *Globe and Mail* in 1944:

Daily Colonist

- "B.C. Farmers Urge Expulsion and Exclusion of Japanese" (January 22, 1944, p.2),
- "Japanese Not to Return to B.C." (January 28, 1944, p.1).

Globe and Mail

- "Don't Want Japs" (April 21, 1944, p.8),
- "Veterans Urge Ousting of Japs" (April 25, 1944, p.8),
- "Deportation Urged for Enemy Aliens" (June 1, 1944, p. 6).

Under the headline, "Canadian-Born Japs 'Trouble,'" the *Globe and Mail* reported Maitland, the B.C. Attorney-General, had met with St. Laurent, Minister of Justice, to discuss, "problems concerning the Japanese in his province" ("Canadian-Born Japs 'Trouble,'" March 29, 1944, p.16). According to the article, Maitland declared British Columbia was determined to keep Japanese Canadian residents out of the province after the war, and that, "in many instances, Japanese born in Canada were the source of more trouble than those born in Japan" (p.16). There was not a single drop of actual evidence given to back this claim up and yet Maitland's powerful words were uncritically spread to Canadians across the country. In another *Globe and Mail* article, there was a quote from MP Neill (Comox-Alberni) that stated, "Spreading the Japanese throughout Canada would simply lead to 'spreading the evil'" ("Canada Weights Policy for Dealing with Japs," May 6, 1944, p.3). The article also reported that MP Reid (New Westminster) said, "the Japanese had come to Canada under a definite plan of the Japanese government," in order to gain control of the countries touching the Pacific (p.3). In addition to MP Reid's demonizing construction of Canadians of Japanese ancestry as evil, the article also included a dehumanizing quote from MP Sinclair (Vancouver North) who said, "after the war, defense would still be a problem, as the Japanese would 'breed' again and seek living space" (p.3). The term "breed" is most often used associated with animal reproduction, so by using it to describe Canadians of Japanese ancestry, it frames them as animalistic.

Discourse Trumps Innocence: Deportation

On August 4, 1944, Prime Minister King declared in the House, "it has not, however, at any stage of the war been shown that the presence of a few thousand persons of Japanese race who have been guilty of *no* act of sabotage and who have manifested *no* disloyalty, even during periods of utmost trial, constitutes a menace to a nation of almost twelve million people" (King,

1944, p. 5916). He continued to say, "for the most part, the people of Japanese race in the country have remained *loyal* and have *refrained* from acts of sabotage or disloyalty during the years of war" (p. 5915). Despite this, the Prime Minister declared his post-war plan for Canadians of Japanese ancestry which included the following discriminatory restrictions:

1. Exclusion of Japanese immigration
2. An investigation to determine which persons of Japanese in Canada are loyal and which ones want to leave
3. Deportation to Japan of all found to be disloyal and any others who wish to leave
4. Dispersal of those who are loyal and wish to remain throughout Canada with safeguards against their concentration in any province

PM King justified his decision to ban Japanese immigration due to, "the strong feeling that has been aroused against the Japanese during the war and to the extreme difficulty in assimilating Japanese persons in Canada" (King, 1944, p.5915). This clearly indicates how the Canadian Government's restrictions over Japanese Canadians were rooted in racism. In the same breath that the Prime Minister stated not one Canadian of Japanese ancestry had actually been charged with a single crime during the war, he justified banning Japanese immigration after the war because of their failure to *assimilate*. In order words, the fact that Canadians of Japanese ancestry were "yellow" and not "white," they were not welcomed in Canada.

In regards to the plan to disperse Canadians of Japanese ancestry across the country, PM King justified it by stating, "the sound policy and the best policy for the Japanese Canadians themselves is to distribute their numbers as widely as possible throughout the country where *they* will not create feelings of *racial hostility"* (King, 1944, p.5917). The way the Prime Minister framed and justified his post-war plan to ban Canadians of Japanese ancestry from

"concentrating" too much in one province can be explained using the regressive continuum. Mazepa (2012) argued, "power is interpreted as operating linearly – up or down hierarchical categories" (Mazepa, 2012, p.247). Thus, she argued, experiences of oppression can be understood as the result of the actions of a particular group, which can be directed upwards or downwards, complemented by ideologies of racism (p.248). By blaming Canadians of Japanese ancestry for creating "feelings of racial hostility" among the white Canadians and using it to justify their dispersal across the nation, PM King used his power as Prime Minister to legitimize and maintain Japanese inferiority.

Evidence of Hegemonic Racism: *Daily Colonist* Letters to the Editor

In the month or so following the published news of PM King's post-war plan for Canadians of Japanese ancestry, there was a significant increase in the number of letters to the editor published in the *Daily Colonist* about Japanese Canadians. The contents of those letters revealed the hegemonic way of thinking about Canadians of Japanese ancestry was "white" over "yellow."

In a letter published on August 6, 1944, W.G. Crisford of Victoria, B.C. wrote, "there is a fundamental principle involved which cannot be glossed over or ignored, no matter what political party is in power at Ottawa, and that is any cheap foreign labor introduced into a white man's country acts like a vicious boomerang and in the final analysis breaks down and lowers the standards of any white community where they happen to congregate" (Crisford, August 6, 1944, p. 4). The notion that the presence of people of Japanese ancestry weakens the "white" community serves to reinforce the socially constructed racial hierarchy that was used to justify the Japanese internment. A few days later, E. M. Cuppage claimed anyone born of Japanese ancestry had been taught to view western principals of "fair play" as a weakness (Cuppage,

August 11, 1944, p.4). She wrote, "one cannot draw comparisons with German or other Western aliens here, who are of the white races. Let us not forget that East is East and West is West, and as Kipling wrote, 'never the twain shall meet'" (p.4). In her letter, Cuppage justified the Japanese internment and post-war repatriation solely based on race. She argued Japanese Canadians were inherently worse than the Germans and Italians simply because they were not white. Moreover, the quote from Kipling, "East is East and West is West," served to reinforce race as a means of division and marker of social hierarchy.

In the September 13, 1944 edition of the *Daily Colonist*, three different letters to the editor were published under the heading, "Japanese Exclusion" (Loveland, September 13, 1944, p.4; Bailey, September 13, 1944, p.4; Marshall, September 13, 1944, p.4). All three letters declared that there was no such thing as a "loyal" Japanese Canadians and that they should be excluded from this country. W.F. Loveland of Victoria wrote, "There are no loyal Japanese in Canada. No man can serve two masters" (Loveland, p.4). C.J. Bailey of Victoria wrote, "So the Japs are to be allowed to stay in Canada! What are the Canadians giving their lives for, hour by hour, fighting against a devilish, cunning race of people called Japs? And yet our political leaders in their utter complacency decree that the loyal Japs can stay and work in our key industries after the war" (Bailey, p.4). By tying the idea of Canadian soldiers dying overseas to the decision to allow Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry to stay in Canada, Bailey attempted to use nationalism and patriotism as a justification for their exclusion. Anyone with a son, husband or father overseas could easily read Bailey's letter and out of fear or anger, could find comfort and a sense of agreement with Bailey's statement. Moreover, Bailey grouped Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry together with the Japanese army, when he used the term "Japs" to describe them both. This means the construction of the "Japs" overseas as "devilish" and

"cunning," is to be assumed as also characteristic of Japanese Canadians. Also of note is Bailey's repeated use of "our" in her statement – "our political leaders" and "our key industries" – insinuating that the "our" means white, Canadians and not those Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry. In a threatening manner, Bailey also said, "Any Canadian who upholds a Jap should be tarred and feathered or be sent out in an open boat and ditched in mid-ocean" (p.4). In other words, if you are not with "us," you are with "them." This is an important discursive strategy, especially during wartime, when people are afraid and in need of "protection," because at a time like this, who wouldn't want to be a part of the "us?" Bailey is thus using fear and threatening language to scare white Canadians into agreement that Canadians of Japanese ancestry need to go. The final letter published that day was written by Adelaide B. Marshall of Victoria (Marshall, September 13, 1944, p.4). Like the other two writers, Marshall declared, "there is no such thing as a native-born Jap. They are plain Japs, and nothing will change this vital fact" (p.4). Thus, Marshall wrote, all Japs should be excluded from Canada. To say that is a "fact" that there is no such thing as a native-born Jap, is completely false, yet Marshall uses the word "fact" as if it were to be an undeniable truth.

In another racist and disturbing letter, published on September 17, 1944, N. Heywood of Victoria, wrote, "Now there is a chance to nip the very, real yellow peril in the bud by returning all Japanese where they belong before their ever-increasing progeny swamp us" (Heywood, 1944, p.4). For Heywood to refer to Canadians of Japanese ancestry as a "very, real yellow peril," over a month after King announced that no Japanese had been charged with sabotage, shows that Heywood's distain for Japanese Canadians is rooted in race and color, and not actual security concerns. Heywood described Canadians of Japanese ancestry as "treacherous, cunning and cruel," and warned the readers, "don't forget our men come first and they shouldn't have to

compete with aliens of any kind. Send back the Japs and let them who love them so much go with them" (p.4). Heywood's use of the pronoun "our men," in opposition to "aliens," is a prime example of the "us" and "other" narrative. Moreover, claiming "our men" would have to compete with Canadians of Japanese ancestry is reflective of the dominant racist ideology that they were a "threat" to the ideal, white way of life.

From Discourse to Violence

The racial hatred toward Canadians of Japanese ancestry during this time was not limited to just discourse and discriminatory policies. Under the headline, "Police Fight Angry Mob Attacking Jap Workers," the *Globe and Mail* reported nearly 300 men and women in Ontario had attempted to force their way into the male living quarters where Japanese factory workers were staying ("Police Fight Angry Mob Attacking Jap Workers," September 25, 1944, p.3). According to the article, the mob was "armed with stones and clubs," and had, "threated they would make another attempt to attack the Japanese" (p.3). Chief Constable Callander, one of the officers at the scene, reduced the situation to "a question of racial jealously," inspired by, "rumors about the Japanese men mixing with local girls" (p.3). Callander's explanation is clearly an attempt to deflect the real motivation behind the mob. Would 300 men and women from as far as 10 miles away, come "armed" with stones and clubs, because they were "jealous" that Japanese Canadian men had been talking to local girls? The white community obviously did not like that Canadians of Japanese ancestry were living among the whites and feared any sort of mixing between the races, as evident by the protests in the province against Japanese Canadians before they even arrived. The violent mob was an act of *racism*, not "racial jealousy."

A few days later, the *Globe and Mail* published a follow up article in which the role racism played in the attack became even more evident ("Three Guilty over Anti-Jap

Demonstration," September 30, 1944, p. 2). Under the subheading, "To 'Clean Up on Japs,'" one of the men who had been charged said, "he understood the crow had gone to the premises to 'clean up on Japs'" (p.2). Symbolically, crows are typically associated with death and bad omens. In nature, they are omnivores, predatory and scavengers. The fact that the man who was arrested in the violent anti-Japanese demonstration said, "the crow had gone to the premises to clean up on Japs," shows how he aligned himself and fellow white protesters with the role of the "crow," out to "fix" the nation by getting *rid* of the Canadians of Japanese ancestry.

The chart below indicates the other times the idea of "cleaning" the House of Canadians of Japanese ancestry appeared in the press sample:

Table 5.3
"Cleaning" Metaphor in Press Discourse
Daily Colonist and *Globe and Mail*
1940-1949

WHAT	WHERE	WHEN
"A clean sweep of all Japs would be the loyal thing to do"	Letter to the Editor, *Daily Colonist* (p.8)	January 8, 1942
"Demand government clean up evacuations from area"	Article, *Globe and Mail* (p.24)	July 30, 1942
"Let's clean house"	Article, *Globe and Mail* (p. 1)	June 1, 1944
"Clean Up on Japs"	Quote/ subheading, *Globe and Mail* (p.2)	September 30, 1944

The significance of the "cleaning" discourse is that it serves to reinforce the dominant ideology that whites are at the top of the racial hierarchy, and in order for Canada to be at its best, Japanese Canadians must be removed. The fact that this discourse appeared in both the

national and local newspaper more than once over the span of two years in both parliamentary and citizen discourse, shows evidence of systemic racism. Members of Parliament, newspaper staff, and citizens all participated in the reinforcement of white dominance during this time by using terms like "clean up" to describe Japanese Canadian exclusion from Canada. Furthermore, the fact that one of the men charged in the anti-Japanese demonstration used the term "clean up the Japs" to explain the motivation behind the 300 people who came to Japanese Canadian camps armed with stones and clubs, shows the real-world implications repeated discourse can have.

Canadian Racism

Although the focus of this thesis on the Japanese internment in Canada, it is necessary to bring up the Japanese internment in America in order to show how deeply rooted the Canadian restrictions were in racism. On December 18, 1944, the *Globe and Mail* ran the headline, "Return of Japs to West Coast Allowed by U.S." ("Return of Japs to West Coast Allowed by U.S.," December 18, 1944, p.8). The article reported, "The War Department today revoked its order excluding all persons of Japanese ancestry from the United States west coast" (p.8). According to a statement from the army, the order was "prompted by military considerations," and, "although hard fighting is ahead in the Pacific, it no longer can be said, as it could be said in 1942, that an enemy invasion on the west coast on a large scale is a substantial possibility" (p.8). So, here we have the news that the country that was actually attacked by the Japanese Navy, revoked its orders, allowing, "those persons of Japanese ancestry whose records have stood the test of the army scrutiny over the past two years will be permitted the same freedom of movement throughout the United States as other loyal citizens and law-abiding aliens" (p.8). Yet, as an article published in the *Globe and Mail* the next day stated, Canada was, "not expected to

follow the U.S. in revoking persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast" ("Jap Concentration Still Disallowed," December 19, 1944, p.4). Moreover, "The Canadian policy, outlined in the House of Commons last Aug. 4, is aimed at preventing Japanese from assimilating in any particular part of Canada" (p.4). So, with the end of the war on the horizon and Japanese Americans allowed to return to their homes, Japanese Canadians were still interned with not one charge of spying or disloyalty against them. America actually had Japanese bombs land in their country that killed 2,000 people, and yet, in 1944 they knew Japanese Americans did not pose a threat and gave them back all their freedom. Canada on the other hand, continued to stand by the internment and impose discriminatory restrictions on Canadians of Japanese ancestry in the country.

The End of World War Two and the Start of Japanese Deportations

As stated in the Governor General's speech in the House on September 6, 1945, "you will rejoice with me that the opening of the twentieth Parliament of Canada comes at the moment of the victorious conclusion of the war" (Cambridge, 1945, p.7). However, there was little reason for Canadians of Japanese ancestry to rejoice as the end of the war did not bring an end to their discriminatory treatment, which continued to be framed as a "security measure."

On December 18, 1945, a front-page story in the *Daily Colonist,* reported a three-man commission had been appointed by an Order in Council, "to investigate the loyalty of Japanese who wish to remain in Canada and to determine those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here" ("Will Investigate Japanese Who Will Stay in Canada," December 18, 1945, p.1). So, with World War Two officially over, and Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry still exiled out of British Columbia, the plan was now in motion to start deporting them out of the county. In 1946, news headlines continued to amplify political cries for immediate deportation. For

example, “Attorney-General of B.C. Wants Japs Deported at Once” (“Attorney-General of B.C. Wants Japs Deported at Once,” February 21, 1946, p.3); “M.P. Warns Bloodshed if Japs Stay in B.C.” (Baldwin, April 6, 1946, p.8).

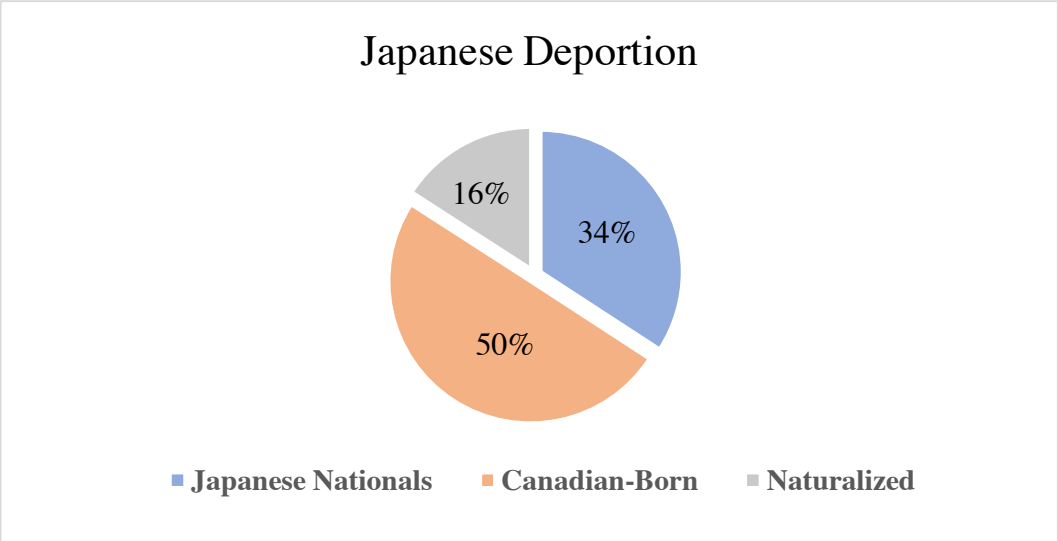
At the end of May in 1946, the first boat carrying deportees left Canadian shores, headed to Japan**.** Under the headline, “Little Emotion as Japanese Leave,” the *Daily Colonist* reported there were 670 Japanese men, women and children aboard the SS Marine Angel that day (“Little Motion as Japanese Leave,” June 1, 1946, p.1). The article reported they, “looked neither happy nor unhappy” (p.1). Just over two weeks later, news that the second group of Canadians of Japanese ancestry had been deported made the front page of the *Daily Colonist,* under the headline, “More Japs Leave Canada” (“More Japs Leave Canada,” June 16, 1946, p.1). According to the article, there were approximately 900 aboard the ship headed for Japan (p.1). On Christmas Day in 1946, the main headline on the front-page of the local British Columbia newspaper declared, “Merry Christmas to All,” and tucked away on that same page was the less-festive headline, “Japanese Set Sail for Home” (“Japanese Set Sail for Home,” December 25, 1946, p.1). Christmas is a Christian holiday that celebrates the birth of Jesus Christ, who taught his followers to love thy neighbor and to always treat others the same way you wished to be treated. It is highly ironic then, that on Christmas Day, a boat left Canada full of victims of racism, who were exiled out of their homes by the white, “Christian” (McIvor, 1943, p. 3450), hands of the Canadian government.

Deportation as Ultimate Dehumanization

On February 11, 1947, the *Daily Colonist* published a front-page article with the breakdown of the “status” of the 3,964 people of Japanese ancestry who had been deported up until that point (“6,750 Japanese Staying in B.C., Labor Minister Tells House,” February 11,

1947, p.1). Of those that had been deported – 1,355 were Japanese nationals, 1,979 were Canadian-born, and 630 had been naturalized (p.1). This means the majority of those who had been kicked out of the country, were the ones who were actually born in Canada. Together, the Canadian-born and naturalized Japanese made up 66 percent of the total number people who had been deported. The chart below illustrates the breakdown of the citizenship status of the individuals who had been deported to Japan as of February 11, 1947:

Table 5.4
Breakdown of the Citizenship Status of People of
Japanese Ancestry Deported as of February 11, 1947



The deportation of Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry represents the end of the regressive continuum, whereby Canadian-born citizens had literally become, "foreigners," "enemies," and "aliens," in their own country and were deported because of it. Half of the individuals who were deported were born in the supposed democratic and "free" nation of Canada, only to have everything from their homes, families, and citizenship status, taken from them by their own government solely because they were of Japanese ancestry. Simply because these individuals looked "different" than the MPs and Canadians across the country, they were

kicked out of their homes, their province, and eventually, exiled out of the country. These were Canadian citizens, first and foremost, and yet through political and public discourse, they were identified as "Japs," and "Japanese," which put their racial origin above their rights as citizens. The binary language that was used to pit Canadians of Japanese ancestry against white Canadians was reinforced in both politics and the press. Identifying Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry as "Japs" allowed racism to manifest in the perception and policies of Canadians of Japanese ancestry post-Pearl Harbor. As a result, 22,000 innocent Canadians of Japanese ancestry were denied their rights as citizens and as humans, and ultimately treated as criminals and animals.

Chapter Summary

The findings from this chapter clearly show how Canadians of Japanese ancestry had become so dehumanized through Parliament and press discourse that they had been equated to mere objects, animals, and even "cancer." Just two months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Canadians of Japanese ancestry had been categorized, marginalized, stereotyped, demonized and fully dehumanized. The racism expressed in Parliament and the press became official government policy with the announcement of the Japanese internment and deportation. As Mazepa (2012) argued, when racial categories and hierarchy gain hegemonic momentum, they can ultimately establish a basis "for justifying internment and extermination" (Mazepa, 2012, p. 247). The fact that 22,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry were forced out of their homes and sent to live in internment camps across the country, "irrespective of their citizenship status," without any charges laid against them, illustrates how race was the defining factor in their fate. Young and old, Canadian-born and naturalized, every single person of Japanese ancestry was

treated like criminals, animals, and foreigners in their own home, at the hands of "their" own government.

The findings presented in this chapter represent what Henry and Tator (2002) termed "democratic racism" (Henry & Tator, 2002, p.23). The authors argue, "democratic racism arises when racist beliefs and behaviours remain deeply embedded in 'democratic' societies" (p.23). From the official internment and deportation government policies, to debates in the House of Commons, to news articles written by national and local journalists, to the letters to the editor written by citizens, the discourse carried the same message – it was "us versus them," "Canadians versus Japanese," and ultimately, "white *over* yellow." Another aspect of democratic racism is, "Obfuscations and justifications are deployed to demonstrate continuing faith in egalitarian ideals, even while many individuals, groups, and institutions continue to engage in systemic racist practices that serve to undermine those ideals" (p.23). Prime Minster King evidently participated in democratic racism when he attempted to justify his post-war plan which included banning Japanese immigration, deportation, and dispersal across the country for those who remained. King called his racialized plan to exclude and segregate Canadians of Japanese ancestry, "the sound policy and the best policy for the Japanese Canadians themselves," so that, "*they* will not create feelings of *racial hostility"* (King, 1944, p. 5917). His justification was that it was the "best" thing for Canadians of Japanese ancestry, which was obviously not the case. Moreover, just before King had said that, he already declared in the House that no Canadians of Japanese ancestry had actually been charged with any acts of sabotage or disloyalty. By justifying his racist and undemocratic policy in the way he did, King completely undermined Canadian democratic ideals.

Chapter Six

From Regression to Progression: Alternative Discourses and Reconciliation(?)

Toward the end of 1945, alternative discourses of Canadians of Japanese ancestry started to emerge in Parliament and the press. Members of Parliament accused one another of racial intolerance and acting undemocratic in regards to Canadians of Japanese ancestry. In the press, articles reported on various protests against Japanese deportation and other discriminatory policies they faced. The discourse that was used to talk about Canadians of Japanese ancestry started to shift, including re-identifying them as "Canadian citizens." In addition to a change in the discursive construction of the Japanese Canadian identity, there were also significant changes in the polices pertaining to them. In 1947, the Federal Government cancelled the deportation orders and the Bird Commission was formed to investigate claims that property belonging to Japanese Canadians had been sold under market value while in the care of the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property. By April, 1, 1949, all the Orders in Council relating to Canadians of Japanese ancestry had been revoked.

Calling it Racism

On December 18, 1945, the *Daily Colonist* ran a story under the headline, "Removal of Japs Rouses Tempers in Commons" ("Removal of Japs Rouses Tempers in Commons," December 18, 1945, p.2). The article stated, "a noisy scene was set off in the commons tonight when MP Stewart (Winnipeg North), charged that men sitting in Liberal part benches were lending their support to the stirring up of racial and religious strife" (p.2). According to the article, "Mr. Stewart said that among the worst of the strife raisers was Thomas Reid" (p.2). In response, MP Reid (New Westminster) said to MP Stewart, "You are raising up hatred of class against class, and you know it" (p.2). MP Stewart charged back saying the plan to exclude all

Canadians of Japanese ancestry from B.C. was an example of "racial intolerance," and, "a direct negation of Liberalism, and of decent, elemental, fundamental democracy" (p.2).

In a *Globe and Mail* article published on January 21, 1946, under the headline, "Speaks on Behalf of the Japanese-Canadians," Rabbi Feinberg called Canadians of Japanese ancestry, "victims of the same kind of racial discrimination as existed against Jews in Germany" ("Speaks on Behalf of the Japanese-Canadians," January 21, 1946, p.5). The article is a refreshing and much needed take on the actions taken against Japanese Canadians. Feinberg said, "the Japanese number about one half of one percent of the population, 24,000 out of 12 million" (p.5). Throughout the Parliament and press sample, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were most often been described as the "mass," using the number of Japanese Canadians living in B.C. as a way of constructing them as a threat to security. Yet in this article, Feinberg compared the 24,000 of them to the 12 million people that live in the country. His comparison made Canadians of Japanese ancestry seem like less of a threat by showing how small their population was in relation to the rest of the population. This moment goes to show how important context is and how discourse can be used to frame a situation in two completely different ways. Fienberg's construction of the size of the Japanese Canadian population was a positive alternative discourse against the more prominent threatening, "mass" framing of Canadians of Japanese ancestry that was common in Parliament and the press.

In the *Globe and Mail* article, Feinberg also called out the racial motivation behind the way Canadians of Japanese ancestry had been treated. He stated, "long before the war, they too were the subject of hair-raising talks about the 'yellow menace.' After the segregation which in Germany arose from the Jews' faith, arises in Canada from the Japs' color" ("Speaks on Behalf of the Japanese-Canadians," January 21, 1946, p.5). Feinberg also constructed an alternative

view of the "Japanese Canadian" identity in relation what it meant to be "Canadian." According to the article, he argued that Canadians of Japanese ancestry had gone to school here and had been, "absorbed into our culture and customs and Christianity, and have no more in common with Japan than any second-generation Canadian has with the land of his forebears" (p.5). This is such a significance difference in the identity construction of Japanese Canadians because disputes the popular argument that they were "unassimilable." Moreover, he declared that most Canadians of Japanese ancestry had never even seen, "the old country" (p. 5). Feinberg also pointed out that the Italians and Germans living in Canada also came from a nation that was currently at war with Canada and yet they were not forbidden to own property or vote in B.C. He asked, "Did a provincial government uproot them and sell their belongings of a pittance? Is there loyalty subject to examination? No other group of enemy origin has been so persecuted" (p.5). This is significant because it shows that Canadians of Japanese ancestry were targeted, not just because Japan was at war with Canada, since Italy and German were doing the same. Thus, there had to be another reason why Canadians of Japanese ancestry were treated so much more harshly than the Italians and Germans. Since Italians and Germans are white and European, a valid assumption can be made that race played a factor in the restrictions placed on Japanese Canadians. Especially because the colour, "yellow," was used so often in binary to "white."

Protesting Deportation

In 1946, both the national and local newspapers reported there had been efforts among the public, and some institutions, to protest the Federal Government's deportation orders against Canadians of Japanese ancestry. The box below includes examples of headlines in the *Globe and Mail* that framed the deportation as undesirable and in some cases, even illegal:

- "YMCA Dismayed by Plans for Japs" (January 22, 1946, p.8);
- "Jap Deportation Move Protested" (January 23, 1946, p.10);
- "Jap Deportation Orders Get Test in Supreme Court" (January 23, 1946, p. 3);
- "Orders to Oust Jap Beyond Federal Power, Supreme Court Told" (January 25, 1946, p. 3);
- "Jap Ousting Hit by Missionaries" (January 26, 1946, p. 4);
- "Federal Position on Jap Citizens Held Indefensible" (February 15, 1946, p.5);
- "Washington Post Asks Canada to Abandon Jap Deportations" (June 11, 1946, p. 2).

Throughout these articles, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were framed in a positive way, which up until this point, had been very uncommon. The deportation orders were described as: "Shameful" ("Federal Position on Jap Citizens Held Indefensible," February 15, 1946, p.5), "un-Canadian and inhumane" (p.5), "crime against humanity" (p.5), "an odious manifestation of racialism" ("Washington Post Asks Canada to Abandon Jap Deportations," June 11, 1946, p.2), "a treatment which in a real sense cheapens Canadian citizenship, the right of which ought not to be readily revocable" (p.2), and that, "the Canadian treatment has been even more severe," than the Americans who were actually attacked (p.2). Another article stated that the orders caused "grave dismay" to the YMCA ("YMCA Dismayed by Plans for Japs," January 22, 1946, p.8), with another article reporting the orders showed the, "Federal government had transcended its power" ("Orders to Oust Jap Beyond Federal Power, Supreme Court Told," January 25, 1946, p.3). Canadians of Japanese ancestry were further described as being "admirable citizens" and "they should be treated in the same way as other New Canadians" ("Jap Ousting Hit by Missionaries," January 26, 1946, p.5). Another article stated, "We are breaking faith with those

who gave their lives and the principles for which they fought – the right of the individual to the sacred rights of life and liberty" ("Ask New Hearing for Jap Canadians," March 2, 1946, p. 12). The way Japanese Canadians and "white" Canadians are framed in these articles are very different than what has been observed throughout the sample thus far. We finally begin to see people calling out the actions of the government and the inclusion of Canadians of Japanese ancestry in the nation and nationality of Canada. Moreover, we see direct accusations of racism and abuse of power that had been disregarded over the last several years.

Deportation Cancelled but Damage Already Done

On January 24, 1947, the Federal Government cancelled the deportation orders and revoked a few more restrictions over Canadians of Japanese ancestry ("Government Lifts Wartime Powers Bonding Japanese," January 25, 1947, p.1). At this point, 4,000 Japanese Canadians had already been "repatriated." According to a front-page *Daily Colonist* article published on January 25, 1947, the government had started to revoke some of the restrictions that had been placed over Canadians of Japanese ancestry. Specifically, the paper reported that PM King had announced:

1. Orders permitting deportation of Japanese had been rescinded;
2. Repeal of Orders in Council authorizing establishment of a special commission to investigate loyalty of persons of Japanese origin;
3. An order revoking the Canadian status of naturalized persons of Japanese origin who leave Canada has been repealed;
4. The government will review cases where price injustice can be shown in sale of Japanese property by the custodian of enemy alien property;

5. Restrictions on movement of Japanese in Canada, at present in effect, will be continued along with provisions respecting issuances of fishing licenses to Japanese.

According to an article in the *Daily Colonist*, 3,964 Canadian residents of Japanese ancestry had already been deported out of Canada ("6,750 Japanese Staying in B.C., Labor Minister Tells House," February 11, 1947, p.1). Of those that had been deported, 1,355 were Japanese nationals, 1,979 were Canadian-born and 630 were naturalized (p.1). This meant more Canadian-born Japanese had been deported than Japanese nationals, and together, the Canadian-born and naturalized Japanese made up almost 70 percent of the total number of individuals who had been deported. MP Thatcher (Moose Jaw), identified this hypocrisy in the House, and called the restrictions that allowed the Government to "repatriate and relocate" Canadians of Japanese ancestry living in coastal areas, "racial discrimination" ("Japanese May Move Any Place East of B.C.," April, 23, 1947, p.1). According to the front-page article, the government said Canadians of Japanese ancestry could now move anywhere east of the Rockies, but the order that allowed the government to repatriate and relocate was still being continued for one year (p.1). In opposition to the order, MP Thatcher said, "the order may have been necessary during the war years, but there no longer were reasons for defense. The Japanese Canadians no longer could be called a menace" (p.1). He cited the fact that there had been no charges of sabotage laid against that and that the only reason he believed the order was in place was, "because of racial discrimination" (p.1). According to the article, Veterans Minister Mackenzie completely disagreed, and said, "the measure contained not the 'slightest trace of racial tinge'" (p.1). Moreover, he said he did not regret the policy and would "do it again" (p.1).

Recognizing "Japanese" as "Canadian"

In 1947, alternative constructions of Canadians of Japanese ancestry continued to emerge in the press. For example, on April 29, 1947, the *Globe and Mail* ran a story that advocated for Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry to have their rights as Canadian citizens returned to them (Hackett, April 29, 1947, p.6). Under the headline, "Rights of Citizenship," there was a note from the editor that stated, "an eloquent statement in defense of the civil rights of Canadians of every race and creed was made in the House of Commons on April 24, by Mr. John T. Hackett, Progressive Conservative MP for Stanstead. In view of the importance of the question, we presented the statement in slightly condensed form" (p.6). The fact that the newspaper described Hackett's speech as "eloquent" and, "in defense of the civil rights of Canadians of every race and creed," is important because it indicates a shift in the way the "Japanese question" had been repeatedly covered in the paper. The *Daily Colonist* also reported on the speech, which meant the story was being told on both a local and national level. The significance of Hackett's speech is that he called out the fact that Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry had their citizenship rights suspended solely, "on a national emergency" (p.6). Hackett powerfully declared that there was no national emergency and that the MPs who pushed for the discriminatory treatment, "may be tinged by racial feeling, but judging from what I have heard in the House, it is almost entirely economic" (p.6). Hackett continued, "It is because the Japanese work harder and longer hours, live more cheaply and have made inroads upon the normal vocation and profits of the white population in British Columbia that they are not wanted in British Columbia" (p.6). This is an interesting statement because Hackett sort of downplays the influence of racism in the handling of Canadians of Japanese ancestry, and instead blames the economic success Japanese Canadians had achieved. Regardless, framing Canadians of Japanese ancestry as a "threat" to the white

man's world, including economically, is an indication of racism. Moreover, by kicking Japanese Canadians out of their homes, scattering them across the country, and taking everything they owned, the government suppressed their rights and exercised their power in maintaining white dominance.

Under the subheading, "Against Racial Discrimination," Hackett said he has heard many times that Canadians of Japanese ancestry are unassimilable, they congregate in groups and should be dispersed (Hackett, April 29, 1947, p.6). Hackett said he didn't like those words and that, "people come to this land not to be dispersed" (p.6). He continued, "They come because they believe it is haven in which they can live their lives, worship their God and bring up their children in the best, that is their own tradition, and in the respect and love of the land which gives them the right to lead that free life…" (p.6). Hackett's words construct a totally different version of "Canada," than the dominant "white," and "vulnerable" nation that most MPs argued it was. Hackett described Canada as a place where people are supposed to be free and allowed to practice their culture, which is not at all the ideals they followed when they punished and persecuted the innocent Canadians of Japanese ancestry. Moreover, the fact that the majority of the affected Japanese Canadians were Canadian citizens cannot be simply overlooked. In his speech, Hackett drove this point home when he said, "We issued to them a certificate that made them Canadian citizens" (p.6). He said whether or not that was a mistake, we did it and we owe it to them to "respect their rights" as citizens (p.6). Hackett said, "In Canada, there is no dominant element. Canada, after all, is a country of minorities" (p.6). While Hackett's statement was true, Canada was a country of minorities, the majority of people shared the same skin colour, and that was the "dominant element" that kept the Canadians of Japanese ancestry.

In an article published on May 8, 1947, the *Globe and Mail* reported another story out of Parliament where more politicians had defended the rights of Canadians of Japanese ancestry and condemned the governments discriminatory treatment ("Liberal Senators Oppose Brakes on Jap Citizens," May 8, 1947, p.3). The article stated three Liberal senators joined, "in an attack on continuing restrictions against Japanese citizens of Canada, with Senator Roebuck (L. Ontario) charging there 'is a striking resemblance between the status of the Jews under Hitler and of the Japanese in Canada'" (p.3). The comparison of Canadians of Japanese ancestry to the Jews in Germany was used a few times in both newspapers throughout this sample. Like Hackett, Roebuck also declared there was "no emergency to justify this 'heaping of insult on injury' by continuing laws against their movement and work" (p.3). He said the restrictions were, "insincere and undemocratic" (p.3). The article also quoted Senator Buchanan who said that he had "found Japanese-Canadians as good citizens as any other Canadians" (p.3). Moreover, Buchanan declared, "during the war they had engaged in no crime and had manifested nothing but loyalty although Canada did not trust them" (p.3). Roebuck's words challenged the dominant narrative told of Canadians of Japanese ancestry which constructed them as disloyal, untrustworthy and unwanted. Both Hackett and Roebuck's words were clearly positive and welcomed in terms of defending Japanese Canadians, but in the mountain of discourse that weighed against them, their words weren't enough to lift the discriminatory perceptions and policies off of the Canadians of Japanese ancestry.

The next day, a front-page headline on the national newspaper announced, "Government Upheld 105:31 on Jap Issue" (MacTaggart, April 25, 1947, p.1). Journalist MacTaggart reported that the CCF amendment to suspend Labor Minister Mitchell's Order in Council that would continue restrictions against Canadians of Japanese ancestry was "defeated" (p.1). According to

the article, the three-day debate over the issue, "brought more light to the West Coast contentious racial problem than has been shed in many years" (p.1). Moreover, the issue, "became the most contentious of any item in the voluminous legislate to date – and brought out some the most vigorous oratory" (p.1). While the amendment lost the vote, the article did quote MP Croll (Spadina) who said before the vote, "today was the greatest evidence of 'unofficial religious and racial discrimination" (p.2). MP Croll then said, "to vote for it would be to make it official" (p.2). According to the 105 to 31 vote, more than two-thirds of the MPs were in favor of continuing the racial discrimination that had come to define and ruin the lives of Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry for the past seven years. While the vote to defend them ultimately lost, the fact that the resolution existed was evidence of an effort to stand up for Canadians of Japanese ancestry.

Property Injustice

In 1947, alternative discourse turned into action for Japanese Canadians. A prominent narrative emerged in the papers of the press that the Canadian government had mishandled and undersold the property and assets they had taken from Canadians of Japanese ancestry. Demands for an investigation and its related findings received the most coverage in the *Globe and Mail* compared to another other topic pertaining to Japanese-Canadians in 1947. Some of the related headlines include:

- "Ask Claims Commission to Investigate Losses Canadian Japs Suffered," (May 28, 1947);
- "Seek Commissioner on Jap Land Probe" (July 5, 1947, p.2);
- "Judge Named to Probe Charges B.C. Jap Land Sold Far Below Value" (Baldwin, July 24, 1947, p.1);
- "Jap Lands Sales Inquiry Extended" (September 13, 1947, p.13);
- "Right to Sell Jap Land is Upheld in Judgement" (Baldwin, September 27, 1947, p.1);
- "Will Open Inquiry on Japs' Claims in December" (October 25, 1947, p.2);
- "Jap-Canadians' Property Claims Hearing Opened" (December 9, 1947, p.17);
- "Claim Commission for Japanese Property May Set Record" (December 12, 1947, p. 9);
- "$385,000 Claims Filed in Manitoba By Jap Canadians" (December 30, 1947, p.3).

On May 28, 1947, the *Globe and Mail* reported the Co-Operative Committee on Japanese Canadians had presented a proposal to the Publics Accounts Committee to formally investigate their property claims (Baldwin, May 28, 1947, p.3). They told stories of Canadians of Japanese ancestry who had their belongings sold under value, including 55-year-old Robert Hoilta who said his home had a value of $2,500, and without his consent, it was sold for only $1,150 (p.3). Brewin, counsel for the Public Accounts Committee, urged the recommendation of a commission, "so that in years to come there can be no feeling that we in Canada haven't behaved fairly to our fellow-Canadians of Japanese origin. This is what we believe the people of Canada as a whole want" (p.3). It's very ironic the way Brewin encouraged the commission in order to prove the government didn't "behave fairly," when the investigation ended up proving just that.

A few days later, an article published on May 31, 1947, announced the Public Accounts Committee of the Commons had unanimously voted "yes" to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the purchase of Japanese Canadian farm land by the Department of Veterans' Affairs (Baldwin, May 31, 1947, p.1). On June 17, an article discussing the Veterans' Land Act stated, "as a result of this deal, Japanese owning farms in the Fraser Valley were paid about 40 percent less than their assessed value and much further below prices paid for comparable land" ("Jap land deal report seen basis for debate," June 17, 1947, p.2). The next day, the national newspaper ran the headline, "Probe by Commission of Jap-Canadian Loss Recommended in House" (Baldwin, June 18, 1947, p.15). On June 27, a headline stated, "VLA Director Admits Wrong Evidence Given on Jap Land Buying" (June 27, 1947, p.19). The article reported Murchison, director of the Veterans' Land Act, admitted evidence he had previously provided was incorrect, and blamed officials of his department for giving him false information (p.19).

On July 18, 1947, the Bird Commission was formed to inquire into the accusations of Japanese Canadian property being sold under market value while in the care of the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property. According to a *Daily Colonist* article published on December 4, 1947, more than 1,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry had filed complaints against the Dominion Government, claiming compensation for their property ("Japanese Give Evidence at Kamloops on Monday," December, 4, 1947, p.2). The article reported complaints had been flowing in at a rate of 50-100 a day, with an average of $3,000 per claim (p.2). At this point, they had expected only 3,000 claims, totaling $9,000,000 (p.2). On December 10, the newspaper had reported there was an additional seven claims made in the previous two days and the total requested compensation was now reaching $30,000 ("Claims of Japanese Canadians Confuse Commission Hearings," December 10, 1947, p.8). The following day, on December 11, 1947, the *Daily*

Colonist reported they were up to 12 claims in just three days and were now seeking $40,000 ("Says Wartime Custodian Paid Japanese Wrong Compensation," December 11, 1947, p.2). The lost or undersold items mentioned in the article included Japanese dolls, an English encyclopedia, a four-bedroom home and a sewing machine (p.2). This diverse range of property illustrates the extent to which Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry had truly been robbed of everything they owned (p.2). By December 17, 1947, the newspaper reported that in the first five days of hearings, they were up to 18 claims and the compensation requested was at $68,000 ("Japanese Claims Group Handles Unique Hearings," December 17, 1947, p.2). The article reported they now expected the claims to total $12,000,000 (p.2).

By the end of the hearings, the Bird Commission reported $1.2 million was paid to Canadians of Japanese ancestry who had made property claims (Miki & Kobayashi, 1991, p.58). Although the Bird Commission symbolically represented a protest and alternative discourse in regards to the way Canadians of Japanese ancestry had been mistreated, Miki and Kobayshai (1991) argue Japanese Canadians were "bitterly disappointed" by it (p.58). The total compensation awarded was not nearly enough, and legal fees had also been deducted from the $1.2 million they received (p.58). Moreover, not all Canadians of Japanese ancestry even got to submit their claims.

Protesting Racism

Alternative discourses and attempts to subvert more racialized policies over Canadians of Japanese ancestry continued to manifest within the pages of the national newspaper in 1948. One of the most common topics that were reported that year in regards to Japanese Canadians was about a ban that forbid them to work on Crown timber mills ("Timber Men Protest Firing of 800 Jap Workers in B.C.," January 28, 1948, p.1; "B.C. Lifts Ban on Jap Workers in Bush Work,"

January 31, 1948, p.30; Finlay, February 4, 1948, p.11). On the front page of the January 28, 1948 edition of the *Globe and Mail,* the headline read, "Timber Men Protest Firing of 800 Jap Workers in B.C." ("Timber Men Protest Firing of 800 Jap Workers in B.C.," January 28, 1948, p.1). According to the article, operators at B.C. logging camps planned to "protest vigorously" the surprise decision of the Provincial government to fire 800 Japanese Canadian workers from interior crown timberlands (p.1). The article stated, "the provincial order, a re-enforcement of a policy enacted at the turn of the century, prohibits employment of Orientals on Crown timber mills" (p.1). The provincial policy was put on hold back in 1942, when Japanese Canadians were sent to work in the woods "by a federal Order in Council, to boost wartime timber production" (p.1). The federal order had since been revoked, which brought the provincial restriction in effect. According to the article, "lumber camp operators immediately expressed protest. The Japanese, they said, have been 'steady, loyal workers,' and have abided by the laws of the communities.' They have also been training and cannot easily be replaced" (p.1). This is a positive discursive construction of Canadians of Japanese ancestry because they are portrayed as loyal and hardworking. As this thesis has shown, Japanese Canadian were most commonly described as "disloyal," and "unwanted," so the fact that a group of people are out protesting on their behalf and calling them "loyal" in a national newspaper is a refreshing and welcoming discursive change. The protests were so effective that, according to an article published on January 31, 1948, the B.C. government lifted the ban on Japanese Canadians working on Crown lands in timber operations (B.C. Lifts Ban on Jap Workers in Bush Work," January 31, 1948, p.30). According to the article, B.C. Premier Anacomb, had lifted the ban, "after considerations of protests from various organizations" (p.30). The fact that the protest had the power to reverse the ban against Canadians of Japanese ancestry and yet it was the first time something like that

had happened in favor of Japanese Canadians, is evident of systemic racism throughout the 40s in Canada. Why didn't people stand up for their fellow Canadians sooner? Why weren't there protests against Canadians of Japanese ancestry being forced out of their homes and sent across the nation? The only protests the newspapers reported on were protests from people who didn't want Canadians of Japanese ancestry in "their" province. The acceptance or lack of difference expressed by Canadians in public and private life throughout the nearly long decade of racial discrimination shows the extent of the dominant ideology at the time, which valued "white" over "yellow."

"They're Canadians"

On March 2, 1949, tucked away on page 10 of the *Globe and Mail,* a headline declared, "Coast Evacuees Bring Life to Dying Town" ("Coast Evacuees Bring Life to Dying Town," March 2, 1949, p.10). The article reported Mayor McArthur (Greenwood B.C.), had said, "all the things the Japanese were ever accused of on the coast have been disproven here" (p.10). McArthur said the Japanese, "brought this town from a shrinking 1942 population of 250 to be a flourishing center of 1,000 persons" (p.10). According to the mayor, Canadians of Japanese ancestry were given, "a square deal and they showed they were good citizens and good workers" (p.10). McArthur referred to Japanese Canadians as "Canadian citizens" three times throughout the article, which was rare but immensely significant. According to the article, "the 'old myth' about low Japanese living standards also has exploded," and McArthur said, "they live as expensively as we do, or better (p.10). His discursive construction of Canadians of Japanese ancestry is very positive, referring to them as buying the "best food and clothing," and "their children are well-dressed and healthy" (p.10). McArthur then powerfully declared, "We like them. We want them. They're Canadians" (p.10). The article said that the first day Canadians of

Japanese ancestry arrived in the town, "most of Greenwood drove a half-mile to the station to sit in their cars 'and see these terrible people' (p.10). This highlights the low expectations and pre-judgments people had of Japanese Canadians and how after spending years living among them, their perception of them had changed for the better. McArthur's declarations in this article work to dispel the negative stereotypes of Canadians of Japanese ancestry that had persisted for so long in the Hansard and newspaper sample.

A few days later, on March 15, 1949, a similar alternative discourse of Canadians of Japanese ancestry was presented in the House. During a debate on rent control, MP MacInnis (Vancouver East) called out MP Green (Vancouver South) and stated, "…but I remember that when 23,000 people in B.C. were despoiled of their property, the efforts of a lifetime, the Honorable Member for Vancouver South never raised his voice" (MacInnis, 1949, p. 1516). MP Green (Vancouver South) asked, "when was that?" (Green, 1949, p.1516). MP MacInnis replied, "When the Japanese were uprooted from their homes and scattered right across this country from one end of its 4,000 miles to the other" (MacInnis, 1949, p.1516). Throughout this entire sample, MPs tended to euphemistically refer to the forced uprooting as an "evacuation," "relocation," or "movement." However, here we have MacInnis using completely different terminology to describe the same event. He referred to Canadians of Japanese ancestry as being "uprooted," and "scattered" across Canada which he reminded the House is "4,000 miles" long. He also referred to the forced liquation of their property as their "efforts of a lifetime," which goes to show the extent of money and hard work Japanese Canadians had invested in their property and belongings, only to be stolen in an instant by their own government. This comparison between the discourse MacInnis used to describe what happened to Canadians of Japanese ancestry, as

opposed to the more commonly used discourse examined throughout this sample, shows the importance and implications of word choice.

During the same debate, MP Green (Vancouver South) asked MP MacInnis (Vancouver East) if he thought Japanese Canadians should not have been moved (Green, 1949, p.1516). To which MP MacInnis answered: "They should not have been moved, but if they had to be moved then their properties should have been protected. The government of the country should have acted as their guardian and not as their despoiler. This what should have been done. There is no democracy in a country unless there is democracy for everybody, democracy for those who you do not like as well as for those you do like. That's is the only democracy that is worthwhile. That is the only democracy that I will stand for or will have anything to do with" (MacInnis, 1949, p. 1516). Right after MP MacInnis spoke, MP Graydon (Peel) said, "my goodness, you are worked up" (Graydon, 1949, p.1516). MP Graydon was clearly trying to downplay what MP MacInnis said and discredit his argument by saying he is "worked up." MP Fulton (Kamloops), chimed in and said MP MacInnis' point had nothing to do with the rent control resolution (Fulton, 1949, p.1516). The Deputy speaker agreed with MP Fulton and told MP MacInnis to "move on" (Fauteux, 1949, p.1516). This interaction between MP MacInnis and the other Members of Parliament is significant because it shows how once MP MacInnis tried to stand up for Canadians of Japanese ancestry and hold the government accountable for their racist actions, he was shut down immediately.

All Orders in Council Are Revoked

On March 15, 1949, Minister of Justice, Garson (Marquette), announced in the House that the all Orders in Council relating to Canadians of Japanese ancestry had been revoked or

would be by April 1 of that year (Garson, 1949, p. 1507). The Minister of Justice provided the following list of the revoked Orders in Council:

1. **PC 7355 (13/12/45):** Financial assistance to voluntary repatriates to Japan and for liquidation and transfer of their assets to Japan – PC 5638 (27/1/49); as amended by PC 28 (23/1/47)
2. **PC 1665 (4/3/42):** Administration by custodian of property of persons of the Japanese race – PC 5638 27/1/49 as amended by PC 2483 (27/ 3/42), PC 2541 (30/3/42), PC 3213 (21/4/42,) PC 946 (5/2/43)
3. **PC 469 (19/1/43):** Transfer to custodian of property of Japanese evacuees – PC 5638 (27/1/49); as amended by PC (27 23/1/ 47)

According to the Hansard, the two next Orders in Council were revoked as of April 1, 1949 (Garson, 1949, p. 1507):

1. **PC 251 (13/1/42):** Fishing licenses prohibited to persons of Japanese racial origin
2. **PC 946 (5/2/42):** Evacuation and relocation of persons of the Japanese race in Canada – as amended by PC 9743 (18/12/45), PC 5973 (14/9/45), PC 270 (23/1/47)

The revocation of all these Orders in Council meant the final restrictions over the Canadians of Japanese ancestry came to an end on April 1, 1949.

Chapter Summary

As the findings from this chapter revealed, alternative and critical discourses regarding the construction of the Canadians of Japanese ancestry and the treatment they were subjected to, started to emerge in Parliament and the press toward the end of 1945. In the House, MP Stewart accused Liberal MPs of being racially intolerant and deemed their plan to exclude Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry from British Columbia to be undemocratic. In 1946, both the

national and local press reported members of the public and some institutions, including the YMCA and *Washington Post,* had condemned and protested the Federal Government's plan to deport Canadians of Japanese ancestry. There was a significant change in the discourse that was used in these articles to talk about Japanese Canadians and their related discriminatory treatment. Canadians of Japanese ancestry, who repeatedly had been described as "dangerous" and "aliens," were now being called, "victims" and" admirable citizens." Likewise, the deportation orders, once deemed "fair" and "necessary," were now being considered, "un-Canadian" and "inhumane." After a year of critical news stories and headlines dominating the press, the Federal Government cancelled their deportation orders in January 1947. At this point, 3,964 people of Japanese ancestry had already been deported and nearly 70 percent of them were Canadian citizens. Over the year, more public pressure was put on the government to end all their discriminatory restrictions over Canadians of Japanese ancestry, including demands that an official inquiry into the mishandling and liquidation of their property take place. The Bird Commission was set up as a result and by the end of the hearings, $1.2 million had been awarded in compensation. It wasn't until April 1, 1949 that all the discriminatory Orders in Council pertaining to Canadians of Japanese ancestry were revoked and they were allowed to return to British Columbia.

Journalists and the news do not simply disseminate information, they actively produce and construct stories about events and people (Gasher, Skinner, & Lorimer, 2016, p.284). Through the media, we learn about our society – the people, the places, the issues, and what is considered "important." As Gasher, Skinner, and Lorimer (2016) argued, "Journalism, like all media forms, is both text and context a site upon which beliefs and values are developed and communicated, and where they can be reinforced or challenged" (Gasher, Skinner, & Lorimer,

2016, p.289). Thus, what is said in the media and who says it, is important. Henry and Tator (2000) examined several Canadian print media, including the *Globe and Mail,* and found, "media articulates and transmits powerful and negative narratives, images and ideas about ethno-racial minorities that can have a significant influence on the collective belief system of Canadian society" (Henry & Tator, 2000). Specifically, the authors found, a pervasive theme of news media is using the language of "otherness," reinforcing the "we-they" mindset (as cited in: Gasher, Skinner, & Lorimer, 2016, p.290). Henry and Tator argued their findings reveal, "a conflict between the belief that the media represents the cornerstone of a democratic liberal society and the key instrument by which its ideals are produced and disseminated, and the actual role of the media as purveyors of racist discourse, supporters of a powerful White political, economic and cultural elite, and a vehicle for reinforcing racism in Canadian society" (Henry & Tator, 2000).

As the findings from this chapter showed, the way Canadians of Japanese ancestry were constructed in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Daily Colonist* significantly changed between 1946 and 1949. As a result of the "positive" coverage and growing public pressure on the government to cancel their deportation orders, all discriminatory Orders in Council were eventually revoked. These findings teach us about the importance of having a critical media institution. Between 1941 and 1945, there was little to no critical reporting on the Federal Government's perception and policies pertaining to Japanese Canadians. Both the *Globe and Mail* and the *Daily Colonist* repeated and reinforced the dominant "us versus them" narrative and effectively silenced Canadians of Japanese ancestry by failing to include their voices in their news coverage.

Media evidently plays an important role in the construction of social relations. In the context of this thesis, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Daily Colonist* actively created and reinforced

a negative perception of all Canadians of Japanese ancestry that were living in the country during the 1940s. The commercial English media associated and framed anyone of Japanese ancestry as different, evil, and "bad," while juxtaposing themselves as the "legitimate" Canadian citizens, who were white, loyal, and "good." This is not the only time these two newspapers played a dominant role in the construction of a racialized "enemy-Other" during times of conflict. In Steuter and Wills' (2009) study on Canadian news headlines published between 2001 and 2009 about the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, they found both the *Globe and Mail* and *Victoria Times Colonist* (the current publication of the *Daily Colonist),* actively constructed and framed Islam and Muslims as the "enemy" (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p.7). In addition to those two newspapers, multiple national and local newspapers including the *National Post, Ottawa Citizen,* and the *Toronto Star,* repeatedly framed Islam and Muslims as animalistic and associated them with diseases, constructing them as "an enemy-Other who is dehumanized, de-individualized, and ultimately expendable" (p.7).

As discussed in Chapter One, another example of just how prevalent the "us versus them" narrative is in Western media comes from Carruthers (2004) who examined media constructions of Africa and the West during the Somalia and Rwanda conflicts in the 1990s (Carruthers, 2004). She found Western media actively constructed Africa as a "hopeless continent" and contrasted African savagery with Western humanitarianism. In her argument, identity is relational, categories are defined against each other: what the other is, one is not. This is significant because the other is essential in the construction of oneself. "We," as Westerns, like to see ourselves as "good," and that constructed against the "other," which in Carruthers' case are Africans.

A change in the media narrative regarding Canadians of Japanese ancestry started to emerge after the Second World War ended and news started to spread that Japanese American

internees were allowed to return to their homes. Articles in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Daily Colonist* started to include letters to the editors from citizens who demanded the wartime restrictions to be lifted over Japanese Canadians. Stories also told of protests held in defense of Canadians of Japanese ancestry and their rights as good, hardworking citizens. With no threat from the war, and no charges laid against Canadians of Japanese ancestry, some members of the public and politicians facilitated a counter-discourse which was critical of the Canadian government's policies around internment and deportation. Citizens who had spent the last few years working and living with Japanese Canadians started demanding fair and just treatment toward them. The sheer magnitude of "positive" news coverage on both a national and local level that condemned the actions of the government and denounced former negative constructions of Canadians of Japanese ancestry, eventually led to the Order in Council being revoked. The significant difference in the discourse that was used to construct Canadians of Japanese ancestry from the first couple chapters to this one, shows us that the ideological frame that shaped the discourse of "others/otherness" in this context was neither fixed nor static. The way Canadians of Japanese ancestry were constructed depended on who had the power to define "them" and how often it was uncritically repeated in the press. Thus, taking steps toward having a more critical news media and increasing minority voices in stories and in the newsroom, can help to foster a more inclusive and democratic society.

Chapter Seven
Discussion and Concluding Remarks

As the findings from the Hansard, *Daily Colonist,* and *Globe and Mail* revealed, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were categorized and discriminated against because of their race. Canadian Members of Parliament constructed Japanese Canadians in opposition to the more ideal, white Canadian identity. The findings from the comprehensive nine-year sample clearly demonstrate Mazepa's (2012) regressive continuum whereby Canadians of Japanese ancestry were categorized, marginalized and stereotyped, demonized and ultimately, dehumanized (Mazepa, 2012, p. 246). As the findings showed, the majority of the discourse used in Parliament and the press constructed and reinforced a clear binary between Canadians of Japanese ancestry and the rest of Canadians using terms like yellow/ white, disloyal/ loyal, and threat/ vulnerable. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the "us and them" narrative spread like wildfire from the racist mouths of MPs in the House to the pages of local and national newspapers. Through frequent uncritical and biased reporting, the *Daily Colonist* and *Globe and Mail* amplified and reinforced the "us and them" narrative, spreading it to citizens in British Columbia and across the nation. Letters to the editor that were published in both newspapers revealed how members of the public used the same racialized discourse MPs and the press had in order to demand and justify the exclusion of Japanese Canadians. As Canadians of Japanese ancestry spiraled down the regressive continuum, they became foreigners, enemies and aliens in their own country. According to Mazepa, "once these categories gain hegemonic momentum, physical and social segregation, violence, or imprisonment – as a reaction or a means of social control – can ultimately establish a basis for justifying internment and extermination" (p. 247). As a result of the discourse that was used to negatively construct, reinforce, and maintain the

identity of Canadians of Japanese ancestry after the attack on Pearl Harbor, approximately 22,000 Japanese Canadians, the majority of whom were Canadian citizens, were labelled as the "enemy" and sentenced to live in internment camps across the country. Demands in the House and press to deport the "aliens" resulted in 3,964 B.C. residents of Japanese ancestry being deported to Japan, most of which were Canadian citizens. The actions of the Canadian government represent how a regressive view of social relations justified and resulted in the Japanese internment and deportation.

Language, Race, Power

Discourse played a central role in the support and justification for the Japanese internment. It was the way the Canadian Members of Parliament *talked* about Canadians of Japanese ancestry that eventually created a basis to demand and justify their internment. This thesis is situated in critical race theory which argues race is a socially constructed concept and a product of "social thought and relations" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 8). From this perspective, what it means to be "Japanese," is not based on some sort of biological truth or foundation. Rather, our understanding of what it means to be "Japanese" is based on the discourse we've heard over and over again to describe the race. As Alim (2016) argued, language plays a, "central role in the construction, maintenance and transformation of racial and ethnic identities" (Alim, 2016, p.7). Once people are separated into categories based on race (Japanese/Canadian), language is used to fill those categories with meaning, making the binary between them appear to be real (Mazepa, 2012, p.246). Language shapes our ideas about race by assigning meaning to an otherwise empty social category. We learn about race and we are taught racism through language, otherwise these ideas wouldn't exist. If we didn't use language to talk about the difference between "Japanese" and "Canadian," how would we know what it meant to

be either one? Since race is used as a way of classifying people, it is imperative that we understand how those categories are created and who gets to define them. This is where the intersection of language, race, and power comes in. As Habermans (1986) argued, language is a site of domination and social force, which legitimizes organized power, and that language is ideological (as cited in: Brindle, 2016, p.5). As this thesis has shown, discourse can have real-world implications when it is used to create and define "categories" of people. The words we use matter when we talk about race, so it is vital that we are able to recognize the social relations that the meanings were created in and the social relations that they enforce. In the context of this thesis, it was the white Canadian Members of Parliament who asserted their power to create and define what it meant to be a Canadian of Japanese ancestry. The marginalizing and dehumanizing discourse reinforced a structure of dominance and was repeated frequently and uncritically in the national and local press.

Discourse and Media Framing

Several scholars have argued media plays a dominant role in constructing and reinforcing racial hierarchies. Hall (1997) argued, media representations, descriptions, narratives, and explanations help to frame our understanding of how the world is and why it works as it is said to work (Hall, 1997, p.34). Thus, the way the media talks about race and acts of racism is important. Henry and Tator (2005) argued, "media's everyday talk and text draw symbolic boundaries around who is to be included in the 'imagined' community and who is relegated to the position of outsider, the dangerous 'Other'" (Henry & Tator, 2005, p.38). In the case of the Japanese internment, both the local and national newspaper conveyed and reinforced the dominant racial ideology that Canadian meant "white/good/us," and Japanese meant "yellow/bad/them." Using racialized discourse, the newspapers identified and described

Canadians of Japanese ancestry as a threat to the safety of white Canadians and racial purity. The role the newspapers played in the reinforcement of the "us and them" narrative that led to the Japanese internment cannot be understated as, Henry and Tator argued, "dominant ideology and its discourse are most crucially reproduced with the help of the media" (Henry & Tator, 2005, p.37). The media is not passive in the way they frame race. Editorial and journalistic decisions regarding which stories get covered, headlines, article placement and who's voices are included in the story, all contribute to the way the story is framed. Steuter and Wills (2009) examined Canadians news headlines about the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in order to reveal how the "enemy" was constructed and framed in dominant media discourse (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p.7). The authors argued, "the Canadian media have participated in mediating constructions of Islam and Muslims, mobilizing familiar metaphors in representations that fabricate an enemy-Other who is dehumanized, de-individualized, and ultimately expendable" (p.7). Moreover, the scholars argued the consequences of the animalistic representations of the enemy-Other in the media, "are more than rhetorical, setting the stage for racist backlash, prisoner abuse and even genocide" (p.7).

Contextualizing Racism in Canada

Unfortunately, the way discourse was used to pit Canadians of Japanese ancestry against white Canadians and legitimize discriminatory treatment against them is not a unique moment in Canadian history. Race has historically been used and is continued to be used in Canada to reinforce structures of dominance whereby white trumps colour. Even the original habitants of the land were subjected to racism upon the arrival of white, Europeans. Khenti (1996) argued, "In Canada, the need to dominate the Aboriginal people provided the stimulus that eventually led to race being employed as a rational for oppression" (Khenti, 1996, p.58). A socially constructed

notion of *difference* based on race was used to dominate and colonize the Native land and people. Khenti argued, "The Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 represented the core of an overall offensive to transform Aboriginal people into citizens of British North America and to have them repudiate their 'negative' Native lifestyles" (p.60). The dominate white belief at the time was that Aboriginals were inferior and uncivilized (p.60). As a result, the Canadian government created and used residential schools, "to assimilate Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian culture" (Miller, 2012). At the residential schools, children were forbidden from speaking in their Native languages and practicing traditional rituals (Khenti, 1996, p.61). The kids also had to have their hair cut and, "were dressed like Europeans" (p.61).

Acts of racism and white dominance are not simply a thing of the past. In 2017, Statistics Canada published a report detailing the number of police-reported hate crimes in Canada from 2015 (Leber, 2017). Specifically, the report looked at hate crimes that were motivated by race or ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation. According to the report, "there were 1,362 criminal incidents in Canada that were motivated by hate, marking an increase of 5% or 67 more incidents than were reported the previous year" (2017). Nearly half of the hate crimes (48%), "were motived by hatred toward a race or ethnicity such as Black, Asian, Arab or Aboriginal populations" (2017). Out of all the hate-crimes committed that year, race and ethnicity was the most common motivator (2017). The report also found hate crimes that targeted Muslims in Canada more than tripled between 2012 and 2015 (2017). According to a 2014 national Canadian survey sponsored by the Canadians Race Relations Foundation and the Association for Canadian Studies, "almost every two in three Canadians (62%) had reported they were 'worried' about a rise in racism" ("Survey on Religion, Racism and Intergroup Relations in Canada," 2014).

On August 8, 2017, *Global News* reported a Toronto man who lived in Canada for over 35 years returned home to find his SUV damaged and covered in spray paint with, "the racial slur 'ch–k", graphic images and the phrase 'Go back to China' on the back of the vehicle" (Miller & Pom, 2017). According to the news article, Wiley Ko immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong in 1981. There is a quote from Ko in the article that states, "Every race in this country should be respected, we shouldn't have this kind of racism here" (2017). In 2016, several churches and schools in Toronto and Ottawa had racial slurs and swastikas spray painted on them (*CTV Ottawa,* November 18, 2016). In a *CTV Ottawa* news report, Idan Scher one of the Rabbi's whose synagogue was targeted said, "These words are far more than just words" (2016). Scher continued, "These words are representative and bring back very, very scary images in our history" (2016).

Moving Forward

This thesis argued Canadian Members of Parliament used the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor as an opportunity to enforce a dominant "us versus them" narrative, in conjunction with fear-based security threats, in order to justify the Japanese internment. The findings showed that between 1940 and 1949, national and local newspapers reproduced and reinforced this narrative through uncritical and biased reporting which negatively framed Canadians of Japanese ancestry against the more ideal, white "Canadian" identity. The findings from the comprehensive nine-year parliament and sample clearly demonstrated Mazepa's (2012) regressive continuum, whereby Canadians of Japanese ancestry were categorized, stereotyped and marginalized, demonized and ultimately, dehumanized (Mazepa, 2012, p. 246). The discourse that was used in the House and in the press served to reinforce a structure of dominance based on socially constructed categories of what it meant to be "Canadian," and what

it meant to be “Japanese.” Using language like, “yellow,” “unassimilable,” and “dangerous,” Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were all grouped together under one category and defined in opposition to Canadians who were, “white,” “loyal,” and “vulnerable.” As a result of this type of discourse, 22,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry, the majority of whom were Canadian citizens, were forced out of their homes in British Columbia and sent to live in internment camps. Their property and belongings were confiscated and sold without their consent. For nearly a decade, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry endured discriminatory treatment from their government and fellow Canadians. The significance of this thesis is that it provides a comprehensive account of the way Canadian political and press discourse was used to justify acts of racial discrimination against Japanese Canadians in the House, the *Daily Colonist*, and the *Globe and Mail*. It is important to identify how this occurred in order to work towards discourse that does not divide people, whether by race, or other forms social discrimination.

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