

Translating Celestial Solidarity

Diasporic Chinese Alignments with Indigenous Struggles in Aotearoa New Zealand and so-called Canada

By Mengzhu Fu

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Program in Gender, Feminist and Women's Studies
York University, Toronto, Ontario

April 2025

© Copyright Mengzhu Fu (2025)

Abstract

In conditions of ongoing colonization and Indigenous resurgence, non-Indigenous peoples of colour have had to confront their positionality, complicity, and responsibilities to Indigenous peoples. In the past two decades, there has been growing support and attention from Chinese diasporas towards Indigenous struggles in Aotearoa (New Zealand) and so-called Canada. To strengthen Indigenous and diasporic Chinese solidarities, this dissertation explores how Chinese diasporic peoples have come to align with decolonization and Indigenous movements, how place-based histories influence Chinese and Indigenous relations and solidarity, and the potentials of transnational exchanges of strategies between Chinese diasporas. Using interdisciplinary qualitative and arts-based methods drawing from autoethnography, interviews, and focus groups involving 46 participants, I synthesized learnings into an aspirational framework I call ‘celestial solidarity.’ ‘Celestial’ was used as a racial slur against early Chinese immigrants. I reclaim this term to draw wisdom from the skies and to argue that thinking through celestuality allows us to take an approach that recognizes multiple co-existing ontologies, and respect the independence of Indigenous nations while attending to the interdependence of life and liberation. I draw out the key themes into three tenets and practices of ‘celestial’ solidarity: 1) honouring all that is unseen, including the spiritual realm, the ancestors, and the unconscious, 2) integrating spatial and temporal solidarity and 3) generating portals between worlds and beyond borders - this is a call for transnational relationship-building and internationalism to ‘fight colonialism from East to West.’ I argue that the practice of translation, in the most expansive sense, is central to all three tenets to foster Indigenous understandings of the land, and build power and solidarity locally and transnationally. It is between the land and the sky where histories are made and remembered, where people come together, where we learn what it means to practice solidarity, and “work together to make this a better place” (Jackson 2020).

Acknowledgments

I want to dedicate this in memory of matua Moana Jackson, his friendship, his work and stories have been foundational to both my motivation to take on this project and to the dissertation itself. I want to express my aroha and deepest appreciation to tangata whenua and Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island who have taught me (either directly or indirectly) the meaning and stakes of Indigenous struggle and decolonization, and gave me glimpses into what relationships could be on a larger scale if mana motuhake or Indigenous sovereignty was restored. Arohanui ki a koutou katoa. Chi miigwetch. Huy chexw. Niá:wen. Hearing some traditional land acknowledgments on Turtle Island reminds me how often the colonial cultures we are steeped in takes for granted the gifts of the land and skies. Without the trees and diatoms that produce oxygen, we would not be able to breathe. Without the soil, the rain, and the sun, we would not have food to eat. I am grateful to all the life-sustaining beings and elements that allow us to be alive.

Much love to my family, both chosen and otherwise - my parents, my partner, and my extended family across Turtle Island. Your presence in my life has kept me going and continues to bring joy and comfort in the hardest times. To my amazing best friends, Kirsty Fong and Mehwish Mughal, your consistency, care, and our daily conversations has sustained and nourished me. Thank you both for all the work you do in your own communities and across pan-Asian spaces.

To my supervisor, Prof. Enakshi Dua, and committee members Prof. Bonita Lawrence, and Prof. Mona Oikawa, my sincerest gratitude to you all. Your support throughout this process has been critical in shaping this project. I have especially appreciated your feedback that challenges me, which I see as real gifts that have allowed for growth and deeper explorations. Thank you for believing in me, it was an honour to learn from you all. To Ant Sang, my comics tutor, thank you for your helpful feedback for the comics and keeping me on track. It was your course on graphic novels that gave me the confidence to use this method of storytelling.

A heartfelt thanks to everyone who has given me contacts and connections to reach out to, including but not limited to Bradley Lee, Kirsten Wong, Prof. Henry Yu, Dr. Denise Fong, Dr. Karl Gardner, Dr. Jeffrey Ansloos, Omar Chu, Carven Li, Rita Wong, Kimberley Wong, Richard Fung, Desmond Wong, Landy Anderson, Alan Chen, Prof. Enakshi Dua, Prof. Mona Oikawa, and Dr. Craig Fortier. With your help, it snow-balled and I have made lifelong connections with some of the people you have introduced me to.

This project would not have been possible without participants and collaborators, your names and pseudonyms are scattered throughout this dissertation. I am truly grateful for your generosity in sharing your time, memories, and perspectives with me. Thank you for trusting me with your stories, checking over transcripts, quotes, and illustrations over several years. I hope for more opportunities to continue collaborating with you all and supporting the work that you are all involved in. You all have far more wisdom than this dissertation can hold.

Ngā mihi aroha ki a kōrua, Piripi Wills and Pounamu Jade Aikman for reviewing the full thesis and providing thoughtful, nuanced and encouraging feedback. I learnt so much in the process, and loved the conversations that it has generated between us. 非常感谢 Wenxing Luo, Yukiko Kobayashi Lui, Michael Lee, and Dr. Michael Glueck for your invaluable feedback, and support with proofreading and formatting. Special thanks to Hatea Ruru for giving permission to share the portrait of his father, Moana Jackson, and also to Cynthia Fisk Jensen for consenting to the portrayal of her mother, Doreen Jensen. To Wong Liu Sheung and Alex Nathan, thank you also for agreeing to have your likeness depicted in this dissertation.

To the GFWS and wider York community, we have been through the trying lockdowns of the pandemic and the CUPE 3903 strike together. You all provide a soft space to commiserate and support each other through the challenges of being an (international) PhD student. Thank you to Fatemeh Gharibi, Harshita Yalamarty, Shams Seif, Mila Mendez, Alireza Gorgani, Sabina Chatterjee, Bridget Liang, Shruti Kalyanaraman, Mari Soberal, Dhouha Triki, Amarachi Chukwu, Emily Green, Yemi Adebisi, Hazel Beecham, Mackenzie Edwards, and Allyson Mitchell.

Ngā mihi ki a Dr. Arama Rata for setting up Write Club and hosting weekly writing sessions over the years and the introduction to Dr. Ansloos and Dr. Gardner. The writing sessions kept me connected to folks in Aotearoa, including Nabilah Husna Abdul Rahman: thank you for riding out this journey with me navigating the balance between academia and activism.

I want to express my absolute appreciation to all the organizers in Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga who have been holding it down over the several years that I have been abroad. This collective work has been a driving force for me to complete this project and to share the knowledge with you all. While it is focused on Chinese diasporas, in Aotearoa we are too small to not work in a bigger coalition, so thank you also to all the South, Southeast, West, and other East Asians who have long been part of this growing movement.

I also want to acknowledge organizations like Yarrow who were so inviting and hospitable.

Meeting the the seniors, all the staff and volunteers gave me a lot of hope and inspiration for what is also possible elsewhere. Thanks for having me join the morning exercise classes, grocery packing, and witnessing the beautiful karaoke garden party!

Although I did not discuss it in depth in this dissertation, I'm also deeply grateful for the opportunity to be part of the Community Peacemaker Team trip to learn about settler colonialism in Manitoba and northern Ontario. The workshop by Stephanie Rae Landon still sticks with me and I've been telling some of my treaty worker friends in Aotearoa about how powerful it was. I will always remember the children at the Asubpeeschoseewagong First Nation's (Grassy Narrows) Pow Wow who were so warm and sweet, their generation is who all this is for. I won't forget Judy Da Silva's account about their longstanding blockade and the ongoing threats of mining on their territories. Thank you to Ron Gamblin and Anny Chen for meeting with me on my first visit to Winnipeg, I loved meeting you both and learning about the movement work happening there.

This year, I realized there are many people I have now known for 20 years through thick and thin. From the very early years of youth-based organizing, Rangimarie Abraham, Lisa Meto Fox, and Nista Singh, our friendship from then 'til now is still as strong. Tuhi-Ao Bailey, you first taught me Ngā Iwi E to prepare for a pōwhiri, thank you for hosting us in Parihaka again recently. To Sina Brown-Davis, thank you for your sharpness, stamina, and solidarity with migrant and Muslim communities over the years. To Aaryn Niuapu and Alesha Hulme-Niuapu, ngā mihi nunui to you both for setting up Racial Equity Aotearoa and connecting the struggles for tino rangatiratanga and migrant justice. Thank you Anevili and Tāwhana Chadwick for hosting all the IPU live sessions, they got me through the pandemic and made me feel less homesick. Ka nui te mihi ki a koe Tina Ngata for your principled discernment and commitment to global solidarity with all Indigenous peoples, and for all your work combatting racism, colonialism, and the Doctrine of Discovery.

I really appreciated (re)connecting with people from Aotearoa in Toronto: Dr. Elizabeth Kerekere, Alofa Aiono, Auntie Noti, Annette Sykes, Te Ringahuia Hata, Dr. Waikaremoana Waitoki, and Wai Ho among others. Thank you for taking the time to meet while you were visiting this side of the world!

To everyone else who have been supportive during this PhD process in one way or another, much love and gratitude to you all, including but not limited to Dr. Akevai Nicholas, Anne Waapu, Kassie Hartendorp, Rākau Buchanan, Kim McBreen, Carol Que, Nadia Abu-Shanab, Ni'ma

Baniowda, Joey Macdonald, Nicola Paton, Dharshi and Anna Ponnampalam, Emma Moon, Jasmin Singh, Amenda Quang, Bloom Siriwattakanon, Jessica Cook, Jason Li, Ming Ma, Kmesha Shebaa, Randizia Crisostomo, Jospheine Ong, and Chamindra Weerawardhana. To my lovely neighbours, Ronak and Trevs, Taylor, and Aruna Zehra, thank you for all the care shown during the pandemic and beyond. The cats, Frank and Leela have also been glimmers of joy during intensive writing and editing sessions.

Last but not least, heartfelt thanks to everyone that has written reference letters for me when applying for PhD programs and funding, Prof. Camille Nakhid, Prof. Phyllis Herda, Prof. Daniel Exeter, Prof. Maureen Molloy, and Prof. Mark Busse. Thank you to those who looked over my initial PhD applications, Hala Nasr, and Prof. Jin Haritaworn. Thank you Prof. Haritaworn for also having me as an RA and guest lecturer in your classes, it was always a joy to be in conversation with your students. Shoutout to all the students I have ever tutored, and guest lectured for, it was a pleasure to be part of your education. Finally, I am grateful for the funding from the Sherrill Cheda Graduate Scholarship, Ontario Graduate Scholarship, Virginia Rock Scholarship, the Academic Excellence Fund, and the Dissertation Fieldwork Fellowship. This financial support was critical to me as an international student.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	vii
List of Figures	xi
A Note on Language	xii
Introduction: Neverending Returnings	1
Aims and Research Questions	2
Celestial Solidarity: an Aspiration	4
Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Jackson and His Influence.....	9
The Places and the Systems/Projects	12
Methodology and Methods	16
Dissertation Structure.....	21
Part I: The Struggle of Memory Against Forgetting	24
Chapter One - A Sea of ‘Theoretical’ Currents	25
Colonial origins in the Doctrine of Discovery Domination.....	26
Indigenous-Asian Solidarity and Relationalities	28
Intersectionality and Transnational Feminism.....	40
Pedagogies Towards Praxis	43
Conclusion	45
Chapter Two - Colonization and Resistance in Aotearoa and Northern Turtle Island	46
Histories Before Colonization.....	47
The Arrival of Colonization: A Genealogy of Colonizers.....	52
Reconciliation?	63
Biculturalism.....	65
Goals: Decolonization, Resurgence, and Constitutional Transformation.....	66
Conclusion	72
Chapter Three - Knowing Ourselves: Chinese Diasporas on Stolen Indigenous lands	74
Who are “We”? Deconstructing “Chinese diasporas”	75
Knowing ‘Our’ Histories: Empires and Anti-Chinese Racism.....	77
Migrations to Gold Mountains.....	81
Chinese Migration, Racialization, and Colonial Immigration Legislations	82

Migration Narratives	94
(Im)positionality on Colonized Lands	98
Conclusion	100
Chapter Four - Doorways to Decolonization	102
Indigeneity and Colonialism in Compulsory Education	103
Indigenous Refusals	105
Family, Community and Workplaces	110
University Education and Role of Indigenous Educators	113
The Schools of Social Movements	115
Significance	121
Conclusion	122
Part II: Lessons from the Land	123
Chapter Five - From Unconscious to Conscious Solidarity in Aotearoa	124
Chinese Mothers of Māori-Chinese Children	125
Unconscious care and unintentional solidarity pre-1990s	126
Māori-Chinese: “the Living Descendants of Those Relationships”	129
The Solidarity Practices of 1970s Chinese Migrants	131
The Spiritual Element	134
Honouring Ancestors: Memorialization and Historical Recovery	138
“If Aotearoa was a Marae”	143
Pan-Asian Formation: Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga	146
Conclusion	150
Chapter Six- Storying Solidarity Landscapes in Vancouver-occupied Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh Lands	153
Contemporary Memorialization of Indigenous-Chinese Histories	154
Spotlighting Indigenous-Chinese Intermarriages and Families	160
Learning from Indigenous Feminists	165
Dialogue Circles between Indigenous and Immigrant Communities	168
Spatial Solidarity: Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside	170
Art-based Solidarity	174
Solidarity in the Digital Realm: Projects from 2020s and the Role of Food	176
Conclusion	177
Chapter Seven - To “Act Alongside” in Toronto	179
Comparisons and Connections to Vancouver	179

Migrant Justice and Indigenous Solidarity: No One Is Illegal.....	180
Solidarity in Unions and the Workplace.....	182
No Such Thing as Single-Stranded Histories.....	185
Christianity and Church-based Communities	188
Conclusion	192
Part III: Translational Strategies and Transnational Dreaming	193
Chapter Eight - Spheres of Solidarity: Strategies, Practices, and Challenges	196
Meanings of Solidarity.....	196
Solidarity in Practice: Three Spheres that Decentre Whiteness.....	198
The Sphere of Indigenous ‘Sovereignty’	198
The Relational Sphere.....	200
The Sphere of “Getting our Own House(s) in Order”	202
Barriers and Challenges for Solidarity-building.....	210
Conclusion	219
Chapter Nine - In Place, in Relation, in Time: Pedagogies for Decolonial Solidarity	222
Integrating Indigenous Scholarship in Tertiary Curricula	223
Relational Pedagogies: From Familial to Community.....	224
Place-based Pedagogies and Indigenous Translation of the Land	227
Treaty Education in Aotearoa	232
Drawing on Shared, Intertwined, Transnational Histories.....	240
Mobilizing Chinese Values and Cultural Practices	243
Linking to Un/belonging and Honourable Belonging	245
Conclusion	247
Chapter Ten - Transnational Dialogues to ‘Dream Bigger’	248
Chapter Eleven - Dreaming Different Dreams: Futurities and Celestial Solidarity	253
Dreaming as Method and Praxis.....	253
Indigenous Futurisms and Aspirations.....	256
Dreams (and Nightmares) of the Future	258
Dreams of Celestial Solidarities.....	265
Future of Organizing: a Raft Metaphor	272
Conclusion	278
Conclusion: Change is not Linear	279
Implications of Rethinking Solidarity through Celestuality	280
Reflections on the Research Process.....	283

Limitations and Contributions	287
What is at Stake	290
Bibliography	292
Appendix A: Glossary of Māori Terms	310
Appendix B: Glossary of Chinese Terms.....	313
Appendix C: Directory of Key Organizations and Projects	315

List of Figures

Figure 1: Portrait of Te Moana-Nui-A-Kiwa Jackson by Mengzhu Fu.....	11
Figure 2: “What winds/waters brought you here?” by Mengzhu Fu	73
Figure 3: “Yellow Peril” cartoon by Richard Goodall published in 1907.....	91
Figure 4: “No Single Blueprint” words by Winnie Ng, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	106
Figure 5: “The Spiritual Element” words by Wai Ho, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	135
Figure 6: "We Were Waiting" words by Kirsten Wong, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.....	139
Figure 7: "An Impactful Visit" words by Lily Lee, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	152
Figure 8: "The Chance to Listen" words by Bill Chu, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	156
Figure 9: "Shared Storyscapes" words by Kamala Todd, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	161
Figure 10: “1000 Lanterns” words by Landy Anderson, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	186
Figure 11: "Treaty Obligations" words by Joe, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.....	190
Figure 12: “The Support of Others” words by Margaret Mutu, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	194
Figure 13: “All That Is Unseen” words by Rita Wong, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	207
Figure 14: “A Different Set of Myths” words by Hongwen, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	235
Figure 15: “Draw the Parallels” words by Danny Karatea-Goddard and Marutakaiwaho Karatea-Goddard, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	241
Figure 16: “Building A Raft” words by Henry Yu, illustration by Mengzhu Fu.	273

A Note on Language

This dissertation is written in primarily Canadian English, but involves New Zealand English, Māori, and Chinese languages. There is a glossary of Māori words used, and where possible, I also define terms in text and in footnotes. Please bear with me through the multiple layers of translation and interpretation involved that seek to make this accessible and respectful of the Indigenous languages and concepts, to have them self-defined, on their own terms and from their own dictionaries. In the Chinese languages, I try to provide options for simplified and traditional Chinese in written Chinese characters. In spoken romanizations of Mandarin, I use Pinyin, and for Cantonese, I use Jyutping. These standardized romanizations of Chinese are also not all encompassing of regional languages, dialects, and accents. I have prioritized Cantonese as the majority of the Chinese people I interviewed are Cantonese. I have also included a glossary of key Chinese terms used. Writing this in English, I am cognisant of employing the colonizer's tongue. It is a result of Anglo-colonialism that English has become the dominant language in Canada and New Zealand, and the language we have in common to communicate across these borders.

Introduction: Neverending Returnings

In the quiet hours, when my grandparents in Tianjin take their afternoon nap, I would read the books I brought with me from Aotearoa. It is the end of the year of the earth ox. I am avidly learning from Jenny Bol Jun Lee's (2007) book, *Jade Taniwha* about the histories and identities of Māori-Chinese. Hunched over my grandparents' desk, sipping on monk fruit tea, I take in her words. Her writing takes me into the histories of colonization, Māori resistance, anti-Chinese racism and the problems with liberal multiculturalism. At the time, I was mainly organizing with Māori and Pākehā activists, and only beginning to connect with other Chinese and Asian folks committed to decolonization.

In my late teens, my parents would send me back to China during the summers of Aotearoa to spend time with my relatives and improve my Mandarin. English had taken over the language of my everyday speech and my everynight dreams after migrating with my parents at age six to Aotearoa 'New Zealand.' Being back in Tianjin and adapting to the winter rhythms of my grandparents forced me to slow down, reflect and plan. It was there while reading *Jade Taniwha*, that an idea sprang to my mind for Waitangi Day in 2010. It was there, in a city once occupied by the Eight-Nation Alliance¹ I wrote an email to friends, including Wai Ho and Kirsten Wong, proposing that we take an 'Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga' banner up to Waitangi, 170 years after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.²

In the dominant discourses of Te Tiriti, treaty issues were often framed within a Māori/Pākehā binary. We were seeking a way to express our solidarity with Māori without being subsumed under the category of 'Pākehā' (white New Zealanders), rather as ourselves, who also have responsibilities to honour Te Tiriti, but have a different relationship to the colonial state and white supremacy. That year, four of us went to Waitangi with that banner. Within the group, we had ancestral and diasporic ties to mainland China, Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapura. Wai Ho had written a leaflet to hand out, a segment stated:

¹This alliance was composed of Germany, Japan, Russia, Italy, France, Britain, United States, and Austria-Hungary.

²Te Tiriti o Waitangi refers to the Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi. I will use 'Te Tiriti' from here to refer to this treaty.

We choose to look at social justice and our responsibilities, not solely from a Western/Pakeha perspective, but from ancestral perspectives where our elders have experienced colonisation, imperialism, and perpetuated these injustices also, which continue to have impacts on sections of the Asian population. (dumpling 2010)

We were on the verge of creating a space for ‘Asians’ to connect to Te Tiriti. Waitangi Day is a time and place to remember, to return to the original agreement that sets the conditions for immigration. It was there on February 6th, 1840, that Te Tiriti was first signed. It affirmed ‘tino rangatiratanga’ for Māori and granted ‘kāwanatanga’ (governorship) to the Crown to manage the Pākehā who were there at the time - an agreement that the Crown continually violates and attempts to redefine. These experiences and understandings of Indigenous solidarity from Aotearoa are why I moved to northern Turtle Island,³ and the lens through which I interpret solidarity practices in so-called Vancouver and Toronto. In the past two decades, there have been growing expressions of solidarity with Indigenous struggles from Chinese diasporic peoples in New Zealand and Canada. To explore and understand how diasporic Chinese peoples can bring our communities into greater alignment with decolonization, I wanted to learn from and connect with people on the opposite end of the Earth.

Aims and Research Questions

The aim of this project is to strengthen and develop strategies for building solidarity, pedagogy and political organizing for diasporic Chinese peoples to take collective responsibility to eliminate colonialism and racism on Indigenous lands. I look across Canada and New Zealand due to the shared histories and enduring structures of primarily Anglophone⁴ settler colonialism, anti-Chinese racism, and intermarriage between Chinese and Indigenous peoples. Canadian and New Zealand colonialism have long been entangled. They have not only been ‘swapping notes’ and sharing strategies, but the same colonizers have ravaged both lands (Ngata 2022). Colonial processes and structures are built on the cumulative learnings from across colonies. Furthermore, these two countries both share a pattern of comparison to their much larger neighbours, to claim moral superiority by projecting a self-image of “not as bad as” as the US or Australia. However, an important difference is how Canada manages racial and ethnic differences through state policies

³I use this term via Curtis Clearsky (City of Vancouver 2012, 10).

⁴Although the cities I focus on are largely Anglophone, Francophone settler colonialism is also significant in the Canadian context.

of multiculturalism, while New Zealand policies have been based on ‘biculturalism,’ where Māori are recognized as the Indigenous people and have specific rights based on Te Tiriti. Within these colonial nation-states, I foreground specificities in place-based practices, stories, histories and contexts at neighbourhood, city, and regional scales.

Because the brutality and genocidal nature of colonization in Canada, New Zealand, and beyond has been well documented and demonstrated, my main goal is not to convince anyone that colonialism needs to be dismantled. I write this to the future, in anticipation and hope, that such a premise is already taken for granted. I see this as a political project, not a cultural exploration nor a comparative analysis of Chinese and Indigenous cultures. In the dissertation, I speak primarily to Chinese diasporic communities, to connect, share, exchange, to do the educational, political, emotional and spiritual labour, to be proactive rather than passive, to build alternate futures and pathways that leave behind the structures of colonial and racial capitalism. Thus, I write for diasporic Chinese and other people of colour already committed to decolonization. This is about strategies and practices, focusing more on the ‘how’ rather than the ‘why.’ This dissertation aims to answer the “what can we do?” question by exploring what “we” already have been doing. For Indigenous communities, I share these learnings as a form of accountability on the work that has been happening, often in dialogic process, following and in relation to Indigenous-led movements. This is to seek better relations where we are and where we will be. In this sense, this project is desire-based rather than damage-centred (Tuck 2009).

My main research questions are: 1) What have been the histories, contexts, and pathways for Chinese diasporic peoples to align with decolonization and Indigenous struggles resisting New Zealand and Canadian colonialism? 2) How do place-specific histories of Aotearoa, ‘Vancouver,’ and ‘Toronto’ influence how Chinese solidarity with Indigenous peoples is practiced today and into the future? 3) What are the potentials of analyzing Chinese diasporic solidarity practices and connecting Chinese diasporas transnationally for clarifying and strengthening strategies, praxis, and pedagogies towards decolonization? I prioritize solidarity practices and praxis, allowing us to rethink our theoretical understanding of solidarity. By “solidarity praxis” I am referring to actions and reflections (Freire 2005) based on involvement in decolonization and Indigenous struggles, including learning, unlearning, teaching, relationship-building, organizing, fundraising, collaborating, or translating. This has been in contexts of Indigenous land reclamations, language revitalization, Indigenous-led protests, direct actions, treaty education and organizing against

ongoing colonial infractions. In the process of this research, the learnings gained have already been informing collective work that I am involved in. My hope is that this project can strengthen and clarify current and future strategies for others too. To answer these questions, I have synthesized the learnings by offering a framework I am calling ‘celestial solidarity.’

Celestial Solidarity: an Aspiration

While traveling through Kā-Muriwai (‘Arrowtown’) a former Chinese mining settlement in Te Waipounamu with my friend Kirsty Fong and my partner in 2022, I came across the term ‘Celestial’ as a racist slur for Chinese people. The local museum was going through renovation, so the Chinese exhibit was tucked away in a corner room, on the floor. One of the display boards lists the derogatory names used by Europeans: ‘Chinks,’ ‘Heathen Chinese,’ ‘Celestials,’ and ‘John.’ The word ‘Celestials’ stood out to me. It didn’t sound like a slur. I know of ‘alien,’ but celestial sounds otherworldly, divine. I was curious about the origin of this, and from a quick online search, I learned that China was known as the Celestial Empire.

Across the Anglophone settler colonies, ‘Celestial’ is repurposed for racism and marred with a violent history. In Lily Chow’s (1996) history of Chinese on unceded Indigenous lands occupied by ‘British Columbia,’ she reported that on July 11th, 1880, when 473 Chinese workers arrived in Victoria, they were met with stone throwing and name-calling “chink,” “Mongolian” and “Celestial.” Describing white receptions of Chinese gold miners on the West Coast in Aotearoa, the term was again invoked: “As soon as the Chinese made their appearance, a mob collected, and among other acts of violence, stoned the unfortunate Celestials” (Butler 1977, p. 13 cited Lee JBJ 2007, 57). The stoning of Chinese workers and name-calling of ‘Celestial’ is another transnational connection in the racial histories of New Zealand and Canada. To disarm this term, I want to reclaim and subvert ‘Celestial’ to refuse both Chinese imperial nationalism and anti-Chinese racism. There is potency in its original meaning, pointing to a particular ontology that can allow us to rethink solidarity.

‘Celestial’ nudged me to notice the sky world. I think about the Michi Saagig Nishnaabeg scholar, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson’s (2017) desires for “constellations of co-resistance,” how each movement, group, or individual are ‘stars’ in a constellation that can guide us out of colonialism. I think about the navigators and ancestors of Māori and Pacific Islanders who sailed and found all the islands in Oceania, well before any European ships, using “the sky as the map”

(Matamua 2020, 67). I think about the Anishinaabe creation story of how humans came from the sky-world through Sky Woman (Migizi 2018). I think about Matariki or Puanga, the cluster of stars marking a new year in the Māori calendar (Matamua 2020). It is through the humble waxing and waning of the moon, that Chinese ancestors also marked the months and years as cyclical. Without the sun and the moon, we would not have day and night, light and dark, yin and yang. We would not have time.

The overarching thesis of this dissertation is that by rethinking solidarity through celestial, we can appreciate the interdependence of liberation while respecting the independence of Indigenous nations. From the transnational knowledge synthesized through this project, ‘celestial solidarity’ is based on existing solidarity practices, redefining solidarity based on constellations, beyond the terrestrial, and the material. Like the starlights in the sky, the light that may have taken hundreds to millions of years to reach Earth, the stories of solidarity between Indigenous and Chinese peoples on colonized lands often have taken many years to come to light. What this teaches us is that the existence of that light existed long before we could see it, and that these practices of care have existed long before the language we invented to describe it. The tenets of ‘celestial solidarity’ that I propose are: 1) honouring all that is unseen: the spiritual realm, ancestors, and the unconscious, 2) integrating temporal and spatial solidarity, 3) generating portals across worlds and borders.

To honour all that is unseen includes respect for the spiritual realm, ancestors, and for the unconscious practices of solidarity. This calls us to ethically remember (Ngata 2019) histories and acknowledge genealogies. Lessons from Aotearoa and so-called ‘Vancouver’ especially speak to this in the practices of historical recovery and memorialization of shared histories from the land. The story-sharing of Indigenous-Chinese families formed through intermarriages have been foundational to contemporary historical recovery, and bridging those communities (Lee JBJ 2007; Yoshikawa 2016). There are stories from the land that feature more-than-human agency, the spiritual and ancestral realms influencing our lives, where spiritual work is necessary for decolonization. In these histories and realities, land is inseparable from ancestors (Aikman 2019), and place-based pedagogies become powerful methods of resisting historical erasure. Honouring ancestors is also about honouring the land, and ethically remembering the stories of the land. With this tenet, I also want to honour the ‘unconscious’ or ‘unintentional’ practices of solidarity and care that precedes political consciousness, especially within Indigenous-Chinese families and

communities. In honouring the ‘unconscious’ and the spiritual realms, I want us to learn from dreams as sources of knowledge and be open to ancestral interventions and 緣分/缘分 *jyun4 fan6/yaanfèn* (destined relations). The other forms of ‘unseen’ are the often invisibilized labour of everyday solidarity-building and organizing outside of crisis-based spectacles and ruptures, which is often feminized labour, and more-than-human agency that is often taken for granted - the way that the Land (and water) changes, teaches, and connects us.

Following from the connection between place and history, the second tenet of *integrating temporal-spatial solidarity* is based on Jeff Corntassel’s argument that the most powerful forms of solidarity are when temporal and spatial forms converge (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel 2014). Place-based or spatial solidarity is localized, grounded on the land and regenerative “of Indigenous languages, ceremonial life, living histories, and nationhood” (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel 2014, 24). Temporal solidarity is the more crisis-based, visible, and often short-lived mobilizations. These do not need to be conceived of in opposition, but complementary modes of solidarity, where alone they may be less effective. Meditating on this through celestial and vertical spatializations of time,⁵ we see how references to the celestials are embedded in how we describe time. Time and space are already integrated in our written language, with the past above and future below. Celestial solidarity is reaching for genealogies as high as the stars, and as deep as the expanse of the universe. Drawing on Rangi Matamua’s work (2020), this is also a call to decolonize space, place and time.

The third tenet, *generating portals across worlds and against borders* reflects the practices of relationship-building, transnational exchanges and translational work that has been fruitful to bridge-building. Portals can transport us to different times and places, to connect with different people. I invoke this metaphor of portals through adrienne maree brown’s insistence on the power of science fiction as a genre to appreciate the multiple ontologies/realities that co-exist. Generating portals through time and space/worlds is practiced in place-based pedagogies that connect Indigenous and Chinese histories. I see this in transnational conversations and in translation praxis in the most expansive sense, of speaking directly to Chinese diasporic communities to ensure accessibility to understanding colonization and Indigenous movements. This extends beyond language translation, involving arts-based translation, treaty education, place-based pedagogies,

⁵To talk about past or future weeks in Chinese, ‘upper week’ is the past previous week, and ‘lower week’ is the next week. The sky 天, sun 日, moon 月 and stars 星 are (in) the characters for day 天, week 星期, and month 月.

historical translation, and most crucially, Indigenous translations of the land, and the meanings of places. A portal into Indigenous worlds through Indigenous translations allows us to reconceptualize ‘transnationalism’ and the ‘nation,’ dissolving the hegemony of the anthropocentric nation-state, as treaties were not made exclusively between humans (Simpson LB 2008). The portals generated through this research allow us to move between and beyond worlds, to reflect on connections, divergences, and efficacy of existing strategies. What this transnational study has helped to clarify are contemporary iterations of colonial mystification through ‘reconciliation’ and what ‘Vancouver’-based Taiwanese settler, He-Lin, observed as ‘cultural solutions to political problems.’ I see this in the uptick of tauwiwi learning te reo Māori or appreciating aspects of Māori culture but stopping short of respecting and restoring Māori political autonomy and return of land. I see this in the designation of September 30th as a National Day for Truth and Reconciliation while Canada continues to violate Indigenous territories and criminalize Indigenous land defenders. These performative gestures avoid material, economic, political and spiritual decolonization to ultimately maintain settler colonial structures. Attention to these forms of neoliberal co-option of decolonial movements sharpens our ability for discerning between performative solidarity and genuine solidarity from personal to institutional levels.

Through these transnational portals, I have noticed patterns in solidarity practices and roles that Indigenous peoples and diasporic Chinese peoples have been taking up. I draw on the “spheres of influence” in the Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016) models of political decision-making, consisting of the “rangatiratanga sphere,” the “relational sphere,” and the “kāwanatanga sphere.” Translating this in relation to solidarity practices and to transnational contexts, this delineation is relevant to all non-Indigenous peoples to clarify their positionalities, and roles and responsibilities, with the goal of bolstering the first sphere. These are:

- 1) The sphere of Indigenous sovereignty, where we respect Indigenous resurgence, avoid saviourism, follow Indigenous protocols, and do not interfere in Indigenous leadership.
- 2) The relational sphere with direct relationship-building decentring whiteness. Indigenous-Chinese families are already living in this sphere. Here, we can still respect Indigenous protocols, but collaborate on mutually beneficial goals, work in coalitions and co-resistance, and make decisions together.
- 3) The sphere of organizing with our own communities. This is where we can take leadership and responsibility and where the work of translation based on experiences

of first and second spheres is vital.

This provides clarity on our roles, responsibilities, and contextual positionalities. We might consider the latter two spheres in orbit of the first sphere. By doing this, we can already prefigure relationships envisioned in Te Tiriti and the Two Row Wampum.

One of the key solidarity practices of celestial solidarity from the first tenet is remembering and returning to histories, places and ancestors. In the experience I shared in the beginning, the act of returning to my birthplace sparked an idea that has since grown across cities in Aotearoa. Yi Chien Jade Ho (2023) has shared similar insights in highlighting ‘returning’ as method in her decolonial feminist exploration of her birthplace of Taiwan as a Han Chinese settler after learning about Indigenous struggles on Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh lands. For the diasporas that can return (and not all displaced peoples can), transnational visiting and returning are embodied ways of learning in themselves. Transnational experiences force you to reflect and return, and return. This dissertation has been a process of neverending returnings. Re-turnings to:

The spirit

The ancestors

The memories

The unconscious

The concept of ‘jyun4 fan6/yuánfèn’: destined and fated relations

The serendipitous moments of ‘right time, right place’

The embodied practices before theory or political consciousness

The dreams and aspirations

The slurs of celestuality reclaimed as a potent metaphor

The Land

The Water

The Sky

This idea of neverending returnings is inspired my dear friend, the late Dr. Moana Jackson who defined ‘whakapapa’ as “a series of neverending beginnings.” I now turn to my memories and learnings from him to honour his legacy and influence on generations of Chinese tauwiwi.

Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Jackson and His Influence

I first met Moana at the “Sweet as?” Conference in 2007, which focused on ethnic minority⁶ responsibilities to Te Tiriti. Wai Ho invited me to speak on activism and being Chinese on colonized land. It was after this speech that Moana introduced himself to me. Of Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine and Ngāti Porou descent, he was a world renowned legal scholar that worked with other Indigenous leaders at the United Nations, and heavily involved in drafting the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Morris 2023). He has done extensive research and advocacy on racism in the prison system with sights set on abolition (Jackson 1987). He convened the Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016) constitutional transformation work, and his teachings are reflected across Indigenous lands. Meeting him was formative and it was an incredible honour to know him as a friend. His way of relating, his love for his grandchildren, his love for his people and others who face racism and colonialism, his humility and tact in his leadership has impacted and inspired many people (Te Tākupu 2023).

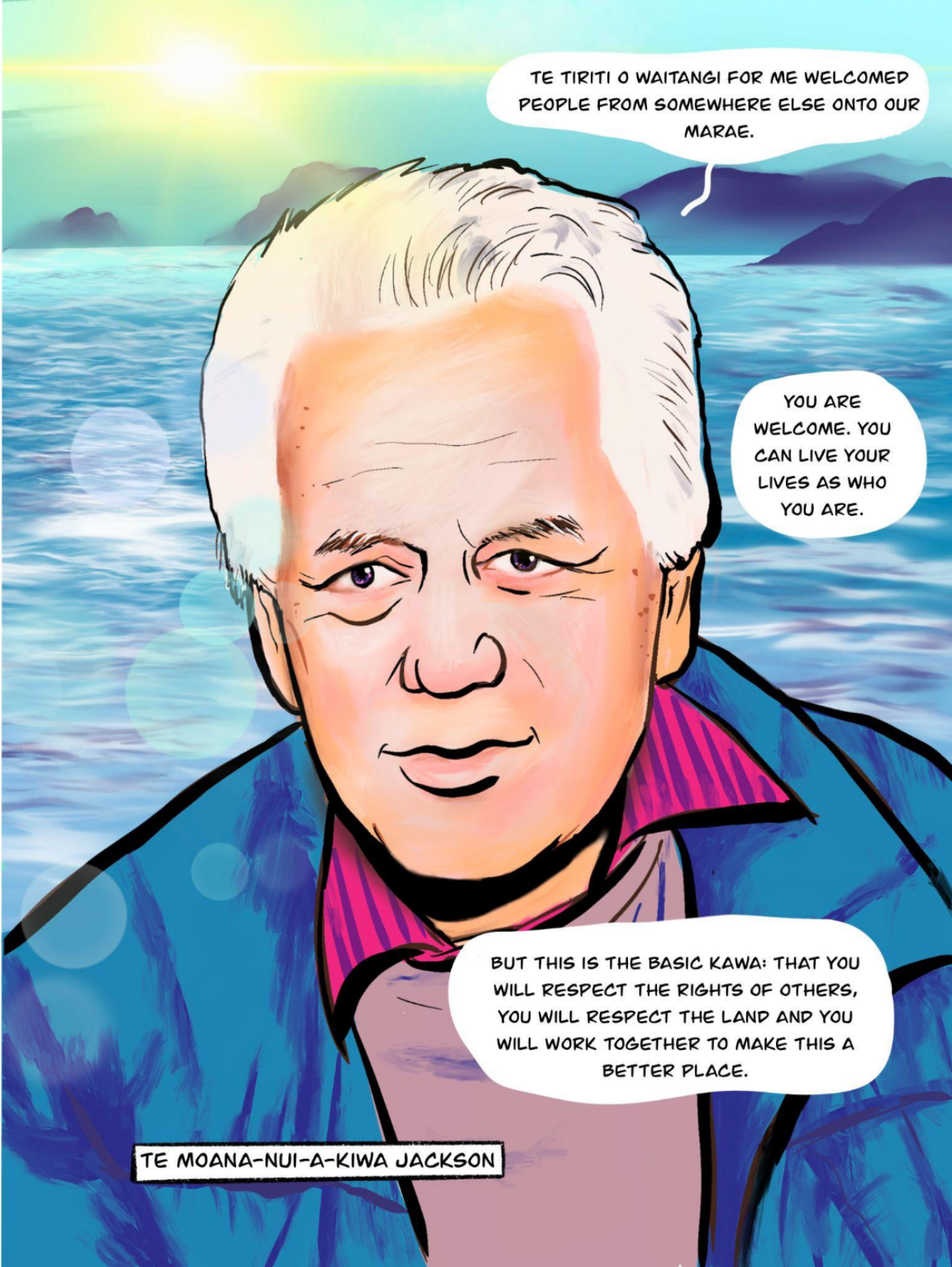
It was the stories that Moana shared in 2018 on a rainy evening in Te Whanganui-a-Tara about Māori and early Chinese solidarity that inspired this research. During this talk, he shared powerful stories of early solidarity and mutual care between Māori and Chinese communities (Jackson 2020). He shared a story of Parihaka ‘prisoners of war’ taken to Ōtepoti defending a Chinese mining settlement from assaults by white colonizers. He shared a story from Waikato during WWI when Princess Te Puea Hērangi led the resistance to conscription, and how during their trips visiting Māori men who were incarcerated for refusing to serve in the colonial military, Chinese market gardeners would feed them. What other histories are hidden or not well-known?

It was only in 2022 that I had learned more about his impact on Chinese communities and activism in Aotearoa. Only a few months before his passing, I was on a call with other Chinese people preparing a panel for the Te Tiriti-based Futures and Anti-Racism (2023) series. Three of us shared how Moana influenced us. Kirsten Wong, a multigenerational Chinese-New Zealander of the Cantonese diaspora, had worked with Moana in her youth, doing administrative work, organizing meeting appointments and listening in on his talks in the 1980s. Her path to community work was partly inspired by him, the need to ‘work with your own people.’ She was a key organizer

⁶The language at the time was ‘ethnic minority,’ which did not include Māori or Pākehā. This was a way to explore and make space for thinking beyond a ‘bicultural’ framework.

of the “Sweet As?” Conference, and upon my last visit to Moana, he brought up this conference as the first time he had experienced seeing so many non-Pākehā tauwi discuss Te Tiriti.

In 2018, Moana explained at a public talk in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) on ‘Te Tiriti and Asians’ co-organized by Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga and Asian Law Students Association:



TE TIRITI O WAITANGI FOR ME WELCOMED PEOPLE FROM SOMEWHERE ELSE ONTO OUR MARAE.

YOU ARE WELCOME. YOU CAN LIVE YOUR LIVES AS WHO YOU ARE.

BUT THIS IS THE BASIC KAWA: THAT YOU WILL RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS, YOU WILL RESPECT THE LAND AND YOU WILL WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE THIS A BETTER PLACE.

TE MOANA-NUI-A-KIWA JACKSON

This explanation captures the spirit of Te Tiriti. I want to mihi⁷ to him for his friendship, for his life's work that transcends colonial borders, and to whānau and his mokopuna, who we all learned so much from through his stories. He lived up to his full name, Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Jackson, the great ocean of Kiwa, colonially renamed as the Pacific Ocean. This ocean connects the lands of Aotearoa, Asia, and Canada-occupied Indigenous lands.

The Places and the Systems/Projects

Martinican postcolonial theorist Edouard Glissant has reminded us that the “West is not in the West. It is a project, not a place.” [...] Thus the discourse of Asian settler colonialism asks Asian settlers to disavow the project, not the place, and for the place to be recognized as Hawai‘i, not America, and not a US state. - Maile Arvin (Aikau et al. 2015, 92)

Applying this line of thinking, I treat the places of Aotearoa and northern Turtle Island and the projects or systems of New Zealand and Canada as distinct. They are not interchangeable. Influenced by Linda Tuhiwai's (2021) work on the politics of (re)naming as a colonizing practice, I use ‘northern Turtle Island’ or Canada-occupied Indigenous lands and ‘Aotearoa’ to respectfully refer to these lands as some Indigenous peoples have named them.⁸ I came across ‘northern Turtle Island’ through Curtis Clearsky of Blackfoot and Anishinaabe First Nations (City of Vancouver 2012, 10).

This distinction reflects the differences in colonial and Indigenous relationships to ‘land.’ In his dissertation, Dr. Pounamu Jade Aikman points out the connection between the latin word for land, *terra* and terror. His dissertation explores the racialization of Tūhoe and their experiences of colonial state violence, contrasting Tūhoe's relationship to land - Tūhoe as land and the land as Tūhoe - and colonial perceptions of land as territory. Aikman (2019) cites Mark Neocleous (2003, 412):

The notion of ‘territory’ is derived from a complex of terms: from terra (of earth, and thus a domain) and territorium, referring to a place from which people are warned off, but [it] also has links with terrēre, meaning to frighten. And the notion

⁷Acknowledge, pay tribute, greet, grieve for.

⁸However, when I attended a Land Acknowledgement workshop by Prof. Ruth Green, she was opposed to ‘Turtle Island’ being used when it comes from the creation stories of the Anishinaabe Nation and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and does not resonate across Indigenous lands occupied by Canada. Similarly, Aotearoa was primarily in circulation and use by Māori in the North Island.

of region derives from the Latin *regere* (to rule) with its connotations of military power. Territory is land occupied and maintained through terror; a region is space ruled through force. The secret of territoriality is thus violence: the force necessary for the production of space and the terror crucial to the creation of boundaries.

Terra nullius - empty land, what colonizers saw when they employed terror to conquer Indigenous lands. The etymology of words reveals cultural and political foundations, and how we perceive the world. Land is not conceived in relation to terror in the Māori language. Whenua in Maori has two meanings - land and placenta (Aikman 2019). Tangata Whenua is 'people of the land.' Aki is the word for land in Anishinaabemowin. LB Simpson (2017) speaks of Aki as not capital or commodity, but as both context and process. She speaks of a Nishnaabeg understanding of 'place,' which "includes land and waters, plants and animals, and the spiritual world - a peopled cosmos of influencing powers" (Simpson LB 2017, 22). Insights through language illuminates wildly divergent perspectives on land, one is a deep kinship and connection, the other is a relationship of domination and ownership. These places are not defined by the violent regimes occupying them.

Aotearoa is often translated as the "land of the long white cloud." This is the most popular Māori name for what Dutch 'explorer' Abel Tasman renamed as New Zealand. When I use 'Aotearoa' or 'Te Ika-a-Māui,' the names of places in Māori, I am referring to the land and the Indigenous stories and meanings reflected in those names of that land, and more broadly, Māori political and cultural structures. When I use 'New Zealand,' I am referring to the colonizing nation-state structures that have been imposed on the land and Māori peoples. Asafo and Tuiburelevu (2021, 96) also deliberately use 'New Zealand' when critiquing "the laws, policies, and structures of the settler-colonising state." We could talk about it as New Zealand-occupied Aotearoa, like we might talk about Israel-occupied Palestine, or Canada-occupied Turtle Island.

In Aotearoa, I began my interviews in Te Whanganui-a-Tara, renamed as Wellington, the capital city. Other names include Pōneke, Te Upoko o Te Ika a Māui, the head of the fish of Māui. It is known for its wind, its steep hills, it is the capital city and where the country is colonially governed from. The "Beehive" is there, where parliament sits, where policies and legislation are introduced, debated, passed, or rejected. Although there was a historic "Chinese quarter" along Haining Street from 1904, there is no present-day Chinatown. Some buildings of clan associations and benevolent societies still stand. Te Whanganui-a-Tara hosts the smallest urban population in this research, with 520 971 people (NZ Stats 2024). Based on the 2023 census, Māori made up 15.5%, and Chinese made up 4.3% of the Wellington region population (Stats NZ 2024).

The city of Auckland is built on Tāmaki Makaurau. In 1841, it was the capital of New Zealand until 1865, William Hobson named the city after George Eden, earl of Auckland, or Lord Auckland, who was the governor-general of India between 1836-1842. It is a city of volcanoes, known for its insufferable peak hour traffic, a city marred by colonial violence neatly erased with corporate buildings. There are many hapū and iwi who have ties to various parts of ‘greater Auckland.’ This city is where I grew up, and where I was politicized. I lived close to the feet of Maungakiekie, a volcanic mountain that Pākehā called One Tree Hill. Maungakiekie used to be a site of a pā, fortified village. At the top, a monument stands with Sir John Logan Campbell buried underneath, a wealthy white settler who had first cut down a totara tree in 1850, only to replace it with a pine, epitomizing colonization - destroying Indigenous life, replacing it with the settlers’. A Māori activist, Mike Smith in 1994 tried to cut down the pine tree as an act of resistance. Another attempt was made in 1999, before it was removed. Now, some Pākehā call it None Tree Hill. A grove of pōhutukawa and totara trees has since been planted at the summit in 2016.

Tāmaki Makaurau hosts the highest numbers of Chinese living in Aotearoa. There once was a Chinatown that was built over in the 1960s, where the town hall stands now (Lu 2020).⁹ Within the Auckland region, according to the 2023 census, Māori made up 12.3% of the population and Chinese made up 11.7%. The overall New Zealand population estimated as of June 2024 is 5.3 million people. Based on the 2023 census, Māori made up 17.8% of the national population, and Chinese made up 5.6% of the total population (Stats NZ 2024). I use these statistics to indicate regional differences and context, but I want to note how statistics is a science of the state and a means of control of the population. Not everyone fills out census forms, and not all census forms are necessarily filled out truthfully, and the categories provided reflect colonial systems of classification.

Traveling to the Canadian context, I see ‘Turtle Island’ used in oral and online circulation as the most popular Indigenous name for ‘North America.’ As a significantly larger land mass with hundreds of Indigenous nations, Prof. Ruth Green once pointed out that this name does not universally resonate as the story of the Turtle is unique to particular nations. In the Canadian context, broad distinctions are made between First Nations, Métis, and Inuit based on their

⁹I tell this to Chinese Canadians, and they are not surprised, an old Chinatown was demolished to build Nathan Philip Square and the City Hall in Toronto too. But it is surprising to Chinese Canadians that there are no historical Chinatowns that have survived in New Zealand. The closest is probably Dominion Rd, which is a street that stretches from Maungawhau to Puketāpapa with many Chinese restaurants and shops.

different histories and relationship to the Canadian state (Vowel 2016). The term ‘Aboriginal’ is used as an umbrella ‘official’ term, often in a legal context (Vowel 2016, 10). Indigenous is a term used in circulation with international connotations, broader than within a specific nation-state and tends to be the preferred and respectful umbrella term (Vowel 2016,10). Canada has a numbered treaty system, but not all land is treaty land.

When I first shared my research topic with a Chinese-Canadian journalist, Bradley Lee, he was adamant that I needed to go to Vancouver. The city of Vancouver is built on the unceded lands of Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh nations. They are described as the ‘host nations’ in the Vancouver Dialogues Project, while urbanized/displaced Indigenous people from other territories are grouped as ‘urban Indigenous peoples.’ Unceded, meaning never surrendered this land nor signed any agreements allowing for other nations to govern. 95% of ‘British Columbia’ is unceded land (Wilson and Henderson 2014). In almost every public building and gallery, there is a land acknowledgment. The City of Vancouver states on their website: “The City of Vancouver acknowledges that it is situated on the unceded traditional territories of the x^wməθk^wəy̓əm (Musqueam Indian Band), Sḵwxwú7mesh (Squamish Nation), and səlilwətəl (Tsleil-Waututh Nation).” Land acknowledgments are common and repeated at the beginning of almost every event, a ritualized speech act.¹⁰ Only a few places have treaties in ‘BC,’ even then, treaty land are rarely surrenders of territory, but agreements to share the territory (Cook et al. 2021). Vancouver’s Chinatown remains and is located next to the Downtown Eastside. From the 2021 census, Indigenous peoples make up around 2.2% of the population, while 19.6% are Chinese (McElroy 2022). This is the largest proportion of Chinese out of all the cities. In the neighbouring city of Richmond, Chinese constitute 54.3% of Richmond (Statistics Canada 2023).

“Toronto” is derived from an Indigenous word, but its origins are contested (Loft 2021). Some theories attribute it to the Mohawk word, Tkaron:to - “tree in the water there” others to a similar Wendat word, Karonto - ‘log laying in the water’ or Toroto - ‘plenty’ (Brant-Birioukov et al. 2023). The French first started using Indigenous names, and later the English anglicized the French pronunciation of Indigenous words. For over 40 years between 1793 and 1834, Toronto

¹⁰This is not unique to the Canadian context, I first heard this while visiting Australia, but theirs is a little different. In Aotearoa, there is sometimes an acknowledgement of the “mana whenua,” but in my experience, this is mostly done in te reo Māori as part of the mihi (formal greeting), and sometimes there are people directly in the room who are Indigenous to that area. On a marae setting, you know who the hosts are based on which side they are seated during the pōwhiri.

was known as York. Toronto is a place with “layers of treaties,” pre-colonial and colonial treaties (Loft et al. 2022, 6). Toronto historically was a “place of bounty. It was a seasonal meeting place, a place for trade and ongoing council” (Loft et al. 2022, 17). The Indigenous peoples of Toronto include the current treaty holders for Treaty 13, the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. The Anishinaabe Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and the Wendat are also Indigenous to this area and have long standing connections. The genocidal processes, displacements and erasures of Indigenous presence in Toronto means there are approximately 70,000 (recognized) Indigenous people in Toronto, making up 0.8% of the Greater Toronto Area’s (GTA) total population. The Chinese population makes up around 10% of the GTA with greater concentrations in places like Markham. The national population statistics from Canada’s 2021 census is 4.7% (1.7 million) Chinese, and Indigenous peoples as 5.0% (2.2 million) (Statistics Canada 2022).

I focused on these four cities - Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) and Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) in Aotearoa, the GTA, and Vancouver as cities with the highest percentage of Chinese populations in each nation-state. This was to narrow the scope of this research within the settler colonies of Canada and New Zealand. I will provide more historical context and detail from each place in later chapters. (Re)visiting these lands and (re)connecting with people in these cities forms the foundations of my research methods.

Methodology and Methods

Guided by decolonial participatory action research (DPAR) principles outlined by Tuck and Guishard (2013), I employ collaborative qualitative methods and respect participants as co-constructors of knowledge rather than as ‘research subjects.’ With the goal of dismantling settler colonialism, DPAR aims to “be accountable to real people, to tangible relationships, and it disbelieves the permanence of the settler colonial nation-state” (Tuck and Guishard 2013, 16). This methodology comprises an ethical framework based on “reflexivity, expertise, humility, dignity, action and relationality” (Tuck and Guishard 2013, 17). The ethic of ‘expertise’ means recognizing knowledge in community and from lived experience, and not assuming a higher epistemic authority of the researcher. I treat oral knowledge and histories on par with the written. At times, I draw from webinars, speeches, interpersonal communications (with consent), and films to challenge the epistemic hierarchies of colonial academic conventions that worship the written word. Throughout the research process, the transnational relationships I have formed or

strengthened has led to actions and the co-generated knowledge has informed actions, strategies, and directions.

As a non-Indigenous Chinese person, I wanted to take care not to commit ‘epistemic trespass,’ in the ways that often white researchers may feel entitled to speak for or represent Indigenous peoples. As I was weighing up the research design and who I should involve, when I read Craig Fortier’s (2014) dissertation which has similar goals of decolonization among non-Indigenous radical organizers, their reflections on methodology were instructive. They had regretted not making space for Indigenous collaborators. And with this, I took guidance from Chinese diasporic participants as to who would be important to invite, and in the context of Aotearoa, I invited people who are engaged in solidarity-building and research related to Māori and Chinese relations.

The specific methods I employed involve autoethnography, semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The methods and process of this research strengthens existing activism by building new transnational relationships. My upbringing in Aotearoa and the migration of my extended family (on both sides) to Canada since the late 1990s also inform this choice and sense of responsibility to both places. As part of an ethic of collaboration and responsiveness to community feedback, I interviewed two people who were outside of the four cities. Although this was primarily an urban study, several participants had small town upbringings and ties to non-urban places. To find collaborators and participants, I started with my own and my committee’s networks before reaching out to key organizations and using purposive sampling (Tongco 2007). It snowballed and branched out organically and quickly in Aotearoa and Vancouver. Toronto was more challenging and reflected a more atomized and less networked milieu where snowballing did not work in the same way. In total, I spoke to 46 people: five people with Indigenous ancestry, 43 people with Chinese ancestry, this includes two people with both Indigenous and Chinese ancestry.

My primary method was semi-structured interviews, which would take between one to three hours.¹¹ From interviewing Chinese participants, I wanted to understand the ‘entry points’ to solidarity activism and prompt reflections on their own learning journeys, solidarity praxis or teaching strategies with diasporic Chinese communities. The types of questions I asked were: how

¹¹As I had started this process during COVID-19, many of the interviews were conducted online over Zoom. For in-person meetings, I followed COVID-19 safety protocols regardless of whether mandates were in place. This included physical distancing, masking and taking a rapid antigen test before meeting anyone in person.

did you come to be involved in activism that supports Indigenous movements? How do you see the role of Chinese diasporas in this work? For Indigenous and Chinese-Indigenous participants, I asked about how they see the relationships, what reflections they have from collaborative projects, and what values and knowledge are important for Chinese diasporas to know/learn. I interviewed 41 people using this method. I used a list of questions as a guide, but in conversation, some did not need to be explicitly asked and were already answered in introductory narratives. I asked follow-up questions based on the answers.

The second method I used was the focus group, although I envisioned it more as a roundtable where people are treated as panel experts. This method facilitated a more collective reflection on solidarity praxis and pedagogical strategies. The first focus group happened organically through Alan Chen, a Vancouver-based Chinese youth. This was organized online with three youth who worked on a project called ‘Solidarity Snacks.’ This took about 100 minutes. Amongst the questions I asked were: What are some ways you think we could do solidarity work that comes from our own cultural frames and references rather than emulating white allyship? Through this method, participants can prompt each other, add to or expand on each other’s contributions, which individual interviews do not allow for.

To answer the third question on the potentials of connecting Chinese diasporic activists, I organized one transnational focus group discussion to explore some of the experiences and approaches in each place and what new knowledge or shifts could emerge through this exchange. This group consisted of five Chinese people based in Aotearoa and northern Turtle Island and it took a full three hours. I asked each person to introduce their migration background, their context and work they have done and how they got involved. After each person spoke, I gave them an opportunity to ask questions of each other and share any reflections. At the end of the focus group, I asked a reflective question to close on what they are taking away from this exchange and what they would like to offer back.

I returned to Aotearoa in December 2021 when COVID-19 mandatory quarantine policies were still in place. However, the delay in my ethics approval only allowed me to start interviews at the start of April 2022. The total period of ‘fieldwork/homework’ was between April 2022 - September 2023. In Aotearoa, it was April-June 2022. I continued interviews after arriving back in Toronto with people based in Aotearoa. I spent July and August in Vancouver in 2022 and revisited to attend Bill Chu’s tour in May 2023. The interviews I did with Toronto participants

took place between September 2022 and September 2023. Although I spent the most time in Toronto, other commitments and work made it harder to solely concentrate on this PhD.

To paint a general shape of the demographic characteristics of the Chinese participants,¹² 35 out of 43 people had Cantonese ancestry or connections. Within the ‘Cantonese’ category, 17 are multigenerational from Guangdong, descendants of the early diaspora from Toisan, Poon Yu, Hoiping, Zhongshan, Sun Wui, Jungsen, or Bak Shek. 15 had links to Hong Kong, some with refugee stories of escape from war and the Cultural Revolution in mainland China. Six people identified as Hakka with diasporic connections to Taiwan, Brunei, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Macau, Ireland and/or Trinidad. Only four people were of 1st or 1.5 generation mainland Chinese background, with connections to Yunnan, Zhejiang, Shanghai, Beijing, Zhoushan Island, Pujiang, Hangzhou, and/or Shandong. Some Han Chinese people also had other ancestry, aside from those with mixed Māori-Chinese or Métis-Chinese ancestry, some had Tibetan, Vietnamese or European ancestry.¹³ Participants had varying Chinese language abilities, and a range of spoken languages, such as Toisan, Cantonese, Seyip, Mandarin, Hakka, Hokkien etc. For those with English as a first/main language, this also varied between New Zealand English, Canadian English, Hong Kong English, and Trinidadian English.¹⁴

Nearly everyone I spoke to had university qualifications or are still studying at a tertiary level. In terms of gender, I interviewed 26 women, 18 men, and four trans or nonbinary people.¹⁵ 15 people openly identified as queer, gay, or non-heterosexual. Nine are or have been scholars and educators in Asian Studies, Māori Studies, History, Women and Gender Studies, Film and Media, or Social Work. At the time of interviews ages ranged from 24 years old to 90s. These demographic features become salient in the narratives of ‘entry points’ to decolonization.

The consent forms for participants provide an option to waive anonymity, and many people have opted to use their real names. For those who wished to remain anonymous, I use first name pseudonyms and use stock photos as reference images in illustrations to protect their privacy. I also checked-in regarding identifying information that should be removed. Treating consent as

¹²This includes everyone with Chinese ancestry and mixed Chinese heritage.

¹³These numbers may not add up because some people have multiple ancestral routes/roots, for example, those with parents from Hong Kong and mainland China.

¹⁴Canadian English more accurately transcribed through Zoom’s transcription than New Zealand English, partly due to pronunciation, but also due to common Māori words used in everyday speech.

¹⁵Gender is not fixed, so these gender markers only reflect the period of this project. These numbers do not add up to the total because some trans people are also in the ‘men’ or ‘women’ category.

ongoing rather than a one-time event, at different points I have sent interview transcripts or quotations for participants to review. Transcripts were kept in a password-protected cloud storage, on a password-protected computer on NVivo. All Zoom recordings and transcripts were downloaded onto a local computer and backed up onto an encrypted and password-protected hard drive. Before submission and publication, I contacted all participants for a final round of checking-in to provide an opportunity to edit quotes and to change their mind about the use of real names. With illustrations, I sent participants a lined artwork first for feedback and a colour version for any further changes. Where there are other people depicted and named, some participants have passed illustrations to the people depicted or their family members. At times, I directly contacted them myself to seek permission. For those who I could not reach or did not explicitly consent, I have removed their images from the illustrations.

Finally, the autoethnographic method allows me to reflexively situate myself in relation to the research. Chandrashekar (2018) argues that an “immigrant of color autoethnography” can be a way of reflecting on the operations of settler colonialism in relation to these embodied experiences. This method is an act of positioning and draws from feminist traditions to acknowledge the entanglements of the personal and political. Through autoethnography, I can draw from my experiences using storytelling in answering the same questions I posed to participants. I employ ethnographic methods of ‘thick description’ to bring you into the experiences. I draw from feminist principles of reflexivity and Kamala Visweswaran’s (1994) proposal that all ethnography is essentially ‘fiction,’ not in the sense of untruthful, but that it is ‘made.’ What I am doing is partially ‘homework’ as much as ‘fieldwork,’ or in the liminal space between ‘home’ and ‘field.’

For greater accessibility and wider dissemination of this research, I present this research partially with graphic stories or comics. I am inspired by the award-winning Indigenous graphic novel, *This Place: 150 Years Retold* (Akiwenzie-Damm et al. 2019). Graphic storytelling as an arts-based method illustrates the importance of storytelling (Lee J 2005), accessibility (Brown and Strega 2005) and to challenges the logocentrism of Euro-colonial academic production. I used comics as visual ethnography to animate the narratives from participants. The comic scripts are slightly edited quotes from interviews adapted to comic form. In doing this, I hope to bring out the multivocality in this dissertation to not only honour participants as experts, but to foreground the places and social context involved. As an arts-based method, the use of illustration and comics are forms of storytelling to “appeal to the heart” rather than just the head (Ng 2010). I use art in this

dissertation as another form of translation, from audio-recordings of interviews and conversations into visual storytelling. They help me to discern the stories that hold significance, big or small, that demonstrate the key learnings gained.

In line with memorialization efforts of people like Kirsten Wong and with the first tenet of celestial solidarity, I do this as memory work and as counter-archival work (Haritaworn, Moussa and Ware 2018). I do this to refuse historical erasure, especially of the collective labour and leadership of women and other marginalized genders whose work is too often overshadowed in a cisheteropatriarchal system. I see this historical erasure in contemporary Asian academic engagement with Te Tiriti without citation of these histories. Thus, I give precedence to knowledge emerging from the grassroots.

Dissertation Structure

In Part I: ‘The Struggle of Memory Against Forgetting’ is inspired by the late Black feminist scholar bell hooks’ (1989) discussion and citation of the South African *Freedom Charter* which stated, ‘our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting.’ This section hosts Chapters 1 to 4, providing theoretical, contextual, and historical grounding within the literature on Indigenous-Asian solidarity and relationality, histories and current structures of colonialism and Indigenous resistance, the migrations of Chinese diasporic peoples to Indigenous lands, and to commitments to decolonization. Chapter 1 explores interconnected ‘theoretical’ currents as a practice of what Moana Jackson called an ‘ethic of prior thought’ and introduces key concepts that is used for later analysis. This is integrated into a literature review of existing work where I situate this project. Chapter 2 offers a grounding on Indigenous truths of the land, transnational colonial connections and Indigenous resistance, without which, Chinese diasporic solidarity would not be possible. Chapter 3 explores Chinese diasporic migration histories and positionalities, an exercise in both ethical remembering (Ngata 2019) and ‘positioning’ (Rata and Al-Asaad 2019). As colonization often tries to sever relationships to place and memory, we can try to understand and recover the genealogies of “where” and “who” we have come from if it is possible and accessible to do so. For some people, it may not be possible to know ‘who’ or ‘where’ they came from due to violent histories of indenture, international adoption, destroyed records, or estrangement. But these genealogies do not need to be personal normative ‘biological family’ genealogies, but also political and collective genealogies as part of ‘the struggle of memory against forgetting.’ In

Chapter 4, I foreground the doorways to decolonization and Indigenous solidarity work. These stories reflect the power of social movements, Indigenous teachers and pedagogies, and where the university often features as a key site of both activism and unlearning colonial narratives. In noting the entry points, we can focus energies on the strategies and sites of politicization that have been most effective. This set of chapters aims to provide theoretical and historical context, and to answer the first research question: *what have been the histories, contexts, and pathways for Chinese diasporic peoples to align with decolonization and Indigenous struggles resisting New Zealand and Canadian colonialism?*

Moving to a set of place-based chapters in ‘Part II: Lessons from the Land,’ I explore the particularities and contemporary histories of solidarity in Aotearoa, unceded Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh lands occupied by Vancouver, and Anishinaabeg, Haudenosaunee, and Wendat land occupied by Toronto. In Chapter 5, I attend to pieces of solidarity history while highlighting the lessons from Aotearoa, from unconscious to conscious solidarity. The stories from Aotearoa teach us the significance of ancestors, spirituality, collective solidarity, and how marae-based experiences can be a microcosm of honouring Te Tiriti. Chapter 6 elucidates some of the place-based solidarity practices on unceded Indigenous lands occupied by Vancouver. What Vancouver-based participants offer are similar practices of historical recovery, direct relationship-building, but also Chinatown-based intergenerational care through advocacy, and translation in bringing low-income Chinese seniors in solidarity with Indigenous neighbours. In Chapter 7, I argue that Toronto, which has a longer history of colonial genocide and occupation, provides a contrast to Vancouver and Aotearoa. In Toronto, Chinese diasporic solidarity with Indigenous struggles is more temporal than place-based, and often enacted through paid work within workplaces and tertiary institutions. It reveals the significance of shared place-based histories of early Indigenous and Chinese interactions and intermarriage. However, without this history, there are still grounds for solidarity-building through other avenues - migrant justice, union organizing, tertiary institutions, and Chinese Christian communities. This set of chapters explores the second research question: *2) How do place-specific histories of Aotearoa, ‘Vancouver,’ and ‘Toronto’ influence how Chinese solidarity with Indigenous struggles is practiced today and into the future?*

Part III: Translational Strategies and Transnational Dreaming seeks to answer the third question: *What are the potentials of analyzing Chinese diasporic solidarity practices and connecting Chinese diasporas transnationally for clarifying and strengthening strategies, praxis,*

and pedagogies towards decolonization? I look transnationally to consider what practices and challenges are in common, and what practices can be applied and adapted elsewhere. These chapters illustrate the power of generating portals through translation and travel. In Chapter 8, I apply the Matike Mai model in conceptualizing ‘spheres of solidarity’ with specific examples and challenges within each sphere that can be instructive for us to know our place and already practice decolonial futures in the present. I propose that political consciousness, especially in this neoliberal era, does not necessarily lead to better quality of relationships and explore the key challenges and barriers for meaningful solidarity-building. Chapter 9 explores pedagogies for solidarity and decolonization where I contend that the most enduring pedagogies that have been in practice are those that involve relational and place-based strategies. I expand on the practice of translation here, to argue that educational labour is essentially translation work. In Chapter 10, I highlight a major theme from the transnational focus group, a challenge for consistency in our politics that seeks decolonization ‘from East to West’ to ‘dream bigger.’ In Chapter 11, I draw on dreams and the radical imagination as sources of power that can break out of the intellectual confinement imposed by colonialism. I reclaim the slur of ‘Celestial’ to outline a framework of ‘celestial solidarity’ based on the insights from this research, bridging existing and aspirational practices.

My conclusion brings together the tenets of celestial solidarity, to reflect on the implications of contemporary solidarity practices. I consider the limitations and potency of this research, and the methods used with a reflexive analysis of the research process, bridging academia, art, and activism. I explore the changes over time, both in my own thinking and practices, and those observed by my participants. Speaking to our current political climate of global fascist resurgence, I note some of the urgent and anticipated challenges to come and what we must prepare for. It is between the land and the sky, where histories are made and remembered, where people come together, where we learn what it means to practice solidarity, and figure out a way to “work together to make this a better place” (Jackson 2020).

Part I: The Struggle of Memory Against Forgetting

Chapter One - A Sea of ‘Theoretical’ Currents

Reading the tribute to Moana Jackson in a collection of writings by his friends and family, I was struck by a contribution by Glen Morris (Shawnee). From a keynote address at He Manawa Whenua (Jackson 2015), Moana talked about the ethic of prior thought: “Māori (and other Indigenous Peoples) must examine the previous thought and lessons of tīpuna in order to assess where we are now and where we aspire to go” (Morris 2023, 141). This prompts me to search for and learn from ‘prior thought’ of those who have come before. This is another returning - turning to remembering and (re)citing genealogies.

In this chapter, I outline the ‘prior thought’ of primarily Indigenous, Black and Asian scholarship and activism that has informed this dissertation. I discuss key concepts used throughout such as ‘settler colonialism,’ ‘ongoing colonizing states,’ and ‘solidarity.’ I review academic and activist literature on ‘solidarity’ and relationalities between Asian and Indigenous peoples from Anglophone colonial nation-states. Bringing in transnational and intersectional feminist theoretical frameworks and analysis, I consider their relevance and limitations in relation to decolonial frameworks. Finally, I discuss the meaning of ‘praxis’ in relation to pedagogical approaches, ‘emergent strategies’ (brown 2017) and dreaming. Together, the theoretical currents outlined inform the direction, analysis, structure and purpose of this dissertation.

First, I want to trouble the colonial separation of ‘theory’ from ‘practice.’ As articulated by Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017, 166), theory and action are inseparable, learning involves practice: “If you want to learn about something, you need to take your body onto the land and do it. Get a practice.” Similarly, Māori-Chinese scholar, JBJ Lee (2007, 24) also noted, “theory always underlies and is embedded in any practice, whether we are conscious of this or not.” Thus, I treat knowledge from grassroots social movements, what Kuumba (2001) calls ‘emergent theory’ or what Ruth Wilson Gilmore (1993) calls ‘organic praxis’ with as much respect and salience (if not more) as ‘academic’ theory.

The key movements that have informed my understanding of decolonization and solidarity have been the anti-war movement, Asian feminist and queer organizing, and Māori movements for tino rangatiratanga, and Māori-led anti-racist and antifascist activism. It is no accident that this project is done through Gender, Feminist, and Women’s Studies. Indigenous, Black, Asian, and transnational feminist theories, often produced within social movements, have set a foundation for

theorizing oppression, exploitation, violence, and socio-political change. If gaslighting and historical erasure are tools of colonizers, education centring Indigenous truths and histories of the land, and practicing ethical remembering counters colonial fictions (Ngata 2019). I apply this through making visible histories that are less known and in attending to genealogies, memory, and practices of historical recovery.

Colonial origins in the Doctrine of ~~Discovery~~ Domination

Amidst a backdrop of celebratory commemorations of Captain James Cook's 'discovery' of 'New Zealand,' Ngata's (2019) call for ethical remembering emphasizes the role of the Doctrine of ~~Discovery~~ Domination in European colonialism of the past 500 years. As a series of papal bulls (decrees/laws) issued by the Catholic Church, it encouraged the conquest of non-Christian people and places, justifying the trans-Atlantic slave trade, colonial conquest and genocide across the world (Ngata 2019). Although recently 'repudiated' by the pope in the early months of 2023, this doctrine still provides the underlying basis of contemporary Canadian, US, Australian and New Zealand laws. Shawnee/Lenape scholar, Steve Newcomb, prefers to call it the Doctrine of Domination¹⁶ rather than 'Discovery,' he explains:

I prefer to call it the Doctrine of Domination, because in the Vatican papal bull of May 3, 1493, for example, it says that the explorers ... that are going out throughout the world are to locate those places that are not yet under the domination of any Christian dominators. And that's key. And that that specific language is what the pope is not addressing at all and the Vatican is not addressing at all. And so these are lies of omission, by keeping that out of focus. (CBC News 2022)

This legal fiction has become the basis for laying claims to Indigenous lands and bodies the world over and continues to impact Indigenous peoples.

The term 'settler colonialism'¹⁷ names a distinct type of colonialism that seeks to replace Indigenous peoples with settler populations through a 'logic of elimination' (Wolfe 2006). White Australian anthropologist Patrick Wolfe emphasizes that settler colonialism is a 'structure not an event.' These structures are established and maintained through physical, spiritual, cultural, political, legislative and epistemic violence against Indigenous peoples to enable settler political

¹⁶I first heard this from Tāwhana Chadwick who visited Toronto in 2023 and shared this with me after attending a conference on the Doctrine of Discovery at Syracuse University.

¹⁷The term first emerged in the 1920s in the Australian context to differentiate between 'settler' colonialism and convict colonialism, meaning those whose settlement was 'free' versus coerced (Veracini 2016).

dominance and land appropriation. Alongside the Doctrine of Domination, the concept of *terra nullius* was used to stake claims to Indigenous land “that was not part of a ‘state’ or being ‘used’ in the European sense of the word” (The Squamish Nation 2024, 158). This also reflected a dehumanization of Indigenous Peoples who were seen as ‘flora and fauna’ rather than people or human. The goal of settler colonialism is settler conquest, extractivism and exploitation of Indigenous land and resources by severing Indigenous connections to land. However, the use of ‘settler’ has been challenged by Dr. Moana Jackson (University of Otago 2019):

‘Settled’ is a really interesting word, you know when a child is playing up, you say ‘oh, settle down.’ It’s a calming word, it’s a calming term. But when the colonisers came here to ‘settle,’ they came to unsettle the Indigenous peoples, and by labeling themselves as settler colonisers, it sort of divorces them from the unsettling that they actually caused. So I would hope we would come up with a term of our own, other than ‘settler colonial states.’ I prefer the term ‘ongoing colonising states’ because that’s what they are.

In this dissertation, I use these terms based on the context of what language is in circulation. I will err on the side of using “ongoing colonizing states” considering Moana’s critique. This description also disrupts the idea of ‘post-colonial’ or that colonization is only ‘in the past.’

In ongoing colonizing states, many Indigenous feminists and mana wāhine have taught us that heteropatriarchy was an imposition and a tool in colonial violence (Lawrence 2003; Mikaere 2019; McBreen 2019; Kerekere 2017; Simpson LB 2017). Indigenous genders and kinship relations were disrupted by forced assimilation into Christian sexuality and gendered ideals. Furthermore, Indigenous women have been primary targets of genocide. Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson (2016) asserts, colonization rests on a ‘death drive’ to ‘disappear’ Indigenous women, evident in the crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, Two-Spirit, and Trans peoples. Indigenous feminists connect heteropatriarchy to settler colonialism, extractivism, and capitalism, while opposing anthropocentrism and property/capitalist relationships with land (Arvin, Tuck and Morrill 2013; Simpson LB 2017; Simpson A 2016).

To extend our understanding of colonialism beyond humans, referring to the etymology of ‘colony’ from the Roman word ‘colonia,’ Aikman explains the role of farming, cultivation in the colonial process:

When the Romans would conquer an area, they would plant their own crops in that area, and dispossess the people that were there. And then, they would grow their

crops. And that was the process of colonisation. [...] And by planting their kai [food] in that area, whatever Indigenous kai was there is pushed away.¹⁸

As we talk about human settler populations, we cannot lose sight of the botanical, agricultural, plant and animal replacement of Indigenous species, and the loss of native biodiversity as integral to the colonial process. In Aotearoa, much of the land is used for agriculture. Introduction of foreign species has gravely endangered the native bird populations. In so-called ‘Canada,’ the mass slaughter of bison in the plains, and slaughter of sled dogs on Inuit territories, are all part of settler colonial technologies of genocide. The transformation of land, flora, and fauna to be remade for colonizers’ benefit is not to be understated.

The relationship to land and waters that Indigenous feminists have articulated are incompatible with capitalist treatment of land as commodities or resources for extraction or territories to conquer, possess and control through the establishment of ‘white patriarchal sovereignty’ (Moreton-Robinson 2015). The story of colonization is centred on land, who has claims to land, who controls the land, who controls movement of people, animals and plants on the land, who is enslaved, indentured or used in waged labour to extract from the land. To apply these learnings, I foreground land-based and more-than-human elements in solidarity practices.

Indigenous-Asian Solidarity and Relationalities

The first time I came across writing and thinking about what it means to be living on colonized land as a Chinese person in Aotearoa was through the first issue of *Mellow Yellow* (Ho 2005) zine by Wai Ho. A long-time Pākehā activist, Catherine Delahunty, had given me a copy. Ho connected anti-Asian racism to colonialism, and argued that we, too, have a role in countering colonial injustice, and honouring Te Tiriti. Through connecting with Wai, we made 10 more issues of *Mellow Yellow* zine and started a blog that brought together Asian feminist voices with a focus on decolonization. Many of these conversations were held in person, in living rooms, bedrooms, kitchen tables, parks, restaurants, marae, and at gatherings such as Decolonise Your Mind Hui 2012, C.L.I.T Fest 2013, and Glitch Hui in 2015. These became gathering spaces for solidarity building between Māori, overseas Indigenous peoples, and people of colour of marginalized genders and sexualities. It is primarily in these grassroots, community-based, and cross-

¹⁸This is from an Indigenous Pacific Uprising Facebook livestream in 2021 which is no longer available online.

regional/international spaces that relationships were formed, and these politics were explored and shaped.

Jenny Bol Jun Lee's (2007) *Jade Taniwha* was also a gift from a Chinese high school friend. I reread it again recently, and it was as relevant and clarifying as the first time. Aside from her significant contributions to understanding Māori and Chinese histories and current experiences of racism and colonialism, JBJ Lee's work offers analytical guidance through her critique of liberal multiculturalism. She argues that "multiculturalism tends to erase real and historical inequality by treating different cultural groups as equal. For indigenous peoples, this form of equality undermines legitimate claims and grievances against the colonial state" (Lee JBJ 2007, 37). Multiculturalism has been employed as a colonial tool to subsume Indigenous peoples as an 'ethnic minority' or in racial terms, and thus erasing Indigeneity (Lawrence and Dua 2005; Byrd 2011; Lee JBJ 2007; Tawhai 2020). Based on their contributions, the goal of anti-racism for me has never been about liberal multicultural inclusion or 'belonging.' This was reaffirmed through engaging with writings from so-called 'Canada.'

In Young Asian Feminists Aotearoa, a network active between 2010-2014, we read the influential article, *Decolonizing anti-racism*, by Mi'kmaw scholar Bonita Lawrence and South Asian scholar, Enakshi Dua (2005). Their critique of anti-racism and multiculturalism for failing to acknowledge Indigenous sovereignty prompted us to reflect on our place in Aotearoa, albeit within a 'bicultural' context. They argued that people of colour, too, are settlers complicit in ongoing colonization. This introduced the concept of 'complicity,' while the popular language in circulation at the time was 'privilege' (Jafri 2012). Reframing from 'privilege' to 'complicity' invites action (Jafri 2012). Their call for anti-racism to centre Indigenous sovereignty as the foundational struggle is what we tried to put in practice, and to act in solidarity with Māori.

Around the same time, we came across the work of No One Is Illegal and Harsha Walia, who wrote about immigrant solidarity with Indigenous struggles. This work equipped us with language and analysis of border imperialism that refused to position Indigenous and migrant struggles as oppositional. In Aotearoa, at the time, Asian immigration was often depicted as a threat to Māori interests. Walia (2012) has provided principles on what solidarity looks like, but ultimately urges us to go beyond solidarity and argues for 'a practice of decolonization,' conceptualizing decolonization as both a process and a goal. Her work gives permission for all people to be active in decolonization, and citing Nora Burke, see our own self-determination as

part of this project.

We now have abundant explorations of Indigenous-Asian solidarities from both Canada-occupied Indigenous lands (Walia 2013, 2012; Dhamoon 2015; Wong 2017; Phung 2011, 2015, 2019; Diabo 2019; Lai 2020; Ho 2023) and Aotearoa (Ho 2005; Mok 2004; Shui 2020; Jackson 2021; Aikman and Fu 2022). There is general recognition that non-Indigenous POC are positioned differently to white settlers with various triangulated models such as Indigenous-settler-arrivant (Byrd 2011), Indigenous-settler-alien (Day 2016), or Indigenous-settler-immigrant (Thobani 2007). These triangulations place people of colour in a different category to white settlers based on their relationship to the colonial state or global imperialism.

To attend to genocidal violence in the enslavement of Black peoples in US and Canadian history, Tuck and Yang's (2012) triangulation is Indigenous-settler-slave. Lawrence and Amadahy (2009) have theorized Black and Indigenous relationality and the possibilities of solidarity, and more recently Maynard and Simpson (2023) explore this within the Toronto context. The prominence and deep-rootedness of anti-blackness in North America needs specific attention and focus, and it represents a relationship different to the state and capital from Asian peoples. From a non-American perspective, a square model might be more holistic: Indigenous-white settler-Black-settlers of colour. In Aotearoa, I see this triangulation as consisting of Tāngata Whenua-Pākehā-taiwi of colour (Rata and Al-Asaad 2019).¹⁹ Before learning about these models, many of us had a sense that our solidarity cannot emulate white allyship frameworks (Bamboo 2013).

For non-Indigenous people of colour, Prof. Jo-Anne Lee (2016) also argues against models of 'allyship' that assume whiteness. Agreeing with Prof. Lee, I deliberately refuse the language of 'allyship,' which to me implies individual checklists centred on absolving guilt, and an identity to distance oneself from other 'bad' settlers and elevate oneself as 'good ally.' Additionally, Indigenous Action Media (2014) has called out the 'ally industrial complex,' where 'allies' seek to commodify and profit from Indigenous oppression. They present many familiar archetypes of 'allies' that do more harm than good. They argue for 'accomplice' instead, and call for those who are academics to betray their institution and leverage material support for Indigenous organizing. By refusing the language of 'allyship,' I refocus on practices and praxis of solidarity, as actions rather than a 'feeling.' I conceive of solidarity as 'relational' and as a 'transitive verb' seeking to

¹⁹ There are ongoing debates within Pacific Island communities whether they come under the category of 'taiwi of colour' or 'tangata tiriti' or 'tangata moana' (people of the ocean).

transform the political conditions of oppression (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012).

To turn to the possibilities of non-colonial modes of being and relating, we can look to the treaties between Indigenous nations before colonization. Wampum belts are beaded belts made from shells or porcupine quills that represent a treaty or sacred agreement between nations. This practice was first developed by the Great Peacemaker, Hiawatha/Aionwatha/Ayonwatha during the founding of the League of Five Nations (Loft et al. 2022; Tehanetorens 1999). The Haudenosaunee use wampum for both religious ceremonies and “official purposes” (Tehanetorens 1999, 11). The Haudenosaunee Confederacy had The Hospitality Wampum Belt, a pre-colonial agreement that governs the proceedings and roles while hosting council meetings and welcoming visitors from other Nations (Koleszar-Green 2018, 168). They are sacred records of agreements (Bobiwash 1997), and it would be unthinkable for Haudenosaunee nations or individuals to break a treaty that was made with an exchange of a sacred wampum (Tehanetorens 1999,12). The Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt or Gdoo-naaganinaa is a treaty made between the Nishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee in 1142 for the Great Lakes region (Koleszar-Green 2018; Simpson LB 2008). Koleszar-Green (2018, 167) explains the meaning of this treaty:

The Earth we live on is a dish and we, as people, all eat out of the same dish using the same spoon. It is important as we live our lives, we never take more than we need, we ensure that we leave something in the Dish for others, and we keep the Dish clean.

This treaty relationship is based on reciprocal responsibilities and mutual respect for self-determination (Simpson LB 2008).

Drawing on wampum belts, Koleszar-Green (2018) delineates the difference between Settler and Guest identities. In her paper, ‘Settlers’ are those who can acknowledge they are on stolen land and have desires of good allyship but stop short of deeper engagement and learning. Her perspective on Guest responsibilities is based on teachings from Haudenosaunee Elders and Traditional Knowledge Keepers’ explanations of four wampum belts: The Dish with One Spoon, The Hospitality or Welcome Belt, The Coming of the People with White Faces – A Record Belt, and The Two Row Wampum or Guswenta, in Mohawk (Koleszar-Green, 2018, 167). Guests are those who reflexively commit to learning the history of the land, learn protocols without appropriating, and honour their responsibilities for land rematriation, supporting stewardship rather than ownership (Koleszar-Green 2018, 174-175). Guests would actively support Indigenous

resistance and leadership of Onkwehonwe (Indigenous) nations through actions instead of words. In doing so, this builds a relationship of reciprocity, peace, friendship and mutual respect. Koleszar-Green (2018, 173) also notes how white supremacy and racism against people of colour affect Guest identities. These treaties and the delineation between Settler and Guest offer guidance on the desired relationships that Indigenous ancestors envisioned for their descendants.

Treaties made between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples provide the terms and conditions of a relationship on Indigenous lands.²⁰ A key shift has been for Asian tauiwi to ground our relationship to Māori in the terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Mok 2004; Ho 2005; Shui 2020; Omura 2014). Asian activists have expressed the need to honour Te Tiriti while challenging dominant framings that Te Tiriti is a purely Māori-Pākehā issue (Mok 2004; Ho 2005; Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga 2016). In 2014, Omura's study of Asian relationships to Te Tiriti argued that treaty education is beneficial for Asian migrants to understand their place and feel a sense of belonging in Aotearoa. In Kukutai and Rata's (2017) calls for indigenizing Aotearoa's approach to immigration, they propose a relationship between migrants and Māori based on manaakitanga: reciprocal care and respect. However, they argue, Māori cannot be hospitable hosts if they do not have control over their own lands and resources. Constitutional transformation and an Indigenous approach to immigration are fundamental to actualizing Te Tiriti-based relationships that respect independence as well as "welcome a chance for *interdependence*" as Moana Jackson (2020) explained.

In addition to treaty-based relational frameworks, Coulthard and Simpson (2016) offer a vision of place-based solidarity or grounded normativity. They describe grounded normativity as an ethical framework centring relationships of deep reciprocity, where the land forms the relationships we have with each other. It is antithetical to relationships of domination, exploitation or authoritarianism. They state, "our relationship to the land itself generates the processes, practices, and knowledges that inform our political systems, and through which *we practice solidarity*" (Coulthard and Simpson 2016, 254, their emphasis). Speaking to the importance of place-based solidarity, Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel (2014) also make a distinction between "temporal" and "place-based" solidarity, where temporal forms of solidarity are limited to an event. Place-based or spatial solidarity is localized, grounded on the land and regenerative

²⁰Provided that the treaties were negotiated and made on equal grounds without coercion or violence, many colonial treaties were not mutually beneficial but further diminished Indigenous power.

“of Indigenous languages, ceremonial life, living histories, and nationhood” (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel 2014, 24). However, Corntassel does not dismiss temporal solidarity entirely, instead he argues the most powerful mobilizations are when spatial and temporal solidarities intersect. This distinction helps to analyze the types of solidarity practices in each place, and consider how place-based histories impact whether the dominant mode of solidarity is spatial or temporal. The second tenet of ‘celestial solidarity’ relies heavily on Corntassel’s argument for the convergence of temporal and spatial solidarity.

Akin to the critique of “temporal solidarity,” Walia conceives solidarity as not only ephemeral support during crises, but it must be sustained commitments. Based on the work of No One Is Illegal, Walia’s (2012) essay on solidarity and decolonization proposes principles for practicing solidarity with Indigenous struggles. She encourages responsibility not guilt; the responsibility to unlearn, seek information and knowledge about colonialism without burdening Indigenous peoples. This requires taking active responsibility rather than passively awaiting instruction. To participate in decolonization, solidarity means refusing frameworks based on guilt, saviourism and charity (Walia 2012).

However, Prof. Jo-Anne Lee (2016, 18) argues solidarity or ally checklists, including ones offered by Walia, “dangerously overgeneralize and simplify the complexity of indigenous/settler relations in decolonization.” She problematizes the assumption of the (white) autonomous, free-acting individual, contending that this encourages changing individual behaviours, rather than as people situated in collectivities, and thus working to change the structures of colonialism. I agree with JA Lee’s proposition that it ultimately requires collective solidarity and organizing. Although solidarity ‘principles’ are helpful for discerning between meaningful and shallow forms of solidarity, I am interested in the unseen or unconscious practices that may not fit the normative understanding of ‘solidarity’ that is often declared in symbolic protests or public statements.

‘Solidarity’ has strong associations with the labour movement. Prof. Winnie Ng (2010) contends that the declarations of solidarity with Indigenous workers and workers of colour in the labour movement in Toronto do not match the experiences of those workers – a disconnect between what is said and what is done. I bring the critiques of shallow and performative solidarity into an analysis on the challenges of building meaningful solidarity in the neoliberal era. Ng’s experiences in the labour movement provides grounding in the economic leverage and the direct material impact of solidarity. She evokes the slogan, ‘collectively, we bargain; individually, we beg!’ (Ng

2010, 151). Solidarity is then about coming together and collectivizing power.

In her engagement with Indigenous activists and workers, Ng also calls attention to Indigenous translations of ‘solidarity’ which involve all life, not only humans. She quotes Dawn from the Anishinaabe nation:

There is no specific word for solidarity as it is defined in the English language, however there is a term that means “all things together, everything in existence” (kaawin piiwitekaataken kitanishinaapemowin). For Anishnaabe, solidarity is not limited to people which makes perfect sense when you think about it. Everything and everyone is interconnected, each affecting one another. Therefore Anishnaabe's view of "self" ultimately includes all of creation. (Interview transcript A104, April 21, 2009) (Ng 2010, 154)

This perspective teaches us that Indigenous solidarity is not only about people, but must involve everything we are in relationship with. To decentre the English language, what can we learn also from the translation of ‘solidarity’ to Chinese languages?

In her explanations of the Chinese translation of ‘solidarity’ as 團結/团结 (tyun4 git3/tuánjié), Ng (2010, 156) attends to the literal translations of each character, she interprets it as “making knots with a single focus.” To explore this further, 团 means ‘to unite.’ It also means ‘to roll into a ball,’ denoting round and circular motion, like rolling dough into a ball. As a noun, it means a group, society or organization. 结 means ‘knot,’ which also means ‘tie’ or ‘bind.’ The translation of ‘solidarity’ into Chinese speaks to ‘unity’ and becoming a circle, or knotted or woven together. There is a closeness and intimacy implied.

It remains an open question whether ‘solidarity’ is useful as a concept or if English terms can encapsulate meanings closer to Indigenous or Chinese understandings. Alternatives to ‘solidarity’ offered include accountability and responsibility to Indigenous people and leadership (Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel 2014; Koleszar-Green 2018; Walia 2012). Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel (2014) argue for accountability and relational responsibilities instead of solidarity, as solidarity presupposes separation between struggles and communities where there could otherwise be interconnections and affinities. Accountability, according to Corntassel, speaks more to ongoing relationships of trust.

If solidarity presupposes separation, it may not be the best description for Indigenous-Chinese families and communities. Spatial solidarities and kinships have emerged through ‘meeting in the margins’ and intermarriage between Indigenous and Chinese, often not accidental

or purely romantic, but as outcomes of racist colonial policies (Lee JBJ 2007). In the literature, kinship or the potential for kinship, in a figurative, literal, and genealogical sense is explored. With respect to Chinese and Māori relationships, both Ip (2003, 2009) and Mutu's (2009) work have described each other as "natural allies in adversity" and at times, "cousins in adversity" (Ip cited in Shui 2020) due to shared experiences of discrimination and marginalization.

In a study with Māori community leaders, Rata and Al-Asaad (2019) note that tauwiwi of colour, especially of refugee backgrounds, are often regarded as whanaunga (relatives) through processes of building good relationships. A participant in this study, Rangimahora, expressed that tauwiwi of colour are not only figurative kin, but also literal family as interrelationships and intimacies will be more common in the future (Rata and Al-Asaad 2019, 222). This is a pertinent reminder that "Indigenous" and "Chinese" communities do not have hard boundaries as Indigenous-Chinese families have existed for well over a century in both Aotearoa and Canada-occupied Indigenous lands (Yu 2017; Barman 2013; Lee SKY 1990; Ip 2003; Ip 2009; Lee JBJ 2007). It has often been Indigenous-Chinese of dual ancestry such as the Māori-Chinese Lee family (Lee JBJ 2007), Danny Karatea-Goddard's family, and the Musqueam-Chinese Grant family (Yoshikawa 2016) who have shared their stories and built bridges between these communities.

As a key offering for Māori and tauwiwi of colour solidarity-building, Rata and Al-Asaad (2019) propose whakawhanaungatanga — the process of building relationships. They propose that this involves 1) positioning, 2) power-sharing characterized by "manaaki (mutual respect), aroha (compassion, love, charity) and koha (reciprocal support)" (Rata and Al-Asaad 2019, 226), 3) dialogue, and 4) cultural practices that involve exchanges of stories and proverbs. Reflecting the idea of "cousins in adversity," Rata and Al-Asaad (2019, 228) describe how making connections between histories of racialization and oppression can cultivate solidarity between tauwiwi of colour and Indigenous peoples. The third component of dialogue in this process is also echoed by Jo-Anne Lee (2016, 14) who calls for "politically informed dialogues among indigenous and non-white, elder-leader-activists."

In the genealogical sense, theories of ancient ancestral links stipulate Māori (and 'Polynesians') are descendants of the Lapita people, some of whom are thought to descend from a branch of ancient Chinese who migrated out of Asia 6 000 years ago (Lu 2009). Māori archaeologist, Atholl Anderson (2016) has reviewed a combination of archaeological, DNA-tracing, ethnolinguistics, and oral traditions to theorize the first migrations of Māori leaving 'South

China' 5 000 years ago. He argues, "the ancestors of Polynesians came almost entirely from Holocene age Southeast Asian populations" (2016, 61). I have seen these potential genealogical links drawn upon for international diplomacy between NZ-China.²¹ Māori creation stories, knowledge, and cosmologies are also important to respect where they trace their origins to Hawaiki. However, as Lu concluded, these theories, while interesting, are not as significant as the last 160 years of interaction between Māori and Chinese in Aotearoa.

There is a similar Asianization of some Indigenous peoples occupied by Canada through the Bering Strait theory - the theory that Indigenous peoples crossed the Bering Strait from Asia before the ice melted.²² The Asian racialization of Indigenous peoples matters materially when white racists read Indigenous people as 'Asian,' Indigenous people become subjected to the same brutal racist assaults and told to "go back to Asia!" in addition to the colonial violence they already experience (Ghoussoub 2020). In Prof. Richard Fung's (2016) *Reorientation* film, a mixed white-Chinese person shared experiences of being racialized as Indigenous and the subsequent anti-Indigenous racism they experienced. Conversely, this white confusion over who is Asian vs. Indigenous has been strategically used for safety and sanctuary. From my participants, I heard stories of Chinese labourers sheltered by Indigenous communities escaping dangerous working conditions and passing as Indigenous, and Indigenous people passing as Chinese in Chinatown in Vancouver during epidemics (*A Tribe of One*, Cha 2003). The inability for white people to visually distinguish between some Indigenous peoples and Chinese or Asians peoples has meant additional violence but has also been employed agentively for greater chances of safety.

Within film, literature and art, affective expressions of Asian and Indigenous relationality and inter-referencing have been explored, where fiction is treated as a speculative space for imagining solidarity (Jafri 2020; Wong 2017; Lee SKY 1990; Phung 2015; Diabo 2019; Kim 2019). Situating her work in the "relational turn" which focuses on entanglements as opposed to comparison of struggles, Jafri (2020) extends Audra Simpson's ethic of refusal in her analysis of Ali Kazimi's film, *Shooting Indians: A Journey with Jeffrey Thomas*. Refusal is not only negation but generative of alternate forms of diasporic belonging (Jafri 2020). Unlike Indigenous refusal, diasporic refusal "requires the development of a critical consciousness around complicity in

²¹I have witnessed this in 2017 in Beijing when Māori author, Witi Ihimaera, referred to Chinese people as 'cousins' to Māori during an event organized by the New Zealand embassy.

²²This has come up in everyday conversations, including from extended family members.

ongoing colonization” (Jafri 2020, 113). Jafri credits the work of Desh Pradesh, a South Asian annual arts festival based in Toronto (1989-2001) for initiating some of the earlier conversations on South Asian and Indigenous relationality.

In literature, Wong (2017) turns to texts that speak to Asian and Indigenous interactions and analyzes their potentials for building solidarity and alliances. She argues:

Affective bonds do not necessarily translate into political solidarity, but effective political solidarity is also less likely to happen without a deeply felt understanding of each other’s perspectives and the ways in which oppression is both common and different for people racialized as “First Nations” and “Asian.” (Wong 2017, 230-231)

Similarly, Phung (2015) treats literature as a space for thinking through allegories and reimagining relationality towards decolonization. She argues for Asian-Canadian indebtedness as a framework for relationality with Indigenous peoples. Indebtedness is less about settler guilt, and more a responsibility to express gratitude and reciprocate (Phung 2015).

In response to these literary analyses, Mohawk scholar Gage Karahkwí:io Diabo (2019) calls for more attention to “bad affects” in Indigenous-Asian relations. He critiques Phung’s (2015) idea of indebtedness for potentially “generating a model of historical transactionism wherein previous actions become (imagined as) commodities of value” (Diabo 2019, 260). Diabo reminds us that “bad feelings” are also powerful; they need to be acknowledged, validated and explored rather than ignored. He cites Coulthard’s notion of resentment as “a process-oriented concept which embraces negative feeling as a necessary catalyst for action” (Diabo 2019, 261). He reminds us to attend to feelings as a spectrum of affects, and ‘bad affects’ can also be generative.

The affects of love and anger are expressed in Asian literature from Aotearoa. In Tze Ming Mok’s (2004, 26) essay, she invokes love as a basis for alliances between Māori and Asians:

We need to realise that if Maori are expendable we are all expendable, and that the only lasting alliances will not be engineered by political parties, but by the people; not unions of convenience, but of love.

In Ho’s (2005) zine, a motivating affect is anger: “i’m angry at being handed down these legacies of oppression, injustice, forgetting and silence. i don’t want to hand them down also.” Love and anger have long been a basis of revolutionary action. Chinese New Zealand literature has been analyzed by Huang (2015) as part of a transnational analysis of ‘minor settler’ literature spanning

Aotearoa New Zealand, Hawai'i, and Taiwan. The analysis of New Zealand literature includes Tze Ming Mok's work, and focuses heavily on the politics of translation and literary fiction as translation.

In visions for Indigenous resurgence, there is a shift away from engaging with whiteness in favour of building direct alliances and relationships with Black and people of colour movements (Simpson LB 2016; Tuck and Guishard 2013). Inspired by Dene-Cree scholar, Jarrett Martineau's formulation of the idea of constellations, LB Simpson (2016) reflects on stars and constellations within Nishnaabeg thought in her strategies for Indigenous resurgence. She explains:

[I]ndividuals or small collectives (stars) organizing within grounded normativity and connected to other individuals or collectives (stars) through Indigenous internationalism makes a lot of sense in terms of creating doorways out of settler colonialism. (Simpson LB 2016, 28)

Constellations of co-resistance correspond to some of the underlying ethics of treaty-based relationships such as respecting independence and existing in interdependence. Simpson's thinking through constellations also informs the transnational and internationalist aspirations of 'celestial solidarity' and the orientation towards the celestial world for guidance.

"Constellations of co-resistance" go beyond nation-state borders as colonialism has always been a global project for control over land, people and resources. Corntassel notes that the British colonization of Māori was directly related to treaty-making in Canada's history (Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel 2014, 22). The anti-Asian immigration policies of Canada, US and New Zealand were effectively copied from White Australia policies restricting Asian immigration (Kazimi 2011). Indigenous transnationalism and inter-referencing between Māori and Indigenous nations occupied by Canada already exists in scholarship and social movements. For example, the Matike Mai report (2016) refers to the Bolivian constitution, the Sami, the Native American reserve system, and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's structures of Indigenous governance.²³ Knowledge and analysis are already being shared and referenced transnationally in localized

²³Other examples of inter-referencing: The framing of Māori and tauwiwi of colour relationality (Rata and Al-Asaad 2019) also refers to Indigenous and Asian scholarship from Turtle Island such as the work of Lawrence and Dua (2005), Tuck and Yang (2012) and Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel (2014). Much of this scholarship reflects parallel collaborations between Indigenous and Asian scholars. Transnational referencing in Indigenous scholarship also involves considering the contexts of colonialism in Asia such as the British incursions in China through the Opium Wars (Mutu 2009). Phung's (2015) work refers to Aotearoa as a "parallel context." From Turtle Island, Alfred and Corntassel (2005, 614) reference Māori calls for Tino Rangatiratanga.

discussions of colonialism, diaspora politics and Indigenous resurgence.

Amongst this literature, there has yet to be a parallel reciprocal process for Asians based in Aotearoa and so-called ‘Canada’ to hold transnational conversations on solidarity with Indigenous movements and pan-Asian organizing. Malissa Phung (2011) has referenced Aotearoa by offering ‘Pākehā of colour’ as a synonym for ‘settler of colour’ that reflects good politicized settlerhood. However, it is based on the Pākehā scholarship of Paul Spoonley. This was jarring for me to read,²⁴ as ‘Pākehā’ is primarily used for white New Zealanders. This is perhaps indicative of the invisibility of tauwi of colour writing and activism to North American audiences. Speaking directly to each other would have prevented these misunderstandings. Aside from ‘Pākehā of colour’ not translating well, Phung’s idealized perspective of the use of ‘Pākehā’ as based on a recognition of Māori sovereignty does not correspond with material realities in Aotearoa, where the identification with Pākehā is highly limited for changing the structures of colonialism and white supremacy.

Canadian analysis on Asian-Indigenous relations primarily relies on methods of literary, art, film or archival analysis. Who gets to become published and celebrated writers, artists, and filmmakers also reflects privileges of access to produce and disseminate ‘cultural’ outputs. While artists can play a significant role in social change, what these methods miss are voices and perspectives from grassroots organizers, activists, and communities who are doing the work to build solidarity and relationships. Analyzing art does not capture what is happening on the ground. From social movement activists and writers like Walia, we find helpful guidance in the form of principles, but these are often generalized principles. The lessons from ‘organic praxis’ (Wilson 1993) are missing, as well as place-based genealogies and histories of solidarity still unwritten. If we are serious about dismantling colonialism, organizers and activists in decolonial social movements are the key people to talk to.

While thinking outside of an Indigenous-white settler binary can aid our analysis of ‘positionality,’ the broadness of ‘Asian’ and ‘people of colour’ misses the specificities of histories and relationships. I decided ‘Asian’ is far too broad and complex a category to work with. In this literature, ‘Asian’ often primarily references East and South Asian perspectives. The differences ‘within’ these coalitional groupings point to divergent experiences and positionalities. Thus, I

²⁴It sounds like “white settler of colour,” which might work for those with ancestries mixed with white Europeans, but I would never see this as an option for myself.

chose ‘Chinese’ instead to attend to its specificities and complexities within. In Aotearoa, there has been significant qualitative and interview-based research focused specifically on Māori-Chinese families and histories (Lee JBJ 2007; Ip 2008; Ip 2009). This provides fertile ground to grow understandings of ethnic-specific and place-based histories without generalizing to a pan-Asian experience.

What tauīwi Chinese or Asian scholarship has emerged since then? There are now academic discourses on ‘Asian’ relationships to Te Tiriti focused on becoming ‘Asian Tangata Tiriti’ and belonging (Dam 2022) and cultural comparisons between Māori and Chinese (Ma’auga and Liu 2020). Cultural comparison sometimes borders on an uncritical self-Orientalism and cultural essentialism in descriptions of Chinese or ‘Asian’ philosophies, and at times a mistranslation of Māori concepts, especially when making claims on the similarity between ‘filial piety’ and ‘whakapapa.’²⁵ Furthermore, this often ignores the political dimension of these relationships when Te Tiriti is absent from these discussions. This raises ethical issues in acts of cultural translation, which is important to consider within practices of translation for purposes of solidarity. Notably, another set of emergent discourses are arguments for Asian tauīwi to support constitutional transformation (ASTR 2016; Fu and Azarmandi 2023; Wang 2023). In Aotearoa-based ‘Asian’ literature, there is a tendency to contain these discussions at a nation-state level, and in some ways, this may be due to a shared vocabulary that is specific to Aotearoa. Our practices and modes of solidarity have rarely been contextualized and connected to other Chinese diasporic peoples.

Intersectionality and Transnational Feminism

Reviewing the literature on Asian-Indigenous relations pushed me to contain my project to primarily ethnically Chinese peoples. This category is no less complex, but to be attentive to hierarchies and differences within the category of “Chinese,” I bring in Black and women of colour feminist theories on intersectionality or ‘interlocking systems of oppression’ (Combahee River Collective 2002; Collins 2015; Davis 2016; hooks 2000; Crenshaw 1989, Moraga and Anzaldúa 2002). Black feminists like Audre Lorde (2012) have also taught us to never ignore differences while seeking liberation. Intersectionality establishes that no racialized or gendered grouping is a

²⁵These to me are wildly different concepts, the only aspect they have in common is a practice of respect for elders. I expand on this more in later chapters.

monolith but includes various social and economic hierarchies such as gender, age, class, sexuality, migration generation, language fluency, dis/ability, and immigration status. I draw on this to speak to the differing Chinese diasporic relationships with Canada and/or New Zealand, Indigenous peoples and capitalism throughout time and place.

While intersectionality has been co-opted and diluted over the years, I want to emphasize Audre Lorde's disavowal of single-issue politics and emphasize what Angela Davis (2016) calls "intersectionality of struggles." It represents a 'no one left behind' and 'no one is free until all are free' ethic. However, intersectional scholarship rarely addresses colonialism and Indigeneity. When it does, theorists tend to use a pluralist or additive framing that treats Indigenous issues and decolonization as an 'and' rather than an 'elsewhere' (Tuck and Yang 2012), or problematically collapses 'Indigeneity' into 'race' (Byrd 2011). My interest in intersectionality is more concerned with how it translates to praxis in social movement building and how it can connect movements together and build stronger coalitions and solidarities.

To extend this further to then think about 'transnationality of struggles,' I bring in transnational feminist theories to address migration, diaspora, empire and the nation-state system. Advocating for building solidarity across borders, transnational feminists have critiqued white feminist universalism and saviour benevolence, addressing the problems of globalization, war, capitalism, nationalism, and the dominance of 'the West' in relation to the 'Global South' (Alexander 2006; Alexander and Mohanty 2013; Grewal and Kaplan 1994; Naples and Desai 2004). They offer an analysis of power in relation to the nation-state, imperialism and nationalisms. For example, Mohanty notes a lacuna in theorizing the nation, nationality and national privilege in intersectional analysis, where Americanness is often taken for granted (Dua and Trotz 2002). Like intersectional scholarship, non-Indigenous transnational feminists rarely take Indigenous feminist critiques of settler colonialism into account. They also often elide Indigenous conceptions of "nation" in critiques of nationalism (Dhamoon 2015).

To highlight an alternative genealogy, the practice of transnational relationality and solidarity was inherent among Indigenous feminists since the 1970s as Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli) and Maylei Blackwell argued:

Indigenous feminism was already transnational due to its Indigenous nation-to-nation commitments, the way it navigates and challenges colonial settler nation-states, and creates alternative relationalities grounded in Indigenous epistemologies

that cross multiple national borders and question the colonial constructs of those borders. (Blackwell et al. 2015, 4)

This transnationalism was present in pre-colonial histories of treaty-making, in ‘transnational’ settings that recognize plant and animal nationhood (Simpson LB 2008). Reconceptualizing ‘transnationalism’ involves rethinking ‘the nation’ in respect of Indigenous worldviews that destabilize anthropocentrism. If we take this understanding of ‘nation,’ then we are already living in trans-national relations anywhere and everywhere. It decentres the nation-state as the only structure that holds the ‘nation.’

Accordingly, Rita Dhamoon (2015) points to Indigenous nation-building that is tied to connections and relationships to land, a ‘nationalism’ that is fundamentally different to colonizing nation-states. By understanding ‘transnational’ solidarities, between non-Indigenous diasporic and Indigenous peoples (many of whom are also diasporic), I decentre empire and whiteness and look for transnational relations in resistance to settler colonialism. This reflects Dhamoon’s suggestions for the praxis of supporting “anti-patriarchal and anti-capitalist lateral transnationalisms that go beyond the nation-state and a centre-periphery dynamic” (Dhamoon 2015, 34). The transnationalism I bring into this is both across colonial borders between Chinese diasporas decentring the US, and a transnationalism in recognizing Indigenous peoples as independent nations under settler colonial occupation.

The unequal flow of theory from ‘North America’ outwards and the hierarchies of academic clout expose the hegemony of theory emanating primarily from the US (Dua and Trotz 2002) to the less powerful settler colonies of New Zealand, Australia, and as I have learned, Canada. Learning from Indigenous lands colonized by New Zealand and Canada, I resist US-centrism, and to destabilize their claims of moral superiority. For transnational feminism to be grounded in decolonization, Indigenous liberation must be foundational to any analysis of hegemonic nationalisms and border regimes built on Indigenous dispossession.

Studies of Chinese migration and transnationalism tend to focus on economic imperatives, globalization, modernity, and the Chinese elite in gaining ‘flexible citizenship’ (Ong 1999; Ong and Nonini 2003; Liu 2018), eliding settler colonialism and the relationships between Indigenous peoples and Chinese diasporas. These studies on mobility and capitalism contribute to constructions of Chinese as wealthy business migrants whose decisions are centred on capital accumulation – Chinese people as the quintessential *homo economicus*. They tend to reinforce

racial capitalist interests in the *economic inclusion* of Chinese as capital or labour, coupled with *socio-political exclusion* in the discounting of Chinese diasporic political resistance. Bypassing settler colonialism and Indigeneity, much of Chinese diaspora studies remains complicit in maintaining Indigenous erasure. The analytical frameworks are centred on structures of global capitalism, modernity and mobility (e.g. Ong and Nonini 2003; Ong 1999; Liu 2018).

De Jong and Dannecker (2018, 502) argue that empirical studies of transnationalism often “underplayed the uneven-ness, instability and inequality of transnational space.” Aihwa Ong (1999, 4) refers to ‘transnationality’ to mean “the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space.” She explains:

Trans denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something. Besides suggesting new relations between nation-states and capital, transnationality also alludes to the *transversal*, the *transactional*, the *translational*, and the *transgressive* aspects of contemporary behaviour and imagination that are incited, enabled, and regulated by the changing logics of states and capitalism.

My use of ‘transnational’ is a transcendence of nation-state boundaries and premised on the necessity of transnational resistance and solidarity with Indigenous resurgence against settler colonial nationalisms. Drawing on Ong’s definition of ‘trans’ as ‘changing the nature of something,’ what I hope the ‘transnational’ has the power to change is a system of empire and nation-states upheld by ongoing colonization and genocide of Indigenous peoples, and a change in our perspective of the ‘nation’ as more-than-human. The transversal, transgressive, and translational are also inherent in practices and aspirations of celestial solidarity, as a practice of generating portals.

Pedagogies Towards Praxis

In many ways, decolonial education involves translation and the creation of portals. Based on interviews with expert Indigenous educators transnationally, Veronica Tawhai (2020) summarizes the key curricular content for Indigeneity education: 1) Indigenous peoples as distinct nations with rights to self-determination, 2) settler colonialism, 3) decolonization, and 4) offerings of what to do with information and feelings in response. I have explored the first three as a basis for understanding the ‘why’ of the fourth. As reflections of educating non-Indigenous peoples tend to pertain to white settlers, I hope to contribute to the fourth component for Chinese learners by

looking at existing forms of Indigenous-Chinese solidarity and decolonial praxis.

Praxis, as Paolo Freire (2005) describes, is action and reflection. From her conversations with Moana Jackson, Mereana Pitman (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu) has extended this to education, action, and reflection.²⁶ What this dissertation primarily captures are the reflections from education and action, to then feed further education and action.

An effective pedagogical strategy towards praxis highlighted in Tawhai's (2020) thesis is place-based and community-based education. The power of place-based pedagogies is reaffirmed in Ho's (2023, 105) research, offering a 'radical pedagogy of place,' where she asserts, "the work of decolonization requires us to realign ourselves with the intimate ways places know us, the radical ways place makes us." I looked to these perspectives after the themes of place-based pedagogy became emergent through my interviews. Place-based pedagogies have the power to connect people to place and histories, and build direct relationships where Indigenous truths are centred, integrating spatial-temporal solidarity within pedagogical practices.

As Robin Wall Kimmerer (2013) writes, "the land is the real teacher." Like many Indigenous storytellers, her teachings in *Braiding Sweetgrass* gift us knowledge of the land, and Indigenous translations of/for the land. The storied metaphors from the land, sky, and waters in this dissertation are influenced by Kimmerer's work, alongside Black activist and writer, adrienne maree brown's (2017) musings on 'emergent strategy' which also find inspiration from the 'natural world.' Her work informs my conceptualization of the 'scales of solidarity' as fractals and spirals. brown follows Octavia Butler's work in considering all organizing as science fiction, giving us permission to be more creative, imaginative, and to work through problems in storied metaphors.

To expand the imagination, dreaming is an integral praxis and an aspect of the first tenet of celestial solidarity. I bring in 'dreaming' in both the sense of using our imagination to envision desired futurities, and dreaming as a practice to access knowledge from our unconscious in a sleeping state. This is influenced by the Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016) report envisioning a constitutional model that restores mana motuhake, Robin DG Kelley's (2002) theorizations of surrealism and the Black radical imagination, Riley Yesno's (Ayed 2024) talk on Indigenous futurisms, Dian Million's (2011) discussion of 'dreaming as method.' Matike Mai also provides guidance on the 'spheres of solidarity' mapping onto the 'spheres of influence' posed in the report,

²⁶She shared her whakaaro on this on a Wāhine Panel during The Power In Our Truth at Te Wānanga o Raukawa recorded here <https://irp.cdn-website.com/002b888d/files/uploaded/Day%20%20-%20Wāhine%20Panel.mp3>

offering clarity on our contextual roles, responsibilities, and positionalities. To draw from my own ancestry and ‘prior thought’ in Chinese scholarship, I bring in my grandfather’s work on Chinese dream culture (Fu 1988) and the role of dreams in expanding our imagination and as pedagogy. Dreaming is a spiritual practice, and it has been proposed by Kanaka Maoli scholar Noelani Goodyear-Ka’ōpua (2018) as an ‘everyday act of resurgence.’

Conclusion

Writing this in 2024, these theoretical ‘currents’ move me through the sea of experiences and perspectives that have contributed to this dissertation. I truly appreciate all the organizing, intellectual, spiritual, and collective work involved in sharing these perspectives with the world. It demonstrates how settler colonialism is and was never totalizing, and always incomplete. This project would not be possible without all this ‘prior thought,’ a genealogy of both activist and academic literature that has shaped the texture, focus, and methods of this dissertation. In identifying the gaps in literature on Asian-Indigenous solidarity and relationality, I focus on specificity of place and peoples, and centring the perspectives of activists, organizers, and educators. I look for examples of practices, praxis, and strategies that can strengthen decolonial work transnationally. The set of literature informing my theoretical framework comes from Indigenous feminist theories, Black and women of colour feminisms that speak to the interconnections of oppression and liberation, transnational feminist analysis, explorations of Asian-Indigenous relationality, treaty-based frameworks for relationality. Like the sea, these bodies of theory are constantly in motion, as new/old concepts are invented or revitalized. These theoretical currents embodied in this set of literature have transported me, providing the vehicles through which I move and analyze across borders in a search for connection and strategies to bring diasporic Chinese communities in greater alignment with Indigenous movements against colonization.

Chapter Two - Colonization and Resistance in Aotearoa and Northern Turtle Island

In Māori and Squamish perceptions of time, the past is in front of us, and the future is behind (Rameka 2016; The Squamish Nation 2024). To imagine back into the future is to look forward into the past. This chapter is a grounding on Indigenous truths of the land to counter colonial fictions that maintain ongoing colonization. Tina Ngata (2019, 94) identifies these fictions as: “Colonialism was a historical event; colonisation is a localised event; colonisation was invited and beneficial, and colonisation is unavoidable.” As colonial fictions remain in circulation, centring Indigenous truths becomes a way to remember ethically and dispel these violent myths that I see as colonial gaslighting. Deliberate misremembering is part of the colonial project to justify land theft (Mutu 2019; Jackson 2019). In her discussion of the South African Freedom Charter’s statement, ‘our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting,’ bell hooks elaborates on this as meaning: “a politicization of memory that distinguishes nostalgia, that longing for something to be as once it was, a kind of useless act, from that remembering that serves to illuminate and transform the present” (1989, 17). In many ways, it is also a struggle over truth and reality, to transform the present *and future*. What I present in this chapter is my learnings from Indigenous truths, it is a summary and synthesis to provide context in navigating the rest of this dissertation.

Following Tina Ngata’s call for ethical remembrance, I firstly begin with Indigenous peoples’ memories and histories of their lands prior to colonization. In the second part, I move to the apocalyptic impetus of colonialism for Indigenous peoples and land, flagging the connections through the travels and relationships of key colonial figures of Jeffery Amherst, Captain James Cook, and Captain George Vancouver. This colonial lineage is a thread of connection between the colonization of northern Turtle Island and Aotearoa. In these accounts of colonialism, I integrate histories and persistence of Indigenous resistance to highlight Indigenous agency throughout, a necessary accompaniment to any history of colonialism (Tawhai 2020). I do not take it for granted that the accessibility of this knowledge today is only possible through centuries of Indigenous resistance and organizing that have survived many attempted genocides. The third part is an exploration of contemporary discourses of decolonization, Indigenous resurgence, and constitutional transformation and an analysis of the limitations of colonial state concessions

through ‘reconciliation’ in Canadian contexts and ‘biculturalism’ in Aotearoa New Zealand. The structure of this chapter follows the first three learning outcomes of what Veronica Tawhai (2020) found as necessary components for curricula on Indigeneity education, 1) Indigenous people as distinct nations with rights to self-determination, 2) understanding settler colonialism, and 3) decolonization.

In offering a grounding to contextualize practices of solidarity within place-based histories, I see this as a practice of honouring ancestors, and spatial-temporal integration. Drawing from the third tenet of celestial solidarity, it is to create a temporary portal through time and space, to transport ourselves and stare face-to-face into the colonial processes that have yet to end. When I write about ‘history’ I do not see this contained neatly in a past that is now over, but an ever changing presence that is in relationship with the present and future. The first portal is to Indigenous histories of a time before colonization.

Histories Before Colonization

I start here because Indigenous nations and people have histories long before white people reached their shores. History does not begin when the colonizers arrive. Because colonizing myths of Indigenous peoples as ‘uncivilized’ have been so pervasive, basic understandings of Indigenous peoples as having cultural, political, education, health, legal, spiritual, technological and economic systems often need to be explicitly stated. These western categories and their demarcations do not quite capture the complexities of Indigenous cultures, and anthropological taxonomies can be objectifying and reductionist. Thus, in this section, I learn from Indigenous sources to disrupt colonial perceptions of Indigenous peoples as only having ‘tradition’ and not ‘history’ (Smith 2021). There is much more depth and detail in each nation’s history that is not my place to share, or even to know. But I want to acknowledge the work of Indigenous communities who have shared and gathered their histories to keep memories of their ancestors alive. Beyond remembering, there are lessons we can learn from for the present and future, of practices that present possibilities of respectful and reciprocal relationalities.

Let’s go first to ‘Toronto,’ where land was once covered in glaciers, where large bodies of water surround this place. Deer, beavers, bears, raccoons, skunks, foxes, wolves, and squirrels share this land. These lands, previously covered and carved by glaciers and ocean, have had Indigenous presence since time immemorial. Michi Saagig Nishnaabeg have cosmogenies of their

peoples originating on these lands since creation (Migizi 2018). The land remembers and archives the steps and settlements of the Wendat²⁷ confederacy. The land holds their ancestors' bones in Taber Hill, a Wendat burial mound in what is colonially renamed Scarborough. These are also the lands of the Haudenosaunee confederacy made up of six nations, united by the great Peacemaker Hiawatha. These six nations are the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk and Tuscarora. Their territories span across the Canadian/US border into so-called New York state. These lands are the territories of the Anishinaabek nation, which the treaty holders, Mississaugas of the Credit belong to, and includes many nations such as the Ojibwe, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Odawa, Saulteaux, Nipissing and Mississauga nations. Their lands span further north, westward and eastward of Toronto, spanning Ontario and Manitoba.

In Toronto, the earliest evidence of human presence is from 13 000 years ago (Williamson and Lesage 2021). With the many nations that co-existed in this region, pre-colonial treaty-making was a common practice between different nations (human and non-human animal nations) prior to British or French colonization (Simpson LB 2008). Several Indigenous scholars have articulated the respect for non-human animals as political and spiritual beings, as 'peoples' or 'nations' (Simpson LB 2008; Sioui 1992, 1999). Wendat scholar George Sioui explains, for the Wendat, animal deities are part of their political system, they were among the "God-creators": "the Wendats had a council of animal-deities who decided and executed everything in the most purely democratic fashion" (1999, 22). Sioui describes the broader Wendat worldview that Christianity tried to destroy:

Animals, trees, insects, stones, and so on constitute families and peoples, as worthy of living as are humans, since they too are expressions of the great creative will. Through rituals, offerings, and expressions of gratitude, human beings must consciously and frequently acknowledge these other peoples who, directly or indirectly, contribute to their subsistence, education, well-being and happiness. (1999, 28)

Similarly, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2008) has detailed the practices of precolonial treaty-

²⁷A note on names of Indigenous nations: sometimes I've heard the use of Huron-Wendat, like in the York University land acknowledgment, but have since learned that Wendat on its own is more respectful. Huron is a disparaging term that has come from the French colonizer, Samuel Champlain (Sioui 1999, 2). The "Haudenosaunee Confederacy" is favored over the "Iroquois," which is a French word based on a Wendat name for the Haudenosaunee meaning "snake," but still in use in the US-colonized areas of Haudenosaunee territory.

making from Nishnaabeg treaties with non-human animal nations, to neighbouring human nations such as the Haudenosaunee. She establishes that these practices of maintaining peace and diplomatic relations precedes colonialism and are based on a set of reciprocal rights and responsibilities to each other. They never implied encroaching on another nation's sovereignty or self-determination.

The Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt or Gdoo-naaganinaa (our dish) is an example of such a treaty made between the Nishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee (Simpson LB 2008). LB Simpson (2011, 114) asserts, this treaty “gives us an ancient template for realizing separate jurisdictions within a shared territory.” The story told by Isaac Murdoch of the Serpent River First Nation is of the sharing of a beaver tail on a dish with one spoon (Anishinabek Nation 2021). Those partaking in sharing this beaver tail should only take that they need and ensure they leave enough for others. They should leave knives and other weapons out. The dish should also be kept clean (Koleszar-Green 2018). Mohawk scholar, Ange Loft (2021, 24) writes:

The Dish with One Spoon wampum is an agreement to take only what is required and to make sure that all living things are able to sustain their lives. This includes caring for the waters and their ecosystems - the soil, the rocks, the vegetation, the mammals, and the birds.

This is the agreement most often cited in land acknowledgements in Toronto. However, Elder Doug Williams contests some of the common misinterpretations of the Dish With One Spoon, explaining that Haudenosaunee people are allowed to hunt when they participate in a friendship circle and smoke the peace pipe, but the permission to hunt is not forever (Loft et al. 2022). He denies the claim that this treaty is to “peaceably share.” He argues that the Anishinaabe have claims to these lands and is under their territorial jurisdiction: “the misconception that the Dish with One Spoon agreement opens up this territory to all nations, again undermin[es] Indigenous Territorial Rights and sovereignty” (Loft et al. 2022, 58). As a treaty between the Anishinaabe and the Haudenosaunee, its relation to today's non-Indigenous population is unclear.

Treaties in Indigenous diplomacy practices were not treated as transactions or purely political or legal agreements as they might be in European traditions, they carry spiritual meaning and weight that goes beyond the material world. Therefore, ‘to break a treaty was and is a very serious matter, as it violates a pledge made not only with other humans but also with the spirit world’ (Loft et al. 2022, 20). Meanwhile, as Simpson (2011, 106) argues, “Canadians are taught

that treaties are legal agreements through which Indians ceded our lands for cash.” It is crucial to understand how Indigenous treaty-making has been practiced and perceived, shifting away from western colonial understandings of treaties. I highlight this to emphasize the practices of internationalism and diplomacy prior to colonization.

Like the coexistence of many different nations in Toronto, the land Vancouver occupies was “happily shared between Indigenous peoples, and families would have specific rights to and responsibilities for certain areas” (Squamish Nation 2024, 21). The Indigenous lands are ancient and have had continuous human presence for several millennia, home to the Musqueam, the Squamish, and the Tsleil-Waututh Nations. Together they are sometimes referred to as ‘Coast Salish’ peoples, but this is an anthropological category imposed on them (Squamish Nation 2024, 19). Each nation has their own cosmology, names and histories of places, along with stories attached to place names in their own languages for specific mountains, villages, and watersheds.

The Musqueam nation has been on their lands since ‘time immemorial’ with some estimates to be at least 9 000 years based on archaeological evidence (Musqueam First Nation and MOA n.d.; Musqueam Nation 2012). In 1967, the Musqueam nation signed a declaration stating they hold “aboriginal title” and “aboriginal rights” to the territories their ancestors traditionally occupied, which spans to lands and waters outside of Vancouver’s boundaries (Musqueam Nation 1976). The Musqueam village of *čəsnaʔəm* (Marpole) dates to over 4 000 years, a place that had to be defended from condominium developments in 2012 (CBC News 2012). They successfully prevented the construction project but after already experiencing the desecration of their ancestors remains, unearthed without their consent or knowledge. As Larissa Grant (Musqueam) said in a video for the exhibition on *čəsnaʔəm*, ‘there are homes of our ancestors all throughout the city.’ Vancouver was built on top of these histories and stories.

The *Sḵwx̱wú7mesh* (Squamish) Nation has oral histories that remembers the “time of the ice age” and the “time of the flood” that go back 12,000 years (Squamish Language 2021). They were formed in 1923 through an amalgamation of 16 nations with a total of 412 members, today their nation has grown to 4 000 (Squamish Nation 2024). They are in a time of cultural resurgence, including language revitalization, and reclaiming Indigenous place names (Gray and Ruck 2019). The Squamish Atlas hosts their place names (Snichim Foundation 2021). A name for the area on the south shore of the Burrard Inlet is *K’emk’emeláy*, Elder Paítsmuk translates this to “a place where there are a lot of big-leaf maple trees” (The Squamish Nation 2024, viii). Every Squamish

place name is informed by ancient stories (The Squamish Nation 2024, 22). They lived with the seasons, and have changed as the land changes and as sea levels have been changing dramatically over 12 000 years (The Squamish Nation 2024). They remember generally peaceful and good relations with their neighbours, and would trade and intermarry with other Halkomelem speaking people (The Squamish Nation 2024).

As ‘people of the Inlet,’ the səliłwətał (Tsleil-Waututh) Nation has histories on their lands since ‘time immemorial.’ Their origin story comes from the water (TWN Communications 2023). They moved around according to the seasons with certain seasons reserved for specific activities. Their economy relied on hunting, harvesting, preserving food, and trading with neighbours (Tsleil-Waututh Nation 2021). Prior to colonization, their oral histories estimate their Nation to be 10 000 strong. “It was a life of abundance, there was great quality of food source, there was an abundance of lush forest and cedar trees that were used to house our people” (Tsleil Waututh 2010).

Aotearoa has a long history before colonization, and many stories of creation, origin, and arrival. The North Island is called Te Ika-a-Māui, the fish of Māui, the fish that Māui fished up from the ocean. For a long time, it was underwater and then re-emerged 23 million years ago. The South Island is called Te Waipounamu (waters of greenstone), Te Wāhi Pounamu (the place of greenstone) or Te Waka-a-Māui (the canoe of Māui) among other names. These are the big islands with smaller islands surrounding them. Until human settlement, the only mammals on these islands were bats. Flightless birds, large and small, roam these lands as there were few predators. The term ‘Māori’ is a post-contact name for many different hapū and iwi, it simply means ‘normal’ when it is not capitalized. Māori have been kaitiaki (caretakers, protectors, stewards) of these lands and waters for centuries before the arrival of European colonizers. Many iwi (nations) have canoe stories of arrival like Tainui, who know from where they left and where they arrived, along with the name of the canoe, who was on it, and how many generations ago. Some have autochthonous stories like Tūhoe (Aikman 2019) where they originate from the land.

Western science and mātauranga Māori estimates that Pacific voyagers settled Aotearoa between 1200-1400 AD (Anderson 2016). Tikanga is the first law of the land (Mutu 2019). Māori grew abundant gardens in places like Ihumātao, where the soil was ‘richly fertile’ (Matata-Sipu, Newton, and Hancock 2022). Dr. Moana Jackson, in his critique of scientific racism and the idea of the ‘warrior gene’ suggested that instead of “once were warriors” (the title of a famous novel by Alan Duff turned into a film), a more accurate characterization would have been ‘once were

gardeners, once were singers, once were poets, and if you're from Kahungunu, once were lovers' (New Zealand Drug Foundation 2009).

In Te Tiriti workshops, an understanding of Māori political structures is established in the beginning. Whānau translates to extended family. Hapū is the primary political unit, made up of a collection of whānau. Dr. Moana Jackson noted how 'hapū' also means 'to be pregnant,' or 'to be swelling with life,' and emphasizes that is where the important decisions about life and death are made (He Tohu 2017). Iwi refers to an alliance of hapū. Like in northern Turtle Island, treaty-making between nations was common practice before colonization. Moana Jackson explained how Ngāti Kahungunu engaged in 'mahi tūhono' where "treaties are seen as work that brings people together" (He Tohu 2017). These pre-colonial Indigenous histories offer insights into the possibilities of respectful inter-national relationalities that can inspire decolonial futurities.

Aotearoa was birthed from Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, the great ocean of Kiwa, colonially renamed by Magellan as the "Pacific" Ocean (Ngata 2022). It is part of Oceania, another alternative to the 'Pacific Ocean' used by Tongan-Fijian scholar Epeli Hua'ofa (2008). This ocean is not what separates, but what connects these islands, and all the way to the 'Americas' and to 'Asia.' It is when Europeans learned ocean voyaging, centuries after ancestors of Māori found these lands, that allowed them access to the Indigenous lands around the world.

The Arrival of Colonization: A Genealogy of Colonizers

To highlight the origins of colonialism is to denaturalize it as something that is inevitable or universal. When we investigate its history, it is specific people, with particular powers that made the decisions, invented laws and justifications to carry out this violence. This section expands on the origins of colonialism, the connections and resonances between Canadian and New Zealand histories of colonialism, and Indigenous resistance which allows for fruitful transnational strategy-sharing. As I explained in the previous chapter, the Doctrine of ~~Discovery~~ Domination has been the basis of European conquest of lands, waters, and bodies of Indigenous peoples over the past 500 years. Ngāti Porou writer, Tina Ngata, takes us deeper into the earlier history of the Crusades in the 11th and 12th century. This was a series of invasions and land claims instigated by the Roman Catholic Church to "seize land for Christendom, and to convert the people who lived there by force if necessary" (Ngata 2022, 13). During the Crusades, the pope issued papal bulls (Church decrees) sanctioning crimes in the name of God that would otherwise be punishable as mortal sins (Ngata

2022). In the 15th century, the Portuguese monarchy petitioned the pope to extend the Crusades to West Africa to profit from the slave trade, setting off the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Ngata 2022). Pope Nicholas issued three papal bulls: *Dum Diversas*, *Romanus Pontifex*, and *Inter Caetera*. These became known collectively as the “Doctrine of Christian Discovery” (Ngata 2022). These legal fictions granted European monarchies powers to “to invade, to subdue, to dispossess, and to commit to perpetual slavery” any non-Christians, “for use and profit” (Ngata 2022, 14). The profit motive is significant here as it has fueled the growth of racial capitalism (Kelley 2017). The Doctrine was never rescinded, only extended (Ngata 2022, 20). The Doctrine and the idea of *terra nullius* became the precedents to colonize.

Colonialism is a transnational project of control over people, land and resources. As Māori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith states, it is “a particular realization of the imperial imagination” (2021, 26). However, it did not always begin immediately with political or military conquest. In the early periods of contact, economic and spiritual colonization often preceded formal political conquest. Early Europeans relied on Indigenous knowledge of the land and resources to survive and for their trade interests. This was especially true on the lands colonially renamed as Ontario, where European merchants relied on Indigenous peoples for the lucrative trade in beaver pelts. They engaged in trade relationships, married and formed families with Indigenous peoples. The Haudenosaunee have wampum belts made with European nations in the early periods of contact (Tehanetorens 1999). For example, The Two Row Wampum Belt or Guswhenta (in Mohawk) was a treaty made in 1613 between the Mohawk and Dutch settlers that agreed to a relationship of friendship, peace, mutual respect and non-interference while sharing the same place (Koleszar-Green 2018). In Aotearoa, the balance of power was similar where Pākehā such as the early sealers and whalers needed Māori. By the signing of Te Tiriti, there were only around 2,000 Pākehā compared to estimated 200,000 Māori. It was missionaries who had learned te reo Māori to spread Christianity who were responsible for the translation of Te Tiriti. Tina Ngata recently called this ‘distranslation,’ like ‘disinformation’ - a deliberate mistranslation (Kemara 2024).

Along with the introduction of Christianity, early European colonizers also introduce diseases and germ warfare to weaken Indigenous populations. Diseases and microbes play a major role in the course of colonial history (Sioui 1992) and were used as bioweaponry, accelerating genocide. The arrival of Jesuit missionaries to Toronto in the 1640s coincides with an epidemic that kills 50% of the Haudenosaunee population (Bobiwash 1997, 11). Between 1763 and 1860,

the “deliberate introduction of devastating diseases and the use of alcohol among the Indigenous nations” decimated Indigenous populations across ‘southern Ontario’ and ‘Quebec’ (Lawrence 2003, 7). But many Indigenous nations survived through this and have remained on these lands. The Michi Saagig Nishnaabeg, as shared by Elder Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams), managed to escape the brunt of the disease devastation by migrating north temporarily. He notes that disease brought by Samuel de Champlain and other colonizers ravaged the Neutrals, Aayadowaad and the Erie peoples. Michi Saagig Nishnaabeg people survived because they were constantly moving around (Migizi 2018, 41). In some places, disease spreading was deliberate and intentional, blankets covered in smallpox were supported by the likes of Jeffery Amherst. He later became known as the father of germ warfare (Ngata 2022).

A lineage from Jeffery Amherst links the colonial expansions from northern Turtle Island to Aotearoa and beyond. James Cook was directly mentored by Amherst and his first posting was at the Seven Years War in Newfoundland. It was during the aftermath of the Seven Years War that Pontiac’s war began in the Great Lakes region in 1763, an armed uprising of an alliance of Indigenous nations against the British. It was in response to this uprising that Amherst developed germ warfare. While Cook was mentored by Amherst, George Vancouver later became Cook’s protégé, sailing on voyages with him around Oceania. There is a genealogy of this colonial violence, and their voyages connect the colonial histories of Canada and New Zealand.

Entering a portal to Toronto in the early 1600s, we can see the first Europeans arrive. They are fur traders and missionaries. According to Bobiwash (1997), the early French were intent on honouring treaties, building friendships and alliances with Indigenous peoples. Their main interest is not settlement but Christian conversion and trade. Although the British emulate some of the French approaches, their interest is land and settlement, leading to displacements and dispossession of Indigenous nations. Several treaties are made during the early periods of contact: the peace treaties of 1700-1701, the Nanfan Treaty 1701, the Great Covenant Chain Wampum Belt of 1764 representing the Treaty of Niagara involving 2 000 Indigenous delegates from 24 different nations (Loft et al. 2022). By 1763, Bobiwash describes the relationships being stabilized based on two key principles:

- a) Aboriginal peoples were generally recognized as autonomous political units capable of holding treaty relations with the Crown; and b) Aboriginal nations were entitled to territories in their possession unless or until they ceded them away. (1997, 13)

In 1763, Odaawaa War Chief Pontiac/Obwandiyag with Seneca leader Gayasuta leads an anti-British military alliance of Indigenous nations intent on driving the British out, “proof that British sovereignty cannot be imposed militarily” (Loft et al. 2022, 75). This leads to the Royal Proclamation, framing the relationship between the British Crown and Indigenous peoples as nation-to-nation (Lawrence 2003, 6) and land surrender can only happen through treaties with the British Crown. Native peoples form strategic alliances with both European and other First Nations for their own purposes and agendas (Bobiwash 1997, 14). This type of relationship is largely maintained when the British government controlled Indian Affairs up until 1860 (Lawrence 2003).

As disease and war causes social disruptions and population decreases in Indigenous communities, the balance of power shifts when they are no longer a military threat to colonizers (Loft et al. 2022). As Indigenous populations are being decimated, the white settler population grows “a hundredfold” (Lawrence 2003, 7). This might be described as ‘demographic swamping’ (Kukutai and Rata 2017), settler colonial immigration to displace Indigenous peoples. The British eventually break their own treaty agreements, discarding the nation-to-nation relationship in favour of colonization, control, domination and assimilation. Land is still expropriated illegally despite the Royal Proclamation. Indigenous peoples become treated as subjects of empire.

Land is illegally taken through the ‘Toronto Purchase,’ a blank deed that Sir John Johnson and Col. John Butler claims to have made, which had no description of the land surrendered (Loft et al. 2022). This issue is not resolved until the Williams Treaties in 1923. There are three Williams Treaties signed by Beausoleil First Nation on Chimnissing, Michi Saagig of Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Scugog Lake and Alderville and other Chippewa of Georgina Island and Rama (Nanibush 2021, 29). In the text of the Williams treaties, there is a ‘basket clause’ of land surrender of 12 944 400 acres (except some reservation lands), but no such surrender was agreed to (Nanibush 2021). Elder Doug Williams stated that they never surrendered their rights but would continue to hunt, trap, and fish on their territories until they started encountering game wardens harassing them (Nanibush 2021). Indigenous peoples exercising their treaty rights to hunt, trap, and fish are criminalized. They experience poverty and starvation due to the culmination of:

the intentional misinterpretation of the Williams Treaties; the advent of harsh colonial measures under the Indian Acts of 1867 onward, which included the creation of reservations and the institution of Indian agents to control movements and commerce; and the establishment of residential schools for assimilation. (Nanibush 2021, 30)

Negotiating treaties, land claims or compensation are on the terms of the colonial government rather than as equal treaty partners (Nanibush 2021). Wanda Nanibush (2021, 31) argues, “any action that looks like surrender was really about survival.” In contemporary times, when First Nations are finally able to hire lawyers and take the government to court (rights denied by the Indian Act), the Williams Treaties First Nations take legal action in 1992. They argue the government acted dishonourably by denying their treaty rights to harvest from the land (Nanibush 2021). 26 years later in 2018, Carolyn Bennett, the Minister of Crown-Indigenous relations, gave an apology. But this apology, as Wanda Nanibush argues, “does not mark the end of the trauma” (2021, 33). It came with settlement of meager financial compensation compared to what the land is worth today, and the right to purchase 11,000 acres for hunting and harvesting. This case affirms harvesting as a treaty right. Wanda Nanibush reminds us:

While treaty recognition is a very important step in the right direction, the Anishinaabe notions of land stewardship and communal relations with non-human beings need to come back to the forefront of the discussion of land. (2021, 36)

She further states that the language of ‘ownership’ is only used strategically because that is the language intelligible to white settlers. The goal is a return to collective land stewardship for Indigenous peoples. The colonial treaty-making history shows impunity of treaty violations when committed by the colonizer, and how Indigenous nations have been fighting for treaty rights and land claims in colonial courts.

We are now transported through a portal to Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh lands in the late 1700s. According to Squamish histories, smallpox starts reaching their communities before European arrival. It likely comes from the south, from diseases that already began to spread from European contact elsewhere. Smallpox decimates 50-90% of the Squamish population (The Squamish Nation 2024, 121). The British, Spanish, and Russians are already in “America,” but only arrives on Squamish territory in 1791 (The Squamish Nation 2024, 121). Their arrival is over 150 years after the first European encounters in Toronto. Captain Vancouver arrives in 1792. George Vancouver is a Dutch man who operated under the command of Captain James Cook, working for the British Royal Navy. He is responsible for securing land for the British empire on the “Pacific” west coast. As one of Cook’s protégés, he went on expeditions that traversed Cape Town, so-called Australia, Aotearoa, Tahiti and Hawai’i.

We learn snippets of colonial history through the memorialization of colonizers in the

names of cities and places. The name ‘Vancouver’ comes from lobbying by Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) general manager, Willian Van Horne (Snyders and O’Rourke 2011, 274). Before the CPR comes onto the scene, the world’s oldest company, the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) is holding governing power over so-called “British Columbia.” HBC was registered in 1670, and in the same year, the Royal Charter gave exclusive trade rights to HBC in the “expansive territory draining into the Hudson's Bay” (Perry 2021, 35). Like many other places, economic colonization was in motion before the establishment of colonial political power.²⁸ Many place names are named by HBC or after HBC officials across the region (Snyders and O’Rourke 2011, 141). However, for the streets of so-called Vancouver, those are largely named by Lauchlan Alexander Hamilton, a surveyor who worked for CPR.

The HBC’s chief factor,²⁹ James Douglas (1803-77) became the Vancouver Island governor and vice-admiral in 1851, two years after Vancouver Island was established as a colony (Perry 2021). Born in Guyana, James Douglas was of Scottish descent on his father’s side and mixed African and European ancestry on his mother’s side. Douglas is considered the ‘founding father’ of BC; he married a Cree-Métis woman, Amelia Connolly. He had been developing his relations with Indigenous peoples through the fur trade in the East Coast. During the fur trade, settlers are less interested in land, and more interested in resources. They rely on Indigenous peoples for those resources, so relationships were built through treaty-making, for example, the 1817 Selkirk Treaty between Anishinaabeg and Cree leaders and HBC’s Lord Selkirk (Perry 2021, 36). Douglas brought those same practices of treaty-making to British Columbia, and while he represented colonial interests, his relationship with his wife was met with criticisms because of his proximity to Indigenous people (Perry 2021, 40-41). He negotiated treaties with Indigenous nations primarily on ‘Vancouver Island,’ these became known as the ‘Douglas treaties.’

The majority of ‘British Columbia’ (BC) is still unceded land. According to Manuel and Derrickson (2017, 64) by the time Anglo-Canadian colonization reached Indigenous peoples not yet occupied by BC, “Canadians were so certain that they had broken our people that they did not even bother with formal treaties.” It started as what Manuel and Derrickson (2017) calls, ‘an apartheid state.’ In 1872, Indigenous peoples were banned from voting as their populations still outnumbered the settlers (Manuel and Derrickson 2017, 65).

²⁸ See the New Zealand Company and the East India Company.

²⁹ The highest-ranking administrative position in a company.

The formation of Vancouver involves a series of displacements, removals and destructions of Indigenous people, plants and animals. Lush rainforests cover these territories until the logging industry cuts down the trees and settlers invade, displace, and burn down Indigenous communities and settlements. The name British Columbia itself is a reference to Columbus, a name that Queen Victoria liked at the time. Prior to this, colonizers had called it ‘New Caledonia’ (Eastwood 2021), which is now the colonial name for Kanaky, the nearest island nation to Aotearoa colonized by France. The colonizing spirit of Columbus is memorialized in the naming of this province.

Our next portal transports us to Aotearoa, across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, to 1835. This is when He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (The Declaration of Independence) was signed by a group of northern Māori nations. Collectively, they formed the Whakaminenga - a confederation of hapū and iwi who declared “what was the extant situation in 1835 - that iwi and hapū were independent entities,” explained Moana Jackson (He Tohu 2017). He elaborates:

Ngāpuhi made decisions for Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whatua made decisions for Ngāti Whatua, and no one could impinge on that independence. [...] [T]he whakaminenga or the confederation that was established and He Whakaputanga was an effort to bring iwi and hapū together, in what I call a relationship of independence and interdependence. So they would retain their own mana, but work interdependently to make joint decisions on matters of common interest. (He Tohu 2017)

By this time, Māori had already traversed other parts of the world and were aware of the treaty practices between Europeans and Indigenous nations now occupied by Canada. Ani Mikaere (2020) has argued that Te Tiriti must be understood together with He Whakaputanga.

By 1840, a peninsula close to Waitangi, called Kororāreka (Russell) became known as the “hell hole of the Pacific” (Mutu 2018). Pākehā were not following tikanga or the laws of their own country, their behaviour has been described as “lawless and uncivilized” (Mutu 2019, 6). Te Tiriti granted a subordinate authority to the Crown to govern the 2000 Pākehā that were on Māori land, what is referred to in Te Tiriti as “kāwanatanga.” Te Tiriti o Waitangi refers to the Māori text and the Treaty of Waitangi refers to an English text. There are major discrepancies in meaning. The English text states that the Māori signatories would cede sovereignty to the Queen of England, an act that Dr. Moana Jackson contends as “not just culturally inconceivable; it was politically impossible” (He Tohu 2017). The Māori text is an affirmation of Māori ‘tino rangatiratanga,’ granting the Crown ‘governorship’ over the Crown’s own people, to govern at the behest of rangatira Māori. In Hilda Halkyard-Harawira’s notes from Te Tiriti workshop plans in the 1990s,

it states:

Contra preferentum an international law
Affirms that if there is conflict or misinterpretation
Then the Treaty written
in the Indigenous language prevails. (Te Tākupu 2023, 36)

Not all Māori nations signed the treaty, for some it was irrelevant with very few or no Pākehā living on their lands at the time (He Tohu 2017). Over 500 rangatira signed Te Tiriti in Māori, 39 signed the English text, often in circumstances where the Māori text was unavailable. Te Tiriti is the only treaty that meets the international standards of a treaty, and as Tina Ngata insists, we must move away from the ‘two versions’ fiction or see the issue as about mistranslation. In 2014, the Waitangi Tribunal released a comprehensive report detailing the context of He Whakaputanga and the signing of Te Tiriti and unequivocally concludes that Māori never ceded sovereignty. Judge Coxhead writes that what was agreed to was “rangatira retained their authority over their hapū and territories, while Hobson was given authority to control Pākehā” (Waitangi Tribunal 2014, xxii).

Te Tiriti was relentlessly breached in the decades following 1840. Legislation such as the New Zealand Settlements Act, the Native Land Act, the “Land Theft Wars” (Ngata 2021), the Suppression of Rebellion Act, amongst many others functions to confiscate Māori land while criminalizing Māori resistance. The Land Wars result in Waikato losing 887,908 acres of land - the same land identified as fertile and strategic for Pākehā settlement (Lee JBJ 2007, 47). JBJ Lee calls this “legal imperialism” where “the substance of the Treaty was discarded, rendered a nullity, interpreted, reinterpreted and redefined to serve Pākehā interests” (2007, 45). In 1860, Māori still held 80% of land. By 1865, 99% of Te Waipounamu was bought by the New Zealand Company and the Crown. By 2000, Māori only held about 4% of the land. In 2004, the Foreshore and Seabed Bill passed, confiscating even more Māori land. In Aotearoa, British colonial control was established through military invasion, land confiscations, child removal through “state care,” incarceration, the imposition of heteropatriarchy, Christianization and legislation that suppressed and criminalized Māori resistance, language, knowledge, and healing practices (Mutu 2019; Ngata 2019; McBreen 2015; Smith 2021).

Throughout the colonial process, Māori have always resisted colonization both within and outside of colonial systems. I left Aotearoa in 2019 at the tail end of the mana whenua-led campaign to Protect Ihumātao, which successfully protected sacred lands from housing

developments (Matata-Sipu, Newtown and Hancock 2022). This is part of a long history of peaceful direct action, or “passive resistance” beginning with Te Whiti and Tohu who led the resistance in Parihaka (Hohaia et al. 2005).³⁰ This strategy of resistance was evoked repeatedly at Ihumātao. Karakia³¹ and songs helped to settle anger and help calm the crowds. Echoing Dame Whina Cooper’s words “not one more acre,” the leadership of Protect Ihumātao often drew from a rich history of resistance to land confiscation (Matata-Sipu, Newton, and Hancock 2022). The Kīngitanga later became involved and backed the campaign. The inception of the Kīngitanga movement “represented a counter-hegemonic attack on the colonial system and was viewed by the colonizers as an affront to the Queen of England, a denial of her sovereignty and a threat to colonial power” (Lee JBJ 2007, 48). The Ihumātao land protectors sought counsel from Māori elders like Moana Jackson, and Joe Hawke from Ngāti Whatua who led the Takaparawhau (Bastion Point) occupation where land was eventually returned after a 506 day occupation in the 1970s. Māori have also attempted to work within the colonial state, through the parliamentary processes, courts system, through the Waitangi Tribunal, and through treaty ‘settlements.’ Significant political reforms have resulted from Māori social movements, including the resourcing of Māori language revival and education. The ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ tactics of resistance demonstrates the political power and agency Māori continue to assert despite colonial violations of Te Tiriti.

Confiscated land in Aotearoa is largely used for agriculture, transforming native bush and wetlands to farmland. Animal agriculture continues to pollute rivers and waterways, while contributing to almost half of New Zealand’s greenhouse gas emissions (NIWA 2024). The industries that have benefited most from land confiscations have been agriculture, forestry and mining. Native bush and forests have been replaced by flattened farmlands, domesticated farm animals, and pine forests. Introduced species like possums, rats, stoats, and cats are still threatening native bird species. Colonialism attempts to remake the landscapes of the ‘motherland,’ plant their trees, crops and bring their animals. This has become the basis of the New Zealand economy.

Returning to Canada, we see that it is an even younger nation-state than ‘New Zealand,’

³⁰Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi were part of the community of Parihaka, an intentional community in the Taranaki region. They would peacefully resist surveyors by taking out their pegs, sitting down and refusing to move as the Armed Constabulary (the precursor to the NZ Police force) violently removed them and imprisoned them under the Suppression of Rebellion Act. They were taken as ‘Prisoners of War’ to prisons in Ōtepoti (Dunedin) to do hard labour (Jackson 2021).

³¹“incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity” (Te Aka Māori Dictionary)

confederated in 1867. In 1851, the Province of Canada was formed through the Indian Appropriation Act which set up reservations to restrict First Nations within specific tracts of land, leaving the rest for settlers to populate and claim (Lawrence 2003). The first prime minister, John A. MacDonald, in a speech to parliament in 1867 stated explicitly that Canada was a “white man’s country” (Dua 2007). This vision of Canada and the inbuilt white supremacy of Canadian statecraft is well-documented through racist colonial legislations (Dua 2007).

Through the Indian Act in 1869, hundreds of self-governing First Nations peoples were lumped together and racialized as ‘Indian,’ based on the language of Christopher Columbus who famously mistook these lands for India.³² In a historical analysis of gendered colonial regulations across US and Canada, Lawrence (2003) argues the colonial management and classification of racial identities relies on heteropatriarchal understandings of marriage where Indigenous women between 1869 - 1985 were stripped of “Indian” status if they married white men, and white women could gain “Indian” status for marrying Indigenous men. She asserts the category of “Indian” itself is a colonial category that collapses ethnic, cultural and national differences between First Nations communities creating a homogenized racial identity. As a colonial system of classification, Lawrence (2003) argues, it did more than just regulate and manage Indigenous identity, it became a way of understanding Indigenous identity that would also be internalized and normalized along with its heteropatriarchal logics. Métis writer, Chelsea Vowel (2016) notes that because non-Indigenous women could gain ‘Indian status’ from marrying a ‘status Indian’ man, being registered as a ‘status Indian’ does not necessarily reflect Indigeneity. On the flip side, many Indigenous peoples are also ‘non-status.’

Pseudo-scientific racism and regulation of Indigenous identity based on blood quantum was also a feature of the Indian Act where Indian status was only granted if someone is at least one quarter “Indian blood” (Lawrence 2003). The consequences of this status regulation meant further land dispossession, with a population of Indigenous people forced to urbanize. This discriminatory law was only changed in 1985 through Bill C-31 after activism and international advocacy at the UN by Sandra Lovelace, a Maliseet woman, who won a case in 1981 that the Indian Act was in violation of the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights (Lawrence 2003, 13). However, the Indian Act continues to be a colonial piece of legislation that discriminates

³²Ali Kazimi (2011) notes that the language used for Indians (from India) in the early 20th century by white Canadians were “Hindus” because this category of “Indian” was already used primarily to refer to Indigenous peoples.

against women despite their attempts to remove sexist and gender-based inequities (Native Women's Association of Canada 2024).

The Indian Act also instituted the reserve system, which displaced Indigenous nations and contained them within boundaries set by the Crown. Indian agents controlled their mobility and movement. Manuel and Derrickson describe reserves as “holding pens for the assimilation of our peoples” (2017, 82). For those who lost ‘Indian’ status, they could no longer live on reserve. This system also attempted to destroy Indigenous governance systems by coercing Indigenous nations to organize as ‘bands’ with elected band councils, as opposed to traditional governance systems that have jurisdiction over traditional territories, not contained to colonially allocated reserves, as Rita Wong explained to me in our interview. The Indian Act attacked the foundations of Indigenous nations - identity, culture, land, and political systems. It banned potlatch and other Indigenous ceremonial practices, where practicing potlatch would result in arrest and imprisonment, confiscation of ceremonial objects and art. Between 1927-1951, Indigenous peoples were banned from using lawyers to make their case in the colonial courts.

“Residential schools” which might be more accurately described as concentration camps or child torture institutions, were a tool of more-than-cultural genocide.³³ Churches in collusion with the Canadian state partnered in the management of these schools aimed at “killing the Indian in the child” (Manuel and Derrickson 2017, 48). The RCMP enforced the removal of Indigenous children from their families, who were often taken to schools in other regions so they could not find their way home. Indigenous children were forced to speak English, take English names, act and present in line with Christian white gender norms. These were institutions with rampant paedophilia, sexual, physical, psychological, spiritual and verbal abuse. Some schools did malnutrition experiments on children involving deliberate starvation (Mosby 2013). The horrors of these child torture camps have taken generations for the violence to come to light.

Like Aotearoa, Indigenous resistance to colonization has been a constant throughout Canada's history, from armed resistance and uprisings to working within the limitations of colonial systems. Indigenous peoples have used every avenue at their disposal to seek accountability and justice in resistance to colonialism, from local to international instruments, while also rebuilding

³³While Canada has admitted that residential schools were a form of ‘cultural genocide,’ the mass graves of Indigenous children still being recovered demonstrates that this is more than just cultural. Referring to it as ‘cultural genocide’ diminishes the real physical, sexual, and psychological violence involved.

their nationhood through resurgence. On an international level, we see this in advocacy at the UN against the gender-based discrimination entrenched in the Indian Act (Lawrence 2003), involvement in the drafting of UNDRIP (Manuel and Derrickson 2017) alongside Māori. On a national level, the Truth and Reconciliation process has brought mass attention to the history and legacies of residential schools.

Reconciliation?

The violence of residential schooling is indisputable with the testimonies collected through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) report released in 2015. The TRC report was based on the testimonials of 6750 residential school survivors and witnesses (Manuel and Derrickson 2017). The TRC report features 94 calls to action, primarily demanded of the Canadian government and settler institutions. It is from Indigenous survivors' truth-telling of these experiences that there is greater settler awareness of these histories and ongoing legacies. In this context, the concept of 'reconciliation' has been taken up at state and community levels.

Having worked in the domestic violence sector, 'reconciliation' was introduced to me as risky and dangerous. It had connotations of "going back to your abuser." Indigenous scholars, Ani Mikaere (2020) and Dorothy Christian (2011) have also likened colonialism and reconciliatory politics to an abusive relationship. How can reconciliation happen when the violence has not ended? In the official TRC report, the discussion of reconciliation frames colonization as "a stain from its past," where the contemporary moment is only dealing with "legacies." It speaks to reconciliation as necessary for Canadians as a matter of pride and ability to stake claims to a national identity based on respect for human rights:

Reconciliation is in the best interests of all of Canada. It is necessary not only to resolve the ongoing conflicts between Aboriginal peoples and institutions of the country, but also in order for Canada to remove a stain from its past and be able to maintain its claim to be a leader in the protection of human rights among the nations of the world. [...] No Canadian can take pride in this country's treatment of Aboriginal peoples, and, for that reason, all Canadians have a critical role to play in advancing reconciliation in ways that honour and revitalize the nation-to-nation Treaty relationship. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 183)

Here the underlying rationale for 'reconciliation' is based on maintaining Canada's international reputation as a protector of human rights. Furthermore, while the last residential school closed in

1996, the state removal of Indigenous children from their families has not ended. Indigenous activists have pointed out how child welfare continues to remove Indigenous children, from the 60s Scoop to the Millennium Scoop that continues today. Beyond ongoing removals, Leanne Simpson (2016, 21) also reminds us that what has been overshadowed is how residential schools were used for dispossession:

In Canada, we've just gone through a truth and reconciliation process around residential schools where the conversation focused on individual pain and suffering. We were unable to account for how residential schools were a strategic tool of dispossession.

This is a pertinent point echoed in Manuel and Derrickson's (2017) assertion that reconciliation cannot begin until the issue of land is resolved. Canada claims 99.8% of Indigenous territory. Reserves only constitute 0.2% of the land occupied by Canada (but it is still treated as Crown land) - this dispossession is "not only a humiliation and an instant impoverishment, it has devastated our social, political, economic, cultural and spiritual life" (Manuel and Derrickson 2017, 70).

Taiaiake Alfred also named "reconciliation as recolonization" (Manuel and Derrickson 2017, 201). Art Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson have highlighted the consistent accounts of 'false reconciliation' and how 'reconciliation' is evoked in the context of reconciling Aboriginal and Crown title to land, which extinguished Aboriginal title. They argue that reconciliation is impossible without first respecting Indigenous rights to self-determination, clearly articulated in UNDRIP, and crucially not a matter of behaviour change, or simply being 'nicer' to Indigenous peoples (Manuel and Derrickson 2017).

The ongoing colonial violence in the form of child welfare also manifests in high rates of homelessness in the Indigenous meanings beyond physical housing (Thistle 2017; Alberton et al. 2020).³⁴ It is also linked to the crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, Two-Spirit and Trans people (MMIWG2ST). While official government processes like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019) have collected stories and testimonies, published reports and recommendations, the pace of institutional change is painfully slow, and has proven ineffective in

³⁴ Jesse Thistle (2017, 6) has defined Indigenous homelessness in an expansive sense: "Indigenous homelessness is not defined as lacking a structure of habitation; rather, it is more fully described and understood through a composite lens of Indigenous worldviews. These include: individuals, families and communities isolated from their relationships to land, water, place, family, kin, each other, animals, cultures, languages, and identities."

achieving justice and accountability (Jewell and Mosby 2023).

Despite the retraumatizing processes of giving detailed statements and testimonies by survivors, or family members of MMIWG2ST, most of the recommendations are yet to be implemented, and the crisis continues with campaigns to Search the Landfill initiated by family members of MMIWG in Winnipeg. Their bodies disposed of in a landfill is disturbingly symbolic of how Indigenous women are treated as disposable. The indignities continue even after death. As evidence of unmarked graves of children on former residential school sites began unraveling in 2021, the brutality and fatalities of Canadian colonialism were publicly unmasked. Although the government is slow to act, the recommendations and reports of the TRC and the National Inquiry into MMIWG provide clarity on the connections between the Doctrine of Discovery, settler colonialism, heteropatriarchal violence, residential schools and child welfare system. The recommendations provide clear goals for political advocacy.

Coming from Aotearoa, I had an idea of what Canadian settler colonialism and racism might be like. Although the goals may be the same - genocidal assimilation of Indigenous peoples and securing settler sovereignty and control of land - some of the technologies of colonialism are different. The reserve system, the 'residential' school system, and the regulation of 'Indian' status are particular to Canada (and the US). These differences are named here for how they impact the histories and possibilities of solidarity, and relationships between Indigenous communities and Chinese diasporic communities.

Biculturalism

While Canada has responded to Indigenous truth-telling and activism through the concept of "reconciliation," New Zealand has been adopting a framework of biculturalism in response to Māori movements since the 1970s. While there is more visibility of Māori culture and gains in political representation, and in the education sector, the balance of power remains in the hands of the Crown, stifling the true realization of mana motuhake (Simon 2022). Māori scholar Dominic O'Sullivan (2007) argues:

Biculturalism is inherently colonial. It positions Māori in junior 'partnership' with the Crown and oversimplifies the cultural and political make-up of its assumed homogenous Maori and homogenous Pakeha entities.

Like reconciliation, this still limits the political power for Indigenous peoples.³⁵ What aspects of ‘culture’ become incorporated are still on the terms of the Crown. The dominance of the bicultural framework in New Zealand society was a significant barrier for non-Māori and non-Pākehā to see their responsibilities to Te Tiriti and to Māori. Others have argued the ‘bi’ is not necessarily Māori and Pākehā, but Māori and non-Māori. However, in practice, Pākehā cultural dominance means the non-Māori culture prioritized is by default Pākehā.

Additionally, these incremental gains through biculturalism can be reversed at an instant, as we are already starting to see with the NZ government elected in 2023. As I write this in late 2024, Māori wards are being disestablished, a treaty referendum is on the horizon to redefine the meaning and erase Te Tiriti, amongst a plethora of legislation that undermine Māori. Reconciliation and biculturalism both operate as concessions, a move to defang more radical demands. It presents public optics of a nation-state ‘friendly’ to Indigenous peoples, meanwhile in every other way undermining their power and maintaining dispossession. For those committed to decolonial solidarity, discernment and principled understandings of decolonization, Indigenous resurgence, and constitutional transformation are required.

Goals: Decolonization, Resurgence, and Constitutional Transformation

The project of ‘settler colonialism’ is always incomplete as long as Indigenous peoples exist and resist (Simpson A 2016; Simpson LB 2017). In settler colonial/ongoing colonizing states, decolonization refers to the ‘repatriation of Indigenous land and life’ (Tuck and Yang 2012). Indigenous feminists remind us that decolonization must involve dismantling heteropatriarchy and returning to Indigenous ways of being, relating, and loving (Simpson LB 2017; McBreen 2015; Mikaere 2019; Simpson A 2016; Arvin, Tuck and Morrill 2013). These goals are important for understanding what building solidarity is for, and for translating Indigenous political desires and dreams to diasporic Chinese communities.

In re-evaluating the concept of ‘decolonization,’ Moana Jackson (2021) proposed to replace it with the ‘ethic of restoration.’³⁶ He explained this ethic as seeking to restore “a kawa

³⁵ Piripi Wills pointed out that significant changes have also been made through ‘biculturalism,’ especially at grassroots levels of governance in NGOs such as Playcentre, or unions, women’s refuge, and church organizations where parallel structures and power-sharing comes under the banner of ‘biculturalism.’ This is not to dismiss ‘biculturalism’ entirely, as it has been used strategically as leverage for Māori political and cultural resurgence.

³⁶I borrow this language of ‘restoration’ to speak to the restoration of Indigenous political systems, power, and

that allows for balanced relationships based on the need for iwi and hapū independence upon which any meaningful interdependence must rest.” Moana’s articulation of independence as a basis for interdependence is central to rethinking solidarity through celestialty. This ethic, he argues, derives from “the lessons in the stories in the land about the potential to whaka-tika or to make right even the most egregious wrong, and to then whakapapa, or build new relationships.” Replacing decolonization with the ethic of restoration moves us to reflect on the ‘lessons in the stories of the land’ and informs my attention to place-specific histories and lessons, and the goals of constitutional transformation: “the practical steps involved in this envisioned ethic are necessarily political and constitutional because decolonisation cannot occur within the systems and institutions which colonisation has established” (Jackson 2021). This is a reminder to refuse reformism, incrementalism, and absorption of Indigenous peoples into the colonial nation-state, and that it is fundamentally a political (and economic) struggle.

Anti-capitalism and anti-reformism are recurring themes across Indigenous scholarship. For Dene scholar Glen Coulthard (2007), decolonization requires the end of capitalism and a rejection of the ‘liberal politics of recognition.’ Writing in the 1980s, Donna Awatere’s (1984) polemical essay on ‘Māori sovereignty’ also vehemently rejects capitalism, private property, and individualism. Capitalism is seen as incompatible with Indigenous ways of life and values (The Squamish Nation 2024). Following Walter Rodney, anti-capitalism in Indigenous scholarship is also influenced by the trajectories of ‘post-colonial’ states that have gained political independence but not economic independence (Rata, Brayne, and Barber 2023). Reflecting on Awatere’s (1984) writing, Rata, Brayne and Barber (2023, 24) asserts:

The aim is not to replace current political elites with Indigenous ones within the same structure of colonial capitalism. It is the question of the complete transformation of the relationship between the leaders and the led, of the sources and expressions of sovereignty from the whenua up. Instead, we ought to define our futures through Indigenous knowledges as the revolutionary antithesis of colonial power, on relational terms.

These calls for transformations in opposition to colonial capitalism reminds us that decolonization must end the colonial economic system as much as the political system.

At the beginning of my PhD, I used the language of ‘Indigenous sovereignty’ because that

jurisdiction as an ‘and’ to ‘decolonization.’ The pairing of decolonization and restoration of Indigenous land, power, and balance in relationships prevents us from sidelining Indigeneity in discourses of decolonization.

was/is what many Indigenous peoples used. For example, ‘Maori sovereignty’ is in popular circulation, defined by Awatere as “the Māori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries” (1984, 10). ‘Self-determination’ and ‘independence’ feel lacking and weaker in meaning. However, Prof. Bonita Lawrence alerted me that ‘sovereignty’ is insufficient in signifying the restoration of Indigenous “relationality with the land and all of the (non-human) ‘peoples’” (2021, email communication) and problematically centres the concept of “sovereign power.” Taiaiake Alfred has critiqued that ‘sovereignty’ is an inappropriate goal for Indigenous peoples as it “refers to supreme political authority, independent and unlimited by any other power” (Alfred 2005, 33–6). It has a European genealogy based on white supremacy and conquest of land. Nevertheless, ‘Indigenous sovereignty’ and ‘Māori sovereignty’ has been strategically employed to communicate to English speakers in social movements such as in the Wet’suwet’en struggle against the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline and in the slogan, ‘Māori never ceded sovereignty.’ My friend, Piripi Wills (Kāi Tahu) offered this perspective:

Often when people here use 'Māori Sovereignty' what it means to them, and to many of their listeners is pretty much exactly the same as 'Tino Rangatiratanga.' In those cases, I would argue, 'Māori Sovereignty' *is* a Māori concept (one that includes good relations with land and with other beings), it's just an English word for that Māori concept. (Interpersonal comms. 2024)

Perhaps when we discuss ‘Indigenous sovereignty,’ we can clarify that this refers to the full restoration of Indigenous relationships to land and all beings. It can at least be a place-holder, until a better English translation is devised.

In Aotearoa, following Māori activists and scholars, we are accustomed to using Māori terms and concepts like mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga. Prof. Margaret Mutu (2020, 269) describes mana motuhake as “distinct power and authority derived from the gods” and mana as “based inextricably in the spiritual realms of the world” (2020, 270). Prof. Mutu (2020, 269) defines ‘tino rangatiratanga’ as the ‘exercise of mana’ - the ultimate power and paramount authority ‘derived from the gods.’ The political is the spiritual. Tino rangatiratanga is affirmed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The root words of ‘rangatiratanga,’ Prof. Mutu has explained, include ‘ranga,’ meaning shoal of fish, or ‘raranga’ - to weave, and ‘tira’ as group of people, “to keep the people woven together” (Te Ao with Moana 2024). My friend, Kassie Hartendorp (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa) expands on this: “rangatiratanga means collective self-determination. The

ultimate expression of a woven people who decides their own future, and moves forward together” (Hartendorp 2020). In respecting Indigenous resurgence, we can learn the language and concepts used within specific Indigenous cultural frameworks.

Within analyses of colonialism, highlighting Indigenous agency, resistance and resurgence are important to counter victimhood narratives that position Indigenous peoples as victims without agency (Tawhai 2020), and thus need ‘saving.’ While it is outside of the scope of this project to cover Indigenous-led movements in detail, I will be referencing them as key instigators for Chinese diasporic engagement with decolonization. For diasporic Chinese living on Indigenous lands, Indigenous resistance and resurgence is what has led the way and initiated their involvement. In moments of visible confrontation between colonizer violence and Indigenous resistance, the veneer of a peaceful multicultural democracy is shattered.

Considering Coulthard’s (2020) historical analysis of the influence of Maoism on groups like Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP) in Vancouver between 1967-1975, we can also acknowledge the transnational and internationalist ‘political cross-fertilisation’ between Indigenous resistance and Chinese revolutionaries. He argues that “decolonisation of Indigenous nations and nationalisms has historically been an intellectually polymorphous project” (Coulthard 2020, 388). These relationships involved delegations of Indigenous peoples from all over the world invited to China during the Cultural Revolution,³⁷ including the Dene, and Māori. Coulthard’s account of NARP’s history with their ‘substantive’ uptake of Maoist politics and the late Lee Maracle’s (Sto:lo) involvement also provides context to her engagements in building Asian-Indigenous relationships in Vancouver.³⁸

In mentioning this history, we cannot take these semi-sponsored trips at face value as gestures of meaningful solidarity with Indigenous struggles. During the same time of these delegations, the Tibetan armed uprising for independence was being crushed and mischaracterized by the People’s Republic of China as a “‘reactionary’ movement against Chinese communism propped up by Western imperialist nations” led by landholding elites (Coulthard 2020, 385). This discourse continues to this day, alongside adoption of ‘War on Terror’ discourses copied from the

³⁷This was often a tightly controlled propaganda tour that was to showcase Maoism and Chinese socialism as leaders in the Third World anti-capitalist struggle, meanwhile Tibetan armed resistance to Chinese colonial occupation was being suppressed. Inner Mongolia was upheld and presented as a prime example of an ‘ethnic minority’ that holds greater autonomy and where their culture and language is encouraged (Coulthard 2020).

³⁸In her autobiography *Bobbi Lee Indian Rebel*, Lee Maracle (2017) wrote about her trip to China with the Native Peoples Friendship Delegation.

US in the genocide of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and other Indigenous groups in East Turkestan (Byler 2020). To highlight Coulthard's disclaimer:

With over 50 years' hindsight, and especially in light of the detail regarding what we know about the liberation struggles of Tibet against Chinese occupation, the argument that the Cultural Revolution or Chinese communism was a diversity-affirming movement for Indigenous and national minorities is largely unsustainable.

During the 1970s, Maoism declined in importance for Red Power organizers based on China's instrumentalist policies in Africa, decreased membership from Canadian state violence and interference causing conflict and tensions, but what Coulthard (2020, 387) notes as most important, "former members also became more deeply entrenched in their own communities' cultural and political traditions and began to organise more squarely within the normative frameworks offered by these practices." This turn to Indigenous resurgence colours the contemporary landscape of Indigenous political practices and visions.

While Indigenous resistance focuses on challenging the colonial system, Indigenous resurgence turns inward to rebuild Indigenous nationhood (Simpson LB 2016; Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Coulthard 2007; Corntassel et al. 2018). It means refusing the authority of the settler states of Canada and the United States (Lawrence 2003) to "re-center and reinvigorate Indigenous nationhood" (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel 2014, 18). Resurgence is practiced from the everyday relational realm to large-scale social movements (Ayed 2024; Corntassel et al. 2018). Resurgence operates in multiplicities, and it aims for 'the restoration of our ability to practice the relationship with people, places and practices that were disrupted through colonialism' (Starblanket 2018, 29). Alfred and Corntassel (2005) propose that to move beyond colonialism means to return to Indigenous ways rather than diluted versions of Indigenous culture, to live as Indigenous peoples already practicing self-determination. LB Simpson's (2017) call for radical resurgence integrates struggles against anti-Blackness and heteropatriarchy, and 'constellations of co-resistance' with radical labour and people of colour movements.

In Aotearoa, Māori activism and cultural revitalization has been the leading social movement in Aotearoa to challenge racism and colonialism. Cultural resurgence has been in motion for decades now. The visibility of Māori culture and language is now impossible to miss. On the question of Māori land, the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 was to oversee land claims. But the Tribunal's powers are limited, and they can only make non-binding

recommendations on land claims and “settlements.” Furthermore, in Mutu’s (2019) study with 75 claimants, she argues that this process is not only exhausting but works on Crown terms, causing divisions within Māori communities. Short of constitutional transformation that is based on tikanga,³⁹ He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti where Māori have self-determination and return of land, there can be no reconciliation (Mutu 2019).

These visions for constitutional transformation are outlined in He Whakaaro Here Whakaumu Mō Aotearoa, the report of Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016), an independent working group on constitutional transformation. This work was done through the Iwi Chairs Forum, led by the late Dr. Moana Jackson and Professor Margaret Mutu with Dr. Veronica Tawhai leading the youth gatherings. There is a vision for constitutional arrangements that would restore mana motuhake. This vision is based on tikanga, He Whakaputanga, Te Tiriti, and international precedents such as UNDRIP. This constitution proposes seven key values, Moana Jackson (2021) summarized them as:

- *The value of place* — the need to promote good relationships with and ensure the protection of Papatūānuku.
- *The value of tikanga* — the core ideals that describe the ‘ought to be’ of living in Aotearoa and the particular place of Māori within that tikanga.
- *The value of community* — the need to facilitate good relationships between all peoples.
- *The value of belonging* — the need for everyone to have a sense of belonging.
- *The value of balance* — the need to maintain harmony in all relationships, including in the exercise of constitutional authority.
- *The value of conciliation* — the need to guarantee a conciliatory and consensual democracy.

Crucially, it presents a vision of a future that is not about tweaking the current system, or to create subordinated governance systems within Crown structures, but for Māori to have full independence in decision-making over their lives and lands, at whānau, hapū and iwi levels. Hence, Moana Jackson would often stress that it is *transformation* not *reform*.

In the Matike Mai Aotearoa report, amongst other Indigenous precedents and examples, the Haudenosaunee confederacy is referenced, and this reflects a history of Indigenous

³⁹“correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol - the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context” (Te Aka Māori Dictionary)

internationalism between Māori and Indigenous nations occupied by Canada. That is another story, and one not for me to tell. I can say I have witnessed these connections while living in Toronto and revisiting Aotearoa. In many ways, I have benefited from those pre-existing relationships of Indigenous internationalism and the reputation of Māori as leaders in global Indigenous resurgence. This internationalism is an approach we can all learn from, mirror, and forms the basis for this dissertation's exploring the potentials of transnational exchanges.

Conclusion

Jumping through portals into colonial pasts and presents can be unsettling, this speed of travel can bring on nausea, motion sickness and general disgust from the colonial realities. It is a 'difficult' history that is hard to stomach, but necessary as a practice of ethical remembrance and as an act of transnational translation. This chapter begins by acknowledging Indigenous histories long before colonization, histories that are being kept alive and being recovered despite attempts of colonial erasure. In exploring the origins of contemporary European colonialism, and how colonial processes, histories, and structures have shaped our current political land-and-seascapes, we notice how British colonialism spans oceans and continents. The timelines are not parallel but transversal, many were the same colonizers that violated multiple lands, learning from their experiences from place to place. This exercise in ethical remembrance is to equip ourselves with the knowledge to counter colonial fictions, draw the connections between places and to understand the colonial technologies of power and control. By outlining these histories and visions of a liberatory future, I hope to illustrate the interconnections of colonial processes and Indigenous resistance and resurgence in Aotearoa and northern Turtle Island. While biculturalism and reconciliation have brought significant attention and leverage for Indigenous issues, the favouring of biculturalism by New Zealand and reconciliation by Canada have absorbed them as updated colonial technologies that ultimately rescue the colonial state. We cannot lose sight of the goals of decolonization, Indigenous resurgence, and constitutional transformation. It is during this time of political and cultural resurgence that I have been able to access and learn from some of this knowledge.



WHAT WINDS AND WATERS BROUGHT YOU/US HERE?

THE WIND OF THE OPIUM WAR
THE WIND OF JAPANESE COLONIAL OCCUPATION
THE WIND OF COMMUNIST REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR
THE WIND OF POVERTY AND FAMINE

THE WIND OF INDENTURED LABOUR
THE WHISPERS OF GOLD FROM FOREIGN MOUNTAINS
THE WIND OF PROMISES SOON TO BE BROKEN
THE WIND THAT COULDN'T BE STOPPED BY THE HEAD/POLL TAX
BLOWING PAPER SONS, DAUGHTERS, CHILDREN
TO THE SHORES OF INDIGENOUS LANDS

THE WAVES OF POLITICAL UPHEAVAL AND REPRESSION
THE WIND OF FAMILY AND RELATIVES ALREADY DIASPORIC
THE WAVES OF DESIRE FOR A 'BETTER LIFE', FOR 'DEMOCRACY'
IN FEAR OF THE 1997 HANDOVER OF HONG KONG

THE SOUTHERN WIND
THE NORTHERN WIND
THE EASTERN WIND
THE WESTERN WIND
NGĀ HAU E WHA
THE FOUR WINDS

THE CURRENTS OF 'OPPORTUNITIES'
THE CURRENTS OF 'EDUCATION'
THE WIND OF HOPE FOR THE NEXT GENERATIONS

Chapter Three - Knowing Ourselves: Chinese Diasporas on Stolen Indigenous lands

Building solidarity requires reflexivity, ‘positioning’ and understanding of our own histories and genealogies (Rata et al. 2021) to better connect with Indigenous struggles. Who are we? Where have we been? How and why did we get here? I consider these questions another dimension to ‘ethical remembering’ and honouring our ancestors. Our histories do not start upon arrival to Indigenous lands. Returning to the name of China as the ‘Celestial Kingdom,’ I explore the connections between the political, the spiritual, and the skyworld, while approaching this genealogy with a decolonial lens. This chapter introduces relevant historical context based on academic and activist literature integrated with interview material. I first unpack the category of ‘Chinese’ and ‘Chinese diasporas’ as multiple and complex, and Chinese histories of colonialism in relation to diasporic migrations. I draw out the place-based histories of Chinese diasporic migration, colonial management of Indigenous-Chinese relationships and shared histories to contextualize our positionality in relation to Indigenous peoples, and to the colonial state. These histories speak to the entanglements of colonial histories, racial capitalism and immigration, the co-construction of racism, and the white colonial management of relationships between Chinese, Indigenous, and white settlers. The main pushes and pulls for Chinese diasporic migrations since the 1800s have been shaped by colonialism, imperialism, and gendered racial capitalism (Kelley 2023).

These sets of histories of ‘China’ as an empire, of British imperialism in China, and Chinese diasporic histories, we can reflect more meaningfully on our relationship to colonialism and to Indigenous peoples and lands. The category of ‘Chinese’ is complex, and these complexities have implications on how we approach different Chinese diasporas regarding solidarity and pedagogical praxis. Building from Toronto-based participant, Calvin’s reflection that ‘Chinese’ is an imposed political identity, I argue that we are simultaneously an imposition (our bodies as impositions on Indigenous lands), and white settler colonialism is what imposes the positionality of ‘settler’ and ‘Chinese.’ I explore how Chinese participants understand their (im)positionality on Indigenous lands in conversation with academic literature. This chapter offers temporal, spatial, and cultural portals to piece together the histories and memories, and how we understand our place when we start learning Indigenous truths.

Who are “We”? Deconstructing “Chinese diasporas”

“Chinese” is a contested political, cultural, national and linguistic construct. “Chinese” in English has multiple translations in Mandarin. 中國人/中国人 (zung1 gwok3 jan4/zhōngguó rén) refers to a citizen of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), referring to nationality. 華人/华人 (waa4 jan4/ huárén) implies Chinese as an ethnicity, encompassing diasporas globally and across Chinese language groups. 漢族/汉族 (hon3 zuk6/ hànzú) is Han Chinese, the dominant ethnic group in China.⁴⁰ The construct of the People’s Republic of China has only existed since 1949, but the imagined history of “Chinese culture” goes back several millennia, with imperial dynasties beginning with the Qin empire (Chun 1996).

In a provocative essay, “Fuck Chineseness,” Chun (1996) examines the historical development of identification with ‘Chinese’ as a national identity and notes that even the category of ‘Han Chinese’ was a ‘unification’ (assimilation?) of ethnically diverse groups who had to be made ‘Han.’ ‘China’ as a name is derived from the Qin empire, named after the first Emperor Qin Shi Huang, who is credited with ‘unifying China’ (violent conquest is retold in nationalist narratives as ‘unification’). Sichuan, where my paternal grandfather is from, is thought to be the first colony of the Qin empire from 316 BC (Hu 2017) and Guizhou, where my paternal grandmother’s from, was brought into the imperial system through violent conquest from the 13th century onwards (Herman 2007). Within ‘China’s’ own history are histories of conquest and colonialism. The practices of empire-building are not unique to Europe.

‘Diaspora,’ derived from a Greek word meaning ‘to scatter,’ was originally used for Jewish peoples (Dufoix 2016). It has now been taken up to refer to many different groups who have been displaced or whose migration patterns involve ‘scattering’ or ‘dispersal’ across the world (Dufoix 2016). In Chinese languages, there are delineations within diasporic Chinese, 華僑/华侨 (waa4kiu4/huáqiáo) is a general term referring to overseas Chinese. 僑/侨 (kiu4/qiáo) is a character that shares the same pronunciation and component as 桥 meaning ‘bridge,’ the imagination of ‘diaspora’ in Chinese is perhaps less of ‘dispersal’ and more of ‘bridges.’ 華商/华商 (waa4 seong1/huáshāng) are Chinese merchants, who made up the earliest migrations to predominantly Southeast Asia, which is where nearly 75% of Chinese diasporas are (Poston and

⁴⁰Within this, there are further delineations - Hakka and Teochew for example.

Wong 2016; Zhou and Benton 2017). 華工/华工 (waa4 gung1/huágōng) are the Chinese workers or ‘coolies,’ derived from 苦力 (fu2lik6/kǔli), meaning ‘bitter labour.’ 華裔/华裔 (waa4 jeoi6/huáyì) means ethnically Chinese. A common term referring to the multigenerational early diaspora is 老華僑 (lou5 waa4 kiu4/lǎo huáqiáo), meaning ‘old Chinese diaspora.’ People also distinguish between diasporic routes, like 越南華僑/越南华侨 (jyut6naam4 waa4kiu4/yuènnán huáqiáo, Vietnam Chinese Diaspora). Another term that is used is ‘overseas Chinese,’ 海外華人/海外华人 (hoi2ngoi6 waa4jan4/hǎiwài huárén) for those who may not have ties to the ‘homeland’ - distinguishing between settler and sojourner dispositions (Guo 2022).

I am not interested in defining Chineseness or Chinese diasporas. Instead, I accept these complexities and shapeshifting meanings and operate from an anti-essentialist perspective of Chineseness; there are no fixed cultural traits that define ‘Chinese.’ I intentionally use ‘Chinese diasporas’ in the plural, referring to the diverse groupings of ethnically Chinese peoples living in Aotearoa and Canada-occupied Turtle Island.

Our collective identity is not only named in English, but there are also Indigenous words used to refer to Chinese. In Aotearoa, the term ‘Hainamana’ has been taken up in Chinese art and historical projects to respect the Māori language word for Chinese people.⁴¹ However, for Māori-Chinese people like Danny Karatea-Goddard, that term has been used as a slur and problematically a transliteration of ‘Chinaman,’ carrying a gendered racial history. Vowel (2016, 19) mentions names for Chinese in Alberta: ‘se^kipatwa^w’ meaning ‘s/he has braids.’ An example used in the Wikipedia (2024) entry on Ojibwe grammar explains a term for ‘Chinese’ in Ojibwe that refers to us as aniibiishaabookewininiwiwag - ‘they are tea drink makers.’ I am sure there are many more from other Indigenous languages.

While some treat ‘Chinese’ as an ethnic/cultural identity, others like Calvin treat it as a political identity. This is perhaps tied to Canadian racialization of Chinese, and the politicization of ‘Chinese’ in racist discourses, most recently (again) in association with disease (Wong 2020). Chineseness can be a self-identification, an imposition or both.

Some people prefer ‘Asian’ over ‘Chinese.’ Richard Fung attributes his identification with ‘Asian’ through the Asian American movements of the 1960s, and the questioning of authenticity around ‘Chineseness’:

⁴¹These include websites Hainamana.com and Haina-Mana History (2023).

As someone who is four generations in the West and with no Chinese language skills, ‘Asian’ allowed me a way of not having to claim Chinese and defend my Chineseness, whereas it addressed the racial politics that comes out of looking the way that I and you do, that collapses all these people into one kind of experience.

These categories are thus political, not just objective descriptors of ‘race,’ ‘ethnicity’ nor ‘culture.’ Recently, I have heard the term ‘pan-Chinese’ used in the same way as ‘pan-Asian,’ to mark internal differences. This research has taught me that ‘Chinese diasporas’ disintegrates any unified meaning of ‘Chineseness,’ that time spent on other lands, with other peoples, changes us in irreversible ways. Any attempts to define, confine, or essentialize ‘Chinese’ identity or culture is a futile project.

Knowing ‘Our’ Histories: Empires and Anti-Chinese Racism

To understand our positionality, we should know the histories of places we have come from, the histories of Chinese on Indigenous lands, and how they intersect. This is particularly relevant for those in my migration generation⁴² to begin the process of unlearning internalized white supremacy. As Vancouver-based multigenerational Chinese organizer, Kimberley Wong remarked, it took them “years and years of hyperfocus” to learn about Chinese and Chinatown histories which involved “diving into the little bits and pieces of family stories that turn into bits and pieces of me researching, turn into bits and pieces of my speaking to historians...” I can relate to Kimberley’s experience of this. It is a neverending process of returning to “bits and pieces,” shards of memories scattered in different places.

I owe my beginnings of this searching and returning to Māori practices and studying te reo Māori in 2007, where we were given an assignment to write a pepeha, a way of introducing ourselves through the places and peoples we are connected to and come ‘from.’ That was the first time I learned my grandparents’ names, and the names of mountains and rivers near my birthplace. Ko Panshan te maunga. Ko Haihe te awa. A mountain and river I no longer have any meaningful or reciprocal connection to. Since then, I question whether I can claim them when my grandparents were also internal migrants, they have their own 老家 (lou5gaa1/lǎojiā), home villages elsewhere.

It dawned on me that I knew very little about my grandparents, where they came from, and

⁴²I would be 1.5 generation - those who migrated as a child. But this statement is also relevant for second generation or older migrants, meaning those who were born in the host country.

their histories. I knew more about Nazi Germany and WWII as it related to Europe and the US than I did about China or the Japanese occupation and communist revolution. I only learned more about the Opium Wars through Prof. Margaret Mutu's (2009) contribution to *The Dragon and the Taniwha*. Relationships with Māori activists and learning from Māori language teachers prompted me to reconnect with my own genealogy and political histories of where I come from, and furthermore, to also not feel shame in being from elsewhere. I am content with being perpetually foreign on Māori lands because I am not ashamed of the land, rivers and mountains that have provided for my ancestors. This is part of a process of unlearning internalized racism, xenophobia, and white supremacy, which engagement with Māori worldviews and languages has instigated. However, unlearning this racism does not mean an automatic shift to Chinese nationalism.

Returning to the depths of our histories, we can find threads of wisdom. When I began to unravel the yarn of 'Celestial' as a slur for Chinese people, I found insights into our ancestors, empire and the control of time.

Totality, that's what they call the moment in the solar eclipse when the moon fully covers the sun. The moment where an eerie liminal light descends, where night visits the day. Shadows take flight. A rare moment we can look directly up at 太陽 [taai3 joeng4/ tàiyáng] and 月亮 [jyut6 loeng6/ yuèliàng] simultaneously, together in union, a halo our naked eyes can look into without being blinded. Etching this celestial experience into oracle bones, I ask my ancestors for answers, what does this mean?

There is backstory to the references to China as the 'Celestial Kingdom' and the later racial slur against Chinese. In Ashley Zhiyue He's (2024) honours thesis analyzing ancient human-celestial relationships from China, Egypt, and Peru, her exploration of Chinese astronomical knowledge reveals an intimacy with the political and the spiritual. The Emperor was seen as a mediator between Heaven (Sky) and Earth, a Son of Heaven who can read the language of the sky, 天文 (tin1man4/tiānwén) and interpret its meanings, to guide decisions that follow 'the Mandate of Heaven' (He 2024). This is influenced by Daoist beliefs that human activities 'must align with celestial rhythms' (He 2024, 46-47). The study of the sky was a method to create an accurate calendar to predict and observe celestial events. The ability to know and predict the activities of 'heaven' was then used to justify the emperor's power and rule (He 2024, 47-49). Thus, knowledge of the celestial realm was heavily guarded, gatekept and controlled by the government; private study was forbidden and books on this knowledge could not be removed from the Imperial Palace

(He 2024, 47). This was to preserve the power of the emperor. Like many other cultures, including western astrology, the celestial and earthly realms are treated as reflective of each other and interconnected (He 2024, 60).

In Henan province, where my maternal grandparents are from, Shang dynasty records of celestial events were found inscribed in oracle bones in the city of An-Yang. These were the beginnings of Chinese writing. This represents an “ontology of celestial-terrestrial reciprocity” (He 2024, 62) and observations of lunar and solar eclipses were part of divination practices, requesting the help of ancestral spirits to understand its meaning and provide guidance on decisions (Xu 1995), known as ‘astral omenology.’ There are myriads of star lores where the sky becomes a theatrical stage with love stories and heartbreak, such as the Cowherd and Weaver Girl. There are cosmographies documented, constellations and ‘mansions’ in the sky, too many and too deep to delve into. But interestingly, the names of the Milky Way across Chinese, Andes, and Egypt all reference rivers or canals. The Milky Way in Chinese is 銀河系/银河系 (ngan4 ho4 hai6/ yínhéxi), meaning ‘The Silver River’ (He 2024, 8). We see rivers in the sky, ‘Heaven-Earth resonance’ (He 2024, 68), we attribute meaning based on land, and onto land based on sky. The celestial realm is intertwined with ancestors, spiritual practices, calendars controlling time, and political governance.

For today’s world, I want to steal celestuality from the empire, to liberate the knowledge from the Imperial palace, and reset to our own time, and align with the stars without an emperor as mediator. Astronomical knowledge for all, for all empires to fall. Remembering even our partial histories of empire and to acknowledge the contemporary iterations is to contextualize a history of Chinese empire intercepted by European and Japanese imperialism, communist revolution, and reconstituted today into colonizing relations that draws from settler colonial technologies of power in its genocides and occupation of Tibetan, Uyghur, Kazakh and other Muslim Indigenous peoples. Chinese “unification” continues to be underscored by Chinese state violence.

(Re)Turning to ‘homeland’ politics and diasporic routes ensures that an analysis of colonialism and the struggle for decolonization are consistent “from East to West” as Bill Chu insists. In the movements in Hong Kong, there is also discontent with Chinese Community Party hegemony with many identifying as “Hong Kongers” rather than “Chinese” (Fung 2001; Chun 1996). In Taiwan and Singapore, there is also a history and ongoing presence of Han Chinese and Taiwanese settler colonialism, where those nation-states are also founded on the dispossession and displacement of Indigenous populations (Hirano et al. 2018; Fei 2022; Abdul Rahman and Fu,

forthcoming; Ho 2023). Learning from majority Han Chinese settler nation-states can provide further insights on settler colonialism as a structure not inherently tied to white supremacy, but whereby cultural/ethnic supremacy can be adapted for power in different contexts, and in coalition with white supremacy.

While it is outside of the scope of this dissertation to detail the depths of the histories of Chinese relationships to British colonialism, one of the key themes and strategies raised transnationally has been the significance of history, of remembering, and knowing our own histories to relate better to Indigenous struggles. However, in reflecting on these histories, we need to be careful to avoid conflating China's history of 'semi-colonialism' in relation to Britain with British 'settler colonialism' elsewhere. This distinction is important to mark the differences where British colonial rule in China was limited, partial and unstable, and where Chinese and British empires at different points in time were interdependent and mutually constitutive (Yang 2019). In this sense, China's experience of British colonialism, although violent and humiliating, is of a different character to British settler colonialism elsewhere.⁴³

The Opium Wars were one of the most significant and direct connections to British colonialism. It sets the context for Chinese migrations in the mid-late 1800s. Britain had a thirst for tea and silk from China, but had a 'trade deficit' as China was disinterested in British commodities. This led to Britain forcing China to open markets and trade ports to the selling of opium against efforts by the Qing government to ban the opium trade. Lowe (2015, 79) elaborates:

The First Opium War (1839–42) was fought to compel the Chinese to comply with this "free trade" credo, and the 1842 Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing) "opened" the ports of Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy, Foozhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai, and the new colony of Hong Kong to British trade, particularly in opium.

This was happening around the same time as the signing of Te Tiriti. The British architects of this violence are memorialized in colonial place names on Indigenous lands such as Palmerston North⁴⁴ in Aotearoa, and Hastings St⁴⁵ in Vancouver. The Opium Wars resulted in the annexation of Hong

⁴³ Han Chinese settler colonialism in its contemporary iteration, however, draws on the technologies of genocide developed by Canada, New Zealand, Australia, the US, and Israel.

⁴⁴ Named after Viscount Palmerston, Henry John Temple who was prime minister of Britain responsible for the maritime assaults and bombardments of the First Opium War. The death toll for Chinese was estimated to be 18 000 – 20 000.

⁴⁵ Named after George Fowler Hastings, an officer of the Royal Navy who served during the First Opium War. This street is also the site of an ongoing opioid overdose and poisoning crisis.

Kong through the unequal Treaty of Nanking - the beginning of what China calls the ‘century of humiliation.’ This is relevant to the contemporary political struggles in Hong Kong and the identity of ‘Hong Konger.’ Furthermore, the Opium Wars targeted the Canton region, where most early Chinese ‘sojourners’ were from. Many were peasant farmers recruited as indentured labourers or low-wage workers to mine gold or build infrastructures for the settler colonies of Canada, US, Australia, and New Zealand. Thus, Chinese diasporic migrations were not merely about ‘seeking a better life,’ but exist under conditions of British colonial violence motivated by economic imperatives, which devastated local economies.

Migrations to Gold Mountains

The history of Chinese migration to the ‘Gold Mountain’ countries is a labour history. This early diasporic displacement to Anglo-colonized places exists in a context of gendered racial capitalism. Chinese people were treated as a cheapened labour to fill the labour gaps after the abolition of slavery (Lowe 2015). This reflects racial capitalist adaptability but also the successes of slavery abolition movements and rebellions of enslaved Black people.⁴⁶ Racial capitalism theorized by Black Marxist, Cedric Robinson and Robin DG. Kelley, names the inherent co-development of racism and capitalism, that evolved from (rather than broke away from) a feudal order, “to produce a modern world system of ‘racial capitalism’ dependent on slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide” (Kelley 2017). Kelley (2023) has since expanded the concept to ‘gendered racial capitalism.’ Indeed, in the case of early Asian labour migrations, it was predominantly men due to gendered immigration restrictions.

Exploring ‘intimacies’ of four continents, Lowe (2015, 4) reminds us that emigration didn’t happen based on dominant narratives of “seeking a better life.” Instead, the conditions of deprivation in China and India were manufactured by British colonialism that devastated both economies. While her historical analysis evaporates any notion of separate and single-stranded histories, what she misses is an engagement with Indigeneity beyond a relationship to labour (Byrd 2011), and absent almost entirely is the fifth ‘continent’ of Oceania.⁴⁷ Yet the histories of state formation in Oceania are enmeshed in the web of transnational colonial relations.

⁴⁶Although there isn’t the same history of trans-Atlantic enslavement for New Zealand, a practice akin to slavery called ‘blackbirding’ existed in Oceania.

⁴⁷Only Fiji is mentioned in passing.

The British knew they could source labour from Canton for gold fields in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and US - the 'Gold Mountain' countries. Chinese labour provided a sacrificial workforce for the most dangerous work, shipped across the world to European colonies. Chinese people were desired as temporary workers, but undesirable as settlers. Many people I interviewed are descendants of head tax and poll taxpayers from Canton who worked on gold mines, railways, or market gardens. Some arrived later as refugees during the Japanese invasion and occupation (1937-1945). Throughout the 20th century, China experienced civil wars, multiple revolutions, Japanese imperialism, mass famines - a tumultuous political history that has shaped the patterns of diasporic migrations. Taiwan in its contemporary iteration was formed through the civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party, also with a history shaped by layers of European, Japanese, Manchurian, and Han Chinese colonialism. The diasporic migrations of Chinese peoples and their racialization in Anglo-colonial contexts during the 20th century corresponds with these political histories.

Chinese Migration, Racialization, and Colonial Immigration Legislations

What Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the US have in common, aside from being majority white Anglophone colonizing states, is a history of anti-Chinese racism embedded in immigration policies. I start from Vancouver then move to Toronto and the New Zealand contexts. Looking across these places, there are interconnections but also specificities. While the New Zealand government allowed for Chinese 'refugee wives' to join their husbands during WWII from 1939, Canada still had the Chinese Exclusion Act in place until 1947. These histories speak to the early intention of Canadian and New Zealand nation-building as a country for white people. Not only have colonial governments assumed the power to control the borders and movement of people, but they have also assumed the power to manage relationships between Indigenous and Chinese peoples through racialization.

The history of Chinese diasporas in Vancouver is embedded in the larger context of BC. The first major wave of Chinese migration occurred in the 1850s. Travelling by ship, Chinese workers migrated for coal and gold mining, and then for building the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). For the early Chinese that arrived, they called 'Vancouver,' 'Saltwater City' to distinguish it from other places they had settled such as 'New Westminster.' At that time of Confederation in 1867, Chinese made up 40% of non-Indigenous population in so-called British Columbia (Dua

2007, 447). The colonial government deliberately limited the political power of both Indigenous and Chinese peoples. In 1876 - the Municipal Act was amended to take voting rights away from Chinese and Indigenous peoples (Chow 1996, 21).

In Vancouver's history, white supremacy in the city's spatial arrangement is reflected in the attacks on racialized neighbourhoods. As more people from other parts of Asia arrived, white supremacist campaigning extended to all 'Asiatics.' White supremacist organizing at this time was transnational and connected. The Vancouver riot⁴⁸ was organized by the Anti-Asiatic League, which was founded by an umbrella union organization, the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council in 1907 (Tsang 2023). Prof. Henry Yu noted, some of the speakers attending the rally "came from as far as New Zealand" (Eastwood 2021). This riot was led by the Mayor of Vancouver, starting in Chinatown with the crowd swelling to 25 000-30 000 - about a third of the population at the time (Tsang 2023). Then, as word spread, by the time the rioters arrived in Japantown, residents had almost a full day to mobilize to defend themselves and they fought back (Tsang 2023). By 1923, a Black neighbourhood formed called Hogan's Alley. This community was later displaced and destroyed by gentrification and the building of a freeway. The intentions were clear to construct a white nation.

Within these 'intertwined histories,' in the late 1800s, colonizers co-constructed racism by making comparative racializations of Chinese, Indigenous and Black people in Vancouver. This reflects a similar divide and rule tactic used in Aotearoa, and the borrowing of some of the methods of racial management from the US and other contexts (Mawani 2011). Renisa Mawani's (2011) historical research revealed that the Chinese were presented as dangerous and conniving, a "biological and moral threat" (173) to Indigenous peoples who were seen as "undeveloped and in need of protection" (165-166). Scrutinizing the Chinese provision of alcohol to Indigenous peoples, white colonizers deemed Chinese presence not only antithetical to western values and white settlement, but as stifling colonial efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples (Mawani 2011). White colonizers saw Indigenous peoples as more assimilable into European culture. Mawani (2011) argues that the racialization of Chinese as "despotic" and "cunning," and Indigenous as "vulnerable" and needing 'protection' was used by white Canadian politicians as justification for Chinese exclusion. I see this as another 'fantasy of whiteness' (hooks 1992, 340) where white

⁴⁸What sparked the 1907 anti-Asian riots in Vancouver was a riot in Bellingham, Washington, targeting Punjabi Sikh men in the same year.

colonizers imagined themselves as always ‘good’ (Dyer 1988 cited in hooks 1992), as ‘protectors/saviours’ when they were/are the main terrorizer and danger to Black and Indigenous peoples. It conveniently displaces/misplaces blame to Chinese migrants as to divert attention away from their own colonial violence.

Although the story of the railroad is one of ‘national’ significance that reaches across “Canada,” the recovery of histories of care from Indigenous nations towards Chinese railway workers have largely come from BC. The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) is a railway that brought British Columbia into the Canadian nation-state. This railway required the importation of 17 000 Chinese labourers between 1881-1885 who worked the most dangerous tasks with two thirds the pay of white workers (Yee 2005, 13). The death toll of Chinese workers is estimated to be between 600 – 4 000, such a broad range indicates the lack of records and accounting for the lives lost. Many were also left to die without proper burial, and many grave sites are unmarked. Some Chinese grave sites were only recently recovered when Bill Chu visited Indigenous nations in the interior of BC. In the early years, Chinese cemeteries were also segregated from white graveyards. Kimberley Wong’s ancestors were indentured labourers that worked on the railway. They reflect on the complexities of what this railway meant in cementing Canadian settler colonialism:

While Chinese Canadians were providing labour, and being paid the lowest wages to do the most dangerous jobs like blowing dynamite through mountains, these acts made them also complicit in the displacement of Indigenous folks and the creation of reservations.

The Canadian Pacific Railway fast-tracked settler colonialism by facilitating colonizer access to, control of, and settlement on Indigenous lands. Chinese workers were the disposable labour force doing the dirty and dangerous work to build the infrastructures for Canadian settler colonialism.

In 1885, the last spike was driven into the ground, completing the railway. Prof. Henry Yu (2017) argues that it is no coincidence that anti-Chinese immigration restrictions were instituted upon the completion of the CPR. The same year, the Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration was passed by the federal government. Through this Act, a \$50 tax was required for Chinese migrants to enter Canadian borders (Dua 2007). A Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration report released in 1885 which cast Chinese women as immoral and linked to sex work (Dua 2007, 451) helped to legitimize this decision. (Dua 2007, 451). Simultaneously, an amendment to the Indian Act banned potlaches. These histories are connected in the chronology

of Canada's nation-building.

Anti-Chinese immigration restrictions were later amended in 1887 to make exemptions for Chinese merchants. Thus, as Dua (2007) argues, these policies were not merely race-based and gendered but *class-based*. Chinese with capital and wealth were tolerated while the Chinese working class and women were restricted. Despite the head tax, during the years between 1885-1923, over 96,000 Chinese arrived (Yu 2017, 343). In 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act (now more commonly referred to as the Chinese Exclusion Act), was passed that placed an almost complete ban on Chinese immigration. The exceptions were diplomats, Chinese missionaries, students, merchants, and Canadian-born Chinese - only 44 exceptions were ever made.⁴⁹

These discriminatory policies began to be peeled back in the aftermath of WWII when China became an ally, and the target of xenophobic racism turned to Japanese Canadians. Historian Lily Chow states: "It was embarrassing for the government to maintain a discriminatory policy toward the Chinese in Canada especially when China was recognized as one of the victors after the war" (1996, 5). Canada's relationship with China has direct impacts on diasporic Chinese.

One major point of difference between Canadian cities and New Zealand is the enduring presence of historic Chinatowns, born from anti-Chinese racism and the racial segregation policies of city planners. Interestingly, in Chinese, the common terms for Chinatown is 唐人街 (tong4 jan4 gaai1/tángrenjiē), an old term for Chinese people that references the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD). A term used in Cantonese and in the names of Chinatown organizations is 华埠 (waa4fau6/huábù) to refer to Chinatown. The first Chinatown in so-called Canada formed in Victoria, on the lands of the Songhees, Esquimalt and WSÁNEĆ peoples. Chinatowns later proliferated across cities in North America and by the time Vancouver Chinatown was established, Chinatowns elsewhere were already stigmatized as unsanitary, associated with disease, drug use and as 'heathen,' amoral, and uncivilized (Yee 2006). The association of Chinese with disease has continued, and it conveniently distracts from the mass epidemics and germ-based genocide caused by European colonizers discussed in the previous chapter. This was the character of anti-Chinese racism from the 1800s into the early 1900s, and we have seen this revived in the 21st century with SARS and COVID-19. Let's go into a portal to Vancouver's Chinatown in the late 19th century through this rich description by Kimberley Wong:

⁴⁹ I learned this at the Chinese Canadian museum in Victoria. It is also noted here: <http://www.roadtojustice.ca/laws/chinese-exclusion-act>

If you start at the plateau on Beatty St and Pender and move down the hill, imagine you are in the 19th century, and you would've felt a little squish squish coming from below your feet, because you're entering into the marsh that was Skwachàys and that's where you would've seen a lot of Chinese men with dark skin with cut ponytails come down their skulls and the buildings would've been all wood. But if you can imagine everything burning down once, and then twice and then three times, that's the Chinatown you get now.

Within the early migrants and settler populations, each cultural group had a separate 'camp,' and the 'Chinese camp' became officially known as Chinatown in 1885 (Leung 2008), a year before Vancouver was incorporated as a city. Chinatown is next to the Downtown Eastside, another politically charged and contested space often characterized as a 'problem neighbourhood' of drug users dealing with addictions, houseless people, and urban Indigenous peoples. This proximity means that residents of Chinatown regularly have opportunities to interact and share space with urban Indigenous peoples.

Chinatown researchers such as Ng (1999) and Yee (2006) have highlighted the agency and subjectivity of Chinese peoples in conditions of extreme racism and exclusion. Many Chinese organized in clan associations and benevolent societies organized by family name to fill "the gaps of social infrastructure that weren't available to racialized people" as Kimberley Wong articulated. Chinatown seems to be both a physical space where many Chinese businesses and peoples cluster, and an imagined socio-political space where there are practices of community self-determination, defense against gentrification and intergenerational care. It is not a unified community. In the contemporary context, many Chinese languages and dialects are spoken, and the residents and people who go to Chinatown are not only Chinese. It has become a heritage site, and a living community still grappling with issues of poverty and racism, conflicting politics when it comes to queer and trans issues, and China geopolitics. Chinatown is a site of living memory that captures some of the Indigenous and Chinese histories and enduring solidarities.

The formation of Toronto's early Chinese community is connected to the anti-Chinese racism and hostility in BC. According to Chinese historian, Arlene Chan (2013), Chinese people left British Columbia to escape the racist hostility after the railroad was completed and migrated east to the Prairies, Ontario and the Maritimes. The first recorded Chinese people in Toronto found in the city directory were owners of two laundries in 1877 (Peng 1994, 20). By 1915, a small cluster of Chinese businesses were established on York St, which in 1911 was a Jewish majority area - this later became known as Chinatown. Early Chinese mostly worked in laundries, and lived

behind the laundromats to save money. Like elsewhere, clan associations were established to provide benefits to their members, such as support with immigration, taxes, bank loans,⁵⁰ health care, interpretation, employment and social activities (Chan 2013). By the time Chinese people started arriving in Toronto, there had been a shift away from nation-to-nation relations between Indigenous peoples and the Crown.

One of the few non-Chinese groups that reached out to Chinese newcomers in Toronto were churches and missionaries. They offered English classes for Chinese newcomers to read the Bible and adopt Christianity (Chan 2013, 56). They sponsored Chinese to study in other provinces or abroad, contributing to Chinese access to education. BC barred Chinese from studying certain subjects like medicine and pharmacy, so people like Victoria Cheung had to move to Toronto to study medicine at University of Toronto (Chan 2013). The first Chinese church in Toronto was established in 1910. Chan (2013, 57) notes, ‘Churchgoers can find not only religion but social support, friendship and settlement services.’ The later waves of Chinese migration saw already long established Chinese church communities. Toronto had the largest Chinese Christian settlement in Canada. By 1941, 40% of the Chinese Christian population in Canada lived in Ontario (Peng 1996, 28). This history and presence of Chinese Christians in Toronto is reflected in many participants who had either Christian upbringings or identify strongly as Christians.

Toronto has a rich history of Chinese political movements responding to changes in China and Taiwan. When the Qing was overthrown in 1911, a political party called the Chinese National League was formed in Toronto (Chan 2013, 53). Sun Yat Sen visited Toronto during his speaking tour of North America after being exiled from China for calling for revolution (Chan 2013). With the establishment of Taiwan, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) winning the civil war, two factions emerged in the Chinese Toronto community, a division based on pro-communist or anti-communist lines (Chan 2013, 93). During the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and state violence, 30,000 people gathered at Toronto’s city hall supporting the pro-democracy movement (Chan 2013, 98). Diasporic Chinese activism prior to 1970s was more focused on China’s future and politics rather than seeking political changes in the host country.

Since the late 60s, the recent migration history of Chinese to Toronto came through more direct routes from Hong Kong, China, Vietnam, Taiwan, and other places rather than through

⁵⁰It was not until the 1960s that Chinese could borrow money from Canadian banks (Chan 2013, 50).

existing populations from BC. These migrations were often responses to the political upheavals in East and Southeast Asia. These cohorts have contributed to historic and contemporary Chinatowns in Toronto, while also populating suburban neighbourhoods such as Markham, Richmond Hill and Mississauga. Chinatown is also a place of political organizing, of queer histories and anti-gentrification struggles. Friends of Chinatown and Chinatown Land Trust are two organizations that have been mentioned through the interviews. However, nobody I spoke to currently lives in Chinatown, but some have grown up there. Landy Anderson commented on the changes she's noticed even in her own lifetime. When she was younger, she remembers the main language spoken was Toisan. Now, she hears more of the dominant languages of Mandarin and Cantonese.

Unlike in Vancouver, Chinatowns in Toronto do not feature prominently in the stories of solidarity. Chinese populations are more spread out and suburbanized. Kingsley Kwok remarked:

The immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China were not of the same economic demographic as from before the 1960s so they don't have to live in Chinatown. Even the people who are from Fujian province now, they are living in the suburbs somewhere [...] they're now working in supermarkets in the suburbs.

Because of the suburbanization of Chinese communities, even working class Chinese people do not need to live or work in downtown Chinatown to survive. Thus, while Chinatown-based housing and anti-gentrification activism is part of the political landscape, contemporary Chinese political organizing is not necessarily centred on Chinatown-based issues.

Across the ocean, Appo Hocton was the first recorded Chinese person to arrive in Aotearoa, in 1842. This was two years after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the year Hong Kong was annexed. In 1865, Chinese labourers from Canton were invited by the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce to keep the Otago mines running as Pākehā miners moved to mine the West Coast, and were more expensive to recruit and hire (Lee JBJ 2007). Chinese workers were being recruited to work in the US, Canada and Australia at the same time (Lee JBJ 2007, 5).⁵¹ These earlier migrants were more 'sojourners' rather than 'settlers' with an economic motivation to earn money to send back and eventually return to China (Lee JBJ 2007, 55). Like Canada, the early Chinese migrations were primarily men from rural villages.

Between 1879 and WWII, 55 Acts and amendments targeted Chinese specifically (Ng

⁵¹Kirsten Wong's great grandfather could have migrated to Canada instead of Aotearoa. Lily Lee's grandfather went through Sydney first, and her father through Fiji, before moving to Aotearoa.

2007). Following the White Australia policy, parliament passed the Chinese Immigrants Act 1881 introduced by Richard Seddon, four years before Canada's head tax. Through this policy, all Chinese arriving in the country would have to pay a "poll tax" of £10. This legislation was debated in parliament before it was passed, and in 1880, Wiremu Te Wheoro opposed this in parliamentary debates. He was reported to have said, he "could not agree to this [anti-Chinese] bill, because honourable members would perhaps turn round and deal with the Natives in the same way" (NZPD, vol. 36, 1880, 90 cited in Ip 2003: 232). This legislation passed regardless, Māori representation in parliament at the time was only limited to 4 seats.

In 1896, the poll tax for Chinese migrants increased to £100 from £10. Alongside the poll tax, anti-Chinese legislations also imposed a restriction on ships where they could only carry one Chinese passenger for every 10 tons of cargo, this later changed to one passenger per 200 tons of cargo as the poll tax increased. The Chinese Immigrants Act was not repealed until 1944. In 1901, The Opium Act allowed police to raid any premises on suspicion of opium possession without a warrant. This was also used to monitor Pākehā women living with Chinese men (Lee JBJ 2007, 76). While the New Zealand government kept Asian populations low, and excluded Chinese from naturalization between 1908 - 1951, they encouraged mass immigration from Britain through the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. That law brought 74 000 British settlers between 1916-1945 (Omura 2014, 6).

19th and early 20th century anti-Chinese racism was primarily based on Chinese resistance to Christian conversion and European imperialism in China. Professor Margaret Mutu (2009) found in Māori language newspapers between 1842-2008, the newspapers that expressed the strongest anti-Chinese sentiments were newspapers promoting Christianity, while others were largely positive. In mining towns, like Arrowtown, some white missionaries tried over decades to convert Chinese miners with a very low success rate. JBJ Lee (2007, 60) also confirmed how missionaries were the most unashamed of their racism - news articles focused on Chinese as immoral, pagan, barbaric, accused of homosexuality and sexual assault of children. Chinese and "Asiatics" did not fit in the Pākehā's imperialistic plan, but Polynesians were seen as evolutionarily "high rank" (Lee JBJ 2007, 59). Chinese people were associated with both physical and moral degeneracy. Beyond missionaries, anti-Asiatic leagues in alliances with trade unions also campaigned against Chinese immigration in 1907 (Lee JBJ 2007, 61).

The ways that Chinese communities responded to these conditions of racism was largely

inward and retreating to strengthen themselves in community, forming village-based associations⁵² (Lee JBJ 2007). In 1934, these associations unified and became the New Zealand Chinese Association (NZCA), which became an incorporated society in 1935 and continues to organize social events and conferences for its members.

Between 1920 and 1930, as the gold mines depleted, Chinese established market gardens and Māori had moved into towns and urban centres. Because Chinese could not legally own land in the first half of the 1900s, Chinese people would often lease land from Māori. Meanwhile many Māori women sought work on market gardens because Māori had been excluded from unemployment benefits (Lee JBJ 2007, 72). In small towns on the outskirts of cities like Ōtaki, Māori and Chinese working on market gardens was common and many Māori-Chinese families formed as a result. During this time, fears of miscegenation began to grow (Lee JBJ 2007, 72) and there was a shift from fears of Chinese immigration to Chinese-Māori miscegenation (Lee JBJ 2007, 73).

It becomes apparent that it was through racist and exclusionary policies - such as land appropriations and the Poll Tax - that Māori and Chinese were brought together on the margins of New Zealand society. And it was precisely there at the margins that the colonial Pākehā fear of hybridity and miscegenation emerged. (Lee JBJ 2007, 11)

To understand the fears of miscegenation, it is important to note that during the 1920s, the idea that Māori were Aryans was in circulation (Williams 2009). For example, when Sir Apirana Ngata asked if the immigration restrictions on re-entry of ‘coloured’ people to New Zealand would apply to Māori, Prime Minister Massey assured him: “The Māori is a European for our purposes. He has the same rights and privileges as a European in every sense of the word and he is worthy of it” (Auckland Star, 1920 cited in Ballara 1986 p.109 cited in Lee JBJ 2007, 74). Thus, Māori-Pākehā intermarriages were acceptable and even encouraged for assimilation, but Pākehā or Māori and Chinese relationships were not. However, there is a patriarchal bias. If married to a Chinese man, white women would be stripped of their citizenship, they could also be arrested and imprisoned under the Idle and Disorderly Persons Law of 1927 (Lee JBJ 2007).⁵³ White women’s morality

⁵²Organizations and village associations were established, for example the Seyip Society, the Tung Jung Association, Poon Fah Society, Chee Kung Tong to support their own people.

⁵³White Canadian women were also punished and institutionalized for having relationships with Chinese men, the late Velma Demerson (2004) has documented this in her memoir, *Incorrigible*.

was on the line. They were seen as ‘immoral’ for having relations with Chinese (Lee JBJ 2007, 76). Chinese women with Pākehā men did not receive the same treatment.

The outcry of the “Yellow Peril” in the late 1920s was a response to these intimacies (Ip 2003). In 1929, a select committee inquiry⁵⁴ investigated the relationships between Māori women and Chinese men working in the market gardens. Anti-miscegenation fear-mongering re-emerged in print media in the late 1930s after the 1936 census recorded 38 Māori-Chinese children in Auckland (Ng 1993 cited in Ip 2003, 238).



THE YELLOW PERIL.

This is a cartoon published in 1907 depicting “The Yellow Peril” by Richard Goodall published in *New Zealand Truth*. It depicts a Māori woman trying to escape the bestialized body of a Chinese man, reflecting a context where Pākehā feared Māori-Chinese alliances. While these attempts were made to prevent or destroy alliances, relationships between Chinese and Māori communities have persisted (Lee JBJ 2007; Ip 2008; Aikman and Fu 2022).

⁵⁴This inquiry was supported by the Anti-Chinese Association, the Anti-Chinese League, the Anti-Asiatic League and the White New Zealand league (Ng 2017).

Immigration restrictions began to change in the late 1930s during the Japanese invasion of China. From 1939 refugee wives and children of Chinese men in Aotearoa were allowed to join their husbands (Lee L 2021). Although this was only intended to be temporary (until the war ended) they stayed and were granted full citizenship. Like Canada, anti-Chinese legislation began to change post-WWII. From 1951, Chinese were allowed to become citizens, vote, own land, and receive pensions. Nevertheless, the government was still determined for New Zealand to be a white-majority country. In 1962, all visitors were required to have an entry permit before landing in Aotearoa, except for Commonwealth citizens from Britain, Canada and Ireland. This reflects an immigration apartheid system that makes movement and migration easier for white immigrants.

From the 1960s, the model minority construction of Chinese people redirected racism towards Māori (Ip 2003, 241). This construct mystifies structural causes of inequalities and absolves capitalism and the state as the sources of injustice. This is a sinister strategy within white supremacy to divide and rule, to have a favourite ‘pet’ minority which they can control and use, almost a reversal of the way some Māori politicians were recruited for anti-Asian racism through promising ‘honorary European’ status in the early 1900s. Manying Ip (2003, 241) describes, “When the Chinese achieved most-favoured minority status, they were often used as a standard of comparison ‘to show up the lazy natives.’” Into the 1970s, this ‘model minority’ status was connected to the immigration recruitment of Chinese and Asians from a professional class.

At the time, New Zealand had a shortage of doctors. Doctors from the Commonwealth were recruited, including Prof. Manying Ip’s⁵⁵ husband. Interestingly, Prof. Ip recalls in the 1970s, she did not experience much anti-Asian racism. Most ethnically Chinese people arriving at the time were also of a certain class and were generally fluent in English. Prof. Ip work focused on recovering the histories of Māori-Chinese relations, and Chinese diasporic histories in Aotearoa in general.⁵⁶ Tze Ming Mok’s family came through Singapore and Malaysia through this category too, as doctors who already knew English. They both remarked on how there was no racism against

⁵⁵Her family name is Sung, but because of patriarchal naming conventions in New Zealand culture, she had to take on her husband’s surname “Ip” as hers after migrating. She explained this to me at the beginning of our interview, and gave me a name card that still has her original Chinese family name. In Chinese media, she is referred to as 葉宋曼瑛 (Ip Sung Man Ying). She was born in Guizhou fleeing the Japanese invasion and eventually arrived in Hong Kong as a refugee. She studied Chinese history in Hong Kong before migrating to New Zealand with her husband in the 1970s, and had to take up his surname post-migration.

⁵⁶When she arrived in the 1970s, there was nothing available at the University of Auckland. These histories of the poll tax and diving into the archives had to be recovered from scratch.

them in those years.⁵⁷ From 1977-1980, there were also arrivals of refugees escaping the Vietnam war, some who are ethnically Chinese.

Meanwhile in the 1970s, the NZ police were busy targeting Pacific Islanders with ‘dawn raids’ to deport overstayers, despite most overstayers at the time being white people from Australia or the UK. The New Zealand government only apologized for the dawn raids in 2021, however, these types of immigration raids have not ended (Johnstone et al. 2024). This was clearly racist profiling and terrorizing of Pacific Island communities, which also impacted Māori who were sometimes mistaken as other Pacific Islanders. These early morning police raids only stopped through the organizing of the Polynesian Panthers, an organization that involved Pacific and Māori activists, inspired by the Black Panther Party in the US (Anae 2020). Aside from Māori resistance to Pākehā state racism, Pacific peoples have also been active prior to pan-Asian activism and political organizing in Aotearoa.

The resurgence in anti-Asian sentiment became more noticeable after changes made in the Immigration Act 1987. Like the Canadian immigration policy in 1967, this policy meant that the criteria for accepting immigrants was no longer (explicitly) based on race, ethnicity or nationality, but on a points system based on socio-economic factors. This led to more mainland Chinese migration.⁵⁸ Aside from mainland Chinese, those from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Southeast Asia continued to arrive mostly as economic migrants.

In the 1980s, Sinophobia from Māori was based on beliefs that Chinese immigrants are trying to “buy over” New Zealand (Ip 2003, 242). Model minority discourses were popularized again in the early 1990s in the context of educational achievement (Ip 2003, 241). This marked a revival of anti-Asian xenophobia that continued well into the 1990s and 2000s. My family arrived at the height of the ‘Asian invasion’ fears. Everyone that has experienced being Chinese in the 1990s all shared reflections of that being a peak time of anti-Asian violence, physical and verbal. This physical and emotional violence left many ‘traumatized’ from that time, as Kirsten Wong expressed. Anti-Chinese racism has persisted in Aotearoa through the decade of 2010s with the Labour Party blaming “Chinese-sounding last names” buying up property for causing the housing crisis, and it continues in the 2020s with the COVID-19 pandemic. The nature of anti-Chinese

⁵⁷ I couldn’t believe it until others confirmed the same thing, and this is perhaps why when anti-Asian racism began to stir up again in the 1990s, they were the first to respond, having experienced a time where it wasn’t always like this.

⁵⁸This cohort from mainland China had lived through the Cultural Revolution, and were leaving at a time just after the neoliberal reforms of Deng Xiaoping, and the Tiananmen Square massacre.

misdirects blame and scapegoats Chinese people for problems caused by capitalism and the colonial state. Meanwhile, the anti-Māori racism sold to Chinese and Asian communities functions in a similar manner, to put a wedge in relationships to prevent alliances. Both racial discourses deflect attention to underlying violence of white supremacist colonial capitalism. This history of Chinese migration and racialization explains some of the ongoing tensions between Māori and Chinese communities. But they also inform possibilities and practices of solidarity.

Migration Narratives

Drawing on the narratives of Chinese participants, their perspectives also complicate this category of ‘Chinese diasporas.’ The differences between Chinese diasporas are critical to examine for their implications on solidarity and how they connect with Indigenous struggles. Toronto-based international student, Derek stresses the complexities:

Different generations come, and they all come with their leaving upbringing. So the most recent ones, especially from Hong Kong, Taiwan, or China, or other Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, their experiences growing up in these countries are different. [...] At the same time they're the neoliberal generation, too. But [...] not in the sense that they are neoliberal, but they grew up in a neoliberal economic way of living in these places.

Across different Chinese diasporic migration generations, I got a sense of the different cultures that families left with and have kept alive. I noticed this in the ways that 1st or 1.5 generations would share their migration stories concisely without reference to immigration policies or where their ancestral villages are. Meanwhile, many of the old Chinese diaspora⁵⁹ could recite the year of arrival, ages of their earliest ancestors, and knew the names of the villages that their grandparents came from. For example, this is how Landy Anderson (Chinese-Métis based in Oshawa) described her grandfather’s journey:

My grandfather was born in 1900. And in 1912, he emigrated over to Canada literally on a slow boat from China. [...] if you think back to what that was about a 3 week boat ride or more. [...] He was only 12 at the time [...] He came over in 1912, and then he was pretty much indentured to our relatives, washing dishes for [them] - it took him about 5 years to pay off the head tax, and because that's part of [...] the racist legislation: the Head Tax and the Exclusion Act. [...] My grandfather, at that

⁵⁹I use ‘old Chinese diaspora’ roughly to refer to those whose ancestors migrated between the 1800s and 1950s, they are often at least 3rd generation.

time in 1917, the railroad was built already, but he worked in manual labor, cutting the railway ties. So if you think about cutting these railway ties manually, the amount of energy that would take, and his treatment of being a Chinese laborer in 1917 and facing racism in northern Ontario, Fort Francis at that time. [...] My Chinese history is pretty much Canada's history; we've been affected by that. [...] he had a wife and children, my mother, my aunt, and uncle in China, who were separated from my grandfather because of the Exclusion Act. During the period of exclusion, my uncle passed away - the tragic consequences of discrimination towards our Chinese community.

The emotional and relational impact of this legislative racism resulting in the separation of families should be highlighted as part of the injustices. Here Landy's narration of her family history is intertwined with the racist policies of the Canadian state. In Aotearoa, there were similar stories of (great) grandparents, where their descendants knew exactly the age of arrival, their birth year, and what they did for work. They also spoke to the immigration policies when narrating the migration stories of their ancestors. They have kept these memories and genealogies alive. In contrast to the level of detail in Landy's narrative, many of the first or second generation Chinese migration stories are recounted more succinctly and without references to Canadian or New Zealand immigration policies. However, there were many common narratives of ancestors escaping war, famine, invasion, revolutions both in China and in Southeast Asian countries. In general, migration narratives reveal political and economic histories of ancestral lands, diasporic routes, and policies of settler colonial destinations.

For several people, their migration narratives speak to a history that is multi-diasporic. The multi-diasporic Chinese might enter the colonial borders of New Zealand and Canada as 'ethnically Chinese' but 'culturally' Malaysian, Trinidadian, or with another 'nationality' layer based on place of birth or family diasporic routes. Through migration and time spent on other people's lands, Chinese diasporas have layers of cultural and national affiliations. Tāmaki Makaurau-based writer, Tze Ming Mok reflects from our interview:

The relationship between ethnic identity and national identity just takes on a lot of layers. Like what does it mean to be, 'I'm Malaysian-Chinese?' That's a national identity of an ethnic identity, over an ethnic identity, but it's of a nation, of a country that I literally have zero citizenship rights to access. [laughs] But it was a part of our journey, and it formed how weirdly I think about things and how I experience my culture.

This is a common experience especially of those diasporic via Southeast Asia. The post-1980s

migrations from mainland China is a particular diaspora that has experienced the political upheavals within China, including the trauma and ‘difficult histories’ of the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Square massacre (Lu 2024).

There are also histories of internal migration and movement, the cities where they are now were not necessarily where they were born or had grown up in. Many had connections to other places outside of Toronto and Vancouver. Some Chinese Canadian participants had connections to one or more of these places during their upbringing: Calgary, Hope, Kamloops, Richmond, Ottawa, northern Ontario, Victoria, or Saskatchewan. Some people or their ancestors came through or studied in the ‘USA’ before moving to so-called Canada. Amongst Aotearoa-based Chinese, some had grown up in Taranaki, Ōpunake, Hawera, Manaia, or Te Tairāwhiti. There were two people who had parents who went through Sydney before landing in Aotearoa or “Vancouver.” This reveals the transnational connections and a pattern of rural to urban migration, or smaller towns/cities to bigger ones.

While in many migration narratives the reasons for leaving places are identified and attributed, what I often had to prompt was why Canada or New Zealand? Why not other places? For those that had a choice between Canada and New Zealand the climate was a deciding factor. Canada was simply too cold. Australia and the US had reputations of being too racist. For several people it was having relatives in Canada or New Zealand, ‘chain migration,’ ensuring a social infrastructure ready to receive them.

Many of the stories of migration illustrate what Prof. Henry Yu (2018, 126) calls the “Cantonese Pacific,” where the Chinese migrations across the “Pacific” in 19th and 20th century is conceptualized as “a singular historical process that created a region both spatially and through a continuous time period.” He notes that during the time when anti-Chinese nationalist sentiments were fermenting in Southeast Asia, the white settler colonies “began to abandon it [anti-Chinese racism] as an organizing tool” (Yu 2018, 132). This explains the migration contexts of the Southeast Asian Chinese diasporas in Aotearoa since the 1970s, many of whom also had Cantonese origins. This is based on New Zealand’s immigration policies that privileged Commonwealth-educated doctors (read: English-speaking with British-influenced education).

For many people with ties to Hong Kong, the reasons for migration were often desires for freedom or ‘democracy,’ like Baldwin Wong’s parents who left in the late 70s:

For me, my family's choice of Canada is very similar to going to Hong Kong, for them, it's a sanctuary, in a place they believe has a democratic rule, people can live more freely.

A similar sentiment was shared amongst the Hong Kong diaspora who left fearing the 1997 handover back to China, and even more recent Hong Kongers escaping political repression post-2019. For those who experienced political repression in China, and migrating after the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, these 'western democracies' are imagined (through its own branding) as places of freedom, peace, and democracy. For those who chose Canada post-2010s, the perception that compared to the US, Canada is less 'racist' or homophobic (referencing the 2016-2020 Trump era) informed their decision. For many international students, their queerness played a significant role, seeing Canada as more queer-friendly. These perceptions of Canada as less racist and homophobic were shattered shortly after experiencing Canadian society and its anti-Chinese racism and queerphobia.

For the most part, Canadian and New Zealand's projections of nationalist fantasies of free and democratic political systems have worked to attract Chinese and many other migrants who desire these ideals. As a result, there can be an idealization of western democracies. 'Democracy' is complicated in settler colonial nation-states that have demographically swamped and decimated Indigenous populations. Settler colonial 'democracy' has turned Indigenous nations into minorities on their own lands, instituting a majority rules system that is weaponized to undermine Indigenous sovereignty. Neither Canada nor New Zealand advertises their 'democracies' as built off colonial genocidal violence, that minoritized Indigenous peoples on their own lands, where democracy has been utilized to restrict their political power and a tool of dispossession.

Interestingly, none of the Hong Kongers based in Aotearoa named fears of handover or desires for democracy as their reasons for migration. This perhaps reflects Canada's immigration policies facilitating Hong Konger pathways to residency. Because of the political stance of Canada and the fast-track to residency programs favouring Hong Kong immigrants, it has become one of the top destinations for Hong Kong immigrants. The presence of Canadian schools in Hong Kong is noteworthy. These schools teach the Ontario curriculum to Hong Kong children. This demonstrates that patterns of migration involve both push and pull - there is often a focus on the push, but the targeted recruitment and preferential treatment of certain Chinese diasporas contribute to the population makeup and gives us insights into the hierarchy of desirable settler-

immigrants. What is generally clear is that ongoing Indigenous presence and the violence of colonialism are well hidden from prospective migrants. Among my participants, most first-generation migrants had no knowledge of Indigenous or colonial histories before they arrived.⁶⁰

To make visible Indigenous presence and history in narratives of arrival, Desmond Wong, a Toronto-based librarian and PhD student meditated on a ‘pedagogy of arrival’ or ‘pedagogy of origin’ that could be a fruitful practice:

In my own stories of like displacement and dispossession, [...] up until the point where I started thinking about settler colonialism, I was so focused about the transits and the movements of my own family [...] that I was holding as like the ultimate oppression, that I wasn't thinking about who I was displacing, or what I was complicit in, because that was so focused on me.

The centring of our own experiences of displacement can ignore how our arrival was made possible. Instead, stories of arrival can be contextualized within ongoing colonizing states, to recentre Indigenous displacement and colonial land theft and make clear that our arrivals are incumbent upon ongoing colonial presence. That we have entered through the systems of the colonizer rather than protocols of Indigenous peoples. What are alternative methods of narrating and counter-storying our diasporic arrivals?

(Im)positionality on Colonized Lands

As diasporic Chinese peoples learn more about Indigenous truths and colonialism, we are forced to reflect on our own (im)positionality and how we are implicated in colonial violence. With these strands of history braided together, how can we begin to understand our ‘place’? Like how Calvin sees ‘Chinese’ as a political imposition, I began to think about our presence, too, as an imposition. Our access to these lands is unconsented and through the colonial immigration system. To be reflexive of our (im)positionalities is to understand ourselves within the settler colonial management of Indigenous peoples and racialized migrants. Our ‘positionality’ therefore is also a political imposition, rather than a choice, because of the web of relations we are in. As discussed in chapter one, Chinese positionalities differ from white settlers, in so far as we, like other non-European settlers, do not collectively hold the political power to change laws or impose our own cultural frameworks onto Indigenous populations or anyone else (Vowel 2016). However,

⁶⁰Richard Fung was an exception. Due to his experiences in Trinidad and Ireland, he already knew Canada as colonial.

we are still ‘enfolded’ into the settler colonial project (Vowel 2016).

Amongst the self-descriptions of non-Indigenous Chinese-Canadian⁶¹ participants, the language of settlerhood is pervasive. This is also the most common way Chinese Canadian participants would introduce themselves, sometimes qualified with another descriptor: “I am a Han Chinese settler,” “I am a queer Taiwanese settler.”⁶² Rita Wong uses the term “unsettler” based on Arthur Manuel’s book, *Unsettling Canada* (Manuel and Derrickson 2015). “Uninvited guest” is another self-description, Carven Li explained that this is when host nations might call those who they are in good relations with “uninvited guests.” But for him, it denies the complicity implied in ‘settler’ in relation to the Canadian colonial project, not just within the city. He elaborates:

Every single dollar that comes in and out of our accounts, every single service we received is intrinsically tied to exploitation and displacement, and the dispossession Indigenous peoples all over so, we’re always like, we’re settlers. We’re always people complicit in settler colonial violence.⁶³

The meaning of ‘settler’ in Canadian contexts is linked to a consciousness of Indigenous dispossession. However, it is not always seen as mutually exclusive of ‘uninvited guest.’ He-Lin brought this up when I asked what it meant to be a “settler” for her:

[...] knowing that I’m not invited, knowing that I’m a guest. I don’t ever want to claim that, either ownership or the deeper relationship to the land that Indigenous communities have.

Both these terms are ways of avoiding/refusing claims to land and Indigeneity. The terms ‘guest’ or ‘uninvited guest’ were rarely used in self-descriptions in Toronto.

The term ‘settler’ is contentious when used for the earlier Cantonese migrations, who are often characterized as ‘sojourners,’ without intentions to settle (Yee 2005, 12; Chow 1996). When I used the term settler as a default, Prof. Yu responded: “I’m still not that keen on that word, because it’s not like the early Cantonese were on the whole, trying to be settlers here. They were moving around...” However, some of their descendants do refer to themselves as ‘settlers.’ Joe

⁶¹The term “Chinese settler” is used in Aotearoa, but generally not in a politicized way in reference to settler colonialism, but to early histories of settlement.

⁶²Unsurprisingly, the term ‘treaty people’ is not used in the context of Vancouver where there have not been any written agreements with the colonial government.

⁶³ When checking over this quote with Carven, he mentioned that recently in the province of BC, there are now revenue-sharing agreements with First Nations communities, but this statement is still relevant.

was asked by a student after doing a land acknowledgement, “if your ancestors and Chinese came as indentured laborers, are you really a settler?” His answer was grounded in the academic debates between Lawrence and Dua (2005) and Sharma and Wright (2008) and sharing the readings for the student to read themselves, but also shared his own stance that he is a settler, with the caveat that he respects African Canadian students who do not describe themselves that way. His reasoning is based on the idea of “colonial privilege,” which Joe described as: “privilege that settlers have by benefiting from the infrastructure of Turtle Island.” From Joe’s perspective, even though his family experienced indentureship, he still benefits from the colonial infrastructures built off Indigenous dispossession. Settler comes with duties and responsibilities, such as “to know the truth of these lands,” as Diana articulated. The language of settlerhood here follows the theorizations of ‘settler colonialism,’ as a politicized term.

In Aotearoa, the language for non-Māori and non-Pākehā in circulation are Tangata Tiriti (people of the treaty) and tauwiwi of colour. Tangata Tiriti is a term that is contested from various angles. One is that not all Māori signed Te Tiriti, and for Pākehā, it is a euphemism for ‘settler-invader’ (Simon 2023). On social media I have heard that both Māori and non-Māori are ‘Tangata Tiriti’ through Te Tiriti. However, this term has been strategically employed for non-Māori as the incumbent NZ government continues to attack Te Tiriti. I see this as an aspirational rather than descriptive term, and one that is only meaningful when Te Tiriti is fully honoured. I prefer tauwiwi of colour, but I can understand the strategic purpose of Tangata Tiriti in our current political context. Interestingly, my conversations with Aotearoa-based non-Māori Chinese were less focused on the naming of ourselves in relation to Māori, or the meanings of these terms.

Conclusion

Although ‘culture’ may be fraught and complex in a diasporic sense, attending to our own histories and ongoing connections to colonization is necessary. The process of ‘knowing ourselves’ before engaging with Indigenous peoples or struggles is not often linear. This task of recovering our own histories is incomplete and ongoing, but our ancestors, our memories, and our genealogies are integral to ‘who we are’ and ‘where we come from,’ not only as backstory, but for informing our relationships to Indigenous truths. We can also simultaneously recognize the complexities of ‘Chinese diasporas’ as heterogeneous and how there are existing Han Chinese settler colonialisms in Taiwan, Singapura, Tibet, and East Turkestan.

In this chapter, we have moved through two sets of histories: 1) China's histories of empire and colonialism, 2) place-based histories of Chinese diasporas on colonized lands as they relate to white Anglo-colonial states, and in relation to Indigenous peoples. From the first set of histories, we learn about the political-spiritual relationship to astronomy in the imperial control of time, and how empire-building is not unique to Europeans in histories both of Chinese colonialism and empire, and of Japanese imperialism. However, what connects Chinese experiences of colonialism to Canada and New Zealand is the history of British colonialism, and how/why Chinese labourers became recruited to work in the first place. The histories of Chinese migration, colonial immigration structures, and racialization of Chinese and Indigenous peoples reflects colonial attempts to manage and wedge these relationships. All these histories inform contemporary practices of solidarity and how we might understand our positionality. To ground ourselves in these histories is to honour our ancestors - the first tenet of celestial solidarity.

Chapter Four - Doorways to Decolonization

One day, I was walking along Queen St in central Auckland, and someone handed me a leaflet for a protest to free Ahmed Zaoui. I had heard about his situation on the radio (before the days of social media). Between 2002-2004, the New Zealand government imprisoned Algerian refugee, Ahmed Zaoui, under suspicions of terrorism. That was the first protest I attended. I later joined the millions of people across the world demonstrating against the US invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, and the US-backed Israeli occupation of Palestine. To share my own 'arrival' into this work, it was US imperialism, the so-called 'War on Terror,' and its manifestations in New Zealand that first moved me to act and become politicized.

From this activism, I met Māori who were active in unions, peace, anarchist, and Māori sovereignty movements. In 2007, the Urewera raids made visible New Zealand's ongoing colonial state violence towards Māori who were cast as 'terrorists' - another local manifestation of the US 'War on Terror.' Meanwhile, I began to recognize that the source of terror was in fact, whiteness and empire, not Muslims or Māori. I witnessed these injustices sitting in the courtrooms, listening to the boring drawling speech of the judge and the prosecution. Before I could articulate or theorize what 'solidarity' meant, I knew I had to act. Like many others, my main entry point was through social movements. These 'entry points' are doorways, not necessarily the full pathway. These stories can inform our solidarity practices and strategies to consider where is most effective to focus our energies, especially given compulsory education has failed spectacularly in delivering truthful accounts of colonialism.

Given the erasures and inconsistencies of Indigenous histories in colonial education systems, how have some Chinese diasporic peoples come to act in solidarity with Indigenous struggles? In this chapter, I explore political genealogies, identify key sites of politicization and relationship-building. I propose that relationships and social movements have been the most powerful in politicizing people to act. They offer both frameworks for interpreting injustice and evidence of the power of collective action. Furthermore, Indigenous refusals and 'bad affects' have been effective teaching moments and motivators to learn more about Indigenous truths and become active in decolonization work. For many people, it was not a singular identifiable moment, but a series of experiences and relationships that led to solidarity towards decolonization.

Indigeneity and Colonialism in Compulsory Education

Based on the schooling experiences of my participants, truthful, accountable, and comprehensive education on Indigeneity and colonialism is largely omitted from mainstream schooling curricula.⁶⁴ For most Chinese participants, they learned very little about Indigenous peoples or colonialism in their experiences of compulsory schooling. When I asked what they did learn, the main types of response were 1) nothing or very little, 2) Indigenous culture, or cultural practices in exoticizing ways, 3) Louis Riel and Métis history, 4) racist dehumanization of Indigenous people. Notably missing are the histories and a critical understanding of settler colonialism. Indigenous peoples and cultures are reduced to exotic curiosities, or erased from the curriculum completely with little reflection or accountability for the ongoing colonization of Canada and New Zealand. Discussion about residential schools was dependent on the teacher. For Chinese with Canadian schooling experiences, it was rare that they attended school with Indigenous students in their class.⁶⁵

This contrasts with Aotearoa where Māori students and teachers were often part of their school. In Canada, residential schools were still in operation until 1996. Many of the people I spoke to had gone to school before that time, during an era where residential schools were active, and thus the separation/isolation of Indigenous students with “Indian” status from everyone else. It meant fewer opportunities during childhood/adolescence to form relationships. Vancouver-based architect David Wong’s experience is an exception where he had Indigenous friends growing up, “a lot of them went to residential schools. I didn’t know until later in my life that they were in residential schools.” New Zealand did not have boarding schools, but they did have day schools for Māori children that attempted to erase their language and assimilate them into British culture. The 1867 Native Schools Act was geared towards cultural assimilation (genocide) of Māori children.

Out of everyone I spoke to in Aotearoa, only Tze Ming Mok remembered learning an accurate history of Te Tiriti, and it was from a teacher in a private all girl’s school. Te Tiriti was not taught in any meaningful way for others that experienced the New Zealand education system.

⁶⁴ The exceptions are when politicized teachers take it upon themselves to teach, or in schools that have made efforts to build relationships with Indigenous communities such as the one that Desmond Wong attended. In Aotearoa, there are Indigenous education institutions such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, and Wānanga. Most non-Indigenous people do not have access to this, except at the Wānanga (tertiary) level.

⁶⁵ Some participants noted one or two students they had in their classes, but they would be pulled out for Indigenous programmes. Some reflected that even if there were Indigenous students, they did not know they were Indigenous.

In Canada-occupied Indigenous lands, the only person who reported a positive pro-Indigenous education experience was Desmond Wong, who had the opportunity to learn directly from Mississauga of the Credit and Chippewas of Georgina Island Elders and Knowledge Keepers in his preteens. He shares the impact of listening to Indigenous Elders:

That was the first time that I had smudged. It was the first time that I had ever learned anything about Indigenous languages, and it was also the first time that I had ever considered the ongoing stewardship of Indigenous people. Because up until that point, everything that I had learned was that Indigenous people were no longer here, that Indigenous people were a thing of the past and then, that was very much confronted - like those beliefs, were very much confronted by the fact that I was sitting and talking with an Indigenous person who was like looking me in my face.

This experience shows how powerful direct learning from Indigenous Elders and Knowledge Keepers can be.

Having attended high school in BC, Winnie Ng remembers learning about the Métis leader, Louis Riel, and being posed the essay question - ‘was Louis Riel a hero or traitor?’ In Ottawa, Ontario, Kingsley Kwok recounts his memories of history class in the 1980s where the Métis rebellion was also covered. Kingsley noted that what he did not learn about was the colonial history of BC and any of the Indigenous and Chinese interactions there, nor was he taught the history of slavery in Canada. The colonial histories taught centred around Winnipeg and Manitoba. He learned about the killing of the buffalos, and the formation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).

Interestingly, a Toronto-based participant who attended a Canadian school in Hong Kong⁶⁶ said there were some mentions of residential schools, but nothing about how colonialism shaped Hong Kong or Chinese migration to Canada. He noted the school’s house system was named after First Nations:

[...] You had Cree, you had Mi’kmaq, you had Haida, you had Algonquin. I was in Haida, it was red. So the houses were really problematic. But it was like, I guess they did that in camp in North America. [...] we used to joke so it was never formal, but we would call the teachers ‘the White House.’ They’re all white. But anyways,

⁶⁶This school followed the Ontario school curriculum.

there was that fetishization or appropriation of the Indigenous identity and culture too, in that very surface way.

The appropriation of Indigenous names for houses in a Canadian school in Hong Kong reminds me of the ‘playing Indian’ trope in Tuck and Yang’s (2012) work. Indigenous identities and nations have been misused as a kind of self-indigenization, even outside of Canada or North America, transplanted in Hong Kong.

The colonial silence and erasure of Indigenous peoples, teaching Indigenous peoples as exotic cultures, or the selective inclusion of Métis histories, reflects an educational system that is racist and inconsistent. For most Chinese participants, a stark omission of colonization and Indigeneity characterizes their compulsory schooling experiences. To arrive at Indigenous truths, the doorways and pathways are often outside of colonial education systems, except for some university-based experiences. The most shared doorway is through social movements, relationships with family, friends, and flatmates/roommates who are involved in social movements, and university education alongside student activism. Within the social movements, one that has endured as a doorway across place and time has been feminism, and more recently queer and trans spaces. Within direct interactions, Indigenous refusals have had profound impacts.

Indigenous Refusals

In several memorable stories, Indigenous refusals are instigators for further learning, dialogue, and action. Making mistakes and taking the lessons have been pivotal. I draw on Audra Simpson’s (2014, 2007) notion of ‘ethnographic refusal’ here, and illustrate how refusals are generative teaching moments. Here I want to share two stories from Toronto-based feminist labour organizer, Winnie Ng and Vancouver-based retired Christian civil engineer, Bill Chu, both from Hong Kong. They began to think about Indigenous struggles in the 1980s. In their stories, they cite the Oka crisis⁶⁷ in 1990, which could be understood as collective Indigenous refusal of settler state invasion.

⁶⁷ The ‘Oka crisis’ in 1990 was an armed standoff between the Kanyen’kehà:ka (Mohawk) and the Canadian military, the Quebec Police, and the RCMP. The Kanehsatà:ke resistance was sparked from plans to extend a golf course without their consent. This standoff reminded me of Takaparawhau/Bastion Point through the involvement of the military, and the fight against the Raglan golf course that Dame Whina Cooper fought in Waikato.

NO SINGLE BLUEPRINT

IN THE 90S, I WAS AT OKA, SUPPORTING THE RESISTANCE. I WAS PART OF NAC [NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN] - THE WOMEN'S AND FEMINIST ORGANIZATIONS, AND WE WENT IN SOLIDARITY.



AND WE ALSO INVITED ELLEN GABRIEL, WHO'S ONE OF THE KEY LEADERS OF THE OKA STAND OFF INTO OUR GROUPS AS WELL

I REMEMBER ALSO IN THE MID-80S, A NUMBER OF US STARTED A COALITION OF WOMEN OF COLOUR. WE USED IT AS A WAY, TO HAVE MONTHLY MEETINGS, TO DO EDUCATION, TO GET TO KNOW EACH OTHER, AS A WAY TO BUILD A STRONGER COHESIVE FORCE...

'CAUSE THE WHITE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT WAS JUST SO... SO EXCLUSIVE, OR THEY DON'T SEE US PERIOD.

WE EXTENDED INVITATIONS TO A NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN ACTIVISTS.



WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN BEING PART OF OUR GROUP?



WE COULD WALK ALONGSIDE WITH YOU, BUT WE ARE NOT PART OF YOU.



THEY WERE REALLY GENEROUS IN SAYING THAT THEY CAN'T. THEY ARE NOT PART OF THE COALITION. THEY'RE NOT PART OF 'WOMEN OF COLOUR.' THEY ARE INDIGENOUS WOMEN.

AS MUCH AS WE EXPERIENCE SOME PARALLEL - WE EXPERIENCE WHITE SUPREMACY AND SYSTEMIC RACISM, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CANADA AND INDIGENOUS FOLKS ARE A NATION TO NATION RELATIONSHIP. AND THE AUDACITY TO LUMP THEM AS PART OF OUR GROUP IS SORT OF A PRODUCT OF OUR OWN IGNORANCE.



THAT WAS A VERY HUMBLING - BUT IT'S ALSO A VERY 'AH HA!' MOMENT. WE INVITED THEM FOR A CONTINUOUS DIALOGUE, AND THAT'S HOW SOME OF THAT DEEPER SOLIDARITY RELATIONSHIP BEGAN TO TAKE PLACE.

WE LEARN FROM OUR MISTAKES. WE LEARN FROM DOING AND TRYING, AND I THINK IT'S A JOURNEY THAT WE NEED TO WALK CLOSER TOGETHER, RIGHT?

LET THE 100 FLOWERS BLOOM 百花齐放.

THERE'S NO ONE SINGLE
BLUEPRINT THAT'S
GONNA WORK.

BUT AT LEAST I THINK IT'S
IMPORTANT TO KEEP TRYING

AND KEEP PUSHING
FORWARD.

百花齐放

By the time Winnie started to learn about Indigenous struggles, she was already active in women of colour feminist movements. From Winnie Ng's story, the refusal of Indigenous women to be subsumed within 'women of colour'⁶⁸ and joining their coalition was a teaching moment. Through these direct invitations and dialogues, and the respect for this refusal, understandings the differences in struggles between Indigenous women and women of colour can grow and generative relationships of solidarity can be built.

In an entirely different type of interaction, in Vancouver's Chinatown, what sparked Bill Chu's journey was a chance meeting with an Indigenous man and his refusal to continue dinner when Christianity was raised. When Bill first immigrated to Vancouver in the 1970s, he remembers how Indigenous peoples were always portrayed as 'trouble-makers' in the media, with many being arrested or jailed. The first time Bill met an Indigenous person was on a wintery day in 1988, Chinatown. The young man was panhandling and asked Bill for coffee money. Seeing that he probably needed more than coffee money, Bill invited him to have dinner:

[W]hen we started talking over dinner, he talked about his misery in Manitoba, you know, in a reserve there. At that point, I had no idea what he was talking about, Indigenous peoples and the reserves being all foreign concepts to immigrants. So being a Christian, I tried to comfort him with the gospel. When I started talking about God and the love of God, the guy stood up and started walking towards the door. Before he hit the door, he turned around and said, 'you are one of them!' And it was those haunting words that disturbed me, at least for a while, 'cause I was wondering, 'what possibly could some people have done to this hungry guy to make him reject his dinner?'

When Bill Chu first told me the story how he first met an Indigenous man in Chinatown, it reminded me to return to Mohawk scholar, Gage Karahkwí:io Diabo's (2019) contention on how generative 'bad feelings' can become a catalyst for active solidarity between Indigenous and Asian peoples. Bill's feelings of disturbance from the words, "you are one of them!" in 1988 motivated him to understand what that meant - one of those Christians participating in the genocide and spiritual violence against Indigenous peoples, whose main interest is conversion. Had Bill not tried to evangelize, the story may have unfolded differently. While this was a moment of awakening for

⁶⁸The language at the time was 'visible minority' and this is still used by the federal government for employment equity purposes. Winnie prefers to use 'women of colour' here. While this was the case here, there are also Indigenous women who are also comfortable within the category of 'women of colour' and have contributed to 'women of colour' feminisms, such as the writer, Chrystos.

Bill, it was at the expense of an Indigenous man who forfeited his dinner in his refusal of Christianity. This story also speaks to the significance of place - Vancouver's Chinatown - as a space where Indigenous and Chinese people encounter each other, where solidarity and tensions co-exist.

Like Winnie Ng's experience, mistakes become critical lessons to take Indigenous refusals (Simpson 2014) seriously, whether that is of Christianity or the category of "women of colour." Although, white people were not involved in mediating these interactions, white colonial hegemony still seeps through in producing conditions of ignorance and colonial erasures of Indigenous truths. In these situations, Indigenous peoples bear the burden of education and making refusals to lead Chinese settlers towards better understanding. Mistakes can be made, and are beneficial for growing deeper understanding and solidarity, but they can often be at a cost to Indigenous peoples. While there are often a series of different experiences that accumulate and lead to a stronger commitment to decolonization, these encounters that spark further moves to solidarity illustrate the power of direct interactions even if they are uncomfortable or confrontational.

Family, Community and Workplaces

During our interview, Landy Anderson reflected, "maybe my social consciousness is as good as my social network, right?" This statement rings true where people attributed their family (parents or children), friends, or flatmates as how (and why) they came to support Indigenous struggles. Several people were born into the movement. Alice, Danny Karatea-Goddard, Calvin, and several others came from a genealogy of political/community work through their parent(s) and were then raised on/through their politics. These kinship-based entry points are also reflected in drag, queer, and trans communities with chosen families.

While some children of political activists inherited the movements of their parents, stories also came up with the birth of children or being a parent/mother as a doorway. For mothers of Māori-Chinese children like Lily Lee, she was politicized during the 1980s Māori 'renaissance' period:

[I]t was a very interesting period [...] the 1980s because the children were at high school. They had a teacher who politicized my eldest daughter, Jenny and I got on the school board, and we were trying to get things going for Māori children like building a school marae, having bilingual classes, at school. So there was a lot of

things going on that were practical things that we wanted to implement, and so we got really involved with the Māori community at the school. And we were part of it of course because my husband was Māori-Chinese. And the children were part of it because they felt being Māori-Chinese was important to them. [...] understanding what was happening and reading books on Maori history and colonization and the explanations helped.

Lily's reflections also describe the multitude of ways she engaged: through her husband and children, the Māori renaissance movement in the 1980s, advocating on the school board at her daughter's school, involvement in the Māori community, and reading Māori history books. It was a culmination of all this, not one doorway that can be isolated from the rest. Similarly, Landy Anderson became more politically conscious after having children, who are members of Alderville First Nation. For Trish Cheng, it was involvement in Playcentre as a mother that drew her to treaty education and becoming active as a treaty facilitator in the 1990s. As a parent-run cooperative, they sought to model bicultural structures and relationships.⁶⁹ There is a flip here of normative assumptions of intergenerational transmission as always from parents to children. From their reflections, their children and being a parent/mother not only became an instigator and doorway to understand Indigenous struggles, but opened avenues to practice solidarity and contribute to practical changes. There is an intergenerational reciprocity.

For multigenerational Chinese, some might inherit relationships built from earlier generations, and have grown up in places with higher Indigenous populations. Vancouver-based David Wong remembers his grandmother's relationships with Indigenous peoples and how she would often tell him as child, 'They are our relatives. You must look after them.' He shares:

When my grandma was living here, when she came over as a younger person, [...] she befriended a lot of Indigenous peoples, and they would give her a crate of fish—salmon. My grandma grew vegetables, and she gave them vegetables, and it's just being neighbourly. Over the years, she would take some [Indigenous friends] in to shelter them. When they were cold and unfed, my grandma would help look after them.

⁶⁹My friend Piripi Wills pointed out that Playcentre developed Te Whāriki Early Childhood Curriculum, a partner curriculum to Te Whāriki a te Kohanga Reo. Their bicultural model led to some significant gains for Māori to have control over early childhood education for their children. Kohanga reo are the immersion Māori language nests that have been critical for Māori language revitalization. Non-governmental organizations like Playcentre have worked to take the power-sharing aspect of biculturalism more seriously in the setting up of parallel governing structures. (Manning 2014)

Through his grandmother, David learned from a young age to treat Indigenous peoples as relatives, as kin. For many other multigenerational Chinese who grew up in more rural areas, they also had more everyday interaction with Māori from childhood, like Suzanne Gee, Mary, and Meng Foon. Where we grow up and whether there is social proximity and integration with Indigenous communities matters.

For those with urban upbringings, flatmates (roommates) or friends who are involved in social movements can be a gateway to decolonization. Wai Ho often attributes the beginnings of his activism to his Pākehā flatmates who were involved in decolonization work. The Chinese-Indigenous relationships do not always happen directly, but other non-Indigenous people involved in this movement can invite people in.

Outside of the home and local community, the workplace is also a site of relational learning. Kirsten Wong recalls:

When I got into the workplace was kind of the first time that I got to - came into direct contact with Indigenous struggles. I was working with an NGO, and we did a lot of work partnering with Māori groups, and through that I came into contact with [...] the late Moana Jackson who was [...] a key activist in Aotearoa at that time. At that time, he was saying, 'Look, to further the cause of our struggle, everybody needs to go back to their homes, where they came from, and then spread the word.' I was like, 'Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah, that sounds quite a good idea. I can do that.'

This impacted Kirsten's lifelong work and still informs her approach today, and it is an insistence to do work in the third sphere of solidarity, to "get our own houses in order." For several other participants, meeting Indigenous colleagues at their workplaces was an important entry point, whether that was working in a sexual violence organization like Jen Sunshine, or through union/labour organizing like Kingsley Kwok.

Although treaty education through Playcentre was Trish's first participation in collective work in support of Māori, she was first confronted with her own ignorance in her workplace: the staff room at the school she taught at in Ōtara in the early 1980s. At this school she met prominent wāhine Māori activists who would frequent the staff room. She recounts, "I see all these wāhine, I hear their kōrero, I'm thinking, wow, I don't know anything about them, what they're talking about, things I know nothing about Māori sovereignty." Trish expressed her gratitude towards them for inspiring her to go back to university to learn te reo Māori. Instances of this type of

informal relational and unintentional learning was common. For some it led to dedicated study through universities.

University Education and Role of Indigenous Educators

In the citations of political genealogies, university education and Indigenous educators were often credited as pivotal. Universities were a major site of politicization and entry to ‘activism.’ Whether it is Māori studies courses in Aotearoa, or Indigenous professors in varying disciplines, or high school teachers, their pedagogies and knowledge-sharing has instigated interest among diasporic Chinese students. Indigenous presence in mainstream education has been powerful to disrupt what would otherwise be colonial education. The teaching of Indigenous Studies or hiring of Indigenous faculty within universities come from advocacy, organizing and activism of previous generations. Student movements and campus-based activism were often a way to meet people with shared politics and values. Who your peers are at university matters as much as who your teachers are. Joe credited the beginnings of his learning of Indigenous knowledge through taking courses taught by Indigenous professors at a time when it was rare for Indigenous people to be hired as professors at universities. Chinese international student, Derek recalls the influence of Prof. Eve Tuck:

[S]he is instrumental in introducing me to Indigenous ideas and concepts and theories, which I have - I mean to be honest, I have no idea of all these fields and theory and activism before arriving in Toronto, and this is a constant learning journey for me.

Universities have been spaces of radical education and opportunities to directly learn from Indigenous professors who have immensely influenced the perspectives of Chinese students. For the international students, the experience on northern Turtle Island was their first encounter with Indigenous struggles. He-Lin attributes her initial learnings to a course on First Nations literature at University of British Columbia.

Indigenous professors and lecturers have been effective educators in teaching the truth about colonization and foreground Indigenous worldviews and analysis. After resigning from teaching high school, Trish decided to go back to university, where she took Māori studies classes with well-known Māori educators. She was simultaneously learning Mandarin from Manying Ip. Māori professors and educators at tertiary level have educated many of the Chinese participants or

co-researched with Chinese professors. Learning Indigenous truths from Indigenous educators have been transformative and effective. Lily Lee remembers Prof. Mutu's Māori language teaching in 1990: "She was a very good teacher, I learned the grammar and the structure, and it all made sense. It was a very very good experience learning the language." Younger generations, too, spoke of the impact of courses taught by Māori lecturers and guest lectures by Māori scholars. This speaks to the importance of Indigenous professors and their pedagogies at a tertiary level that can be a transformative site of relational learning, and as interventions into colonial fictions.

The transformative pedagogical approaches of Indigenous professors were emphasized. In his studies in social work, Joe took courses from two Indigenous social work professors in the 1990s:

[...] It really was transformative. First of all, they sat us in a circle, which a lot of my classes were not like that. And they said, 'Don't bring a pen and paper. Don't bring a notebook.' [...] So clearly it was a pedagogy based on talking and speaking with each other in conversation, not note taking or writing, which was very bizarre and different for me. But I loved it and learned a lot and I began to see that they were practicing an Indigenous pedagogy, an Indigenous worldview. [...] Their pedagogy showed that it was more about speaking from the heart and not intellectualizing, which could be challenging for me, and yes, that really started me on a wonderful path.

It can be difficult for educators to see the immediate fruits of their labour, but these experiences collectively speak to the significance and impact of Indigenous educators. Their influence has reverberations and ripples that are ongoing. Their presence in universities has had powerful impacts on Chinese students.

Non-Indigenous professors have also been credited with initiating interest and understanding of colonialism and Indigeneity. A settler of colour professor at UBC initiated Carven's understanding through encouraging autobiography, and reflections on settler positionality. For me, Mona Oikawa's class on Settler Colonialism and Settler Subjects was my introduction to the colonial context of North America. Non-Indigenous professors can also aid in understanding colonialism.

Beyond the teacher-student relationships and classroom teaching, the site of the university also encompasses student activism, associations, and groups on campus. Campus environmental activism and language revitalization work in Aotearoa are some of the student-based movements some participants became involved in. Often important and long-term relationships are formed

through campus-based social movements. However, these are not neatly contained within the institution. For people like He-Lin, she “didn’t feel satisfied just learning about it in the classroom.” With and through the friends she made, she would then participate in Indigenous-led political actions outside of campus. This brings me to a discussion of the efficacy of social movements in general as a primary doorway, and within this, I explore specific movements along with transnational experiences, internationalist solidarity, and place-based politicization.

The Schools of Social Movements

The first social movements I want to highlight are a cluster of feminist, queer, and trans movements. Across all the places, and across generations, many Chinese participants entered the doorway to Indigenous struggles through first becoming active against gender and sexuality-based oppression. Chinese elder, Mary, considers that diasporic Chinese women in earlier years had to contend with Confucian and white patriarchies. The family hierarchies were premised on the ascendancy of men. However, she notes the successive generations have since seen considerable modification of this in present day life. Due to experiences of Chinese patriarchy, Suzanne Gee was mobilized through the women’s liberation movement in the 1970s in Aotearoa, firstly to liberate herself.

It is often the relationships built through these social movements and the teachings of Indigenous feminists that have led to Indigenous solidarity work. Indigenous women like Lee Maracle (Sto:lo) has influenced Chinese writers like Rita Wong:

I always try to acknowledge Lee’s influence because she named colonization for what it was. And back then, my friends and I were very focused on anti-racism, because that’s where we experienced it, I think, most directly. She really made it very clear, that’s important, but you can’t really get at racism until you deal with colonization, like that’s the root of it.

These relationships formed through women of colour organizing and literary circles have led to long-term commitments. In the early 2010s, the Idle No More movement was cited by Jane Shi as her entry point, where she connected with the movement through a talk at a feminist conference. There were several younger women, femmes, and non-binary people who attributed their politicization through feminism. Feminist movements appear to be a door that transcends borders, provinces, and temporalities. The realities of heteropatriarchy in our familial and personal lives

pushes us to desire liberation, even before we understand its connection to colonialism.

Queer and trans-centred arts and social spaces have been sites of relationship-building for many of the younger generation. In Vancouver, Kimberley Wong spoke of queer parties that bring together queer Indigenous, Black and people of colour as sites of relationship-building. The drag community operated in this way for transfemme drag artist, Kendall Yan, who connected with Indigenous peoples through transness. This doorway has been effective in linking people to Indigenous struggles because of the entanglement of cisheteropatriarchy and colonization. It is also significant in explaining the prominence of trans, non-binary, queer, and femme people at the forefront of solidarity-building. This might be a contemporary version of ‘meeting at the margins.’⁷⁰

As a starting point, feminism perhaps provides a useful analytical foundation for understanding power and oppression. But it was through meeting Indigenous women and feminists that was most impactful, through relationships and listening to their perspectives for the need to centre colonization in anti-racist work. This is another dimension to ‘knowing yourself’ not only in terms of ethnic or cultural identities and histories, but gender-based positionalities within structures of heteropatriarchy. This aids embodied understandings of oppression, and analysis of power and control. Indigenous women have guided Chinese feminists towards a pathway to decolonization.

Alongside the women’s liberation movement were peace, anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear movements in Aotearoa that were cited. The generational differences are noticeable for those who became involved in social movements in the 1970s and 80s. They would list several issues and movements, a reflection of an era of prolific protest. Danny Karatea-Goddard’s parents were heavily involved in leftist and anti-apartheid work while they were at university. Kirsten Wong remembers joining the anti-apartheid marches in 1981 when she was 14 years old, and being involved in the anti-nuclear and peace movement. Along with Māori involvement in the Springbok Tour protests came a challenge to Pākehā to confront the racism in New Zealand. Danny Karatea-Goddard remembers:

You had the Springbok Tour in 1981, and really Māori New Zealand were then begging the question, we’re talking about apartheid, and this stuff overseas, but

⁷⁰Out of the 46 people I spoke to, only nine were cismen who have either identified as straight or are in heterosexual marriages. The personal-political experiences and consciousness of gender or sexual oppression and marginalization seems to play a prominent role.

domestically here, we have issues of racism here that need to be confronted and addressed.

Moana Jackson used to share his memories of HART (Halt All Racist Tours) with me, and stories of his brother Syd Jackson who was leading on the frontlines. He would tell me snippets of some of the racism Māori had faced within the anti-apartheid movement from Pākehā. Their international solidarity against South African apartheid also mobilized local anti-racist efforts, linking it to colonization in Aotearoa.

Making the connections between local and international struggles was integral to Richard Fung's understanding. He remembers learning how South African apartheid drew inspiration from colonial technologies of Canada:

It was an awakening for me [...] you have South Africa's National Party leadership come in to study the reserve system which inspired the separation of Black South Africans into Bantustans or "homelands."

Settler colonial states have long learned from each other. The first time Richard Fung heard the term 'settler colonialism' was applied to South Africa and Zimbabwe. Then he heard it used in relation to Israel, when Israel was also one of the major supporters of South African apartheid. It was in the 1970s that Richard later heard 'settler colonialism' to describe Canada.

Moving into the late 1980s, for Bill Chu, the 1989 democratic movement among university students in China followed by the June 4th massacre of students at Tiananmen Square changed his perspective towards Indigenous struggles:

On June 6, 1989, we organized a local memorial service for those killed in Tiananmen Square. [...] 6-7000 people showed up. Not just the church got filled, but the whole block got filled. And that was the first time me as a Christian ever seen so many teary eyes and sad faces in a church. It was a wakeup call for me to our responsibility not just to a congregation but to the bigger community. And if we care about the people who are crushed in Tiananmen Square, who else should we be caring about? In 1990, when the Oka crisis began to develop when a golf course owner wanted to expand his golf course over an indigenous burial site, he saw parallels in the imagery between the out armed Kaneshatà:ke people resisting the formidable Canadian military, and the brave students just before the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre. 1990 happens to be the year with many Indigenous protests in BC, one of which was a protest against logging at Mount Currie Reserve. So we went up there, 'cause it's not too far from Vancouver. [...] There we met a whole community of Indigenous protesters and heard from them, for the first time,

a more candid colonial history of Canada. That plus my renewed understanding of Christian faith form the basis of my long journey with the Indigenous peoples.

The close timing of these events allowed for Bill Chu to draw these connections. While the demands and contexts of oppression are different, the technologies of repression and militarized state violence were shared. The ‘big’ events that garner media attention, when colonial state violence reveals itself in full force against Indigenous resistance, have been effective as initial drivers of political action. Events and big social movements elsewhere have moved people to draw connections, parallels, and reflect on the land they live on. This illuminates how political and social movements for liberation elsewhere have the power to inspire organizing at a local level, and that internationalist orientations involve a dialogic relationship with local contexts.

Furthermore, where (and when) people grew up and where they have been influences understandings of colonialism and Indigeneity. When Richard Fung first migrated to Toronto in the 1970s, he had joined a group for Canadians in support of Native Peoples. Coming from Trinidad and being politicized during high school through the Black Power movement, and then spending some time in Ireland before moving to Toronto, he already had a consciousness of colonialism and Canada as a colonial state. Talking to Richard made me reflect on my own experience of arriving from Aotearoa and already understanding Canada as a settler colonial nation-state. I was under no illusion of it being anything else. Taiwanese participants like He-Lin and Jen Sungshine also had a consciousness of Indigeneity and colonialism. This demonstrates that where you have come informs how you see new places.

Like Richard Fung, Calvin was politicized elsewhere first before becoming involved in social movements in Toronto. His father would take him to demonstrations in Hong Kong against the National Security legislation after 9/11, which they managed to stop:

[T]hey’re, at that point, some of the biggest protests in Hong Kong since probably the 60s, the anti-colonial strikes and so forth.[...] My father used to bring me to these demonstrations, also a lot of the Tiananmen Square memorials and that type of organizing work. I think it was really going to these protests that made me appreciate this idea of people power.

This speaks to the heart of why social movements are a powerful entry point - witnessing the power of people to enact change, to be on the streets with thousands of other people with a common political goal. Coming from places with mass social movements or greater consciousness of

colonialism can facilitate a quicker and easier path to solidarity with Indigenous people - a shorter bridge.

For a generation that has grown up with neoliberalism, several people in their 20s-30s cited housing issues as their entry points. Kirsty Fong spoke of the state housing evictions of Māori and Pacific families in Glenn Innes as having the biggest influence on her when she was a student organizer at 18 in the early 2010s. Glenn Innes is a suburb in Auckland that holds significance for the Māori battalion soldiers who were promised land after serving in WWII. She reflects on the campaign to “Save Our Homes” organized by the Tāmaki Housing Group, a group led by grandmothers. As students they would go and try to stop the removal by standing in the way or locking themselves onto the houses or trucks, and campaign through the media and public talks:

That was the first time I thought about my relationship to land, or me as a migrant guest was so clearly in my face that I had to chew on. Because even the train ride from the city to Glenn Innes. It's 10 minutes, but you experience this culture shock. It's so extremely different. The city's super, like Asian and white. And then you go to Glenn Innes and it's not that. It's very brown, and I think also wondering, how am I standing in solidarity here as someone who is an Asian migrant in this kind of narrative that seems bicultural [...] And what does that mean for me to be in solidarity with Indigenous peoples on this land, like literally every day?

The displacement of Indigenous families, spatialized racism, and housing injustice in the neoliberal era becomes a catalyst to reflect on solidarity, Asian migrant positionality and relationship to land. For Beverly Ho, it was similarly housing injustice that piqued her interest, during her mid-teens. This was from news of protests against the Olympics in Vancouver in a local newspaper:

I was like, ‘Oh, why are they protesting this?’ And then I read it, and I thought, ‘Wow, this is really bad. They don't want to build housing for homeless people here, but they want to build temporary nice housing for athletes who are here for like 4 weeks.’

Later, Beverly Ho started doing housing organizing in Chinatown from 2015, where many of the supporters of Chinatown housing organizing were Indigenous neighbours. Both Beverly and Kirsty's ‘entry points’ were hyperlocal neighbourhood-based housing issues. It reflects the housing precarity driven by colonial capitalism where Indigenous peoples have the least housing stability.

Becoming active during teenage years was common for those who were first moved to act for environmental justice. This is a fraught entry point marred with Sinophobia in Kimberley Wong and Freya's experiences who both spoke to the whiteness they experienced in climate organizing. While attending an upper-middle class high school in Vancouver, Kimberley joined Kids for Climate Action, a group made up of mostly white children whose parents had professions related to political or environmental science. They remember learning important skills for organizing, political campaigning, and advocacy, which are often gate-kept from racialized youth, as this knowledge is largely learned in white dominant spaces. Freya in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) felt "exposed" as a Chinese person in environmental activism. She joined when she started university, and at the time there were 2-3 other Asians, but she feels like this has changed now as more diverse younger people have joined the movement. Environmental justice has a clear link to Indigenous struggles over land and waters, but it also must grapple with the dominance of whiteness within this movement.

Racism in the environmental or climate justice movements can also push Chinese people out. Kimberley Wong recalls the explicitly anti-Chinese racism from climate organizing as a reason they left: "a lot of the rhetoric was not only racist but specifically very anti-Chinese, particularly around the othering of Chinese folks, of China and polluting." Kimberley only found their way back into organizing through a dumpling workshop organized by Hua Foundation, where they first started understanding their distinctly diasporic experiences. For them, it was not a direct pathway from environmental activism to Indigenous solidarity, even if that was a doorway to activism. For Avril Hwang, the connection was more direct. Being from Brunei⁷¹ sparked her interest in environmental justice, which led her to wanting to learn from Indigenous peoples on sustainability. For Derek, as another international student, he took his learnings outside of the classroom and started volunteering for Indigenous-led groups like Rising Tide in Toronto.

Related to environmental concerns but not explicitly social movements-related, the relationship to land and enjoyment of caring for the land was a doorway for Vancouver-based Taiwanese youth, Evelyn. She explains:

I really enjoy land-based work. I really love gardening and stewarding for the land. And so a lot of me taking or trying to take care of the land ecologically, has led me

⁷¹She shared that 60% of Brunei's GDP comes from crude oil and gas.

to a history, and curiosity of the original stewards, and still current stewards of these lands.

We come full circle back to the land here. As much as alignment with decolonization can lead us to taking care of Indigenous lands, a pre-existing love for land-based work can also lead us to Indigenous struggles.

Significance

In many stories, it is land-based struggles and confrontations that first moved Chinese participants to learn more or act. The key Indigenous movements or land reclamations integral to Chinese diasporic alignments with Indigenous struggles were Māori renaissance and anti-apartheid in South Africa in the 1980s, the Oka crisis in 1990, Māori opposition to Foreshore and Seabed Bill in 2004, Idle No More in 2012, and Protect Ihumātao from 2016-2019. They represent ruptures in the colonial fabric, generating portals into Indigenous perspectives and worlds, if you will. However, it takes work, relationships, and for some dedicated study, to slice through the colonizer narratives of Indigenous land defenders as ‘troublemakers’ or in the words of former NZ Prime Minister, Helen Clark, ‘haters and wreckers’ (NZPA 2004). Moreover, Indigenous peoples’ leadership and participation in other social movements or education spaces have been key in materializing doorways to decolonization, whether that is in feminist movements, or in universities and high schools.

Together, all these doorways ultimately rely on direct interactions and relationships, mostly devoid of white mediation. They demonstrate the power of relationships, whether it is kinships, friendships, colleagues, or flatmates - our community, chosen or not, immensely shapes our political consciousness. Indigenous refusals, settler mistakes, and “bad affects” (Diabo 2019) can be generative in not only instigating desires for understanding and solidarity, but also for clarifying boundaries and differences. These genealogies are important to trace and acknowledge, to honour the ‘prior thought’ and work of people and movements who have come before. The type of entry point also reflects relational positionality of Chinese diasporic peoples and their migration histories, education level, class background, relationship to urban/rural spaces, the place of birth and nationality, and religion.

These narratives of participation and/or leadership in social movements also counter the myth of Chinese passivity, especially shattering the stereotypes of East Asian women and femmes,

and model minority myths. We have never been silent or passive, but have been involved in various social movements from our homelands to the diaspora. These stories reveal glimpses into the political agency of Indigenous and Chinese activists. These political genealogies trace relationships embedded in historical processes and ruptures. We see this in the way that the movement against South African apartheid was a key focus of internationalist solidarity in the 1980s. They remind us of “people power” and in some stories the power of places, and the power of transcending colonial borders in struggles for liberation. No liberation can be achieved by one group alone. No liberation (nor oppression) is geographically isolated in the contemporary world. Place, migration, and movement are part of the story - the learning from and experiencing of elsewhere shape/shift political pathways and directions.

Conclusion

In this account of the doorways through social movements are dispersed glimpses into histories of resistance in the nation-states of China, Hong Kong, South Africa, Trinidad to Canada and New Zealand. The temporal tracking of this stems from the 1970s onwards in reference to specific movements and significant political events and crises. What we can distill from these stories are the power to mobilize, and the power of relationships formed through struggle. For some, it meant that understanding our own experiences of oppression or the witnessing of injustices are formative to move towards decolonization. This chapter is another set of arrival stories, arriving at and through the doorways to decolonization and solidarity with Indigenous struggles. They are stories of ‘awakenings’ and politicization, which are not always linear from consciousness to action, or from older generations to younger generations. Within this set of ‘arrival stories,’ are threads connected to various social movements, connections that transcend borders, that grow from kinship relations, friendships, neighbours, like fractals (brown 2017) spiraling out from homes to workplaces, to universities, to visiting or migrating to foreign Indigenous lands.

Part II: Lessons from the Land

Chapter Five - From Unconscious to Conscious

Solidarity in Aotearoa

When white supremacists attack a Chinese mining settlement in the late 1800s, men from Parihaka taken to Ōtepoti defend the Chinese miners from the assault. When the Te Paea Hērangi-led Waikato resistance against WWI conscription visited the incarcerated men who objected in what is now South Auckland, Chinese market gardeners would often feed them. These are some of the stories shared by Dr. Moana Jackson to a hall filled with mostly Asian peoples. The intersections of histories of Māori resistance and Chinese diasporic migrations are often not well-known. Moana described these stories as “people suffering what is the in-built racism of colonisation and finding common cause, not necessarily in large-scale political demonstrations but in recognising the humanity of shared suffering” (Jackson 2020). This felt like an invitation to pay attention to more everyday examples that do not make it into any archives, the basic practices of human relationality and care, the “small” gestures of seeing each other as human in hostile conditions of dehumanization. These earlier oral histories shared led me to wonder what other stories exist, and how we can keep these memories alive.

In this chapter, I provide a rough chronological overview of histories, relationships, and changes in how Māori-Chinese solidarity manifests to the contemporary moment. As a disclaimer, the memorialization and recovery of some of these histories have never been linear, and some stories have only re-emerged over 100 years later. By exploring Chinese relationships with Māori and involvement in and support for Māori movements, activism, we can trace genealogies of solidarity and honour the hidden histories. From Aotearoa, we learn about the role of Māori-Chinese families in bridging communities, the significance of the unconscious, the spirit, and place-based ancestral connections that comes through the examples of relationship-building, solidarity and collaborations between Māori and Chinese peoples in Aotearoa. I propose that in Aotearoa, practices of solidarity come through and from direct unmediated relationships between Māori and Chinese, where the teachings and memories/histories of the land are often held and translated through Māori. Solidarity practices involve memorialization of shared histories, attention to the spirit, marae-based relationship-building, and collective pan-Asian organizing. These are stories and histories that have come from this land, teaching us that practices of solidarity

are not always intentional or conscious. There is a spiral of solidarity from unconscious/unintentional to conscious/intentional solidarity, and from personal, familial, to community levels.

Chinese Mothers of Māori-Chinese Children

From the personal level, the earliest records of Chinese diasporic political solidarity with Māori come from the mothers of Māori-Chinese children. Since the 1930s, intermarriage between Māori and Chinese became more common in some places, but during that time, the majority were Chinese men with Māori women. As immigration restrictions loosened and more Chinese women were able to migrate or reunite with existing family during the Sino-Japanese War and as anti-Chinese legislation began to be repealed post-WWII, the community grew. Whether it is meeting in churches, on market gardens, or in universities, Chinese women also started marrying Māori (and Māori-Chinese) men. Within Māori-Chinese families, it seems that in heterosexual marriages, Chinese women with Māori men have been the more active and vocal politically when it comes to supporting Māori issues than Chinese husbands of Māori women. This includes Danny Karatea-Goddard's late mother, Nancy Kwok (1923-2012). In an interview with Manying Ip (2014, 156), Nancy recounts:

“It all started when I became involved with Māori children in Mt Cook Primary. I took Danny to the club, the Ngāti Poneke Marae. It must be the late 1960s, early 70s. I felt such affinity with Māori. We share the same family values.” She showed the author a set of photos featuring Danny as a little boy with Ngāti Poneke, and said, “I befriended the Māori ladies, we cooked and we baked ... and the day when they asked me to help in the kitchen, the marae became my home. I think it is easy for the Chinese to understand what's bi-cultural, because of our own experience.”

Although Nancy was taking Danny to the marae as a child, Danny did not find out that he had Māori ancestry until he was 16-years-old. Danny's father, George Goddard, did not identify as Māori until later in life. His European ancestry is English and German, and his Māori ancestry comes from Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Maniapoto. Danny's mother and father, George Goddard, were communist revolutionaries who met in university. It was through meeting George that Nancy became politically active. George Goddard was a member of the Communist party since 1943. He was a unionist who worked in the Watersiders Union, including during the famous 1951 lockout.

As a couple, George and Nancy were involved in a wide array of movements and

organizations - the anti-apartheid movement where they had been beaten by police during the Springbok Tour protests, nuclear-free Pacific, anti-hydrogen bomb, New Zealand Communist Party, and New Zealand-China Friendship Society. The Wellington Branch of the NZ Communist Party shared office space with the likes of Ngā Tamatoa:

Danny: They had their stuff at one end of the room and then Ngā Tamatoa had their belongings on the other end of the hall, so those people came into contact quite a lot. Especially those days, if you cast your memory back, here in New Zealand, unionism in New Zealand was really focused on the rights of settler populations in the workforce, and then round about the 1970s, when the Māori consciousness grew and we had the Māori Land March, the Māori Language Bill and the beginnings of the work really done through Ngā Tamatoa and other groups.

This shared space opened opportunities to form relationships with Ngā Tamatoa members. Nancy spent her life dedicated to social justice in Aotearoa and China, and building relationships between the two. Alongside activism, in her paid work, she also spent over 8 years as Court Counsellor working with Māori youth who had been criminalized for minor offenses, who regarded her as ‘aunty Nancy’ (Ip 2014). Nancy built bridges with Māori communities outside of her own family, in social movements, at the Ngāti Pōneke marae, and supporting Māori youth targeted by the criminal justice system.

When I spoke to Prof. Manying Ip about her reflections and memories of Nancy, she commented that Nancy was ‘very rare’ and an ‘exception’ in the Chinese community at the time. Nancy was not only growing up during times of extreme anti-Chinese racism, she was also politically divergent from most of the Chinese community at the time who supported the Nationalists, including her own father. At the end of our interview, Manying remarked, “there are too many instances of people who are ahead of their time, and they haven’t got a group around there, supporting and reinforcing them.” This is true of many other older non-Māori Chinese participants who were often the only Chinese person in groups with either Māori or Pākehā. While Nancy Kwok’s work reflects a trajectory of politicization and a political consciousness of inequalities rooted in capitalism and racism, the practices of solidarity or involvement in Māori struggles from Chinese women pre-1990s were not always ‘intentional.’

Unconscious care and unintentional solidarity pre-1990s

As I sat down to interview Lily Lee, she asked if I was just interested in “intentional”

solidarity. “No, I’m interested in the whole spectrum,” I said. But it didn’t dawn on me until she asked that question, that solidarity can come before ‘political consciousness.’ It made me reflect on how ‘unconscious bias’ is used as a euphemism for racism. While that terminology has its own problems of assuming innocence, it sparked thinking about ‘unintentional/unconscious solidarity’ as another side to human relationality. Whether we might call it ‘unintentional/unconscious solidarity,’ or ‘unconscious care,’ or ‘mutual aid in times of adversity,’ the idea that solidarity isn’t always intentional that Lily posed to me disrupted my own assumptions. Political consciousness is not always required to know and feel that there is injustice, and to act upon that feeling.

As a mother of Māori-Chinese children, Lily Lee’s story is part of the histories of Māori-Chinese families forming through market gardens. Her mother was a refugee from Zhongshan during the Japanese occupation and migrated when New Zealand allowed wives of Chinese men entry until the war was over. Her father was already in Aotearoa, but had worked in Fiji for 7 years, and her grandfather had gone through Sydney. Lily Lee was involved in Māori cultural and language revitalization efforts before she had learned about Te Tiriti o Waitangi. She had been politicized through her daughter, Jenny Lee-Morgan (Waikato Tainui, Ngāti Mahuta, and Ngāti Te Ahiwaru). Lily attributes her daughter’s politicization to a Māori teacher at Jenny’s high school. As a board member of her daughter’s school, Lily advocated for a marae to be built and Māori language to be taught. She recognized and challenged the racism when it came to the school’s expulsions of Māori students. Lily and her husband at the time David Lee (Māori-Chinese) worked with Māori youth, supporting them with life skills and reconnecting them with their culture. While working for the Ministry of Education, she volunteered to be part of the Māori team which went around licensing kohanga reo (language nests). Her advocacy was primarily in the education sphere. When I asked what this was like as a Chinese person, she responded:

I was probably quite relaxed about it because I was not Pākehā, so therefore it wasn’t really targeted at me. I didn’t feel like I was the colonizer. I aligned myself with the Indigenous people.

This sentiment highlights an ease in alignment with Māori and perhaps a time when only Pākehā are seen as the colonizers.

Chinese elder Mary, born in Manawatu during the Great Depression, also shared her experience in the 1980s working on language revitalization with Māori and Pākehā where she stated, “my involvement with the tangata whenua has not been an intentional one. They’ve always

been there. I've always worked with them.” An important and central interest for Mary has been language maintenance and revitalization, including the revitalization of te reo Māori. She notes and applauds the impressive resurgence of interest and acceptance in the contemporary widespread use of te reo. Later, as a teacher she had an easy relationship with her Maori students and was able to help, when requested, with the consequences of out-of-school youthful indiscretions. Her experience of relationship-building is also one that is “unintentional.” Growing up in provincial and rural New Zealand meant that Mary’s childhood allowed for friendships being made easily and naturally with non-Chinese peers, including Māori. “Largely living in rural communities, tangata whenua did not become urbanized until about the mid-1900s and living in small rural towns we schooled as well as played sports together.” In those earlier years of her youth, she felt that living in country districts made for closer interactions and from this a greater understanding and appreciation of each other’s communities.

Manying Ip recounted that in early Māori-Chinese relations, she didn’t find conversations about decolonization or sovereignty:

[I]t was really mutual help for survival, and then [...] Māori and Chinese both being relegated to the fringes of society was [...] because mainstream society pushed them together, [...] and they help each other, and they form relationships and friendship.

The upbringings of older Chinese diasporas in rural towns or outskirts of cities meant living in closer proximity to Māori. Māori were part of their daily lives as neighbours, working on market gardens, or peers in school. Suzanne remembers during primary school; it was her Māori friends who comforted her when she was bullied for being Chinese. As a child, she has an early memory of challenging her father’s anti-Māori racism, for which she was severely beaten. Thus, some of these practices of unconscious solidarity go against the norm in their communities.

These stories reveal that care and solidarity does not require political consciousness, that practices can precede theory, that we have the capacity to unconsciously practice good relations without requiring the academic language, or the detailed knowledge of histories. Understanding this can help us rethink solidarity as unconscious in everyday acts and relations. Solidarity emerges from the daily interactions, and it can be an unconscious form of resistance to white supremacy and colonialism. I do not think it is coincidental that many of these early examples come from Chinese women, some of whom spoke about their experiences of Confucian patriarchy in their families, and the racism they faced growing up. As explored in the previous chapter, the leadership

of women, queer, and trans peoples in decolonial and anti-oppression work can develop from personal lived experiences of injustice and discrimination. Nancy, Lily, and Mary's work with Māori share commonalities in their practices of support for Māori youth who have been targeted by the colonial criminal justice system, or within the punitive and colonial education system. For Lily and Mary, there was also a focus on language revitalization, which by the 1980s, existed in a context of growing Māori movements for language revival. In their unpaid and paid work, they built relationships and supported Māori at interpersonal, educational, and institutional levels.

Māori-Chinese: “the Living Descendants of Those Relationships”

The inter-relationships between Māori and Chinese birthed Māori-Chinese children, families, and communities. The Māori-Chinese population is growing and it's often a community that is overlooked in both Māori and Chinese community spaces. Danny Karatea-Goddard is a son of Nancy Kwok and George Goddard, and was influenced by his dad's turn away from the Labour Party after the introduction of neoliberalism. After his father was made aware of the domestic issues of racism by their Ngāpuhi activist relative, Danny recalls:

[M]y father's views changed, they changed so much that [...] when I was able to vote at the age of 18, I remember sitting at the end of my father's bed. [...] My father was crying at the end of the bed, and he said, “Danny, I worked my whole life for the union movement and for the Labour Party, but it's lost its way. This year, you have a choice when you're voting, to go on the Māori roll or the general roll.” He goes, “I'm [...] swapping myself to the Māori roll and I'm going to vote for Matt Rata and vote Mana Motuhake” and then he turned to me and said, “you need to make a decision whether you're going to go on the Māori roll or the general roll and who you may vote for.” I'll never forget that, because when you give your life to something and then things change, that was a marked moment for my dad in two ways: one was politics - identifying with Mana Motuhake really meant that he was then convinced that those issues of mana motuhake, tino rangatiratanga were now key for him.

This unforgettable memory of his father's turn to tino rangatiratanga impacted Danny, and his perspective that ‘nothing is fixed.’ He talks about his responsibility to foster ‘both streams’ as Māori and Chinese. From my interview with Danny and Marutakaiwaho Karatea-Goddard, I gained a profound understanding of the centrality of the Māori-Chinese families, identities and their perspectives for understanding solidarity. More than anyone else, they have a deeply personal stake because, as Danny put it, they are “the living descendants of those relationships.” Danny

explains:

There's a Māori-Chinese population which is significant now [...] there's a voice missing from the dialogue and narrative and that's the Māori-Chinese descendant list. And I've always been advocating, and I find this with, even with the Ventnor celebrations and business, with those interactions that really the NZ Chinese Association, Māoridom need to recognise Māori-Chinese descendants because they have an authentic stake in that, because they share both streams.

Marutakaiwaho also echoed the importance of involving Māori-Chinese on matters related to both communities. For example, when coming up with a name for Chinese people in Māori, it should be Māori-Chinese linguists who decide and determine the best words to use.⁷² As Marutakaiwaho put it, Māori-Chinese have a role in “brokering” these relationships.

Māori-Chinese families are already living these relationships in an everyday intimate sense and have been central to bridging these communities. Between 2003-2010, academic research and films have highlighted the experiences of Māori-Chinese and Māori-Chinese relations (Ip 2003; Lee JBJ 2007; Ip 2008; Ip 2009). JBJ Lee (2007) and Ip (2008) have both written about the experiences of Māori-Chinese people and families. The racism and prejudice they face come from both Māori and Chinese communities in addition to the hegemonic racism from Pākehā. Their experiences differ from Māori who have a Pākehā parent. The film *Eating Pork 'n' Puha with Chopsticks* (Lee P 2007) details the experiences of Lily and David Lee's children who have struggled with these forms of racism. The book *Being Māori-Chinese* (Ip 2008) has also been translated by Song Lam into Chinese, profiling seven Māori-Chinese families.

The intellectual and historical recovery work of Dr. Jenny Lee-Morgan, daughter of Lily Lee, gives us an essential grounding on the history and dynamics between Māori and Chinese communities. For non-Māori Chinese people, any conversations around solidarity or relationship-building should involve those who are already living it in personal and intimate ways. They remind us that Māori and Chinese communities are not discrete, but have built communities together on the margins while being subjected to racism from all sides. They hold insights and perspectives from lived experiences that those who are non-Māori Chinese or non-Chinese Māori do not have, and are experienced in navigating these relationships. The contemporary solidarities have grown

⁷²The term often used in circulation is “Hainamana,” a transliteration of “Chinaman,” which has also been used as a slur against Māori-Chinese.

from intimate relationships that have formed families, and birthed new generations of the descendants of these relationships.

The Solidarity Practices of 1970s Chinese Migrants

The solidarity histories I have shared thus far primarily pertain to the old Cantonese diaspora who migrated before the 1950s. A new wave of Chinese migrants arrived in the 1970s of 1st and 2nd generation Chinese migrants. They primarily came from/through Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore - countries where the British have been and where English is more commonly spoken. New Zealand was recruiting medical doctors from Commonwealth countries to meet a shortage, so Manying's husband and Tze Ming's parents were able to migrate and settle in Tāmaki Makaurau. Wai Ho's parents came as international students to Pōneke, and Trish Cheng came as a high school student to Pōneke and Ōtaki. This group of Chinese diasporic people became most active in the 1990s and 2000s, often working within their own spheres of influence, as a mother in Playcentre doing treaty education with Pākehā (Trish Cheng), as a historian at university (Manying Ip), and as writers and activists during the Foreshore and Seabed mobilizations (Wai Ho and Tze Ming Mok).

Manying's work has primarily focused on research, gathering histories on Māori-Chinese relations and Māori-Chinese families. She first researched early New Zealand Chinese histories when nothing had been written about it at the time. She noticed early on that the interactions between Māori and Chinese were important to the story. At the time, some prominent Māori voices were vocal against Asian immigration, such as Winston Peters (politician), and Ranginui Walker (academic). In the 1990s, during the height of overt anti-Asian racism, her letter box was filled with hate mail. Some hilariously accused Chinese people of killing tigers, thinking that 'tiger balm' was made from real tigers. It was through receiving hate mail from a Māori-Chinese person that she learned about the history of intermarriage:

He identified himself as Māori-Chinese, he said that he is against Asian migration and he explained why, of course it was all economic [...] pushed the Māori to the bottom of the economic heap, and then at the end [...] he said, 'I was raised by my aunt who is Chinese,' [...] which made me realize there is a history of mixed marriages.

This letter from the 1990s and knowledge of government anti-miscegenation efforts against Māori-

Chinese intermarriage sparked her interest and she began researching this in the early 2000s. At first, she was met with warnings that nobody would speak to her because it is considered shameful:

In 2003 when I went to Ōtaki, at the Wānanga I remember going to the institution and talking to the headmaster [...] He said to me, [...] “I’m afraid you won’t get anything, no one will talk to you, because this is such a shameful thing for the Māori community.” He said, he was very serious, “it is such a shameful thing.” “You mean that associating with Chinese was shameful?” He said, “not just that, because those Chinese men who mostly have wives in China and then those girls could be working just for money.” That’s how he put it.

Despite this, over 100 Māori-Chinese were interviewed in her research. This work has contributed to making Māori-Chinese communities more visible, and is contextualized in a history of marginalization and ‘meeting on the margins.’ This historical recovery work since the early 2000s has helped to make connections in a climate of racial hostility and antagonism between Māori and Asian peoples. She later collaborated with Prof. Margaret Mutu to do further research into Māori-Chinese relationships, publishing the anthology, *The Dragon and the Taniwha* (Ip 2009).

Outside of the academic space, to connect with Māori and Chinese communities, Manying Ip (2003) organized a marae stay with 24 groups of Chinese at Ōrākei marae on Ngati Whātua land in 1994. This happened after incidents of antagonism between Māori and Chinese, and Chinese were blamed for overfishing and taking the pāua. This visit was reported in Chinese language newspapers, and it is an example of direct unmediated learning from local Māori perspectives of Aotearoa. Manying writes:

This was a high-profile goodwill gesture where guests paid their respects to their hosts. The 60-strong Chinese contingent went to learn about the Treaty of Waitangi from the Maori elders, listened to their interpretation of New Zealand history, and talked about their relationship with their host country in general. All contemporary accounts testify to the success of the visit (*Mandarin Pages*, 24 March 1994, 8), and the elders of the Ngati Whatua remain generally cordial towards the Chinese. (Ip 2003, 248)

This was significant for a group of Chinese people to hear this history directly from Māori, rather than the history from Pākehā.

The 1990s is also when Trish Cheng became active in treaty education. This is a decolonization movement largely led by Pākehā women, who have taken up the challenge by Māori to ‘educate their own communities’ and leave Māori to rebuild their own peoples and power

(Huygens 2016). As a mother, Trish joined Playcentre, a parents' cooperative and movement centred on a child-centred pedagogy of play, which was focused on implementing biculturalism in their organizational structure. In the 1960s, Nancy Kwok was also an area officer for Playcentre, so there was some earlier Chinese participation. However, Playcentre was a predominantly Pākehā organisation, and this is where Trish started doing treaty education with Pākehā, and at times Māori and Pacific peoples, where she was the only Chinese taking part in treaty work.

By the 1990s, te reo Māori revitalization was underway and Trish originally had an idea to bring a group of parents together from her centre to learn te reo so that they can pass it to their children. At the Association level, there was also interest from other centres to do the same, this eventually became two groups, Te Rito for language learning, and Pākehā treaty workers who would do treaty education. She remembers this work starting from the late 1980s to mid-1990s when Playcentre was “very busy and very strong in trying to learn and teach about Pākehā treaty responsibilities and obligations. And at that stage, I think the focus was in providing education, giving information first off before thinking about how to put into action what we'd learned.” She was part of organizing big national conferences for Playcentre, with delegates including treaty workers from other Playcentre Associations up and down the country. Toward the end of the 1990s, she had burnt out. She later rejoined treaty work aimed at new migrants in the 2000s and found a place for herself there to continue her Māori language and Tiriti journey as a tangata tiriti.

Like Trish Cheng, Wai Ho worked predominantly with Pākehā as the only Chinese person. He was also engaged in treaty education, and specifically ran workshops for Asians to find connections. He saw this as a “vehicle to talk about power and racism and colonization in New Zealand.” The ‘treaty workshop’ was a way for Wai to: “a) find other people, b) educate myself some more and be able to have that conversation [...] with other Asian people.” Unlike Trish who in the 1990s primarily facilitated workshops with non-Asian peoples, Wai's audience in the early 2000s was focused on reaching out to other Asians. Alongside this, he wrote the original issue of *Mellow Yellow* zine in circa. 2005, which features thoughts on this topic, and was effective in reaching and finding others. The *Mellow Yellow Aotearoa* blog was set up in 2009 to share writing online.

Likewise, Tze Ming used writing to communicate and reach other Asians on Te Tiriti. Her essay ‘Race You There’ published in 2004 speaks to the milieu at the time, but she also had a

regular blog on Public Address.⁷³ She was involved in the Pōneke activist scene, where she reconnected with other former University of Auckland student activists such as Sarah Helm (Kāi Tahu) and Teanau Tuiono (Ngāpuhi, Cook Island Māori). They organized together in 2004 against the National Front, a neo-Nazi fascist organization that was mobilizing against Asian immigration. While the organizing of this march was started by white leftists/activists, it snowballed into a diverse coalition when Teanau, Sarah, and Tze Ming got involved. Tze Ming's role was to engage and mobilize multicultural and ethnic organizations. She recalls:

[T]hat was probably the first protest I organized collectively with Māori that wasn't like just a mediated protest. And that and I guess my participation in the hīkoi that year wasn't mediated by Pākehā and that was really refreshing. [...] it just made me realize [...] I don't need white people to participate in this struggle.

Direct relationship-building, not mediated by Pākehā, is a continuation of a practice from earlier generations of the Cantonese diaspora, like Nancy Kwok and Lily Lee. From Tze Ming Mok's organizing and Manying Ip's research and community focus, and the conference and symposium spaces where they have come together, they have started to open space for Asians to connect intentionally with Māori and Te Tiriti. Alongside these practices of direct-relationship building for collaborations in research and activism, and treaty education, there are also instances of showing up for Māori-led movements and mobilization against further colonial land theft.

The Spiritual Element

The land, ancestors, and spirit are inseparable. The spiritual element emerged in Wai Ho's recollections. As we linger in the 2000s, this story emerges from a time of mass mobilization against further confiscations of Māori land through the Foreshore and Seabed Bill in 2004. Wai Ho, a second-generation Malaysian-Chinese with Cantonese ancestry, had started organizing in a primarily Pākehā group called ARC (Aotearoa Reality Check/Anti-Racist Crew). Wai was the first Chinese person I had met who was actively supporting Māori movements, and we had been friends for years. But it was not until this interview, I got to hear this story. As a warning, this might be unsettling for some.

⁷³ This was a New Zealand platform that hosted a community of blogs and discussion forms from 2002-2023.

THE SPIRITUAL ELEMENT

THERE WAS A FORESHORE AND SEABED HĪKOI MARCH IN WELLINGTON, THAT BIG ONE AND THEN MAYBE A FEW WEEKS OR A FEW MONTHS LATER, THERE WAS ANOTHER HĪKOI IN AUCKLAND.

OUR CREW ORGANISED TO GO UP, AND HONESTLY, I SWEAR IT TOOK 17 HOURS TO DRIVE FROM WELLINGTON TO AUCKLAND AND THERE WERE SOME INCIDENTS.

SOME PEOPLE SAY IT WAS MENTAL HEALTH STUFF, AND OTHER PEOPLE SAY IT WAS A TANIWHA.

WAI HO

MAORI SEABED FOR SHORE!

WHATEVER IT WAS, STUFF WENT DOWN. OUT OF IT CAME THE CHALLENGE FROM OUR MĀORI COUNTERPARTS THAT THIS STUFF WAS HAPPENING TO US AS TAUWI AND PĀKEHĀ BECAUSE THE WORK WE WERE DOING WAS SPIRITUAL WORK.

BUT BECAUSE WE WERE WESTERN OR NON-INDIGENOUS, WE HAD NOT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS SPIRITUAL WORK, AND THEREFORE WE HAD NOT TAKEN THE RIGHT PRECAUTIONS, AS WELL AS THE RIGHT RESPECTS TO THE WORK. SO WHAT WE WERE DOING WAS SPIRITUALLY DANGEROUS.

WE HAD NOT ACKNOWLEDGED THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF THE WORK, WHICH THEN MAKES US UNSAFE. IT MAKES US, IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH TANGATA WHENUA, UNSAFE.



SO WHAT EXACTLY
WENT DOWN?

IN TAUPŌ, OFF SPA ROAD, YOU GO
THROUGH GRASSY FIELDS AND THERE'S
WHERE A HOT RIVER MEETS A COLD
RIVER. SO IT'S LIKE A LITTLE BATHING
AREA, WE DROVE UP AND STOPPED
THERE ON OUR 17 HOUR ROAD TRIP.



WE ALL WENT FOR A BIT OF A SWIM, AND CARRIED ON.
I THINK ON THE WAY BACK, SOMEONE PRETTY MUCH
HAD A BIT OF BREAKDOWN.

THEY FELT LIKE THEY WERE
POSSESSED, AND SO SOME OF US WERE
LIKE, 'UH OH, MENTAL HEALTH BOMB.'



BUT LUCKILY, WE HAD GONE WITH THE
MĀORI THAT HAD COME WITH US. WE'D
ALL GONE TOGETHER.



YOU'VE PICKED UP THE TANIWHA BECAUSE
YOU GUYS HAVE WORK TO DO, AND IT WILL
SHOW YOU THE WORK TO DO.

SO IT PASSED FROM ONE WOMAN TO ANOTHER WOMAN AND THE OTHER WOMAN SOUGHT ADVICE AS TO WHAT TO DO WITH THIS TANIWHA POSSESSION.

AND THEN A TOHUNGA DOWN IN CHRISTCHURCH WAS LIKE, "OH YOU GOTTA TAKE IT ON A JOURNEY." SO I THINK THEY JUST WENT ON A TOUR OF NEW ZEALAND OR SOMETHING WITH IT, AND EVENTUALLY RETURNED IT BACK.



THE DEFINITION OF 'TANIWHA' OFFERED BY TE AKA MĀORI DICTIONARY IS:

(NOUN) WATER SPIRIT, MONSTER, DANGEROUS WATER CREATURE, POWERFUL CREATURE, CHIEF, POWERFUL LEADER, SOMETHING OR SOMEONE AWESOME - TANIWHA TAKE MANY FORMS FROM LOGS TO REPTILES AND WHALES AND OFTEN LIVE IN LAKES, RIVERS OR THE SEA. THEY ARE OFTEN REGARDED AS GUARDIANS BY THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THEIR TERRITORY, BUT MAY ALSO HAVE A MALIGN INFLUENCE ON HUMAN BEINGS.

Wai's experience teaches us there are more than human forces at work, beyond our control. The Māori on the trip and the tohunga (expert) knew to interpret this as a taniwha possession, they translated the meaning of this experience. They were, in a sense, translating for the land. Although it was only Pākehā who experienced this possession, Wai took this lesson on and paid more attention to the spiritual side of decolonial work, including opening and closing events properly with karakia. This story raises several questions for me: how are we spiritually positioned and what accountabilities and responsibilities are entailed through that? What does it mean to be spiritually dangerous or spiritually safe? How do we hold ourselves spiritually accountable to Indigenous peoples and the land? This is not an invitation to appropriate Indigenous spiritualities, or to immediately seek spiritual guidance from Indigenous peoples, but to acknowledge how non-Indigenous people can be/have been 'spiritually dangerous.' The next story shared is perhaps an example of spiritually-grounded work directly connected to ancestors.

Honouring Ancestors: Memorialization and Historical Recovery

As a form of ethical remembrance, honouring of ancestors and genealogies, memorialization and historical recovery work to remember and revive historical relations between Māori and Chinese has been a focus of old Cantonese diasporas and Chinese historians. As new cohorts of Chinese migrants arrive in Aotearoa, overtaking the 'old diaspora,' there has been a turn towards preserving earlier Chinese histories. It is genealogical and memory work to seek knowledge of what has come before. When Professor Margaret Mutu was researching Māori-Chinese relations, she had come across the sinking of the SS Ventnor, a ship carrying the bones of 499 Chinese miners, and shared it at one of the New Zealand Chinese Association (NZCA) conference but at that time, nobody had heard about it. Later someone asked her about it, and she told them:

Well, just thinking logically, if that ship went down there, for sure some of it will have come ashore. In which case, the mana whenua there will probably know what happened to it. So I suggest you go and talk to them.

Kirsten Wong speculated that the story probably was shared with different Chinese people before, but they probably didn't know what to do with that information. So it wasn't until 2007, when Wong Liu Shueng moved to Rawene, that the story was told to people who could act on it.

WE WERE WAITING

PART OF THE HERITAGE WORK WE'VE BEEN DOING HAS BEEN RECLAIMING A STORY AROUND A GROUP OF GOLD MINERS WHOSE REMAINS WERE BEING TAKEN BACK TO CHINA FOR BURIAL.

OUR COMMUNITY GATHERED THEM ALL, EXHUMED THEM, AND PUT THEM ON A BOAT WHICH SAILED FROM AOTEAROA IN 1902.

KIRSTEN WONG

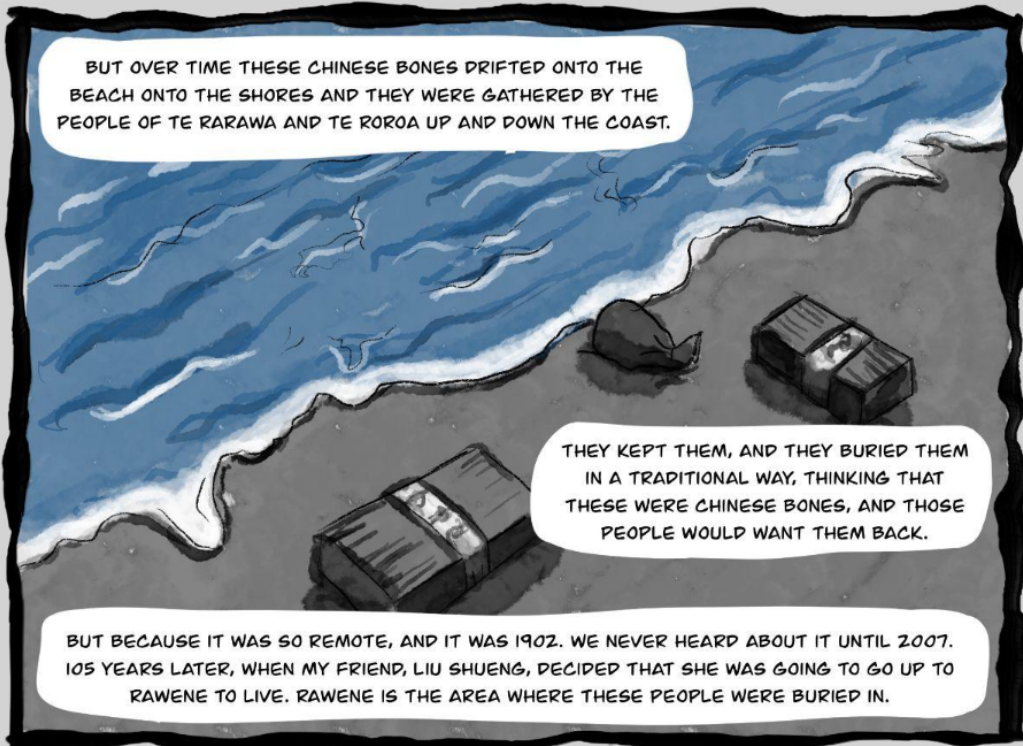


UNFORTUNATELY, THAT BOAT HIT A REEF, JUST BAD LUCK OR ANCESTRAL WHATEVER.

AND THEN IT SANK, LIKE JUST OFF THE COAST OF THE HOKIANGA, WHICH WAS A PLACE THAT WAS MOSTLY MĀORI AT THAT TIME IN 1902.



SO WE WENT UP TO LOOK FOR BONES, BUT WE COULDN'T FIND ANYTHING, BECAUSE IT WAS 10 KM OUT TO SEA.



AND SO WE GO VISIT ALEX NATHAN AT TE ROROA'S OFFICE.

OH, THAT'S TOTALLY TRUE. WE WERE WAITING FOR YOU TO COME, AND WE THOUGHT YOU'D TURN UP AT SOME POINT.



I WORKED OUT THAT LIU SHUENG'S ANCESTORS WERE RELATED TO THE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN PUT ON THE VENTNOR, AND RELATED TO THE PERSON WHO ORGANISED THE EXHUMATION OF THE WELLINGTON COFFINS ONTO THE VENTNOR. OUR COUNTY ASSOCIATION WAS INVOLVED IN THE ORGANIZATION AS WELL.



THEN SHE STARTED GETTING ALL THE ANCESTRAL THINGS GOING AROUND HER HOME.

AND THEN, BY COINCIDENCE - I'VE NEVER BEEN TO HOKIANGA - BUT IN THE TWO WEEKS FROM THAT PHONE CALL, I WAS ACTUALLY GOING UP TO ATTEND A WEDDING. IT WAS ALL VERY COINCIDENTAL. EVERYTHING JUST FELL INTO THIS PLACE LIKE ABNORMALLY TOO SLICKLY.



SINCE THEN WE'VE BEEN GOING UP THERE AND PAYING OUR RESPECTS AND HAVING A PARTNERSHIP WITH THOSE IWI, THOSE PEOPLES WHO ARE STILL CARING FOR THE BONES OF OUR ANCESTORS. AND SO WE HAVE THAT DEEP ANCESTRAL CONNECTION.

We often hear that our cultures have a shared respect for ancestors. There are protocols and rituals on how to move those who have passed onto the next phase. As the Project Lead on Ventnor Memorial Project, Kirsten has worked with descendants of the Chinese miners to honour them during the 清明 (cīng1 míng4/qīngmíng) or Tomb-sweeping festival.⁷⁴ Others in the community like Meng Foon, Danny and Marutakaiwaho Karatea-Goddard, Freya, Lily Lee and many others that I've interviewed have been involved and participated. Several memorial structures have been built in the area to remember and honour this history.

Listening to Kirsten talk about this history, of things falling in place 'abnormally too slickly' leads me to interpret this as 缘分, a predestined relationship, a fate and inevitable connection bound to happen. Perhaps that was the workings of the ancestors, the hungry ghosts who never made it home, but were cared for and made a home on Te Roroa and Te Rarawa land.

The ancestral and emotional ties to this story have allowed for a relationship to Māori that is, as Freya mentioned, different to just any group of Chinese people visiting a marae. Freya is a descendant of one of the miners. She felt the trip was unlike any other, it felt "visceral and solid in a way that hadn't been felt before." Even for those who are Chinese but not direct descendants of the miners, there is a strong resonance. Renee Liang, a second generation Cantonese poet and playwright has written this story as a play/opera called *The Bone Feeder* and it began to be performed live in theatres in 2010. Other multigenerational Chinese like Suzanne Gee, although not descended from ancestors buried in the Hokianga, felt "these are our people." The experience of visiting Hokianga can be an emotional experience, to witness Chinese and Māori communities coming together, and in the spiritual weight of a people having looked after your ancestors for over 100 years. Rituals and ceremonies have been part of my experience visiting in 2018. Looking over the ocean, the sandy beaches, and where some of the remains are buried with harakeke growing abundantly, it is easy for emotions to flow. I think about the families waiting in China that never got to farewell or bury their loved ones in the villages of Canton. The remains of these miners, forever diasporic.

The Ventnor Memorial project is memory work, recovering histories and making histories. In the reverence for ancestors, there is an orientation towards understanding and preserving the past. It is not only the act of burial that reflects an unconscious and conscious care, but the

⁷⁴This is a time at the beginning of April where descendants would visit their ancestors' graves, burn incense and paper money, offer food and clean/sweep their tombstones.

memories and stories passed down, from generation to generation, until this knowledge could be shared with the Chinese descendants. In honouring the ancestors in perpetuity, memorialization activates historical presence and presents. In 2024, a delegation of Chinese youth organized with the support of NZCA visited the sites in Hokianga and then Waitangi during Waitangi Day, and were welcomed on to Te Tii Marae. The trip I joined also involved visiting different marae in the Hokianga region. This leads me to consider the transformative and embodied relational practices centring Indigenous protocols through marae-based experiences.

“If Aotearoa was a Marae”

Explaining what Te Tiriti means to Asians, Dr. Moana Jackson likened it to a pōwhiri⁷⁵ on a marae.⁷⁶ Experiencing a pōwhiri, tauwiwi can better understand in an embodied and experiential sense, the metaphor Moana Jackson gave for the meaning of Te Tiriti: to be a guest/visitor where you do not give up your own independence, but must respect the tikanga and kawa of the tangata whenua. The marae is a place where futurities can be prefigured and already practiced in the present, where tikanga and kawa of the host people are respected and followed. Moana Jackson once shared a story with me about his koro, and how he helped to shelter Chinese people at their local marae seeking refuge from violent racists (Te Tākupu 2023). Later, the Chinese who had been sheltered would often visit his koro and bring him vegetables from their garden. Nancy Kwok’s reflections of Ngāti Pōneke marae illustrates the relationships that can be built, and the connections made through ‘shared values’ (Ip 2014).

In 2013, Ngāti Whatua o Ōrākei hosted the Dragon and Taniwha festival on their marae. This was initiated by Dr. Pita Sharples, a former MP of the Māori Party, who wanted to address the lack of opportunities for engagement between Māori and new Chinese migrants. I had attended this at the time and remember live performances, food, kites from both cultures and videos playing of Māori students going on exchanges to China. It is an example of cultural-sharing that is hosted by Māori, demonstrating manaakitanga by welcoming Chinese communities onto Ōrākei marae.

The marae has not only been an important place for local relationship-building, but it has also been a space for negotiation with Chinese companies. In a story that Professor Margaret Mutu

⁷⁵A welcome ceremony on a marae.

⁷⁶“the open area in front of the *wharenui*, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*.” (Te Aka Māori Dictionary)

shared with me, she successfully negotiated the protection of Ngāti Kahu lands at Waipapa marae. She explains the background to me: on Ngāti Kahu land, a sacred burial cave was under threat from a developer trying to build a tourist resort and luxury houses in Karikari. The company had gotten resource consent without Ngāti Kahu's consent or knowledge:

We knew something was horribly wrong, because we had lost I think it was seven people out of one whānau in a space of 3 months. [...] And then, it dawned on me that maybe these people were doing something with our burial caves. Sure enough, they had got resource consent, so bypassed us, we knew nothing about it.[...] Effectively, the way our tapu works, is that [...] if we don't uphold our end of it, protecting our tapu, then we're the ones who suffer.

They tried to use legal avenues to stop the development which went all the way up to the Supreme Court. One day, the NZ Herald called Professor Mutu and asked if she knew that the company had been sold to 'the Chinese'? She was informed the company was sold to Shanghai CRED. She met with her people who advised her to take them to the meeting house at the University of Auckland and explain to them "why we are who we are" through the carvings. This is the wharehūi (meeting house) at Waipapa marae, which is part of University of Auckland, where I had studied te reo Māori. Professor Mutu took them there:

So I started telling them the kōrero of all the house, and then I got to the one on the tuānui, on the ridge pole, and said to him, 'now this one is Aituā, and this is the one who deals to you when you breach tapu, when you violate tapu. And this is the one you have to be very very careful of when you come to the building of those luxury houses that you have. You've got a resource consent to build luxury houses on the top of our burial cave.' And we had interpreters who are working with us, and I hadn't even got to the end of describing what it was they were doing when they stopped me. They went into a huddle, and they came back, and they said, 'are you saying that those luxury houses are on the top of a burial ground?' And I said, 'yes they are.' And they said, 'we would never ever build on the top of a burial cave, or a burial ground.' And I said, 'I didn't think you would.'

And I said, 'would you give up your resource consents?' And they said, 'absolutely.' [...]

And there was just no argument about it at all. They understood. And I have used that example, many many times, around the country, because that is Chinese culture, Māori culture, we understand the power of tapu. We understand why you must respect the dead and why you must look after them.

It was on this marae, amongst the carvings and the stories they hold, that a solution was agreed upon to stop the developments on the burial caves. From then on, Professor Mutu recalls going on trips to Shanghai paid for by the CEO from Shanghai CRED, annual trips that happened over several years and learning more about Chinese culture through visiting China. She regards this relationship as being mutually respectful and beneficial. However, more recently, new management from this company have soured relationships with Ngāti Kahu and are wanting to expand with more developments (Ling 2023).

Returning to local Chinese and Māori relationship-building, members of ASTR like Suzanne Gee have been connected to Papatūānuku Kokiri Marae. They have taken te reo Māori classes while also volunteering in the gardens and learning about food sovereignty and relating to the land from a Māori perspective:

So considering the wairua⁷⁷ of the land, the wairua of the soil, and saying karakia before you go in the garden, all those things. [Before the lockdown,] we were going regularly to help in the gardens, in the maara, [...] just being there, putting our hands in the soil, helping with weeding and watering, helping with harvesting.

Marae-based learning is an example of more sustained relationship-building that simultaneously engages in reciprocity with the land.

In theory, it is important for all non-Indigenous people to understand the protocols and experience being on a marae. However, sometimes without proper preparation, it can do more harm than good. What happens when this is just experienced as cultural tourism? Meng Foon brought up an example of a marae stay for ‘multicultural’ communities:

I look at some of the new immigrants and they all want to go to marae [...] from what I see, it’s a tick box thing. I supported the ethnic people to go to a marae in Tauranga and I said to them, ‘this is only the beginning of the journey.’ In actual fact, you need to be a bit more active in how you can support [...] active participation is very important, not just a picture.

Although he said this, he felt the visitors were not interested in active participation, and instead treated the experience more as a tourist. This kind of experience can still be a tokenistic gesture when entering the marae without the right intentions, and interacting with tangata whenua within an exploitative capitalist transactional framework rather than a deeper relational one.

⁷⁷Wairua, often translated as ‘spirit,’ is composed of ‘wai’ (water) and ‘rua’ (two), ‘two waters.’

Staying on a marae for a gathering or a conference can be a transformative experience with the right intentions. On a marae, everyone usually sleeps in the whareniui, sometimes hosting dozens of people at a time, and conversations can go well into the night. Darryn Ooi mentions during times of washing the dishes, “you have a conversation that takes you to new places,” it is conducive to stronger relationship-building and learning “in the dark.” On a marae, people can talk for as long as they are awake. This is a place-based form of relationship-building while following the tikanga and kawa (protocols) of the marae, a microcosm of what all of Aotearoa could become/return to. Prof. Mutu’s invitation of Shanghai CRED onto Waipapa marae, and her explanations of the carvings, and connecting through shared cultural respect for the dead prevented a disastrous development. These are also acts of cultural/spiritual translation. Moreover, it is in these narratives and in the story of the Ventnor, where the land, the ancestors, and the spiritual realms are entangled. While each of these stories offer many other important insights, the common thread here is the space of the marae and the whareniui as a place to host deeper relationships, to learn and reciprocate. This illustrates how land and place host and inform our relationships.

Pan-Asian Formation: Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga

The idea of an “Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga” banner and bloc materialized in Waitangi 2010 and later became an organization. The symbolism of this at Waitangi on Waitangi Day directly draws on the place-based histories and resistance of Māori who have organized mobilization during that time/place. The group emerged through the culmination of the work of Māori-Chinese, the mass Māori-led mobilization against the Foreshore and Seabed Bill, visits to Waitangi, and Asian feminist networks. This history of ASTR is intertwined with Asian queer, trans, and feminist histories. Many were seeking a third/caucus space for Asians to grapple with our relationship to Te Tiriti and Māori. The relationships with Māori groups and activists have been formative for ASTR and it is through the work of Māori-Chinese and Māori social movements that it is on the agenda. This is why the history of Māori resistance is important to understand, and these groups do not form in a vacuum but in response and in dialogic relationships with Māori. Social media played a big role as well as the “perfect placement” of the 1.5 generation, as Tze Ming Mok noted. It now offers a space, an organization, an approach, a discourse for Asians and other tauwiwi of colour to tap into and expand upon.

Prior to ASTR, the year 2007 seems to be particularly significant and pivotal for Māori and

Chinese solidarity. This was when *Jade Taniwha* by Jenny Bol Jun Lee was first published, and *Eating Pork 'n' Puha with Chopsticks* (Lee P 2007) was released. This was the year that Wong Liu Shueng first heard the story of the Ventnor after moving to Rawene. This was the year of the Urewera raids on October 15th that cast Māori and Tūhoe as ‘terrorists,’ this had pivoted my organizing priorities to focus on court-based solidarity for the defendants and their children. This was the year I met matua Moana Jackson, the year when the *Sweet As?* Conference was organized where he spoke. Upon my last visit to him in 2022, he recounted that this was the first time he had witnessed so many non-Pākehā tauwiwi discuss Te Tiriti. Kirsten Wong, Wai Ho, and Kerry Ann Lee were all involved in organizing. I remember communicating with Wai over email, or MSN messenger, before I had any form of social media, when text messages cost 20c each to send. That year, I had started university, and I had chosen a beginner te reo Māori course. I was the only Chinese person in that class, and it taught me as much about myself, my culture and histories, as it did about Māori. This was a generative and fruitful year for serendipitous meetings, awareness of Māori-Chinese experiences, spaces for gathering that birthed new relationships.

During this time, Māori and Asian interests were often set up by politicians as antagonistic, and when there was less certainty on what Te Tiriti meant for Asian communities. I went to Waitangi Day in 2008 after the police terror raids targeting Tūhoe. I was asked to hold a ‘Pākehā stand with Tūhoe banner,’ and felt uncomfortable being subsumed under ‘Pākehā.’ There have been moments like that where the assumption of whiteness in solidarity activism prompted a desire to find other Asian activists. That year, I was listening in the political tent. I distinctly remember one of the questions posed to politicians along the lines of “how would you protect Māori interests with the increase in Asian immigration?” The underlying assumption of this question places Asian immigration as a threat to Māori interests, invoking old discourses of the Yellow Peril. Simultaneously, politicians like Don Brash presented Māori interests as a threat to a “multicultural” New Zealand. In addition, I experienced Pākehā treaty workshops that assume Pākehā/white audiences, even if the material is targeted primarily at migrants of colour. There was little attention to British colonialism outside of Aotearoa and the connections, a siloing of histories, or racial hierarchies outside of a Māori-Pākehā binary.

To trace a genealogy through painted fabric takes us to the youth-based Asian feminist community building in Tāmaki Makaurau. While the ASTR banner was first painted in 2010, more iterations of it were made in subsequent years. Young Asian Feminists Aotearoa, established in

2010 as a social support network of Asian feminists, would take this banner to marches and protests. The group was organized through Facebook, and held in-person gatherings, members helped to collate more issues of *Mellow Yellow*, and held reading groups on decolonization and Asian feminism. We read writings from so-called Canada to make sense of our positionality (e.g. Lawrence and Dua 2005; Jafri 2012; Walia 2013). During the Idle No More mobilizations, YAFA held a small solidarity action at the Canadian consulate in Auckland. There was an awareness of political movements transnationally. Between 2010 and 2016, the banner would be taken to protests in Tāmaki Makaurau and Waitangi, in solidarity with Tūhoe at the Auckland High Court, on the hīkoi against the supercity that would remove Māori seats, at various Māori-led demonstrations. At this point, ‘ASTR’ has not yet formed as a group.

In 2014, some of us from YAFA attended a treaty workshop at NZCA premises in central Auckland. This is where I had first met Suzanne Gee. Trish remembers this workshop too, and it was her first time meeting Suzanne and other Chinese people interested in treaty issues. In 2015, I went to Waitangi with my flatmate who is a Cook Island Māori linguist, and I had the ASTR banner. She held it with me at one point, but it did not feel appropriate to expect her to carry it with me the whole way. Scanning the crowd, I spotted an Asian face and asked if they wanted to hold it with me. I unfurled the banner, and that person who got another Chinese friend to come, they also felt uncomfortable standing behind a ‘Pākehā’ banner. It turned out we were going to the same hui organized by Network Waitangi for tauiwi youth activists on honouring Te Tiriti. The Asian feminist networks, the chance meetings (or yuanfen again) and public treaty workshops brought many of us together.

The 2010s was also a time of massive technological change with the growth of the internet and social media. In 2016, Marama Davidson shared a photo with us on Facebook that went somewhat viral with hundreds of supportive comments. Some of us had known Marama Davidson from when she was an activist and writer for Te Wharepora Hou, a blog featuring voices of wāhine Māori. That year, we were 6 people. We were women, transmasculine or non-binary, all in our 20s, ethnically Chinese with connections to Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Taiwan and mainland China. We had a group chat where we discussed setting up a group, it felt like there were people and momentum to do so. This was when we established as a group. Kirsty Fong articulates the intentions were to hold a “space in which we can be in political solidarity with Māori-led movements for sovereignty and self-determination.” Initially, we decided to have two streams of

work: solidarity or ‘showing up’ for Māori movements, and education for Asian communities.

Many of us realized that we did not need to work with Pākehā to participate in social change.

As Tze Ming puts it:

[...] you’ve been able to have the critical mass a), b) the cultural tools to bridge the gap between English language and Asian language communities, and c) the ability to organize online. It’s so huge! You have no idea how hard it was!

The formation and growth of ASTR was always contingent on our relationships with Māori who have responded to our group with warmth and encouragement. This organizing would not be possible without those pre-existing relationships which formed in and through social movements. Members of ASTR participated in Māori-led organizations like Racial Equity Aotearoa and the Pacific Panther Network who invited us to join. Racial Equity Aotearoa is a Māori-led group established for tangata whenua and people of colour to dismantle systemic racism. REA supported anti-deportation protests where Indian international students were left with no options when the institution they were registered in closed. They spoke out against border imperialism and held solidarity actions in support of Standing Rock to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline. When the Pacific Panther Network emerged led by Māori and Pacific activists with the purpose of “connecting with Pacific synergies, utilising indigenous knowledges and practices to strengthen our communities in resistance against colonisation,”⁷⁸ ASTR and REA joined. Much of the organizing and relationship-building were done over food through ‘meet and eats,’ an idea from a Samoan activist.

The outreach work targeting ‘Asian’ communities started with our own networks and circles to begin with. We held our first pilot Te Tiriti workshop at Rainbow Youth in August 2016, after incorporating feedback from Dr. Moana Jackson on our workshop outlines, which we adapted from Tangata Tiriti Treaty Peoples facilitators’ handbook. ASTR continues Te Tiriti workshops to this day. The outreach work of ASTR work also involved public talks with Dr. Moana Jackson. The first one in 2018 in Te Whanganui-a-Tara to coincide with the Aotearoa Asian Artists Hui co-organized with Asian Law Students Association.⁷⁹ Moana agreed to speak on the topic of Te Tiriti in relation to Asians. There, Moana shared stories of Māori and Chinese solidarity. This event inspired the formation of an ASTR branch in Pōneke. The second public talk with Moana was held

⁷⁸From the Pacific Panther Network (2024) Facebook page.

⁷⁹The organizers gave ASTR members a short Sunday morning slot to talk about Te Tiriti (which ended up being even more condensed as the previous session ran overtime).

in 2019, in Tāmaki Makaurau where his talk focused on Matike Mai and constitutional transformation. He helped us to better understand our relationship to Te Tiriti and provided a common goal to work towards: constitutional transformation.

The social media accounts of ASTR have been analyzed by Aotearoa-based Cook Island Māori scholar, Kaitlin Abbot (2022) to consider strategies that could be useful for Pacific Islander communities to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In her MA thesis, she notes ASTR’s practices of holding regular in-person public events, our use of storytelling in our activism, and the creation of an online space for education in digestible formats (Abbott 2022). Her work also points to the potential of exchanges between Pacific Islander communities and other tauwiwi of colour.

The existence of this pan-Asian collective speaks to the primacy of Māori resistance and resurgence, with their unapologetic visibility in New Zealand politics as the strongest force against racism, with decolonization at its core. This is a point of difference to the Canadian context where Indigenous struggles are often elided from dominant discourses of anti-racism (Lawrence and Dua 2005). It is because of Māori activists and leaders like Marama Davidson, Moana Jackson, Sina Brown-Davis, and many others, that ASTR has become what it is today. Our work exists also as fruits of their labour. The formation of ASTR has feminist roots, and involved years of prior community-building, and collective learning. Although the initial idea of “Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga” as a message was sparked by Jenny Bol Jun Lee’s work, our relationships with Māori-Chinese communities are limited and lacking, as well as with Sinophone seniors and newcomer Chinese. There is ample space for growth in these areas, and to take Danny and Marutakaiwaho’s challenge seriously to involve Māori-Chinese in these conversations on solidarity.

Conclusion

In Aotearoa, the trajectory of solidarity building from Chinese diasporas spirals out from the mothers of Māori-Chinese children, such as Nancy Kwok and Lily Lee. Their Māori-Chinese children and descendants have since forged bridges and alliances. Other earlier examples involve old diaspora Cantonese who mainly grew up in country districts, in communities with Māori or on market gardens. The next generation that migrated from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia in the 1970s and 80s started becoming involved through historical research, Pākehā-dominated treaty education, and through writing and activism. Later a cohort of mostly 1990s immigrants found

each other and germinated Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga in the soils of Asian feminist community-building.

The knowledge from Aotearoa heavily informs the first tenets of celestial solidarity: 1) honouring all that is unseen: the ancestors, the spirit, and the unconscious, 2) integration of temporal and spatial solidarity. What is perhaps the significant learning from these relationships is that solidarity is not always intentional, relations of care, mutual support for survival, does not always require theory. Practice can come before theory. Sometimes teachings are ‘felt’ or ‘embodied’ before we come to full consciousness of its meaning. The story of the taniwha possession represents this, and within this story, the meaning of this had to be translated by Māori who can interpret the land. The teachings from the land here are to attend to the spirit and pay the proper respects. Other-than-human agency is involved, and there are many instances where experiences and meetings can be interpreted as yuanfen - serendipity, fate, destined relationships, sometimes ancestrally determined. The spiritual, the ancestors and the land are inseparable in the story of Ventnor. To honour the spiritual is also to honour the ancestors and the land.

The place-based histories of Aotearoa based on Māori memory, interpretation, and translations of the land inform these teachings. We see this through Professor Mutu’s explanations of the carvings at Waipapa marae to Chinese developers, the burials of Chinese miners’ remain in Hokianga, the meaning of the taniwha possession from a river near Taupō, the annual commemorations and protests at Waitangi - the persistent translating of Te Tiriti o Waitangi for primarily Anglophone comprehension. Without this translational labour, it would be difficult to build solidarity. Within localities and places, relationships are already transnational and require some level of translation for making connections.

AN IMPACTFUL VISIT



LILY LEE

IN 1987, LILY LEE ATTENDED THE FIRST WORLD INDIGENOUS EDUCATION CONFERENCE HELD IN VANCOUVER.

I WAS WITH A MĀORI GROUP, I WENT ACROSS WITH ALL THE TERTIARY MAORI TEACHERS, 20 OF US OR MORE AND THERE WAS ALSO THE KOHANGA REO MOVEMENT WHO ALSO WENT, THEY HAD A BIG CONTINGENT, MAYBE 30. SO THERE WAS A LOT OF US WHO WENT FROM NEW ZEALAND.



THEY PUT ON HUGE DĀY FOR US, WHERE THEY TOOK US OUT TO THEIR LONGHOUSE AND SENT US WITH BEAUTIFUL SALMON AND SOLD US ALL THEIR BEAUTIFUL JEWELLRY AND DID THE WELCOMES THEY DID.



SO IT WAS VERY SIGNIFICANT, IT WAS VERY IMPACTFUL AND I COULD SENSE AND FEEL THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST NATIONS.

THEY WERE DEFINITELY A GROUP THAT FELT AKIN TO THE MAORI GROUP AND HAD THE SAME KIND OF ASPIRATIONS.

IT WAS GREAT TO SEE THAT HAPPEN IN VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA. IT SEEMED REALLY EXCITING AT THE TIME.

Chapter Six- Storying Solidarity Landscapes in Vancouver-occupied Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh Lands

When I visited Lily Lee, she brought out photo albums and opened it up to a page of photos taken when she visited Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh land in 1987 with a group of Māori educators. She had gone in place of her husband, David Lee, and she was the only Chinese person there. I begin this chapter with her story to highlight the pre-existing relationships of transnational solidarity between Indigenous nations, between Māori and Indigenous peoples on lands occupied by Canada. She could see the shared struggle and similar aspirations that had brought pan-Indigenous alliances together. I also want to acknowledge the travels of the Chinese diaspora across oceans where many Chinese elders have visited ‘Vancouver’ before me. In the early 2000s, Manying Ip met with Henry Yu to search for histories of Chinese-Indigenous relations, but at the time, she did not find what she was looking for. By 2022, there was an abundance of this type of work. This story is also emblematic of the closer connections and similarities between Aotearoa and Vancouver-based histories of solidarity and care between Indigenous and Chinese peoples, as well as connections between Chinese diasporas in Aotearoa and Vancouver amongst the old Cantonese diaspora.

The major lessons from Vancouver and greater BC are 1) early histories of care and solidarity are shared and revived through visiting Indigenous communities, and engaging in place-based cultural exchanges, 2) the story-sharing of dual heritage Indigenous-Chinese has been foundational for bridge-building, historical recovery, and dialogues, 3) the hyperlocal neighbourhood spatial proximity between Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside creates opportunities for everyday interaction which is both a source of solidarity and tension, and 4) ‘getting your own house(s) in order’ is part of solidarity work that involve navigating intergenerational relations and intersectional hierarchies. Indigenous and Chinese-Indigenous leadership and initiatives have contributed immensely to contemporary solidarity, such as work by Lee Maracle, Kamala Todd, and the Musqueam-Chinese Grant family among many others.

Before I go into the organizing and activism of Chinese people living on Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh territories, I want to briefly highlight the Indigenous-led union

organizing that included racialized workers documented by The Squamish Nation (2024). We travel in time to 1906 - the year before the anti-Asian riots broke out. White trade unions were amongst some of the worst proponents of anti-Chinese racism and white supremacy, opposing Chinese labour and immigration. In 1906, an Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) chapter was formed in Vancouver led by Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh workers on the waterfront (The Squamish Nation 2024). The formation of the IWW Local 526 “centred on racial solidarity and anticapitalist ideology” (The Squamish Nation 2024, 147). They were informally called “Bows and Arrows,” and it was a majority Indigenous union, but also included Chinese, English, Kanaka Maoli, and Chilean workers (The Squamish Nation 2024, 147). Together, they went through an intense strike, but disbanded after one year of formation.

This legacy has lived on through the formation of the International Longshoremen’s Union in 1913, and these union organizing experiences based on building collective, decentralized power, have continued to inform later struggles with the colonial state (The Squamish Nation 2024, 150). Workers’ union power is indisputably based on solidarity and coming together for a collective goal. This early example of Indigenous-led labour organizing and the inclusion of Chinese and other racialized workers is a significant story in resisting racial capitalism and the white supremacy of white unions. This also reflects a pattern of Indigenous peoples ‘holding’ Chinese histories and passing down ‘memories’ to reshare with diasporic Chinese communities.

Contemporary Memorialization of Indigenous-Chinese Histories

Like Aotearoa-based recovery of the histories of Māori-Chinese relations, the ‘hidden’ or ‘forgotten’ histories of Indigenous and Chinese relations are being recovered across Indigenous lands occupied by “British Columbia.” For people like David Wong, some of these stories were passed down by his grandmother, and later corroborated by his dear friend, the late Chief Leonard George, from the Tsleil-Waututh Nation. For Bill Chu, his outreach to Indigenous communities, organizing of Indigenous forums and going outside of Vancouver to support Indigenous struggles has put him in touch with the broader Indigenous community all over ‘BC.’ They later helped him to recover histories of both BC’s earlier Chinese and their relationship with Indigenous communities, as well as guided him to forgotten Chinese heritage sites on their territories. By the 1990s, he started organizing study tours visiting Indigenous communities in BC, bringing initially carloads then busloads of Chinese as well as other Canadians to visit reserves and life therein.

After Bill took groups of Chinese to Mt Currie reserve, a friend and teacher at Mt Currie reserve began bringing a busload of her students to visit Vancouver Chinatown during its Lunar New Year celebrations. When Bill was presented with a collection of the student's drawings of their impression of the Chinese dragon dance they saw during their visit, these annual visits were named "Dances with Dragons." Started in 1996, it is "an annual celebration of the journey with the Aboriginal communities set within the colorful Chinese Lunar New Year Parade." He recalls that the busload of young Mt Currie observers soon morphed into adults from different First Nations participating in the parade. Afterwards, they would all be invited to have a catered lunch together, where Bill would share the hopes and progress in reconciliation. In my interview with Bill, he mentioned although the public might view their parade participation as a cultural performance, for him and the Indigenous participants, it is more about "celebrating another year of journeying together" as "real friends." This tradition went on for 17 years until he realized with the rise of China, this relationship was being exploited by some Chinatown groups more interested in assisting China to "gobble up the land and resources of Indigenous peoples."

Bill emphasized that these are not one-directional relationships. In return, Bill and his group have been invited by the Nisga'a participants to Hoobiyee, the vibrant Nisga'a celebration of the waxing crescent moon during the latter part of Winter. As he continued his work of reconciliation, he was adamant in the need to oppose colonialism whether practiced by the West or the East. These exchanges, with cultural and food-sharing woven into certain festivals in each other's calendar, facilitate relationship-building naturally with Indigenous communities inside and outside Metro Vancouver.

The story of the Indigenous people caring for injured Chinese labourers is most well-known from accounts in 'BC,' although this probably occurred in other provinces too. These histories had been handed down orally from Indigenous and Chinese ancestors. These stories were shared with Bill Chu, and he has been reviving these histories through tours of 'BC' with Chinese, Canadian and church-based groups over three decades. Calvin, who is based in Toronto, Rita Wong and David Wong have all participated in his tour. I was grateful to attend one of his last tours in 2023 with a group of newly arrived Hong Kongers. This is a pedagogy away from the classroom, into direct relation in a collective setting, and what Bill calls 'immersive' learning.

THE CHANCE TO LISTEN



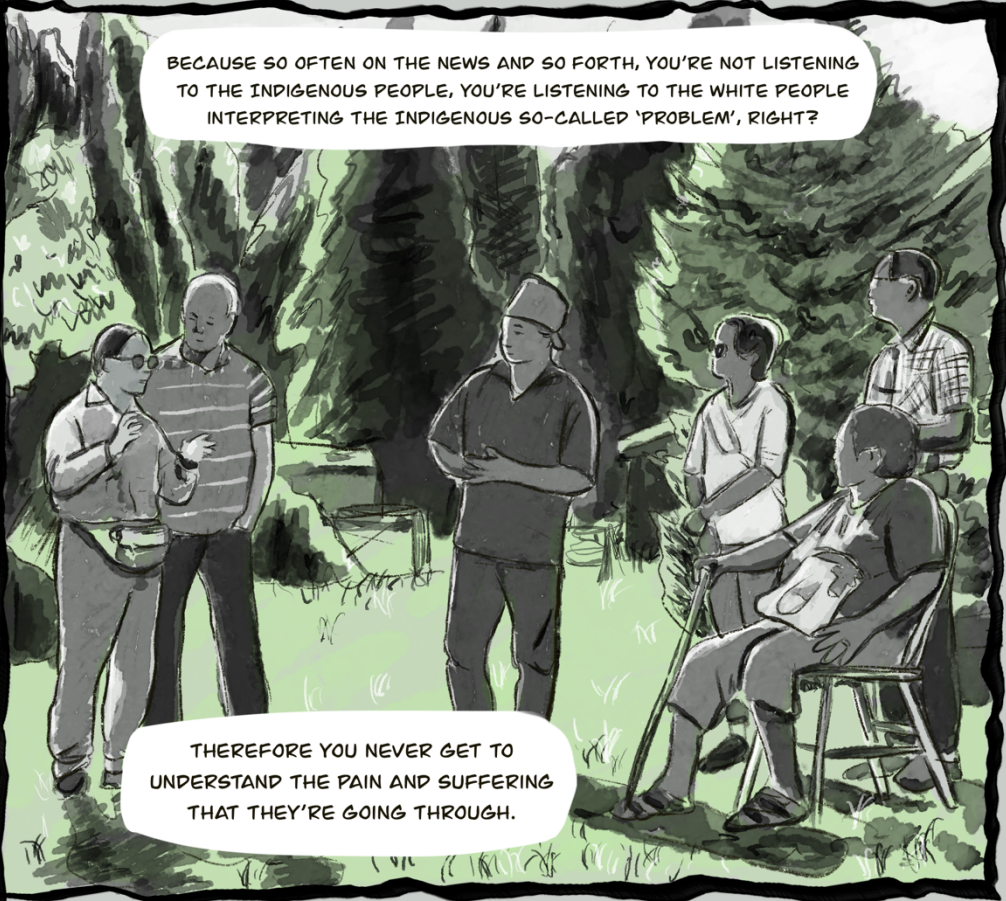
BILL CHU

ONE OF THE MANY THINGS WE DID TO PROVOKE UNDERSTANDING, IN MY WAY OF THINKING, WE CANNOT TALK ABOUT HISTORY IN A CLASSROOM.

WE KEEP YAPPING AWAY IN A CLASSROOM, NOBODY WOULD REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE PROBLEM.

SO I FEEL THAT THE BEST WAY IS TO IMMERSE THEM IN THAT INDIGENOUS CULTURE, AND TO ALLOW THEM THE CHANCE TO LISTEN, AT LEAST FOR HALF A DAY FROM THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE.

BECAUSE SO OFTEN ON THE NEWS AND SO FORTH, YOU'RE NOT LISTENING TO THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE, YOU'RE LISTENING TO THE WHITE PEOPLE INTERPRETING THE INDIGENOUS SO-CALLED 'PROBLEM', RIGHT?



THEREFORE YOU NEVER GET TO UNDERSTAND THE PAIN AND SUFFERING THAT THEY'RE GOING THROUGH.

I DON'T KNOW ABOUT NEW ZEALAND, BUT THE GOVERNMENT ALWAYS ADVERTISE ABOUT HOW MANY BILLIONS THEY SPEND ON THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE.



\$23-billion settlement for First Nations children

SO A LOT OF PEOPLE THINK THE NATIVES ARE BEING WELL-TREATED, RIGHT? THEY JUST THINK THEY DON'T KNOW HOW TO SPEND THEIR MONEY, THEY DON'T KNOW HOW TO FIX THEIR HOUSE, THAT'S WHY THEY LIVE ON THE STREET AND SO ON.

EVERY CHILD MATTERS

THE TERRIBLE THING TO ME ABOUT THAT KIND OF ATTITUDE IS, IN THE CASE OF BC, INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF HELPING EACH OTHER, YOU KNOW?

THERE'S MORE BY THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE THAN BY THE CHINESE, IN THOSE DAYS. REMEMBER WE CAME WITH NO KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT BC WAS ABOUT.

THERE WAS ONE STORY ABOUT A CHINESE RESTAURANT OWNER. JUST BEFORE HE PASSED AWAY, HE CALLED ALL HIS CHILDREN AROUND HIS BED.

YOU GUYS ALL BE NICE TO THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE



NOW THE CHILDREN HAD NO IDEA WHY HE SAID THAT, SO HE STARTED EXPLAINING. LIKE ALL CHINESE, THEY WERE ALL VERY RELUCTANT IN TELLING THEIR PAST.



WHEN I WAS WORKING ON THE RAILROAD, I WAS HURT BADLY. I WAS LEFT BY MYSELF ON THE SIDE OF THE RAILROAD TO DIE, LOTS OF PEOPLE WALKED PAST BUT COULDN'T HELP ME.

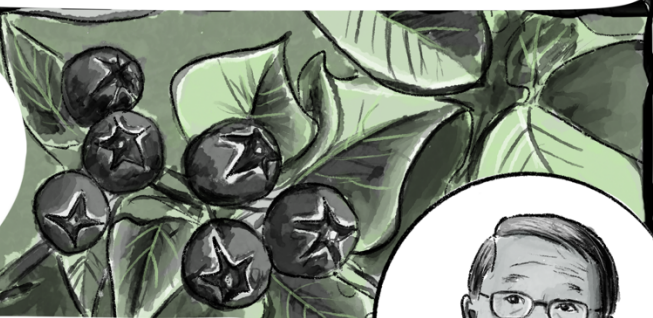
UNTIL TWO INDIGENOUS PEOPLE CAME BY. THEY PICKED ME UP, BROUGHT ME TO THEIR HOME. OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS, THEY NURSED ME BACK TO HEALTH.



I WILL NEVER FORGET THAT AND I WANT ALL OF YOU TO REMEMBER THAT.

BUT THERE ARE MANY MANY SIMILAR STORIES, HOW CHINESE LEARNED, OR HOW INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TAUGHT CHINESE HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE WILDERNESS, IN THE DEEP WINTER.

FROM PICKING THE RIGHT KIND OF BERRIES FOR THEIR VITAMIN C TO HOW TO BUILD SOME PROTECTION OVER THEIR HEAD, OUT IN THE WILDERNESS IN THE WINTER.



This story that Bill shared is echoed in David Wong's (2012) *Escape to Gold Mountain*, and shared in oral histories from people with connections to Vancouver. Rita Wong mentioned the late Sid Tan, who would share that his grandfather "always said, 'you be thankful, because you wouldn't be there if those folks hadn't taken care of you, you wouldn't have survived when you first got here.'" These sentiments reveal the direction of solidarity and care as coming more from Indigenous peoples than Chinese.

Bill estimates that he's taken 2500 people on these tours since he started. Media outlets like CBC (2001, 2011) and the Tyee (Mittelstedt 2014) are among many which have covered these tours, which have also been reported in Chinese, Japanese and French media. This reflects a strategy of solidarity through recovering and remembering shared histories, based on listening to Indigenous peoples' stories and memories of the land. By 2001, Bill Chu founded Canadians for Reconciliation, long before the language of the TRC became popularized. They were a Christian faith-based non-profit grassroots group, where one of the goals was to "promote and foster reconciliation of Canada's relationship with the indigenous people and nations" (Canadians For Reconciliation 2013).

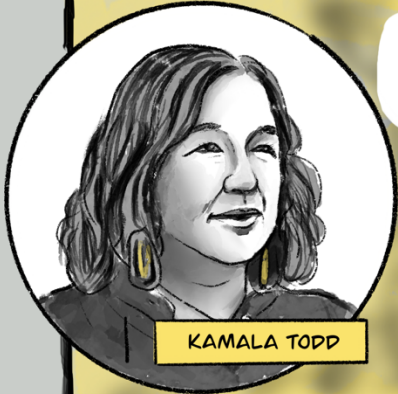
In October 2004, Bill Chu organized a historic banquet that brought 600 people together from First Nations, Chinese community and other Canadians to celebrate the reconnecting of two old, marginalized groups in BC. To prepare for that, he drove 600 miles to door-knock at different First Nations up to Lillooet inviting them to come. Aside from bringing these two historical groups together, this banquet was also to fundraise for the victims at Mt. Currie and Chase who were impacted by the severe flooding and devastating wildfire the year before. The City of Vancouver proclaimed that day as 'Day of Reconciliation with First Nations.' With the funds raised, \$2,200 were earmarked for the flooding victims at Mt. Currie. However, upon hearing about the catastrophic Asian tsunami on Christmas Eve, the people of Mt Currie reserve felt the Asian victims need that fund much more and a representative went with him to donate that money via Red Cross to the tsunami victims in Southeast Asia. When that was reported in the news, an anonymous donor responded by forwarding a cheque of the same amount to the Mt. Currie residents. Through such relationship-building, he and others came to learn more about Indigenous communities, Chinese histories as well as forgotten Chinese heritage sites in remote corners of 'BC.'

Spotlighting Indigenous-Chinese Intermarriages and Families

In 1990, a novel called *Disappearing Moon Cafe* by SKY Lee was published, which brought out the relationships between Chinese men and Indigenous women. It also depicted the mistreatment and abandonment of Indigenous women by Chinese men, who would often have wives back in China. Into the 2000s, through film, community-based projects, and place-based tours, the histories of Chinese-Indigenous intimacies are being recovered and shared. Barman's (2013) study found that 1 in 6 relationships Chinese men had throughout the late 19th century were with Indigenous women. Some Indigenous women lost their "Indian" status in the process, but exceptions also occurred (Barman 2013). Many Indigenous-Chinese families formed as a result, which is a similar story to the Māori-Chinese, with some relationships also forming in the context of market gardens. It is estimated that a third of Stó:lo nation members have Chinese ancestry (CBC 2001). In the documentary, *A Tribe of One* (Cha 2003), Rhonda Larrabee shares how her mother raised them in Chinatown, passing as Chinese. Only in the later years of her life, she discovered that she had Indigenous ancestry and was part of the Qayqayt Nation. Chinatown, at times, was also a sanctuary for Indigenous peoples who could pass as Chinese to escape a harsher treatment of being identified as 'Indian.' Her story was shared in Storyscapes Chinatown.

The term 'storyscapes' Kamala Todd coined to talk about "stories being on the land and in place." Kamala is a Cree-Métis and German filmmaker and city planner. Kamala invited Diana Leung to join the Storyscapes Chinatown project to be part of a team of story gatherers to interview people on the stories of Indigenous and Chinese connections in Chinatown. The Musqueam-Chinese Grant family and Rhonda Larabee's stories were a big part of the project (Leung 2008). While they heard stories from wider BC, their focus was specific to neighbourhoods in Vancouver. Even while interviewing people in Gastown, the stories of Indigenous and Chinese relations emerged, about mixed ancestries and intermarriages. They held a story circle, exhibited the stories in public spaces and connected with multicultural organizations like S.U.C.C.E.S.S. to share these stories.

SHARED STORYSCAPES



KAMALA TODD

DOREEN JENSEN, WHO IS ACKNOWLEDGED IN CEDAR AND BAMBOO WHO WAS LIKE AN AUNTY TO ME, SHE WAS A GOOD FRIEND OF MY MUM'S, A GITXSAN ARTIST AND CURATOR AND JUST INCREDIBLE PERSON. SHE WOULD CALL ME EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE AT WORK.




MY FRIEND KEEPS TELLING ME THAT THERE WAS THIS FASCINATING, RICH, AND UNTALKED ABOUT HISTORY IN BC OF INTERMARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP, AND MUTUAL AID, LOVE AND CARE, AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN CHINESE AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE.

SOMEBODY REALLY NEEDS TO RESEARCH THAT. SOMEBODY REALLY NEEDS TO TELL THE STORIES ABOUT THAT.



YEAH, THAT'S REALLY INTERESTING.

BUT THEN I REALIZED THAT SHE WAS BASICALLY TELLING ME TO DO THAT. I FOUND OUT LATER THAT'S SORT OF WHAT SHE WOULD DO, THAT'S HER WAY OF ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THINGS THAT NEED IT TO BE DONE.



WE REALIZE, OKAY, AN IMPORTANT NEXT STEP WITH STORYSCAPES - WE DID SOME ORAL HISTORIES IN THIS AREA AND THAT AREA -

LET'S LOOK AT CHINATOWN, AND LET'S LOOK AT SHARED HISTORIES OF DISCRIMINATION AND EXPERIENCES WITH RACISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY, AND THEN ALSO, THE ACTUAL INTERMARRIAGE WHICH WE STARTED TO HEAR A LOT ABOUT IN THE INTERVIEWS.

SO INTERVIEWS ARE LIKE STORY GATHERING, ORAL HISTORIES. AND THEN [A MUSQUEAM-CHINESE] FAMILY WAS A BIG PART OF THAT AND LOOKING AT THAT VERY SPECIFIC HISTORY HERE IN VANCOUVER, AND CHINESE MARKET GARDENS AND HOW THEY'VE FED PEOPLE IN VANCOUVER.

AND JUST ALL THESE INCREDIBLE RICH HISTORIES COMING OUT.

I illustrate this story from Kamala Todd's narration to take notice of the practice of citation in honouring Doreen Jensen, and to acknowledge how aunties seed ideas that come into fruition. A small interaction spirals into a bigger project. When Kamala and I reached out to Doreen Jensen's daughter, Cynthia Jensen Fisk, to ask for permission to use her mother's image, she wrote in her response:

Whenever mom said, "someone should . . .," while she was looking directly at you with a sparkle in her eyes and a knowing smile, you would soon realize that she really meant "you should . . ." We called this *xbukws ts'im muu'n*, literal translation is spitting in your ear. Mom and I would often joke about her subliminal hints being "ear worms," once they were in there, they would niggle at the back of your mind until you were inspired to do something about them! (email communications, 2024)

Her beautiful response to us made me think how these 'ear worms' are animate and alive. Kamala fed and nurtured this ear worm by expanding the Storyscapes project to include Chinatown. Storyscapes began as a project to address the erasure of Indigenous presence in Vancouver. Musqueam-Chinese elder Larry Grant expressed in the Vancouver Dialogues film, "We as Aboriginal People don't have a presence in Vancouver. A lot of our history is buried and ignored." (Todd 2015, 6:28-6:40) Through Doreen Jensen's recommendation, it was extended to the Storyscapes Chinatown project which officially launched in 2005.

Through Storyscapes Chinatown, a Squamish Chief, Ian Campbell shared histories of the land that Chinatown was built on. Leung (2008, 89) recounts his narrative:

This land, he describes, was their "supermarket" (Campbell 2006). It was a place of food and resources that are hard to find in other places, such as elk, wild rice, and cranberries, as well as salmon, sturgeon, and seals nearby. Then, settlers arrived and their settlements drastically altered the landscape.

Squamish relationships to this land were disrupted and made invisible. Leung (2008, 100) asserts, "This project has lifted the sense of invisibility experienced by some of the storytellers and their listeners and goes beyond the recovery of a lost past [...]" There is more to this project than memory recovery, but as a vehicle for greater contemporary visibility. This provided a platform for both inter-cultural collaboration between Indigenous and Chinese communities and intergenerational story gathering between youth and elders that featured place-based stories that highlighted shared histories. It is a community-based, arts-based, place-based pedagogy of storytelling and direct

relationship-building.

Remembering these histories honours a genealogy of intimacies, as well a history of gendered racism that denied Chinese women access to these lands. The anti-miscegenation discourse at the time was focused on Chinese men and white women. Across many provinces including BC, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Chinese businesses were banned from hiring white women “to reduce inter-racial contact” (Yee 2005, 13). Instead, Indigenous women were often hired as waitresses. Kamala Todd articulates:

For Indigenous people, Chinese restaurants were some of the only places that would welcome them and of course, as we know, white women for a while weren't allowed to work in Chinese restaurants or establishments. And so a lot of Indigenous people worked in those places, there's some of those histories of [...] feeling safe in each other's spaces.

Likewise, through these relationships, Chinese people learned the power of Indigenous medicines. To remember these histories and stories, like the ones that Dr. Moana Jackson shared, reveals kindness and care through trying times.

After the story-gathering for *Storiscapes Chinatown*, Kamala Todd and Diana Leung collaborated to make *Cedar and Bamboo* (2008), a short film highlighting stories of Indigenous-Chinese people. It was through the invitation of the Chinese Canadian Historical Society of BC that Kamala and Diana became involved in making this film. Through their story-sharing, Indigenous-Chinese descendants of these relationships have been formative and active in bridging Indigenous and Chinese communities. However, not all the stories were positive, including a memorable story of Judy Joe featured in the film, who had been taken by her father to China to live with his first wife and lived with a stepfamily in a village in Guangzhou. In the film, she discloses physical and psychological violence from her family. Diana shares:

[It] sounded like an awful kind of family situation for her to be in, and when she tried, I think, in her teenage years, she tried running away several times, and eventually she was successful and was able to... she was able to escape to Hong Kong. She got her passport, and then eventually saved up enough money to fly back to Canada. [...] I think another thing that resonated with me is when she came back to Canada and got a job in and settled in Vancouver, she said that she kinda had to experience this land as an immigrant. [...] she no longer spoke English.

In the film, Judy speaks fluent Cantonese. She had been treated like a ‘slave’ by the step-family,

and denied the opportunity to grow up in her mother's community and culture. It reveals that while relationships and intimacies exist, Indigenous and Chinese children and Indigenous women were not always treated with respect. We must confront how these relationships have also been sites of harm and violence. *Cedar and Bamboo* has screened in many spaces, from festival circuits to art galleries, to community events. A teaching resource has been developed to accompany this film. These projects of documenting, recording, remembering, and searching for place-based stories centred on Chinatown and helped to revive and recover these histories and to push back against historical erasure of relationships that did not involve white people.

As a continuation of film work featuring Indigenous-Chinese family stories, *All Our Father's Relations* (Yoshikawa 2016) documents the Musqueam-Chinese Grant family and their journey returning to the ancestral village of their father in Guangzhou. This film highlights a history of Chinese market gardening, leasing Musqueam lands and living close to and marrying into Indigenous communities. Alan Chen commented on how a Chinese producer's work in this film as an example of solidarity:

What she did was organize a trip for this family to go back and visit their ancestral villages and family in [...] the Guangdong region. [...] I felt like it was a great demonstration of depth, in terms of really getting to know someone. And then leveraging your resources to help them achieve a goal that was meaningful to them that you also had some connection to.

Here Alan commends this work for not only telling the story but also "leveraging your resources." The affective impact of stories is meaningful, invoking emotional responses and connections. The Grant family's involvement was key in the Storyscapes Chinatown amongst many other projects.

Learning from Indigenous Feminists

In Chapter Four, I discussed the significance of feminism as a site of decolonial politicization and relationship-building between Chinese and Indigenous feminists. Here I want to extend this story beyond the initial doorway, but to highlight the 'living rooms,' as a continual gathering space for relational learning and organizing. The leadership of Indigenous feminists such as the late Lee Maracle and Dorothy Christian needs to be acknowledged. Beyond the workshop Lee Maracle did in the mid-1990s in Calgary with the Women of Colour Collective, she continued to organize spaces for Indigenous and Asian women to connect. In 2002, she brought together

Asian and Indigenous women writers at an event called ‘Imagining Asian and Native Women’ at Western Washington University. This is where Lee Maracle introduced Rita Wong to Dorothy Christian, a Secwépemc film-maker. This relationship led to further collaborations and Rita’s orientation towards water protection. In 2012, Dorothy and Rita organized an event called Downstream which brought together an array of people including “water protectors, activists, knowledge keepers, historians, artists, scientists etc. around the water” where Rita wrote the grants to fund this event.

Writing has been a key practice of solidarity. Rita Wong’s poetry and focus on literature has been integral to her work. It is within literary as much as feminist spaces, that these relationships have formed. Other Chinese writers like Larissa Lai have also shared the impact of Lee Maracle:

She told me alliances were possible between Indigenous and Asian peoples. She told me about how Sto:lo people respected Chinese people because when a famine hit Sto:lo, and white people would not help, Chinese market gardeners came with rice and fruits and vegetables and made sure the Sto:lo people would not starve. (Goto, Wong, and Lai 2022)

This history and the organizing of spaces to connect and gather explains the proliferation of academic articles that focus on Indigenous-Asian relationalities within Asian-Canadian and Indigenous literature. Rita gifted me a beautiful book called *perpetual* which she authored, accompanied with illustrations by Cindy Mochizuki (Wong and Mochizuki 2015). The book ruminates on water through poetry and art. She notes that the Chinese character for the ocean, 海, has the water radical and the character for ‘every/mother.’ She writes, “what I see when I look at 海 is the mother of waters” (Wong and Mochizuki 2015, 34). Many Indigenous communities do not have access to clean drinking water, the waterways are already poisoned by industries. The river, Wedzin Kwa, on Wet’suwet’en territory was one of the few places you can scoop water out from your hands to drink straight from the river. The work that Rita Wong has been doing is centred on showing up for Indigenous communities at the frontlines. This is high stakes and can involve heavy consequences of surveillance, state violence, and incarceration. She had been arrested and jailed for some of this work (Brake 2019; Wong 2019).

After my interview with Rita, she took me to a town hall meeting in Burnaby about the Trans Mountain Pipeline (TMX). Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth leaders spoke

passionately about the devastation and the economic inviability of this pipeline and what it means for their futures. That area was surrounded by tank farms, built near a school and university, where they hold crude oil, part of the Transmountain Pipeline system. Transmountain Pipeline is one of the mega projects that Rita has been involved in opposing. The other two are the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline and the Site C Dam which was built along the Peace Valley and the Peace River. This involved clearcutting over 100km of old growth forest and farmland, on one of the few areas where a treaty has been made in BC, treaty 8, on Dane-Zaa land. Much of this water and land defence work is outside of Vancouver, in the greater BC region.

The connections with and learnings from Indigenous feminists also impacted Alice's work, who is multigenerational Cantonese. During the 2000s financial crisis, she had moved to Saskatchewan:

I was president of the Immigrant Women of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon chapter. And we were already doing solidarity work with [...] the emergent Indigenous feminist movement and poets and activists [...] we didn't call it indigenous solidarity. It was mutual support against oppression.

[...] there would be a lot of circles. We do a lot of big circles. It's kind of a combination between a feminist praxis at the time which was flattening hierarchies and doing a lot of circles [...] and then Indigenous ceremonial practices, of being in a big circle and drumming, and all that, supporting each other's work. Because even at that time, it was a recognition that we all had to do our own work. We had to do our own work on the ground, and we would come together.

This reflects similar relations of 'mutual support for survival' in the Aotearoa context, and how 'solidarity' has not always been the language in circulation. She also emphasizes the role that circles played in coming to an understanding of 'we had to do our own work.' After moving to 'Victoria,' she implemented collaborative programs that focus on racialized and Indigenous girls, using resources from academia and methods like participatory action research. Her aim with this project is for 'self-recognition' and for communities to do the 'internal work.' Through this program, she insists that "it's not enough to have a circle or an event. You actually have to build a structure." The structure had to operate within the colonial institution of the university and while she was able to leverage researching funding for grassroots work, once that funding stopped, the organization 'disintegrated' after a decade of work.

Nevertheless, this program for girls 8-years-old to high school ages originally intended for

immigrant girls grew to include Indigenous girls. They held summer camps, leadership training, and taught critical media literacy for deconstructing popular culture, public theatre, but also skills for film and video-making. Their structure was a kinship model rather than a collegial one. The recruitment was word of mouth. Indigenous community members would ask, “can we send our daughters there?” They would respond to the needs of the community in Victoria, which has an overwhelmingly white population. This in many ways is intergenerational work through a feminist and gender-specific approach, recognizing there are multiple patriarchies at work. Although from a different angle to Rita’s work with water, this approach of working with racialized and Indigenous girls and young women is another example of making connections through feminism, and using arts-based methods for creative expression.

Dialogue Circles between Indigenous and Immigrant Communities

The use of dialogue circles was central to the project spearheaded by Hong Kong-born social planner, Baldwin Wong in 2010, while working for the City of Vancouver. The Vancouver Dialogues was initiated to bring Indigenous and immigrants together. Baldwin consulted and invited host First Nations, urban Indigenous leaders, community members and elders as well as leaders in the immigrant and refugee social service sector. This project held nine dialogue circles that involved 120 people (Todd 2015), and produced printed resources and a video documenting the process with stories from both Indigenous nations and immigrants. The purpose is to build mutual understanding and direct relationships. Baldwin reflects on how the Vancouver Dialogues project came to be:

Really it dawned on me like, it’s time that we start linking the immigrants, their understandings of Indigenous and First Nations together, as part of their journey of being a newcomer to the city and Canada, right? Because there’s so little knowledge, so little understanding. And you just know the stigma that people have towards the Indigenous people, just from casual conversation. [...] But the immigrants when they came to Canada, they would’ve heard that from others, they would just pick up on that, then they would have the same attitude towards the First Nations. So then I said, that must be corrected. [...] I think about this, using this dialogue as a means to bring people together. Like I said, real understanding can only really be achieved, not through teaching, but through interacting among people themselves, learning from each other.

This proposal had the support of First Nations who were already engaging with immigrants in their

own ways and had positive experiences with that. Baldwin had previously known and met a Tsleil-Waututh Chief through a leadership network, and he had asked her first, and she agreed, “it’s a wonderful idea. It’s long overdue.” After that conversation, she also contacted key First Nations people asking them to consider supporting this initiative. A Musqueam-Chinese Elder also provided guidance and support. Without that support, it would be difficult to meaningfully implement a project with this vision. The process of establishing the project was equally important as the implementation.

This project incorporated film-making, where Kamala Todd had directed and edited some of the films connected to the project. There were other elements of arts-based methods like drumming, music and visual arts. They also had place-based cultural exchanges, walking tours, and cooking exchanges. There was also an intergenerational element of building connections between and across generations. It centred on relationship-building through dialogue circles, but it considered many forms of learning outside of the classroom.

Due to its success, the project was extended, and it seeded other initiatives like *First Peoples: A Guide for Newcomers* (Wilson and Henderson 2014) which is written from Indigenous perspectives. Kamala Todd was also involved in making the 2020 video series, *Welcome to our Homelands* videos that have been translated into several different languages, including Mandarin (ISS of BC 2020). While this project was not exclusively about Chinese and Indigenous relations, the participation and leadership roles of Chinese immigrants like Baldwin Wong played a crucial role in its conception and roll out. It was an initiative that involved various immigrant groups and Indigenous host nations and urban Indigenous peoples.

The Dialogues project touched on the ‘bad feelings’ and tensions between Indigenous and immigrant communities. Kamala Todd shared some observations on the dynamics of resentment:

I just wanted to observe that I think there's all kinds of interesting dynamics, with even just immigrant histories, and if you see in the Dialogues Project video, for example, Marjorie White, who worked as a citizenship Court judge [...] she candidly shares how she used to resent and feel jealous, and have mixed feelings about the fact that she could see so many immigrants coming here who are able to practice their culture, speak their language dress in their traditional dresses. Not to say that they didn't experience racism for that, but that she used to have kind of resentment about that. And then coming to an understanding through her work as a citizenship court judge [...] opened her eyes to their experiences.

Expressions of resentment spark questions and can lead to deeper understanding. From this quote,

we can see how the jealousy of seeing other peoples being able to practice their own culture gives us insights on how colonial assimilation has punished and prevented Indigenous peoples from practicing their own cultures. Even though Chinatown exists because of racist policies, Chinese language, dress, food, or cultural festivals etc were not actively suppressed in the same way as Indigenous languages, potlatch, pow wow, political systems etc.

The resentment is understandable given how Indigenous peoples have been locked out of decision-making on immigration policy, so the ‘welcome’ is not done under the jurisdiction of Indigenous nations. These are the colonial structures that breed feelings of resentment and exploring these “bad affects” reveals the political context in which they simmer in, and the solution is not to ‘resolve’ these feelings, but to change the structural conditions. If Indigenous resurgence is centred, where Indigenous jurisdiction, land, language, and cultures are restored, where colonial power is diminished or eliminated, resentment and jealousy towards immigrants would be difficult to sustain.

The impact of this project has reverberated on an international level. Baldwin Wong shared some of the international and cross-provincial interest in this project where people have asked for advice or invited him to speak on this. People from around the world had visited to learn about it as well as from other Canadian provincial and city governments. While I was in Vancouver around July 2022, Baldwin had given me a Chinese translation of the Vancouver Dialogues booklet in traditional Chinese. 10 years later, this project is still active and for Baldwin, the work is unfinished. In 2023, an introductory guide for newcomers about Indigenous Peoples of Toronto was released, modeled off the Vancouver Dialogues project. This project reflects the possibilities of city-level projects that can leverage provincial resources tagged for immigrant programs, and the power of ‘dialogues’ as a method of relational pedagogy.

Spatial Solidarity: Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside

The character of solidarity between Indigenous and Chinese peoples in ‘Vancouver’ is often grounded in the spatial relations and proximity between Vancouver Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside. The Downtown Eastside (DTES) is a neighbourhood often portrayed in deficit language of being a ‘problem’ neighbourhood with high rates of poverty, houselessness, mental illness, drug use, sex work and crime (Liu and Blomley 2012). While the Indigenous population in Vancouver sits around 2.2%, 31% of the residents of the DTES are Indigenous. For

many of the Chinese participants who have relationships with people in the DTES, it is a site of Indigenous leadership for safe supply, harm reduction, and healing existing in the face of ongoing police violence. Beverly Ho has remarked how DTES residents and organizers have been active supporters of Chinatown residents. This proximity, and at times, shared interests against gentrification, makes it difficult for Chinese residents of Chinatown to ignore Indigenous peoples. Through meeting Indigenous people in the Downtown Eastside, David Wong had built relationships and became connected with various Indigenous nations around BC, helping design housing for First Nations communities, including longhouses and elders' buildings. He would donate food and/or give blankets to those in the DTES to support, "just let them know that they're not forgotten." He recounts:

The people would introduce me to others in the community, the elders, and I would be invited to visit their villages when I have a chance... and then they invite me to go in to help them with their housing. That's how they share their knowledge and resources, through what they then called the "Moccasin Network." So what they do is that - it's like a telephone line (now it's through social media). So once they hear of an ally, they'll tell all the other relatives in other communities, this guy, David, will be helpful. So I go in there, they invite me, but they always test you out. Make sure you're genuine.

As an architect, David has supported Indigenous housing projects and mentors young Indigenous learners. He became more active and vocal about his support for Indigenous communities when he experienced anti-Indigenous racism amongst newer Chinese diasporas, especially targeting those living near the DTES. They would blame the problems in Vancouver Chinatown on the DTES. He dates this back to the 1980s, and it was the sense of anger that moved him to act. His practices of solidarity demonstrate how it is not always Indigenous peoples' presence in Chinatown, but also Chinese people visiting the Downtown Eastside. From these relationships, David has been adopted by various Indigenous families and clans in Canada and in the US, who have made him a relative. Because of these friendships, kinships, and proximity, the struggles of the Downtown Eastside cannot be ignored by Chinatown organizers.

The movement for harm reduction and safe supply become folded into the youth-led intergenerational advocacy and solidarity work done in Chinatown. Harm reduction is a movement that has come from drug users who promote safer drug use. Beverly Ho from Yarrow Intergenerational Society and Jane Shi both spoke to the issue of the poisoning crisis, where people

are dying from fentanyl poisoning. Jane talked about groups like Drug User Liberation Front who do work around harm reduction in the DTES.

Yarrow Intergenerational Society for Justice 世代同行會 (2022) released a solidarity statement in support of safe supply and they hold regular workshops on harm reduction. They have mobilized some Chinese seniors to attend safe supply rallies. Beverly shared another example of seniors in Chinatown asking about the Memorial March for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women on Valentine's Day because the streets were closed off:

The Monday exercise group that we had, right after some folks were asking us like, 'hey, how come the streets were closed off? There were so many people. Do you know what was happening?' And so [my co-worker] explained to them what it was about, and asked if they were interested in going next year, and they said yes. Most of them said yes.

Beverly spoke to me about this in 2022, and in 2023, I saw the photos on Yarrow's social media of Chinese youth and seniors with a banner in Chinese and English at the Women's Memorial March for MMIWG2S. This mobilization of Chinatown seniors and youth to act in solidarity with DTES seeks to bridge some of the tensions.

While there is care and friendship, there is also tension and conflict, where anti-Indigenous racism in Chinese communities plays out. Kendall Yan, who interviewed 12 seniors on their views of Chinatown, noted that Indigenous peoples were often mentioned in a negative light. The source of the degeneration of Chinatown is blamed on the Downtown Eastside and sometimes Black people entering the neighborhood. Kendall describes this as 'misdirected' and sees the problem as a structural, city planning and capitalism issue. There are Chinese of younger generations that do intergenerational work to bridge those political divides, seeking to combat anti-Blackness and anti-Indigenous racism in Chinatown.

Yarrow Intergenerational Society for Justice have been doing intergenerational social justice work since their establishment in 2015. They are a Chinatown-based organization run by Chinese youth working with low-income Chinese seniors. Most of the youth are at least bilingual in English and a Chinese language. They run exercise classes for seniors, accompany them to health and medical appointments as translators and advocates. During the pandemic, they started a weekly grocery delivery program with culturally appropriate produce delivered to low-income Chinese seniors. They stress that their work is not just social services but mutual aid and care. I

had first heard about Yarrow in December 2021 when they co-hosted a workshop with Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto (CCNCTO) on “Colonialism and Indigenous histories.” This was held online so I was able to attend from afar. They provided live Cantonese and Mandarin translations. This workshop featured a land and water defender of the Sto:lo nation who shared the violence she had experienced from the residential school system and the RCMP. This workshop was attended by Chinese seniors and youth across Toronto and Vancouver.

They had further collaborations with CCNCTO for workshops on anti-Asian racism from a grassroots perspective, where a youth speaker from Yarrow drove home an abolitionist message on why policing is not the answer. A Chinese senior also spoke about the police in Mandarin, which felt even more powerful coming from her. Beverly talks about how in their work, they try to bring seniors with them on panels as part of their practice, so they are not spoken for and can share directly from their own experience. Beverly met this Chinese senior through door-knocking in her building in 2016, when that building was slated for demolition, and they were door knocking to inform seniors of their rights. Beverly spoke about how easy she is to talk to about political issues: “now she always talks about, ‘did you know we're on Native land? Did you know that trans women are women?’ And she can insert that into any conversation.” The work that Yarrow does in empowering seniors to participate politically reflects strong intergenerational care and relations.

Yarrow does the everyday work of relationship building with seniors, which then makes that openness to education possible. The same care shown towards your own communities can be extended outward. Some of the work with Chinese seniors sometimes also involve Indigenous people, like the project ‘Chinatown Looks’ (Massy Arts Society 2023). For this project, Solomon Chiniquay, a film-maker and photographer from the Stoney Nakoda and Pomo nations, worked with Chinese seniors and youth connected with Yarrow using disposable camera photography to capture their perspectives. While Yarrow generally works in the sphere of ‘getting our own house in order,’ there are also practices of collaboration or work in the ‘relational sphere.’

In addition to intergenerational work, organizers in Chinatown have shared some of the political tensions that make ‘getting your own house in order’ a challenging task. They shared experiences of encountering intersectional hierarchies and oppressive politics within Chinatown, namely patriarchy, class, transmisogyny, and whorephobia. Beverly mentioned a situation with trans-exclusionary radical feminist (TERF) and sex worker exclusionary radical feminist (SWERF) politics in Chinatown. Gender politics and patriarchy becomes a divisive wedge within Chinatown

and speaks to the heterogeneity of identities but also political allegiances. TERF politics has become a violent force around the world, and they have often been aligned with white supremacy and the far right. These political conflicts means that Yarrow and Chinatown organizers who are committed to intersectionality have to be clear about their politics.

Who has the power and privilege within Chinatown are often the ‘older patriarchs’ that the city ‘consults’ as representatives of Chinatown. Beverly notes:

I never see these men around other than at banquets and ribbon cuttings, and like eye dotting ceremonies. [...] I don't see them doing the work. In fact, I see them doing the anti-work, which is being extremely anti-poor, anti-Black, anti-Indigenous and anti-drug user. And not really actively standing up for low-income Chinese seniors either, even though they claim to protect Chinatown interests. And really they just protect like landlords’ interests.

The challenges of Chinatown organizing are laid bare here. It is not only gentrification that becomes a threat but the class interests of business owners and elites in Chinatown who do the ‘anti-work.’ The hierarchies within Chinatown are based on class, gender, and political ideologies. When it comes to growing solidarity with Indigenous neighbours, at least part of that fight is with the powers within Chinatown.

Art-based Solidarity

One of the many strategies of communication and engagement has been through storytelling and arts-based methods. In Vancouver in particular, many of the people I interviewed identified as artists, or more specifically, film-makers, poets, or writers. Art is used as a method of relationship-building and storytelling, it is a form of “appealing to the heart” as Winnie Ng put it. The historical recovery work attending to the Indigenous-Chinese histories and families have been conveyed through film-making. Within film-making, it is not only the final product that matters, but the process itself can be a form of relationship-building with intentionality and to rethink the colonial aspects of filmmaking. Artists like David Ng, reflected on the process of art and applying decolonizing practices. He explains:

I'm thinking specifically, because, in the very extractive documentary world, you parachute into a community. You tell the community what you want, you identify the problem, and then you edit their story. I'm speaking in the worst of the worst

situation. This model, which was driven by Chee Mamuk⁸⁰ and the community really demanded a different - a recalibration of an extractive filmmaking process.

David had been involved in a film project with them that was centred on community leadership in the film-making process. The art process becomes a site of change and applying a politics of decolonization to how solidarity and good relations can be built in the process, rather than a sole focus on producing art content.

Aside from film-making, other forms of artistic expression such as music, visual arts, poetry, photography and fiction have been practiced for expanding solidarity. Rita Wong has used her poetry to take seriously the invitation from Dorothy Christian to protect water. David Wong's (2012) graphic novel, *Escape to Gold Mountain*, depicts a story of Indigenous care towards injured railway workers. Arts-based methods are often integrated into larger projects such as the Vancouver Dialogues Project which closed with a drumming piece, Baldwin Wong shares:

Of course drumming is key to the First Nations, right? But we also invite other groups, cultural groups also well-known for drumming, like Japanese, Chinese, African, other nations to come together, and we actually have a director, a wonderful musical theater director, to actually develop this drumming piece for us. That was the final closing. It was very emotional; everyone was just beside themselves after that.

There is a spiritual element involved in the arts. In the act of singing together, in the act of drumming or dancing together, connections can be formed and strengthened.

In Chinatown, some of the arts-based work is led by Indigenous business owners in the neighbourhood with collaboration and dialogue. Kendall Yan spoke of Indigenous arts-based initiatives such as Massy Arts, an extension of Massy bookstore. They share that programming has involved a lot of Chinese and Indigenous dialogues, through panels, and speaker series. It also has programming targeting seniors, and Kendall remarked how these types of events are not always "on the nose" so more subtle ways to create space for learning and relationships.

Vancouver's Chinatown hosts artist studios, which have a complicated relationship to gentrification of the area, involving Chinese artists. The Vancouver Artist Labour Union Cooperative, which David Ng founded with 16 other artists has a studio space there. Aware of the ways in which artists play a role in gentrification, the VALU Coop has a working group focused

⁸⁰Chee Mamuk is the Indigenous division of the BC Centre for Disease Control doing HIV prevention work.

on projects that work in the service of the Chinatown community to be accountable to the neighbourhood. The building that they operate from is owned by the Lim Association which has a history of hosting Chinese indentured labourers, and they were invited by the Lim elders to move in and do cultural production work. Jen Sungshine explains the work they do is to revitalize the clan associations through digitizing their archives and making a website. These efforts have brought young queer Chinese artists into the fold of Chinatown's fabric.

The use of arts and arts-based relationship-building has been a significant strategy amongst the generation of mostly younger queer Chinese artists. The arts have been a powerful facet of social change that has the power to transform and reach people at an affective level rather than merely intellectual. Film-making and arts-based praxis has been a key method utilized in archiving and public education.

Solidarity in the Digital Realm: Projects from 2020s and the Role of Food

Before the pandemic lockdowns of 2020, I was in Tkaron:to when the solidarity actions blocking railways to #ShutDownCanada was happening regularly in solidarity with Wet'suwet'en to stop the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline. During this struggle, I saw a solidarity statement translated into Asian languages online. This was initiated by a queer disability justice activist and writer, Jane Shi, who is 1.5 generation from mainland China. Social media and digital organizing were already prolific before the pandemic, but as the virtual space became the main and for many, the only window to social connections, the move to organizing online did not need to start from scratch. The disability justice movement, often led by queer Asian women, provided templates and practices for accessibility. These politics also informed the need for language accessibility, and translation.

If we cast our minds into the recent memories of the 2020s, the pandemic suspended norms of in-person gatherings and interactions. In 2021, the Hot Pot Talk Series started, an online video podcast hosted by Love Intersections, a queer art collective co-directed by Jen Sungshine and David Ng. They describe this series as "a community-engaged video podcast rooted in BIPOC food practices, utilizing storytelling, food sharing, and community-driven dialogue to foster cross-cultural relationships." The conversations dive deep into topics with special guests, including several that focus on decolonization, Indigeneity, and abolition. Many of their guests are artists and activists. One episode features Rita Wong's work on environmental justice, Indigenous

solidarity, and water (Love Intersections 2023). The podcast format, with the element of video, and visuals of food creates a sense of intimacy or parasociality, like sitting around a kitchen table and listening to your friends share stories around boiling hot pot. Like the fire crackles, the sounds of water bubbling create a sense of coziness and warmth.

Food and eating together here becomes the “context and process” even if the physical space is not shared. In the same year, a pandemic initiative was started by Alan Chen, Kacey Ng, Evelyn, and another friend, a group of Chinese youth of Hong Kong, mainland Chinese and Taiwanese backgrounds. Their project was called ‘Solidarity Snacks’ involved sharing snacks, eating together online and the use of food metaphors for generating conversation. This project was funded by 4Rs, an Indigenous-youth led organization that spans across Canada-occupied Turtle Island. The participants were all Indigenous, Chinese-Indigenous, or Chinese. Solidarity Snacks involved three sessions held over a few hours on a weekend each time. They distributed 800 homemade dumplings and snacks from Indigenous or Chinese sources to eat while sharing virtual space. It provided a low pressure and caring environment to all attendees to share their thoughts and perspectives on what solidarity means to them. I first heard about this through He-Lin, one of the participants who shared:

It’s a very intentional kind of relationship and friendship-building without the pressure of labeling it like [...] this is what you need to do to become a good ally, this is what you need to do to become a good activist. I think it’s a low barrier but very intentional ways to build that relationship and to kind of start bringing those questions and issues into your day to day life.

The friendships formed through this project have reverberated and led to other collaborations. Another beautiful outcome was the artwork produced through live graphic note-taking by Tiaré Lani (4rs_youth_movement 2021). The incorporation of arts-based recording captures the dialogues and exchanges in visually appealing and easily digestible format. This youth-based, food-based, and art-based approach to virtual relationship-building illustrates the possibilities of organizing despite pandemic restrictions.

Conclusion

This partial history of solidarity efforts between Indigenous and Chinese communities and Vancouver reveals several strategies and methods that have seen generational shifts. Similar to

Aotearoa, place-based historical recovery and memorialization of shared Indigenous and Chinese histories is a consistent thread that calls us to ethically remember and honour ancestors. Dual heritage Indigenous-Chinese people's story-sharing has been foundational in recovering the shared histories, and in forging contemporary relationships through various projects. The role that Indigenous women have played in instigating projects like Storyscapes Chinatown and in feminist literary spaces should not be understated. The work here also informs the tenets of celestial solidarity across all three tenets, but particularly the spatial-temporal integration where Indigenous-Chinese solidarities are attached to place, and the practice of translation.

What is unique in the Vancouver context are the neighbourhood-based relationships of Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside. Working within Chinese communities is a major focus that involves deep intergenerational and multilingual engagement as well as navigating intersectional hierarchies. Translation plays a key role in intergenerational communication, both within a language and across languages. Across different projects, arts-based solidarity practices feature prominently in Vancouver's social landscape. 'Art' is expansive and has the potential to move people emotionally, and connect through the heart, beyond intellect, and there is a spirituality to these practices. Digital connections can still incorporate food-based and arts-based practice for meaningful dialogues. This contemporary solidarity history only dates to the 1990s, when much of this work was seeded, and it grew into the 2000s with a focus on recovering shared histories. This is where these place-based histories matter and impact the possibilities of solidarity.

Chapter Seven - To “Act Alongside” in Toronto

Landing at Toronto Pearson airport in 2023, no art or evidence of Indigenous presence is on display as you go through immigration or customs. This is symbolic of the differences between Toronto and the contexts of Vancouver and Aotearoa, marking it as an outlier. Based on a limited sample of people and autoethnographic reflections, I argue that in Toronto, the character of collective forms of solidarity is more temporal and less spatially rooted. The more everyday forms of solidarity are often practiced on a more individual basis in contexts of paid work, as educators, librarians, or outreach workers working with Indigenous people. This can perhaps be explained by the longer history of genocide and dispossession on these lands, and a later arrival of Chinese migrants. This results in a socio-geographic distance between Indigenous and Chinese communities, in contrast to Vancouver and Aotearoa’s history and present. What Chinese organizing and activism in Toronto does bring forth, in a different manner to Aotearoa and Vancouver, is a stronger connection to the labour movement. This is a site of potential, political leverage, and material support to Indigenous solidarity movements. There are also potentials in the Chinese church and Christian communities to address the harms of Christian supremacy.

Due to the limited number of Toronto-based participants, I found it difficult to piece together any coherent history of Chinese and Indigenous solidarity organizing. Unlike Aotearoa and Vancouver where there are discernable periods of time that trace various types of solidarity work, I cannot provide that level of detail for Toronto-based organizing. What I can offer are some of the contemporary approaches and practices despite the absence of local shared histories. I firstly share some of the references to Vancouver that compare or speak to the connections. Then I move to discussing solidarity in the workplace or in unions as the main form of everyday solidarity. Next, I explore the connections between migrant justice and Indigenous solidarity based on reflections from a former NOII organizer. Into the 2020s, commemoration and memorialization of Indigenous and Chinese histories begin to converge through Hakka community initiatives to honour the children killed during the residential school era, and in commemorating the parallel histories of the Chinese Exclusion Act 1923 and the Williams Treaties.

Comparisons and Connections to Vancouver

In interviews with Toronto-based participants, comparisons to Vancouver often emerge to

explain differences and the greater challenges of solidarity work in Toronto. This might partly be from my disclosures of recently visiting and interviewing people in Vancouver, but there is a general knowledge of the Chinese-Indigenous histories from Vancouver and BC and a sense that there are stronger solidarities there. Historical and geographic explanations were given by Landy Anderson:

BC to me is perhaps [...] where you're going to see a stronger influence. And it is because of the predominance of that immigration pattern, and everyone landed and ported in BC. And lots of Chinese people stayed there, right? [...] People are more aware, because of the geography, right?

To learn about the shared histories, people like Calvin have visited BC and attended one of Bill Chu's tours. From that tour, he gained a deeper understanding of these histories and would share them in Chinese-specific events in Toronto. The cross-provincial connections and travels to BC have informed Toronto-based Chinese organizers. It shows that this work done in BC holds 'national' significance across Canada-occupied Indigenous lands. Calvin states:

[T]hey are the foundational stories and organizers really need to latch on to that history to inform our organizing today, but also as a way to contextualize and situate our work. And why the diaspora needs to be concerned about Indigenous issues, and provide Indigenous solidarity. Because we wouldn't be where we are without solidarity from Indigenous communities.

These stories have travelled and influenced Chinese organizing in Toronto. Winnie Ng also suggested that the historical recovery work that has been done in BC would be "great to replicate" in Ontario. Some of the work done in Vancouver has been replicated in Toronto. The resource, *Indigenous Peoples of Toronto: An Introduction to Newcomers* (Brant-Birioukov et al. 2023) is modeled off the Vancouver Dialogues project. Referencing Vancouver was common in conversations in Toronto, but Vancouver-based activists rarely mentioned Toronto or have as much knowledge around the work there.

Migrant Justice and Indigenous Solidarity: No One Is Illegal

A movement that spans across Vancouver and Toronto that has sought to take Indigenous solidarity seriously is 'No One Is Illegal' (NOII). As a former NOII organizer in Toronto, Calvin attributes NOII for his first exposure to Indigenous solidarity work. He remembers the group's

relationship with Asubpeeschoseewagong First Nation (Grassy Narrows) and NOII offering logistical support for actions in Toronto. He remembers NOII organizers attending Indigenous solidarity rallies and visiting places at Tyendinaga, supporting the campaigns around MMIW. They would organize May Day protests that included Indigenous solidarity demands. Aside from the political actions, he feels the major contribution from NOII is the theoretical bridging of migrant justice and Indigenous struggles: “I think a big thing about that, is that linking of migrant justice with Indigenous solidarity, because sometimes it gets painted in an oppositional fashion.” Walia’s *Undoing Border Imperialism* was first published in 2013, and I interviewed Calvin 10 years later in 2023. He was honest and reflexive about the critiques of NOII in Toronto:

I fully admit that our organizer core is drawn from a certain class background, and geographic background. It tends to be university students or professionals, lawyers, and very much too much downtown focused and that's not really - I mean sure, there's certain neighborhoods like Jamestown, where there are poor migrants living - and certainly Parkdale - but a lot of the diaspora is centered around the suburbs and inner suburbs. [...] There was a lack of awareness because of where the organizers were at, and where the organizing was focused on [...] I don't think there was as much like actual community organizing, especially in the suburbs and inner suburbs.

This reflection and learning from the experiences of NOII can provide guidance and direction for Indigenous solidarity work that involves community organizing in the suburbs, where most migrants and Chinese diasporas live, rather than downtown-focused activism. It also invites us to be reflexive around class, and the people I spoke to map neatly onto Calvin’s description of university students, or university-educated, professional educators or community workers.

The migrant justice work that I’ve seen in Toronto is organized and led by groups like Migrants Workers Alliance for Change, Butterfly who represent Asian migrant sex workers and massage parlour workers and Naujawan Support Network made up of Punjabi youth stopping deportations and exploitation of international students. The general migrant justice demand has been #StatusForAll. At migrant justice events that I have attended in Toronto, I’ve heard land acknowledgements and mentions of Indigenous struggles, and the need for migrants to support, but I am left wondering where Indigenous peoples voices are in immigration policy and migrant justice demands. I understand this as a short-term goal, to be able to meet the immediate needs such as accessing basic health care, education and legal status to not be deported. However, I am still troubled by using Canadian citizenship as the main method to gain access to that.

Richard Fung spoke to this when unpacking ‘Canadian’ identity, an identity created at the expense of Indigenous nations:

I think our coming into being as Canadians - and I'm saying ‘our,’ even though I've become a Chinese Canadian - it's also the point of making settler colonialism more effective. And so we have to own up to those things [...] understanding the negative political role that one's coming into being, realization as citizens can have.

I am reminded of Sunera Thobani's (2007) concept of ‘exaltation’ of those with citizenship. Does becoming folded into Canadian citizenship, i.e. gaining ‘status’ bolster settler colonialism? How can migrant justice be grounded in Indigenous protocols and jurisdiction around immigration? Otherwise, it again centres the sovereignty of the settler state to grant rights to citizenship, which seems antithetical to respecting Indigenous jurisdiction over these lands. And if restoration of Indigenous ‘sovereignty’ is foundational and fundamental to any racial justice on these lands, wouldn't that need to be front and centre for migrant justice? Not just as acknowledgments or side mentions as a separate struggle.

Based on public talks, I learned the origin of the demand of #StatusForAll comes from migrants themselves. But I wonder if that would still be the case if migrants had foundational knowledge of colonization and genocide. In Amy Fung's (2019, 11) book, she mentions a welcoming ceremony in Toronto in 2017 for newly arrived Syrian refugees:

[T]he officials gave a land acknowledgment and informed them that they were now settlers on this land. I would be later told how the translator could not find an appropriate Syrian word for *settler*, as the closest translation would be *Israeli*, who for generations have settled and occupied unceded Palestinian land.

I can only imagine how disturbing this would've been for the Syrian refugees being told they are now Israelis on this land, but the referencing of Israel and settler colonialism in Palestine is not far-fetched. With an understanding of Canada's genocidal structure, there could be more imaginative and radical demands. What would it mean to enter lands based on Indigenous consent and protocols rather than through the Crown's immigration process?

Solidarity in Unions and the Workplace

Linked to migrant justice work is the wider labour movement. The labour movement in Toronto has been a key site of organizing and politicization that has potential to grow Chinese

diasporic solidarity with Indigenous struggles. The concept of solidarity has deep connections to unionism and workers struggles globally. Winnie Ng's (2010) PhD dissertation clarifies how the articulation of solidarity does not result in 'felt solidarity,' that actions within the labour movement do not line up with the words of solidarity as experienced by Indigenous and racialized unionists. She states:

The possession of a union membership card does not automatically change one's consciousness and sense of identity. In romanticizing the worker class solidarity prematurely, we do a disservice to the building of a greater movement and miss an opportunity to raise the collective consciousness of union members. (Ng 2010, 113)

This opens space for humility, reflexivity, and further political education. Ng's methodology also involved 'dialogue circles' between Indigenous and racialized unionists. This becomes a space of relationship-building, but in her final reflections, she shared that in those settings, the issues of racialized workers overshadowed those experienced by Indigenous workers.

Since then, there have been efforts to incorporate education on Indigeneity and colonialism in political education programs for union members. Kingsley Kwok spoke of unions in Toronto offering educational courses on Indigenous solidarity to members and sharing resources as forms of solidarity with Indigenous-led movements. The understanding of unionism extends beyond collective bargaining with an employer, but also with the government. Unions have offered material support to movements, whether that is donations, endorsements, or buses.

Within union organizing, Kingsley co-chairs the Chinese Worker's Network that is made up of members from different unions and sectors. They organize social gatherings and events and might step in to advocate for Chinese workers when their own unions might fail to take their concerns more seriously. During social events, often marking Chinese cultural festivals or holidays such as Lunar New Year or Mid-Autumn Festival, the CWN will bring in political education, Kingsley shares, "we infuse labor education into the agenda." Through connecting with Kingsley via Landy Anderson, I attended an Asian Heritage Month in May 2023 talk where Landy spoke on the Chinese and Indigenous relations to an audience made of members of many unions and of different ethnic backgrounds.

In the fall of 2023, Kingsley invited me to speak at a Mid-Autumn Festival gathering⁸¹ to

⁸¹These gatherings are in English, as Kingsley notes, it is the common language given the diversity of Chinese languages, and for those who cannot speak any Chinese languages.

share some of the research on Chinese and Indigenous relations. To apply the tentative learnings from this research to honour the shared histories, I screened the short film *1788* to acknowledge the history and genealogy of mutual care and solidarity that is being revived in BC. This gathering gave me a chance to focus and distill my learnings, and to think about what provocations to action I can offer. I spoke about the three spheres of work that I will elaborate more on in the next chapter: supporting Indigenous-led movements, relational sphere, and taking responsibility for your own community. These events draw on Chinese cultural traditions to bring Chinese unionists together and provide a space for political education and community-building. Perhaps the labour movement is one of those sites where there are possibilities for that proximity and solidarity praxis, a movement that can offer material support and political leverage.

Most Chinese participants in Toronto that work with Indigenous peoples do so in a paid work capacity. These are in university settings or in housing advocacy work. As a librarian, the role that Desmond Wong sees for himself is one of facilitation. Facilitation in tertiary settings involves supporting Indigenous students to navigate the settler colonial university. This university-based work also involves advocating for more resources and Indigenous initiatives and hires. For example, Joe has sat on hiring committees advocating for hiring more Indigenous and Black professors, as well as working in anti-racism committees and anti-colonial research teams. These represent attempts to change the institution and address racism ‘from the inside.’ However, hiring more Indigenous people can lead to greater expectations of labour and dual responsibilities of being Knowledge Keepers and mentors on top of existing expectations of faculty. Richard Fung who has done some of this ‘inside’ work was also clear that for those negotiating within the systems, the ‘outside’ tactics are crucial as a source of bargaining power.

In the advocacy for unhoused people, Lorraine Lam is clear that although her frontline support work focuses on meeting the immediate and material needs of the unhoused and precariously housed community, the issue is systemic and tied to colonialism. This work involves emotional labour, being with people, and relationship-building, making sure that people have access to the support they need. In regards to Indigenous solidarity, she emphasizes, “we have a huge responsibility to act alongside” and she does this through amplifying the work of Toronto Indigenous Harm Reduction through social media, email lists, and community networks. She sees the importance of information and resource-sharing with Indigenous-led work, and that her role is as “I will do the dishes and I’m here to do that so that you can go off and do the protests if that’s

what you feel like is important.” This work reflects being in a city with high rates of inequality, unaffordable housing, racialized housing discrimination, and neoliberalism.

No Such Thing as Single-Stranded Histories

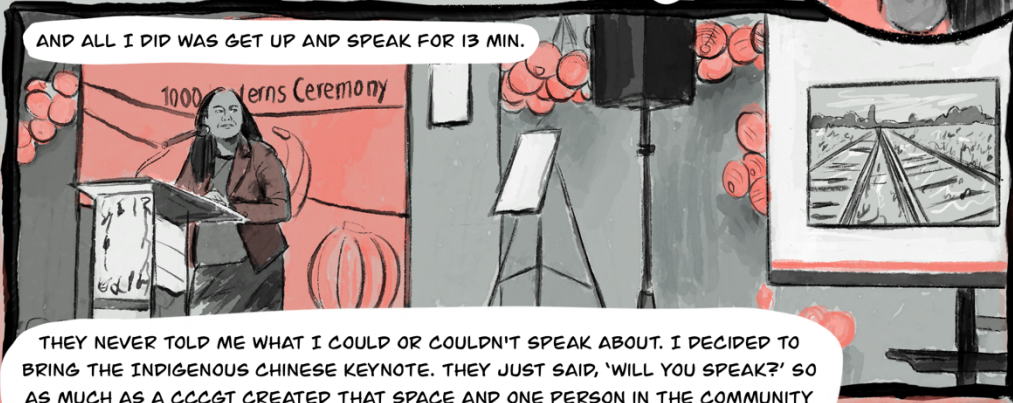
The memorialization of shared histories seems to be a more recent practice in Toronto, and one that draws from the West Coast. As a form of commemoration, memorialization, and cultural sharing, the Hakka diaspora in Toronto initiated the 1000 Lanterns Ceremony to commemorate Indigenous children killed during the residential school era. In 2021, a mass unmarked grave of Indigenous children was found on a former residential school site in Kamloops, sparking further investigations across the country. The numbers continued to rise into the 10,000s. In September 2021, the first 1000 Lanterns Ceremony was organized to mark the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation (CCCGT 2021). They described the event with the aim “to promote understanding, peace, friendship, and awareness” (CCCGT 2021).

I first learned about 1000 Lanterns through Landy Anderson, who is Chinese-Métis and the chair of the Foundation to Commemorate the Chinese Railroad Workers in Canada. I happened to reach out to her just before the 1000 Lanterns event in fall 2022. The timing was, as Landy described, ‘cosmic.’ Landy was preparing to do a keynote talk at the event on Chinese and Indigenous relations and I offered to share the literature I had found. She invited me to attend, and it was held at the Chinese Cultural Centre of Greater Toronto (CCCGT). As the board of directors of CCCGT were deciding on how to show support for Indigenous communities, Tin Chung proposed 1000 Lanterns, and it was taken up amongst many other ideas. Each lantern was lit for each child, which at the time was rounded up to 1000.

1000 LANTERNS

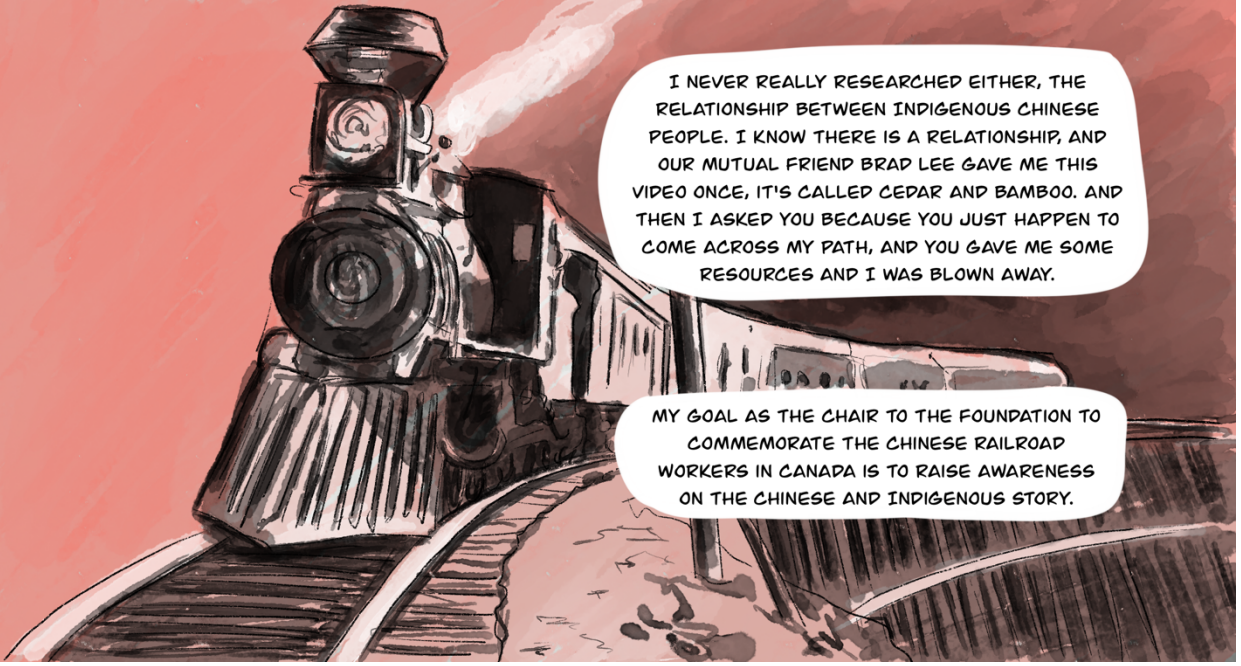


TIN CHUNG, SHE'S THE BRAINCHILD BEHIND THE 1000 LANTERNS. TIN SAID, 'LET'S HAVE 1000 LANTERNS, LET'S SHOW THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY THAT CHINESE PEOPLE SUPPORT THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY AS IT RELATES TO THE UNMARKED GRAVES OF THE LITTLE CHILDREN THAT WERE LOST DURING THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL ERA.'



AND ALL I DID WAS GET UP AND SPEAK FOR 13 MIN.

THEY NEVER TOLD ME WHAT I COULD OR COULDN'T SPEAK ABOUT. I DECIDED TO BRING THE INDIGENOUS CHINESE KEYNOTE. THEY JUST SAID, 'WILL YOU SPEAK?' SO AS MUCH AS A CCCGT CREATED THAT SPACE AND ONE PERSON IN THE COMMUNITY RECOMMENDED THAT I SPEAK, I DECIDED WHAT I WAS GONNA SPEAK ON.



I NEVER REALLY RESEARCHED EITHER, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIGENOUS CHINESE PEOPLE. I KNOW THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP, AND OUR MUTUAL FRIEND BRAD LEE GAVE ME THIS VIDEO ONCE, IT'S CALLED CEDAR AND BAMBOO. AND THEN I ASKED YOU BECAUSE YOU JUST HAPPEN TO COME ACROSS MY PATH, AND YOU GAVE ME SOME RESOURCES AND I WAS BLOWN AWAY.

MY GOAL AS THE CHAIR TO THE FOUNDATION TO COMMEMORATE THE CHINESE RAILROAD WORKERS IN CANADA IS TO RAISE AWARENESS ON THE CHINESE AND INDIGENOUS STORY.

In Toronto, those with Indigenous and Chinese heritage are also building inter-community bridges as Chinese diasporas are becoming more attentive to the struggles of Indigenous peoples. The 1000 Lanterns was attended by 200-300 people, seated on round tables in an enormous banquet hall. The event was opened by Indigenous elders and one who told a story of how Dakota women who fled the US married Chinese railway workers after their men were killed in battle. It's also an oral history that is not well known.

Amongst the speakers, the Chinese politicians mostly talked about residential schools as a "dark chapter" in the past. Landy's talk challenged this perspective by drawing attention to the 60s Scoop, the Millennium Scoop and the rates of Indigenous children taken into foster care. Her speech was powerful, interspersing stories about her own family, where her children are the first generation from her husband's side that have not been taken away in residential schools or foster care. Her talk brought out the ongoing removals of Indigenous children alongside the shared histories of Indigenous and Chinese communities. In my interview with Landy, she names two histories that Chinese people should know: 1) the history of colonization that includes residential schools, the Indian Act, the oppressive legislations, 60s scoop, Millennial scoop, over-representation of Indigenous children in child welfare, 2) the shared history of Indigenous and Chinese communities, emphasizing that it's not just about Indigenous communities but the relationships between Chinese and Indigenous communities throughout time. She brought both of those to the fore in her keynote speech.

This commemoration and bringing together of Indigenous and Chinese communities show one of the ways that some Chinese community members in Toronto responded to the news of the unmarked graves of Indigenous children, and efforts towards reconciliation. It also shows the importance of centring Indigenous-Chinese voices like Landy Anderson and respecting her agency to determine the messaging and content of her speech. For me, this was also a space of relationship building and connecting with other Chinese people interested in Indigenous solidarity. It is also in these large community gatherings where conservative politicians and police are present that I notice how 'reconciliation' can be far removed from goals of decolonization, where residential schools and mass unmarked graves of Indigenous are treated as an exceptional tragedy and 'dark chapter' rather than foundational and part of ongoing genocide. Colonialism is treated as an event rather than an enduring structure. This made me appreciate Landy's keynote even more.

In the literature that I have been able to find, histories of Chinese in Toronto are often

written as singular strands that participate in Indigenous erasure. They rarely, if at all, intersect. Indigenous and Chinese histories in Toronto are remembered in isolation. Thus, solidarity work in Toronto is less rooted in place-based histories. However, many Toronto-based participants echoed the importance of history and memorialization. Several people advocated for re-politicizing Asian Canadian or Chinese histories in relation to Indigenous histories, noting the specific ‘points of leverage’ that can be used. For Chinese Canadian histories, Fung advocates for the stories of the railway to shift away from ‘contribution’ to nation-building. He shares these insights:

It's often phrased [as] the contributions of Chinese Canadians to Canada, right? [...] But of course the building of the railway [...] was also part of the nail in the coffin of Indigenous sovereignty.

This is a call for accountability to Asian contributions to settler colonial nation-building, not as a positive nationalist contribution, but as having detrimental impacts on Indigenous communities. The full story, rather than only the stories of mutual aid, need to be shared concurrently. The re-politicization of histories means countering ‘single-stranded histories’ as Richard Fung puts it.

In an art-based project commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Chinese Exclusion Act, Richard discussed what it would mean to co-commemorate this with the William Treaties of 1923. This exhibition was held at the Varley Gallery in Markham in 2023, a city in the GTA with a high Chinese population. In the arts and commemoration practices, there are nods to Indigenous and colonial histories, and within that exhibition of photographic profiles and quotes, many directly addressed their relationships to Indigenous peoples, reconciliation and decolonization. I imagine these questions were part of the prompts they received and because of the considerations of the organizers like Richard Fung who was intentional in refusing erasure of Indigeneity.

Christianity and Church-based Communities

Christianity and Catholicism have been major influences in the lives of many Toronto-based participants. The Church in many Chinese communities features prominently both as a site of potential, and a site of conservatism, homophobia, transphobia, Islamophobia and right wing politics. We know the violence the Christian Doctrine of ~~Discovery~~ Domination has unleashed onto the world and the ways in which the Church were active in genocide through administering residential schools and conversion of Indigenous peoples, demonization of Indigenous spiritualities. Chinese Christians participants who foreground their faith also reflected on the

problems of Chinese churches that have yet to grapple with colonization. Lorraine observes:

[T]here's also not a lot of Indigenous theologians who have been welcomed into church spaces to speak openly. [...] I have not yet heard of a Chinese church who had a guest speaker who was Indigenous.

Furthermore, the issue of Christian supremacy lingers, as Lorraine reflects, “the principle behind what drove the residential schools is still very much a loud mindset today.” Because religion and Christian institutions have participated in the colonial project, there is a need for Chinese Christians to taking responsibility for work in faith-based spaces. To ignore religious and faith-based spaces as a site of community mobilizing would be detrimental, even if it is challenging work.

TREATY OBLIGATIONS



I REALLY HOPE AS A CHINESE-CANADIAN COMMUNITY WE CAN GROW MORE, AND LEARN MORE ABOUT OUR TREATIES, OUR TREATY OBLIGATIONS...

AND HAVE OUR OWN CONVERSATIONS AROUND SETTLERHOOD AND INDENTURESHIP, THE HISTORIES OF MIGRATION, VIS A VIS INDIGENOUS PEOPLE ON TURTLE ISLAND.



I'M THINKING ABOUT THE DISH WITH ONE SPOON TREATY AND ITS EMPHASIS ON PEACE.

CONTEMPLATION OF PEACE I THINK IS SUCH A BEAUTIFUL THING TO THINK ABOUT, AND TO VALUE AND TO PURSUE. NOT TO BE DISMISSED AS A LIBERAL... PRIVILEGED THING TO CONTEMPLATE.

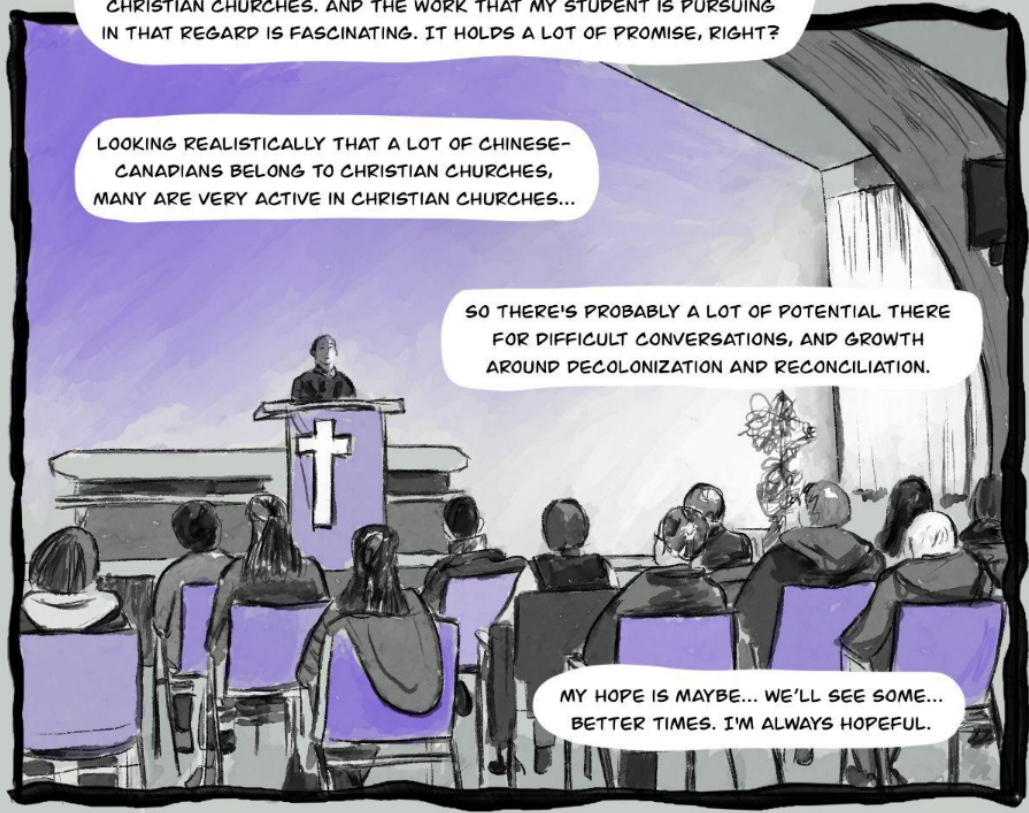
I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT THAT CHINESE-CANADIANS CONTINUE TO CONTEMPLATE AND SEEK PEACEFUL AND HARMONIOUS RELATIONS WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLE.

I THINK ABOUT MY OWN STUDENTS NOW THAT I'M LUCKILY SUPERVISING. ANOTHER ASIAN STUDENT I HAVE IS FOCUSING ON AGAIN, CHRISTIAN FAITH AND WHAT IT MEANS TO RECONCILE...



AND TO UNDERSTAND THE RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION REPORT.

I THINK THAT'S A BRILLIANT THING THAT MY STUDENT IS DOING AND TO RECOGNIZE THAT A LOT OF CHINESE CANADIANS DO BELONG TO CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. AND THE WORK THAT MY STUDENT IS PURSUING IN THAT REGARD IS FASCINATING. IT HOLDS A LOT OF PROMISE, RIGHT?



LOOKING REALISTICALLY THAT A LOT OF CHINESE-CANADIANS BELONG TO CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, MANY ARE VERY ACTIVE IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES...

SO THERE'S PROBABLY A LOT OF POTENTIAL THERE FOR DIFFICULT CONVERSATIONS, AND GROWTH AROUND DECOLONIZATION AND RECONCILIATION.

MY HOPE IS MAYBE... WE'LL SEE SOME... BETTER TIMES. I'M ALWAYS HOPEFUL.

While Christian-influenced and church-based work is not unique to Toronto, the role of faith and the church were discussed in more depth. In Vancouver, Bill Chu stands out as someone heavily motivated by his Christian faith, where he integrates his messages for reconciliation in Chinese Christian churches. In Aotearoa, faith was discussed more in the background, even though people like Danny Karatea-Goddard is a Catholic deacon. It was in Toronto where participants specifically brought up Chinese Christian churches and ruminated on the responsibilities that Chinese Christians have. At the time of this research, this was a site of potential. There is more intellectual work and personal reflections on the need for this type of work to happen than examples of it materializing.

Conclusion

Based on the limited sample of people and autoethnographic reflections, I argue that in Toronto, the character of collective forms of solidarity are more temporal and less spatially rooted. The more everyday forms of solidarity are often practiced on a more individual basis in contexts of paid work. Without a historical foundation for contemporary solidarity between Indigenous and Chinese communities, this is still a place of potential. Without an early history of direct intermarriage between Indigenous and Chinese people, many Toronto-based participants still stress the importance of re-politicizing histories and to refusing ‘single-stranded histories.’ The union and labour movements in Ontario still have some power to engage in political solidarity. A major lesson is to organize outside your comfort zones, outside of the downtown core and into the suburbs, and into Church spaces. This comes from Calvin’s reflections on migrant justice organizing and the shortcomings of the organizer base of No One Is Illegal. There is potential in faith-based spaces where Chinese communities congregate, and perhaps Christian-specific engagement is required. These place-based differences between Vancouver and Toronto affirm that nation-states are not monoliths. In Toronto, solidarity work can grow through the cumulative learnings from Aotearoa and Vancouver. From Aotearoa, the treaty-based work could be translatable in understanding the precolonial and colonial treaties relevant to Toronto. From Vancouver, the conversations and critiques of ‘reconciliation,’ practices of translation, and ‘getting our own houses in order’ are all relevant.

Part III: Translational Strategies and Transnational Dreaming

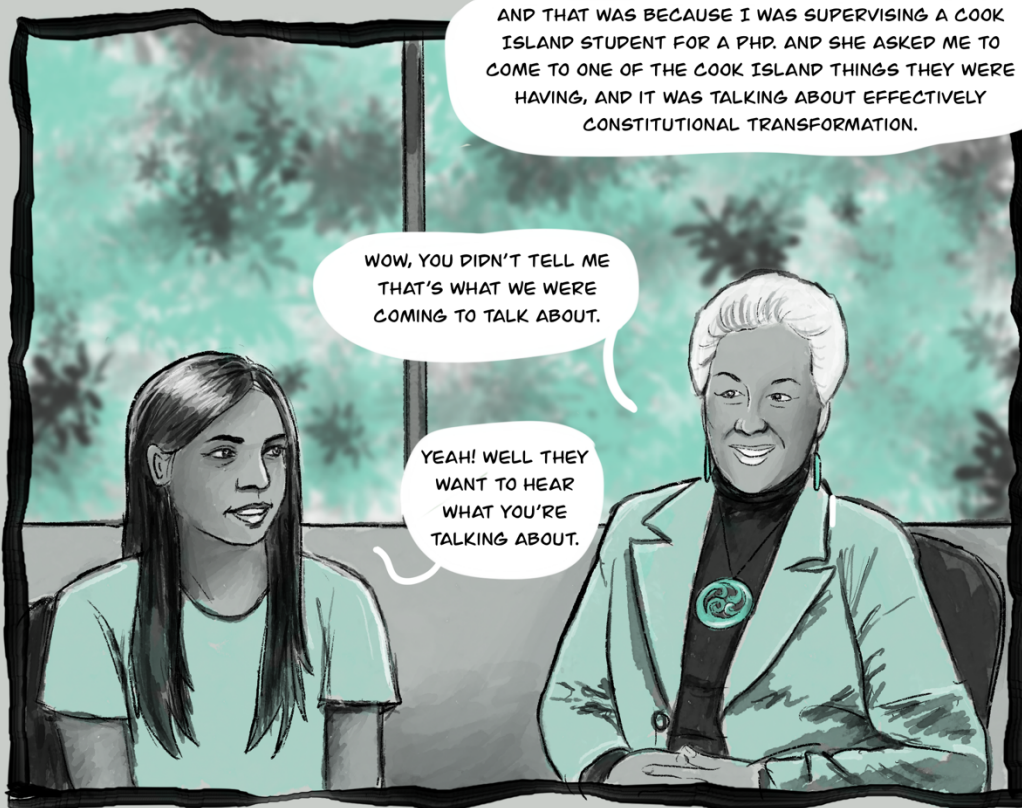
THE SUPPORT OF OTHERS



ONE OF THE THINGS THAT'S REALLY CLEAR TO US IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION WORK, THAT WE FUNDAMENTALLY, WE MUST HAVE THE SUPPORT OF OTHERS.

WHAT BLEW ME AWAY WAS THE FIRST PEOPLE WHO CAME TO US, TO WANTING TO BE PART OF THE RANGATIRATANGA SPHERE WERE OUR OWN WHANAUNGA FROM THE PACIFIC.

PROFESSOR MARGARET MUTU



AND THAT WAS BECAUSE I WAS SUPERVISING A COOK ISLAND STUDENT FOR A PHD. AND SHE ASKED ME TO COME TO ONE OF THE COOK ISLAND THINGS THEY WERE HAVING, AND IT WAS TALKING ABOUT EFFECTIVELY CONSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION.

WOW, YOU DIDN'T TELL ME THAT'S WHAT WE WERE COMING TO TALK ABOUT.

YEAH! WELL THEY WANT TO HEAR WHAT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT.



SO MY STUDENT HAD TAKEN ME OUT THERE AND TALKED TO THEM

PLEASE, PLEASE CAN WE PART OF YOUR SIDE? WE DON'T WANNA BE PART OF THE KĀWANTANGA SIDE, WE WANNA BE PART OF YOUR SIDE.



WELL YOU COME INTO OUR SIDE, IT'S OUR TIKANGA. YOU GO INTO THE KĀWANATANGA SIDE, YOU GO ON THEIR TIKANGA. BUT YEAH SO LONG AS YOU DON'T MIND IT'S OUR PLACE WHERE WE MAKE OUR DECISIONS ABOUT OUR LIVES. AND IF YOU WISH TO TAUTOKO US TO DO THAT, THEN YEAH, BY ALL MEANS.

MOANA TOLD ME ABOUT YOUR GROUP COMING AND ASKING TO SUPPORT, HELL YEAH.



BECAUSE YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT IT IS THAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT AND THEREFORE YOU UNDERSTAND THE RESPONSIBILITY WE HAVE BEING MANA WHENUA, THERE ARE RESPONSIBILITIES WE HAVE THAT WE CAN'T LOSE, BECAUSE WE ARE RESPONSIBLE, AT THE END OF THE DAY, FOR THIS COUNTRY.

AS MUCH AS PĀKEHĀS TRY TO TELL US WE'RE NOT, WE ARE.

WE WERE PUT HERE OVER A 1000 YEARS BEFORE ANYBODY ELSE, WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS COUNTRY. SO THOSE WHO WISH TO COME IN BEHIND US AND SUPPORT US, ABSOLUTELY, SO LONG AS THEY DON'T COME IN THERE TO TELL US WHAT TO DO.

Chapter Eight - Spheres of Solidarity: Strategies, Practices, and Challenges

Professor Margaret Mutu makes clear the necessity of ‘support from others’ alongside the boundaries of solidarity, such as respecting self-determination of Indigenous peoples to make decisions for themselves. She references the ‘spheres of influence’ envisioned in the Matike Mai Aotearoa report, where the kāwanatanga sphere is governed by the Crown. In this chapter, I argue that diasporic Chinese solidarity practices can be categorized within three “spheres of influence” drawn from the Matike Mai Aotearoa report on constitution transformation. Within each of these spheres, I share examples of praxis that could be adapted across different contexts. These spheres help clarify our different roles, responsibilities, and boundaries in relationship to Indigenous peoples and to our own communities. This chapter focuses on the relational, cultural, and material aspects of solidarity. The next chapter explores the pedagogical strategies more deeply.

In the spirit of radical honesty about the tensions, I highlight some of the challenges and barriers to building solidarity. These are an overview of the key issues we need to confront. Remarkably, most of these issues were relevant throughout the different cities. Aside from the major barriers of anti-Indigenous racism amongst Chinese communities, prominent issues include ‘performative solidarity’ and the propensity towards ‘cultural solutions to political problems,’ as He-Lin named. These indicate how political consciousness does not necessarily lead to better quality of relationships. To not sugarcoat the realities, or paint a rose-tinted picture, I present these to name the conflicts, tensions, ‘bad affects’ and ‘ugly feelings’ involved (Diabo 2019). I want to start by exploring what ‘solidarity’ means to my participants.

Meanings of Solidarity

Amongst my participants, the many conceptions of solidarity were: solidarity as “being present to proactively support” (Trish Cheng) and as “presence” (Hongwen), “walking alongside” (Winnie Ng), “an injustice to one is an injustice to all” (Rita Wong), “standing together, united in that common vision, mission, purpose” (Landy Anderson), “power together”⁸² (Lorraine Lam), “a

⁸²In our original interview, Lorraine had defined solidarity as ‘empathy with action,’ but since then, it has changed: “my thinking has shifted more lately around not just empathy + action, but reflecting on the idea of power: power

relationship” (Jane Shi), “a practice” (Derek), and “togetherness” (Joe). In some interviews, the term ‘solidarity’ was rarely used, other concepts like ‘mutual support’ came up, especially when describing the early interactions between Indigenous and Chinese people in Aotearoa and so-called British Columbia. Often when solidarity is referred to as a ‘relationship,’ it is not always qualified with what type of relationship. Marutakaiwaho offers some guidance, these relationships should be “meaningful, truthful, respectful, reciprocal.” Reciprocity was echoed by many people. Jane Shi notes that in practice, it is not only non-Indigenous peoples supporting Indigenous peoples. The support is reciprocated, and it’s about “reciprocal exchange and sharing knowledge.”

Additionally, others posited that solidarity comes from an understanding of the interdependence of oppression and liberation. Understanding oppression as interdependent and interconnected is foundational for solidarity-building. This was emphasized by Rita Wong, quoting Murri activist Lilla Watson: “If you have come here to help me you are wasting your time, but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.” This idea of solidarity challenges a charity-centric perspective. To explain interdependence, Winnie Ng, brought up the Three Sisters story, a Haundenosaunee story about growing Corn, Squash, and Beans - their support for each other in growth. Each have a role to play to benefit the others. In this sense, solidarity also means shared goals against injustices that are experienced differently but are nonetheless interconnected.

Solidarity is coming together and combining forces without interfering in the independence of those most affected. This involves being respectful of boundaries. Prof. Henry Yu discussed the importance of coming from a place where you cannot think you know what’s best for another group of people, “to be respectful of the priorities that Indigenous communities have for themselves.” Solidarity draws the line at trying to solve problems or determine directions for the group of people you are in ‘solidarity with.’ It’s standing beside, or behind, rather than in front, which would reproduce the same hierarchical relations of paternalism and domination, inhibiting self-determination.

Solidarity can be further clarified as power-building and power-sharing. Winnie Ng used the union axiom of “alone we beg, together we bargain.” Solidarity in this sense is about power

together, and also those with more power being willing to lay down their power in order for those who are often sidelined to be centred” (email communications, 2024).

and strength through collectivism. This understanding of solidarity as a means to build power is essential for understanding its role in political strategies. Rita Wong offers, “Solidarity is just recognizing that if you have a bit of privilege, you should use it in whatever way you can to share that power.” Both these definitions of solidarity speak to solidarity as power.

Another facet of solidarity is a willingness to give up and surrender. Winnie Ng asks, “what are you willing to give up?” Lorraine Lam shares a definition of solidarity that encompasses this question: “it’s about being alongside people with less power and fighting alongside what they’re fighting for, and being willing to do it at a cost.” This is antithetical to saviourism. It is a political weapon for building power towards shared political visions and aspirations.

Solidarity in Practice: Three Spheres that Decentre Whiteness

Taking inspiration from the Matike Mai report’s articulation of the “tino rangatiratanga sphere” (space of Māori self-determination), “the relational sphere” (space of collaborative decision-making), and the “kāwanatanga sphere” (self-government for non-Māori), I see how solidarity too, is practiced in these spheres. Under conditions of white hegemony, many people have had to operate in the third ‘kāwanatanga’ sphere in white majority spaces where they were ‘the only’ Chinese person doing that work. However, for the purpose of decentring whiteness, I consider the third sphere, essentially as “getting our own house in order,” this means organizing our own communities. None of these spheres are fully separate in practice, but will bleed into and inform the others. Within each sphere, we can reflect on the key challenges and issues, the existing practices and examples, and consider what might be missing. To use adrienne maree brown’s concept of fractals, within each sphere are fractals that grow from small to big, spiralling outwards, as emergent strategies. These fractals spiral from interpersonal relationships to wider group relations, to larger scale social movement and eventually transnational relations.

The Sphere of Indigenous ‘Sovereignty’

In this sphere, non-Indigenous peoples’ role is clarified as supporting and taking leadership from Indigenous communities. This has often involved “presence” (Hongwen) for Indigenous-led actions, movements, and resistance. Colonial power is not totalizing, Indigenous peoples are still exercising their self-determination, sovereignty, mana motuhake and looking after the lands and people under their traditional jurisdiction. This could be supporting land and water

defense/protection, campaigns for MMIWGT2S, or harm reduction efforts. In this sphere, non-Indigenous peoples are clear in their roles and position as coming under Indigenous jurisdiction and respecting Indigenous protocols. Chinese peoples have done this through presence and redistributing wealth and resources. Examples of this include the land reclamation of Ihumātao, the blockades at Fairy Creek, the solidarity actions to support the Wet'suwet'en, being there during the Oka crisis, the resistance against the confiscation of the foreshore and seabed, solidarity with Grassy Narrows and the Land Alliance to stop unwanted mining in northern Ontario, and in the Idle No More movement. In this sphere, we are already in the practice of respecting Indigenous jurisdiction and leadership.

One of the streams of ASTR's work is 'showing up' for Māori movements, supporting the 'tino rangatiratanga sphere.' This requires presence. Hongwen discusses:

Presence is really important for solidarity. [...] One group, we can't do shit alone right? But like in constellation and coordination with other groups, we can do much more than just like us groups operating as discrete.

The Protect Ihumātao campaign required people to be on the land, physically, to stop any incursions or evictions carried out either by NZ Police or Fletchers Building Ltd. The numbers at some points swelled up to thousands. Visitors or supporters were asked to respect the tikanga and kawa (protocols) of the occupation, that everyone will remain peaceful and respect the land. My memories of Ihumātao remind me of Coulthard and Simpson's (2016) conceptualization of grounded normativity, or place-based solidarity. These relationships and conversations form from being present on the land. The occupation of Ihumātao is perhaps also a convergence of what Jeff Cornassel calls temporal solidarity and spatial solidarity; this intersection is when solidarity is at its most powerful. Being on the land and respecting the leadership of mana whenua offers a deeper understanding of reciprocal relations.

The solidarity practices of land and water protection thus becomes solidarity beyond human relations, but with water, land and all creatures and life. But ultimately, it is also solidarity in anticipation of the future generations as well as the ancestors of Indigenous peoples whose histories lay in the land. When we think beyond human to human relations, and with Indigenous struggles that are land-based, inevitably, we come into struggles for climate justice and a radically interdependent perspective of life. Land and waters are not only central to survival but to identity, culture, knowledge systems, language and memory, and to the future.

Material forms of support to Indigenous leadership and decolonization can be redistribution of wealth and resources. Wealth redistribution can be interpreted as charity or philanthropy, but the intentions and politics behind some of this is also to challenge a culture of capitalism that is centred on hoarding and growing individual wealth. Furthermore, this is a recognition that all wealth generated in Canada and New Zealand is founded on Indigenous dispossession. This is an invitation to not shy away from money but to earn it to redistribute. Because colonialism has damaged the economic base of Indigenous communities, part of the material solidarity required involves economic means. Contributing to fundraisers or organizing fundraisers has been a common form of solidarity practice. Organizing fundraisers through banquets or arts-based events like drag shows have been mentioned. Other forms of material support have come in the form of food donations and support with housing, whether that is physically building houses like Wai Ho, or sharing architectural knowledge and skills like David Wong's work with First Nations communities and mentoring young Indigenous designers.

Within this sphere, we are already prefiguring the relationships of what it would mean to live in respect of Indigenous self-determination, jurisdiction, and following Indigenous protocols. It is in service of Indigenous resurgence and support with presence, resources, amplification, and deep listening. We get a glimpse of futurities at Indigenous land reclamation of what a decolonized world could look like.

This sphere is perhaps what is most often recognized as 'solidarity,' it is the most visible in times of crisis. However, it is limited as the only form of solidarity, and relies on Indigenous peoples to provide direction and answers. It is often a more passive form of solidarity where we wait to be told what to do, or we ask Indigenous peoples for answers on what we can do. Indigenous voices and perspectives are also not monolithic and uniform, and following anyone who is Indigenous can ignore intra-community dynamics and can lead to falling for colonialism with an Indigenous face. However, doing work in this sphere can also provide grounding, and direct learning from Indigenous peoples of their struggles, their protocols, and practicing respect for Indigenous jurisdiction. Lessons learned from here can then be passed on and translated into the other spheres of solidarity.

The Relational Sphere

In the Matike Mai report, the 'relational sphere' is where decisions are made collaboratively

or negotiated on matters that affect both the tino rangatiratanga sphere and the kāwanatanga sphere. Solidarity practices, then, in the “the relational sphere” are often for mutual benefit, whether working in coalition, or in the same group, or opening spaces for relationship-building. These are spaces of dialogue, of direct relationship-building, of mutual collaboration and shared decision-making. Sometimes these projects are initiated by Indigenous peoples, sometimes by non-Indigenous peoples. The Vancouver Dialogues Project, initiated by a Hong Konger and steered by a committee of Indigenous and immigrant leaders, provided a space for collaboration. We can think of Chinatown Storyscapes that Kamala Todd initiated based on phone conversations with her auntie, Doreen Jensen (Gitxsan). Later her work on *Cedar and Bamboo* was also a collaborative project with dual heritage Indigenous-Chinese and non-Indigenous Chinese. Much of the historical recovery and memory work operated within this sphere, because the relationships with Indigenous nations are how those stories re-emerged.

Within the ‘relational sphere,’ the examples of practices are extensive. From food-based to arts-based, from place-based to temporal crisis-based coalitional organizing, there have been efforts to bring Indigenous and Chinese communities together to counter racism and colonial attitudes, as well as for common political goals. This can also be seen in the projects Alice was involved in for the empowerment of young Indigenous and racialized women by providing a critical education program tailored to their needs. Coalitional organizing is another practice where groups and people can come together for a shared purpose.

In this sphere, we also recognize how Indigenous and Chinese communities are not discrete when there has been decades of intermarriage and generations that hold both Indigenous and Chinese genealogy. Indigenous and Chinese families live this as everyday kinship relations. They know most intimately what the stakes are in combatting anti-Indigenous racism and anti-Chinese racism, and have clarity and insights for people who are new to these relationships. However, I do not want to fetishize or overly romanticize these relationships and family dynamics, nor suggest that intermarriage is the solution.⁸³ Intermarriage between white and Indigenous people have thus far failed to resolve racism and colonialism. At the same time, it is important to understand that the struggles are not separate for those who are affected by colonialism and racism on multiple fronts.

⁸³ Uyghur communities in China and abroad have reported incentivized, coerced, and forced intermarriages with Han Chinese, this is also used as a colonial method of cultural assimilation. (Worden et al. 2022)

Within the relational sphere, there is still a recognition of distinctness of struggles, but it is a space to build ‘constellations of co-resistance’ (Simpson LB 2017). It is to also recognize that solidarity has often come from Indigenous peoples, where the ethic of reciprocity becomes salient. In this sphere, dialogues are methods towards mutual understanding and dismantling interpersonal and inter-community racism. This clears the ground for more balanced, respectful, and reciprocal relationships, and this threatens the colonial tactics of divide and rule. However, I would argue that solidarity in this sphere means more than just forming personal friendships across Chinese and Indigenous communities or cultural sharing/exchanges, it requires further engagement with each other’s political struggles and histories. As in the first tenet of celestial solidarity, to honour all our ancestors, histories, and lands requires deeper sharing not just ‘culture to culture’ but ‘history to history’ as Bill Chu once said. To do this, we must ‘know ourselves’ first, and this is where the work within our communities can inform how we approach the relational sphere.

The Sphere of “Getting our Own House(s) in Order”

The “kāwanatanga sphere” in the Matike Mai report is envisioned for non-Indigenous people to govern themselves. This was the language used in Te Tiriti to delegate responsibility to the Crown to deal with unruly Pākehā immigrants. I see this sphere as the work in taking responsibility for our communities as a practice of solidarity. It is what a young Chinese activist in Vancouver, Kimberley Wong, calls “getting our own house in order.” They explain:

My thought is that we must talk to our community and our elders first, because nobody else is going to talk to [them] [...] let’s deal with our own house first, get our own house in order before we start pointing fingers elsewhere. [...] Organizing within one’s own community can be so powerful and so averting of the white gaze and multiculturalism [...] which tells you who, where, and how much you can be.

In this sense, doing work within your own community is also an act of collective self-determination that refuses white multicultural management. This work often involves translation and intergenerational relationship-building, making sure to bring our families and non-fluent English speakers along, translating workshops or materials. Here we can amplify Indigenous truth-telling in our own communities. This strand of work can be both pan-Chinese and specific to different Chinese diasporas. Houses, plural. It is also to build collective, community-to-community solidarity. Showing up as a group can be more meaningful and powerful than as individuals.

In this sphere, we need to firstly ‘know ourselves.’ There are multiple layers to this, knowing our relationship to Indigenous peoples, knowing Chinese histories on Indigenous lands, knowing Chinese diasporic histories and the political contexts for immigration, understanding the political histories of places where Chinese people have originated and how it is connected to colonialisms elsewhere. This is where the historical recovery work on Indigenous lands becomes crucial for ‘knowing yourself.’ This might also involve the internal and collective work of unlearning internalized racism, Orientalism, and white supremacy which sees foreignness as inferior. This sphere invites us to consider our own revolutionary histories, philosophies, and strategies resisting colonialism and oppression and what might be learned from that. This sphere invites us to assess where our communities ‘are at.’

To learn from the sphere of Indigenous resistance, the sphere of ‘getting our own houses in order’ can perhaps also go beyond only human relationships and encourages us to think about relationships to land and the need to eliminate property relationships to land. The rising prices of housing in Vancouver have been blamed on especially newcomer mainland Chinese investors, the association between Chinese people and the housing crisis emerged in Auckland as well in 2015. Several participants admit there is truth to this, but the racial backlash ends up targeted at all Chinese diasporas, not just the rich house buyers and flippers. When it comes to land ownership, participation in real estate becomes an ethical issue for people like Jane Shi. When I asked if our communities would be willing to give that up, she said:

How do we be critical of each other when we do start to buy properties, right? I think that’s probably part of the conversations. [...] Is that ethical? I feel like on my own, like a) I’d never be able to afford, but b) that’s just not ethical as a settler.

Jane marks a generational division where her/our generation has largely been locked out of house ownership, the high rent and house prices are common across Aotearoa in the major cities and in Vancouver and Toronto. Confronting the housing crisis and reflecting on class, the relationship between Chinese people and real estate in Vancouver are important pieces to solidarity.

The call to ‘get our own house in order’ is riddled with complexities, how do we define ‘our own house’? Who is within this house? Alan Chen shares his thoughts on what this means in Vancouver and offers mapping the ‘landscape’ as a starting point:

[A] more useful exercise for me at the moment, is just figuring out what the landscape of the Chinese population in Vancouver looks like. They span the range of wealthier immigrants [...] using housing or development as a form of capital investment, new families seeking places to raise children, monolingual seniors seeking stable housing and livelihoods in lower income neighbourhoods. There is the youth diaspora, which are further separated into folks who just immigrated to come for school or work; folks who grew up here; folks who are third, fourth, fifth generation Asian Canadian. And then, mapping out their political particularities seeing if there are... access points or gateways to have these kinds of conversations.

The implication is there are multiple 'houses' within Chinese diasporas. The strength of this approach means there can be a collective response to issues which hold more power and weight than an individual. There is more to offer and reciprocate to Indigenous communities. This work requires intergenerational relationships to be meaningful.

Within this sphere, a common solidarity practice transnationally is translation, for the purposes of accessibility, intergenerational connection and bypassing whiteness. Translation not only addresses the issue of language barriers for Chinese communities who are less fluent in English, but we can consider translation in its most expansive sense. Avril Hwang describes its significance:

I think it's also so crucial to have sort of that in-between person who's able to translate these movements, and these information from Indigenous-led movements to communities that might not otherwise have access to them.[...] But it's not just about translating between languages, because you're translating across histories, across cultural traditions, and being able to shape it in a way that a whole different culture or community is able to interpret and understand it in their worldview.

To speak across worlds, translation is a bridge even if it is the 'same' language. For example, Derek remarks:

[...] when we translated 'Indigenous' 原住民 [yuánzhùmín] into Mandarin, people like, 'we have never used this word before.' So it's definitely also learning for even explaining them in Mandarin to people what that actually means.

And but the other strategy, I think, is useful, well at least effective, are kind of visual cue, like short documentaries, and having them translated with subtitles in Mandarin and then watching them together and discussing what is happening. And also letting people share their own experiences and contemporary Indigenous peoples in Toronto, or in Ontario. And so they will make their own connections when they talk about these experiences.

He discusses translation here in several ways: language (English to Mandarin), conceptual (Mandarin concept explained and defined in Mandarin) and method of communication (use of different forms of media, from text to audio-visual), and translation of bigger concepts to lived experiences and relations - connecting it to a personal stake. There are layers of translation as a pedagogical tool to relate or make relevant the ongoing colonial issues affecting Indigenous peoples. Translation then becomes tailored to create a bridge for common understanding. Translation requires us to know the audience and be in a dialogic relationship rather than a unilateral one, one that involves mutual learning. Translation here has a more expansive meaning beyond language translation. As a communication method directly speaking to a particular audience, I've come to treat translation as inherent in communication itself.

Even language-specific translations are not straightforward as there is no singular Chinese language.⁸⁴ Within written Chinese, there is traditional and simplified, but each language or dialect has their own expressions and different words for the same thing. He-Lin, who does translation work professionally, needs to remind people that her Mandarin translations are Taiwanese-specific, and there needs to be a second reader to look over her translations. In relation to the politics of language, on the Chinese side, Danny Karatea-Goddard brought up the use of Mandarin when the miners and their descendants were primarily Cantonese speakers:

When we went to the Ventnor celebrations in the Hokianga recently, the media that turned up, a lot of the government representatives used Putonghua [standard Mandarin] in their greetings. They were blind to the fact that these people were the descendants of Cantonese speakers or were Cantonese.

The dominance of Mandarin is a political and linguistic dynamic to note. When non-Chinese people resort to Mandarin as a default, it is perpetuating Mandarin language hegemony but also assumes all Chinese people know Mandarin. With a diverse diaspora, translation can be complex and often Cantonese and Mandarin are the more dominant languages. Language is political and shaped by histories of migration.

Utilizing Chinese language media is another vital strategy within this sphere that requires translation and fluency. In Vancouver, Bill Chu's work has often involved speaking and writing

⁸⁴There is Cantonese, Toisan, Hakka, Taiwanese, Teochew, standardized mainland Mandarin, Taiwanese Mandarin among many others. Within Cantonese, there are variations between Hong Kong Cantonese and mainland Cantonese, Vietnamese Chinese diaspora Cantonese, old diaspora Cantonese.

to the media, with initial efforts more towards the Chinese media, and running some of the tours in Cantonese. When he speaks to Hong Kongers or Christians, apart from providing a translation of context, he helps to unravel the nuances by drawing parallels and lessons related to those identities. Organizations like Yarrow Intergenerational Society practice translation everyday working with Chinese seniors, and the online events they have organized on Indigenous histories and colonialism have live translation to Mandarin and Cantonese, or from Chinese to English when they host Chinese senior speakers.

Jane Shi delved into why translation is necessary. She organized online with others under Asians In Support of Wet'suwet'en (2020) during the calls from the Wet'suwet'en nation to #ShutDownCanada to stop the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline going through their territories. As a young writer and poet, she has shared her thoughts in an article called 'The Revolution Will be Translated' (Shi 2020). She reflects:

I think translation work is directly speaking to the communities you want to engage with, and skipping the appealing to white people part. I think that is probably the most succinct way for me to put it. [...] there is lots of elders in Chinatown who have already established relationships with Indigenous people because they are neighbours to them, so and obviously there is sometimes folks who have not had the chance to build relationships and to learn about different issues, and that's an issue of access.

Translation is for increasing accessibility and bypassing whiteness. The way that translations were crowdsourced was through online methods using social media, and existing connections with Hong Kong activists she knew through Twitter. The timing of the Wet'suwet'en blockades coinciding with the Hong Kong protests made translation smoother, as many of the Hong Kong activists were also translators. Kimberley Wong organized a banner painting session with a friend where they translated slogans in 15 Asian languages. During times of crisis and mass direct action, translation became important to reach non-English speakers and to amplify Indigenous truths that are rarely translated. At a Wet'suwet'en solidarity action in Vancouver, Rita Wong took notice of translated signs.

ALL THAT IS UNSEEN



RITA WONG

THERE WAS A WET'SUWET'EN SOLIDARITY BLOCKADE AT THE RAILROAD TRACKS BY RENFREW & 11TH, AND A BUNCH OF YOUNG ASIAN CANADIAN FOLKS SHOWED UP WITH BANNERS IN CHINESE AND ENGLISH VOICING THEIR SOLIDARITY.

I WASN'T EXPECTING THAT. AND I WAS REALLY HAPPY TO SEE THAT.



I FEEL LIKE I DON'T NECESSARILY KNOW ALL THE THINGS THAT ARE GOING ON, BUT WHEN THEY CONNECT AND SHOW UP, I'M JUST REALLY HAPPY THAT THEY'RE THERE.



(RESPECT INDIGENOUS LAW)

THERE'S SOME KIND OF ENERGY OR JUST SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE THAT KEEPS US GOING I THINK.

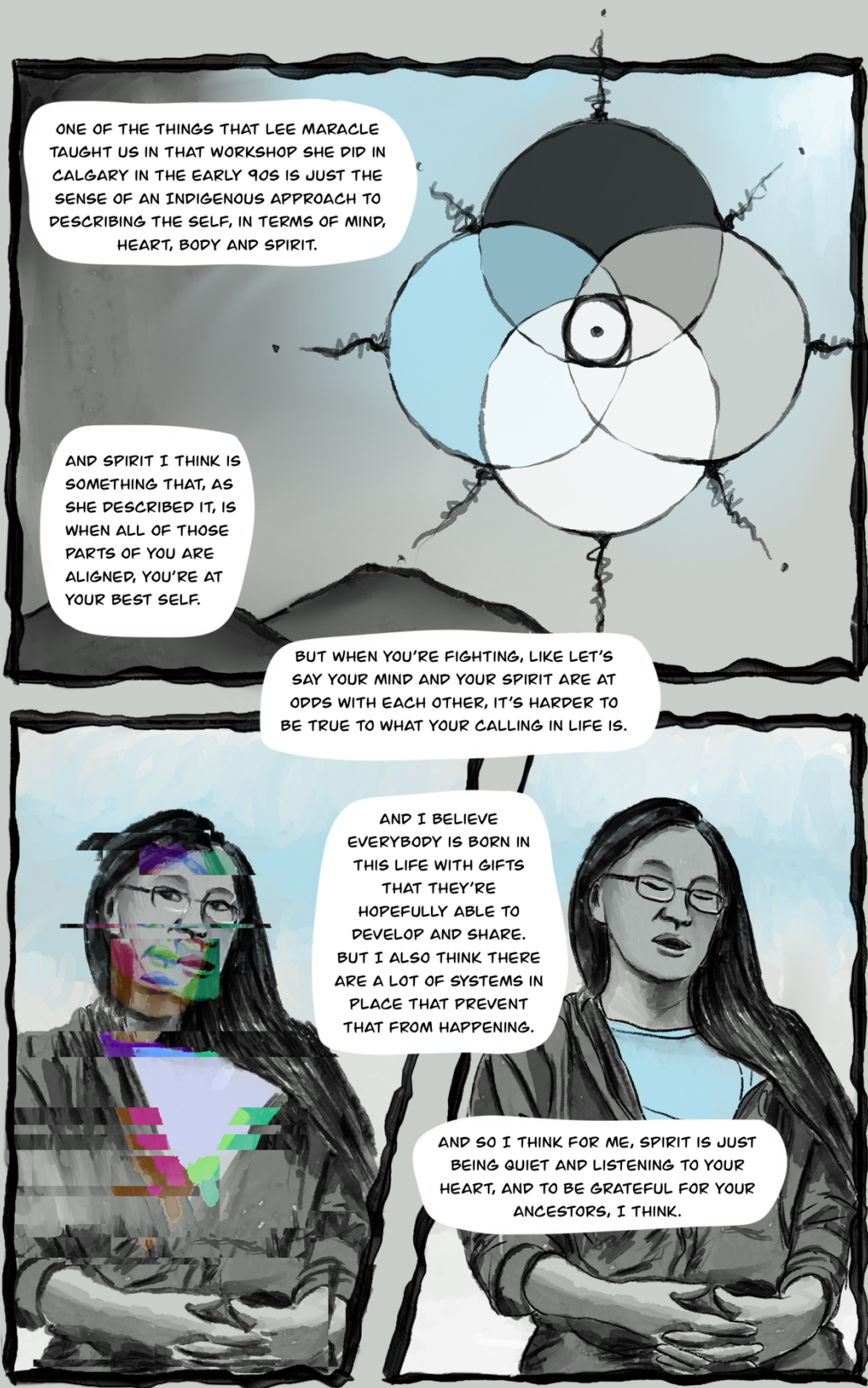
ONE OF THE THINGS THAT LEE MARACLE TAUGHT US IN THAT WORKSHOP SHE DID IN CALGARY IN THE EARLY 90S IS JUST THE SENSE OF AN INDIGENOUS APPROACH TO DESCRIBING THE SELF, IN TERMS OF MIND, HEART, BODY AND SPIRIT.

AND SPIRIT I THINK IS SOMETHING THAT, AS SHE DESCRIBED IT, IS WHEN ALL OF THOSE PARTS OF YOU ARE ALIGNED, YOU'RE AT YOUR BEST SELF.

BUT WHEN YOU'RE FIGHTING, LIKE LET'S SAY YOUR MIND AND YOUR SPIRIT ARE AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER, IT'S HARDER TO BE TRUE TO WHAT YOUR CALLING IN LIFE IS.

AND I BELIEVE EVERYBODY IS BORN IN THIS LIFE WITH GIFTS THAT THEY'RE HOPEFULLY ABLE TO DEVELOP AND SHARE. BUT I ALSO THINK THERE ARE A LOT OF SYSTEMS IN PLACE THAT PREVENT THAT FROM HAPPENING.

AND SO I THINK FOR ME, SPIRIT IS JUST BEING QUIET AND LISTENING TO YOUR HEART, AND TO BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ANCESTORS, I THINK.





ONE OF THE THINGS THAT DOROTHY CHRISTIAN SAYS AND HAS SAID FOR A LONG TIME IS THAT WATER HAS A SPIRIT.

AND SO WHEN I THINK ABOUT IT THAT WAY, IT ALSO IS ABOUT ALL THE UNSEEN THAT YOU DON'T NECESSARILY CONSCIOUSLY KNOW BUT THAT YOU ARE STILL IN CO-EXISTENCE WITH.

TO ME SPIRIT IS ALSO ABOUT WHAT YOU CAN'T BUY, WHAT YOU CAN'T CONTROL. IT HELPS TO BE GROUNDED IN A SENSE OF RESPECT.

From Rita's narration, what started as gratitude for a group of Chinese activists with translated signs in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en transformed into contemplations of the spirit and the spirituality of water. Our thoughts flow like water. If water has a spirit, and what connects all land is water, then all our connections are spiritual. Below the surface are worlds and life that moves, interacts, and transforms, regardless of whether we take notice, regardless of whether we see it. We come full circle back to the spirit, and back to Indigenous feminist leadership that opened understandings for diasporic Chinese. Translation goes beyond this sphere, but is central to the relational sphere and Indigenous-led resistance in the ways that Indigenous land and culture gets translated for non-Indigenous peoples, generating portals that make solidarity possible.

As translation can generate portals, they do so through a filter of language, and we need to accept that not everything can be fully translated. Meanings can change through translation. This has been a central issue in the 'translation' of Te Tiriti o Waitangi into English. There is always a risk of mistranslation and distranslation. Indigenous concepts need to be understood in their cultural and historical context, and often require deeper engagement to get closer to their intended meanings. As a bilingual person, I know there are expressions and concepts when translated from Chinese to English, the 'feel' of those words become lost, and meanings slightly off. As with the workings of the celestial realms, non-Indigenous peoples may never fully understand Indigenous concepts, but we can still appreciate and respect it.

Within this sphere of solidarity, the leadership and primarily responsibility rests on diasporic Chinese who are connected to work in the other spheres of solidarity to translate the knowledge and share within Chinese communities. Simultaneously, it is about learning from and drawing on our own histories, languages, and cultural practices to be able to translate well, without conflating Indigenous histories and concepts with Chinese ones to translate responsibly and ethically. This sphere cannot work in isolation either, it helps to be connected across all spheres to be effective and accountable. This sphere of solidarity perhaps requires more creative practices, and it can extend beyond borders across Chinese diasporas living on Indigenous lands still under colonial occupation.

Barriers and Challenges for Solidarity-building

In existing practices across Aotearoa and northern Turtle Island, there are examples of work across these three spheres. These pertain to economic, relational, social, and political barriers. As social movements become popularized, aligning yourself 'in solidarity' with Indigenous

peoples can become performative, to gain social, economic, cultural or activist capital, aka ‘clout.’ I find Makaanaka Tuwe’s (2021) description of the response to Black Lives Matter as “projectile solidarity” useful here. She defines it as “the reactionary pressure to say something about a phenomena.” Applying this to Indigenous solidarity, we see this in the surge of performative gestures in the public arena, in the media, in the arts, or institutions when issues are trending because of social pressures to say something. But often it is done out of fear of being cancelled rather than genuine connection to the issue. I see this as a general issue of disconnection between theory and practice.

What does it mean when someone espouses certain values, but their actions speak otherwise? What is preventing people from practicing their values and politics to the fullest in interpersonal relationships and collective organizing? The dissonance between values and action has become increasingly common in this neoliberal era. The neoliberal individualist career-building tendencies alongside social media ‘influencer’ culture has meant that those who are fluent in the language of social justice can become self-appointed leaders without much accountability to a collective or community.

With a pressure to perform, institutions will also produce optics of solidarity with Indigenous peoples through surface level forms of ‘inclusion’ or tokenism. In conversation with He-Lin, who has worked in museum spaces in Vancouver, she observed the tendency of **‘cultural solutions to political problems.’** This is a sobering reminder of how the arts, or ‘cultural resurgence’ can be coopted, and how pouring resources into art-making can create a veneer of ‘reconciliation’ without real political or structural decolonization. As the Aotearoa context reminds us, visibility of Indigenous culture does not equate to respecting Te Tiriti or mana motuhake. Unique to Aotearoa is perhaps the greater social capital attached to performing solidarity with Māori, and how speaking the Māori language affords non-Māori greater career opportunities and leadership positions.

The goals of decolonization are not for non-Indigenous peoples to Indigenize themselves, as Tina Ngata’s (2020) aunt once said: “Stop trying to be Maori, I don’t need you to be Maori – I’ve got that covered. I need you to be a good treaty partner.” This is clear even at the very beginnings of the relationship envisioned through Te Tiriti, Māori granted governorship to the Crown to manage their own people. They could have forced all non-Māori to conform to their tikanga or laws, but instead they offered a place for Pākehā to remain as Pākehā and be governed

by other Pākehā. The same generosity cannot be found in any European or Asian nation-state, where a group of immigrants show up and the governance system allows them to manage their own affairs and apply their own laws on their own people. That is unheard of. Yet, this practice can also be found in the Two Row Wampum Belt between the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee, two parallel systems that do not interfere with each other.

The pressure to perform solidarity is relevant in Canadian contexts too, in the form of land acknowledgments. Kendall Yan remarks:

Now it's been turned into this neoliberal checkbox wherein if people aren't doing that and saying empty words, they are canceled. But if you say those things, it's ok, you can still be shitty.

Solidarity motivated by desires for personal and moral absolution is another problem raised by Prof. Henry Yu. He posits:

We have to be very careful that it's not just ego driven, like I just want to be a good person. I want to decolonize, because then I don't have to feel like I'm a colonizer [...] an egocentric sense of I need solidarity so that I can feel that I'm in solidarity. Like that's quite classic sort of white liberal.

This form of “solidarity” also comes from a disingenuous place that recentres settler guilt, and it can become a basis for moral superiority over others, which underpins white liberalism. I have witnessed this amongst Chinese people who place themselves as ‘better than’ other non-Māori or Chinese people based on their knowledge of Te Tiriti or Māori culture. This approach centres individual moral superiority over (and distancing from) others rather than changing the material-spiritual-political structures of colonialism.

In social movement spaces, Winnie Ng reflects that despite understanding the importance of Indigeneity, “we do a lot of the actions that are more performative, rather than genuinely building some sort of relationship.” The examples Winnie gave were actions like land acknowledgments, formal apologies, chanting, showing up to protests, but rarely is there a commitment for follow up actions or giving up of power or privilege. As political consciousness has grown around Indigenous struggles, the intellectual understanding, the language of solidarity and academic analysis of settler colonialism may be there, but when there is ‘clout’ or pressure attached to performing solidarity, the quality and genuineness of ‘solidarity’ becomes questionable. It takes discernment for Indigenous peoples to figure out who is trustworthy. Who will still be

present when solidarity with Indigenous struggles is unpopular, risky, criminalized and costs something? One of the major challenges is to find people who practice their values, where what they say corresponds with what they think and do.

This dissonance between theory and practice can lead to conflicts within organizations, collectives, and interpersonal relationships. Internal conflicts, oppressive dynamics, and lateral violence within communities are further challenges in all spheres of solidarity. Lateral violence is misdirected violence by people of marginalized or oppressed positionalities towards other people who are also marginalized or oppressed, instead of targeting the anger towards the structures or group that is responsible for their oppression and marginalization. Joe spoke about lateral violence in hiring committees at university, where he has witnessed how racialized people can be “vicious” towards each other. He believes that lateral violence is the biggest barrier to solidarity. The issue of lateral violence was also raised by Vancouver-based community organizers and artists, where social media can exacerbate the problem.

Elitism and competitiveness in activist culture were brought up as another barrier. As someone who has been involved in grassroots political work in China and in Toronto, Derek brought up the language barrier not only in terms of English language fluency but the “locally linguistic variation.” This alludes to some of the elitism in activist cultures that is a barrier to participation. He has experienced organizing both in China and Toronto, and shares that while it is also ‘mentally draining’ in China for reasons of surveillance and policing, “at least [in China] you don't compete like ‘I have the best politics of all of you. I'm like superior politically,’ which I find it odd to be honest, we're all here learning.” One of the barriers for involvement is the competition, hierarchies, and elitism, which I also felt in the Toronto context.

The inability to work through conflict, harm or disagreements was highlighted in Vancouver as well. Jen Sunshine noted the misdirection of energy into working through minor conflicts that become major. She reflects on how Indigenous approaches can help:

This is something that I learned from working in solidarity with indigenous communities. On the Indigenous 5 Rs of like relationship, responsibility, you know all of those things, where we don't just cast people out and excommunicate people out because they said the wrong thing [...] I think that there needs to be a more holistic way of understanding relationships and the repair that is required when there's harm in relationships.

To address these issues, robust and holistic approaches to responding to conflict needs to be

devised, simultaneously disrupting a white supremacist culture of conflict aversion. This is a common feature in white Canadian and New Zealand culture, and within some Chinese cultural norms, as Lorraine Lam suggests:

Specifically in Chinese culture, we're so bad at conflict. Right? We just talk about each other behind their backs, we don't know how to deal with conflict, and then we avoid conflict and then it builds up.

The lack of conflict can be a problem if there are issues that are not attended to. Moving through conflict is a practice that is taxing mentally and emotionally, and relationships can sometimes hang in a delicate balance where it is easy to break, but extraordinarily harder to repair. These are issues I grapple with and not generally skills we learn through the colonial education system, so I have no easy answers to address this, as each conflict also has their own context. But I think we must be more open to conflict, to accountability, and see conflict as an opportunity for growth and transformation.

Within Chinese diasporic communities, the intergenerational differences and relationships can be a challenge to navigate. Jen Sunshine grapples with the issue of having grace and compassion while countering anti-Indigenous racism among Chinese seniors who see DTES as the problem:

Do I fight with this Chinese elder who I'm interviewing and I'm in relationship with? [...] but also I need to say something like, 'hey, you shouldn't be, this is not a right way of thinking.' So it's always this constant negotiation, I find, that can be quite painful [...] I don't have an answer necessarily, but I know that my answer [...] is to deepen those relationships.

The generational divide and the need for intergenerational solidarity within Chinese communities has been a consistent theme. She perceives the issue as a lack of common language, and this is complicated based on language barriers and ability, not to mention the diversity of Chinese languages, but even within English, older and younger generations do not necessarily share a common language.

There is a communication issue, but Jen also problematizes the western social construction of time as linear. The perception of younger generations as more radical or progressive is based on the colonial myth of progress, that older generations are more backward and younger generations are at times pedestalled and fetishized. There are competing generational hierarchies

at work interspersed with colonial time. This is Confucian age (and gendered) hierarchies coming into collision with colonial Canadian Anglophone-derived myths of progress. Of course, no generation is homogenous and there can be just as many anti-Indigenous Chinese youth as there are pro-Indigenous Chinese elders.

These are part of the challenges of 'collective' and community-based work, where the pace is often slower. This can lead people to take a more individual approach to solidarity. Rita commented:

There's an African saying, if you want to move quickly, move alone, if you want to move far, move together. What it means to me is that to do something that is more collective is slower. [laughs]

Reflecting on individual and collective approaches to solidarity, this quote speaks to how it might be easier/faster to move by yourself. But ultimately, moving alone will not go far enough. Moving faster can also lead to issues of burnout, or leaving people behind.

Under neoliberalism, we are not trained or well-practiced to move together efficiently. But drawing from adrienne maree brown's work of looking to nature, there are many examples of collective relations and movements that are fast and responsive. Images of murmuration come to mind, where birds move together as a mass but leave just enough space and are in sync with their movements so that they do not fly into each other. I think of birds migrating together, flying in V formation but taking turns leading and falling back. I think of the ways ants work together, how trees talk to each other in ways that Robin Wall Kimmerer has described where they warn each other of potential diseases. We can learn these collective practices from plant and animal nations.

Adding to the challenges within Chinese diasporic communities are the political divides and tensions. Kingsley Kwok explains:

If we were asking about how the Chinese diaspora would deal with or support decolonization, I want to start by saying, there are parts of it - the individuals and the Chinese diaspora - who remember the Crown favorably.

Kingsley provided an anecdote about a Hong Konger-run radio station's enthusiastic discussions about the British monarchy as a reaction to the interview by Oprah Winfrey with the Duke and Duchess of Sussex in 2021. The political differences and tensions on local, national, and the geopolitics of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan come into play. Calvin in Toronto has named the

‘campist’ or ‘tankie’⁸⁵ tendencies in some leftist circles that have made solidarity-building more difficult when it comes to issues of Hong Kong independence, Tibet, or Uyghur issues. The tankie politics on China, especially during the pandemic, flared up in ways that frame any critique of China as pro-US imperialist and/or Sinophobic. This has been disruptive to leftist and pan-Chinese organizing.

While relevant elsewhere, what was raised in Toronto were the challenges of right wing organizing through Chinese church-based communities that advocate for Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and anti-choice politics. The targeting of queer and trans peoples is also a prominent issue in Vancouver’s Chinatown politics, and in the Chinese communities in general. Warning of the resurgence of fascism and far right politics, Calvin attributes this to the failure of leftist organizers to do effective organizing in the suburbs:

The worrying thing is that I think what has gone under the surface, and left in general, has been kinda completely unaware and detached is right-wing organizing, and the supremacist organizing that has been happening I mean in many diasporas.

Calvin contextualized this in Toronto where he feels like ‘progressive Chinese’ organizing is already small and lacking. For Chinese who want to do Indigenous solidarity work, they often need to go beyond Chinese communities. Calvin affirms the importance of understanding your own communities to ‘meet them where they are at.’ This illustrates what happens in the absence of that engagement, leaving right wing forces to fester.

In more liberal anti-Asian racism organizing, there is an emphasis on ‘Canadian’ identity. I had a moment of mutual understanding in conversation with Derek, who is a fellow international student. He brought up the Stop Anti-Asian racism rally at City Hall in Toronto:

M: I remember a line really clearly from that protest as well. It was like, ‘we are not perpetual foreigners, we are Canadians.’ Do you remember that?

D: Yeah, yeah. I remember, I was like, ‘Hmm, but I’m not Canadian. So am I supposed to be in this rally?’ [...] So definitely a lot of nationalist [...] sentiments in them.

⁸⁵A supporter of repressive authoritarian regimes that call themselves ‘communist’ e.g. Russia and China, regardless of whether the economic system is communist in practice or not. This political position is based on a simplistic belief that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend,” and does not consider multiple, concurrent, and interdependent imperialisms in operation.

Derek continued to emphasize how Asians have different migrant status and do not all identify with Canadianness. Chinese Canadian nationalism not only excludes non-Canadian Chinese in fighting anti-Asian racism, but it also ignores the colonial nation-building of Canada in narratives seeking inclusion and belonging within the Canadian nation-state. Thus, this use of nationalism to counter anti-Asian racism is another barrier because it is still heavily invested in preserving settler colonial Canada, a tendency I have explored elsewhere (Fu 2022). This orientation towards liberal inclusion into white settler nationalism limits the possibilities of Indigenous solidarity. Prof. Henry Yu also articulates the foundation of neoliberal thinking:

You are an individual, you should be treated as an individual, and everybody should have equal treatment, and equitable treatment is just being treated equally or having the same chances or same opportunities, and it doesn't take into the long history of dispossession or deprivation or exclusion. [...]

Here's where the idea of a model minority does resonate in the way that it's been used in the United States, which is, 'I got the good education. I got the good job. I have the big house, and I'm successful, and therefore I should be lauded and recognized for that sense of achievement.'

Capitalist success, and the model minority aspirations then become a barrier to genuine solidarity. Money and 'hard work' are seen as the shield, and which implies that those 'unsuccessful' or have not fulfilled the 'model minority' status do deserve racism.

A significant barrier to forming relationships in Toronto is the spatialized racial segregation in cities. For Lorraine Lam, she did not meet an Indigenous person until university, and this was common amongst many Chinese Canadian people, both in Vancouver and Toronto. She spoke to the siloing in social networks, "I honestly think one of the biggest barriers is that we don't know people." Because of a lack of everyday opportunities to build real relationships, relationship-building requires more intentionality in conditions of contemporary urban social distance between Indigenous and Chinese communities. For Chinese peoples, it might firstly require participating in solidarity within the sphere of Indigenous leadership.

Within the sphere of supporting Indigenous leadership, conflicting perspectives within Indigenous communities can complicate this relationship, especially when colonial systems only recognize the authority of some Indigenous peoples over others. For example, Rita shared some of her experiences at Ada'itsx/Fairy Creek where the old growth forests there are threatened by the

logging industry. There were conflicting positions between the band council who gave consent for logging and elders and youth in the community who do not consent. It then becomes easier to frame as internal conflicts within Indigenous nations. This illuminates different sites and sources of power within Indigenous communities, between those whose authority and power are from the colonial state such as Indian Act chiefs, and those whose power comes from their communities and the land, such as hereditary chiefs - although this is not always distinct, and the hereditary chief system is not universal across all First Nations.

This is relevant to Aotearoa in the Protect Ihumātao campaign when the media tried to hyperfocus on conflicts within and between mana whenua. Discernment is required in these situations because like any community, Indigenous nations are not monolithic and different interests/priorities are at play. Colonization sowed divisions between and within Indigenous nations. It is not up to non-Indigenous people to interfere, nor mediate these conflicts and tensions unless invited to. This is not our place when we are operating within the sphere of Indigenous self-determination. Kacey Ng reflects on how she navigates the tensions and differences within Indigenous communities:

I'm more inclined to just listen to what the huge diversity of Indigenous voices that [...] are here and in so many different communities, and try to figure out how I can [...] be in alignment with such a [...] vast variety of voices, I guess. Whether that's like I'm sitting in a conference, and an Elder is speaking or I'm on TikTok and someone just wants to burn something to the ground. I think like both have their own value because they - I mean neither, neither is wrong. And there's just so much that can be done, I guess. I feel much more comfortable trying to absorb and just trying to live my life in alignment with that, because ultimately it doesn't feel like it would be up to me.

This is about listening and figuring out how we can be in alignment with the multitudes of Indigenous perspectives and diversity of tactics in fighting colonialism. If we truly respect Indigenous self-determination, then it is ultimately for Indigenous peoples to decide. What we are responsible for is to figure out how we can be in alignment regardless.

Aside from navigating intra-Indigenous dynamics, another issue raised was working with white settlers. Within Indigenous-led spaces, often the majority of non-Indigenous peoples involved are white settlers. To be lumped together with them can be uncomfortable, so having a separate caucus space has been generative. Rita Wong provided an example of this at Unist'ot'en camp a few years ago:

The way it was set up, it was like the Indigenous folks have their camp in this area, and then the non-Indigenous folks have their camp in this area. And then, it was mostly white settlers but not all, there were some folks of colour. And I remember this one young woman of colour being like, ‘I’m not comfortable being grouped in with all these white people. Can we have our separate caucus?’ I was like, ‘yeah, of course we can have a separate caucus, we’re having a separate caucus.’

Caucusing is a method in social movements not necessarily as a ‘safe space’ based on shared oppression or identity, but as a space for specificity in strategy and tactics. In Aotearoa, dumpling (2009) once articulated:

The point of caucus, as I see it, is not simply to feel safe. It is to get together unhindered (hopefully as much as can be) to discuss strategy, tactics and general issues of how to relate and move on certain issues that affect a certain group differently to another.

Having a people of colour caucus of non-Indigenous people means that people of colour do not have to deal with white interruption or dominance. Caucusing is a temporary practice with an eventual coming back together as a larger group, and in the interest of the larger group. It is more useful in organizing with white settlers, and perhaps could be useful in pan-Asian organizing to attend to the specificities of historical, cultural, and linguistic differences. The sphere of “getting our own houses in order” is a long-term caucus strategy that will inevitably be in relation to all other spheres.

Conclusion

Across all spheres, the challenges of solidarity include the role of neoliberal capitalism, the model minority myth, performativity, relational harm and conflicts, political tensions, and issues within activist culture and organization. The challenges reflect structural issues inherent in colonial capitalism in the neoliberal era, as well as relational problems of harm, lateral violence, and conflicts that are so pervasive across social movements. It takes dedicated work to move through the harm. These are exacerbated in conditions of ‘projectile solidarity’ (Tuwe 2021) seen in moments of heightened awareness or crisis, where the pressure to speak up is out of fear of being ‘canceled’ rather than genuine solidarity. Disingenuous, fake, or performative solidarity becomes a barrier to meaningful trusting relationships that outlast the moments of crisis or popularity. On a mainstream and institutional level, we see this in the form of what He-Lin identified as a favouring

of ‘cultural solutions to political problems.’ This is ultimately an evasion of material and political decolonization with the optics of ‘solidarity’ by resourcing ‘cultural resurgence’ while colonial power relations remain intact. This is not to dismiss the significance and power of ‘cultural resurgence’ but to identify how colonizing states selectively resource and support Indigenous peoples that protect colonial political and economic structures.

In this chapter, I draw from the Matike Mai report’s constitutional visions to consider how solidarity, transnationally, maps onto ‘spheres of influence’: 1) Indigenous-led resistance, resurgence, and jurisdiction, 2) the ‘relational sphere’ of collaboration, 3) ‘getting our own house(s) in order.’ Each sphere involves different strategies and positionings, and can be useful for making assessments to balance our energy and efforts across all spheres for greater impact. Prof. Margaret Mutu clarifies that in the ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ sphere, non-Māori must respect *tikanga* Māori and do not get to tell Māori what to do. Similarly, solidarity in this sphere means already practicing that within Indigenous-led resistance and resurgence movements, it is not the place of non-Indigenous people to try to lead or save Indigenous peoples, or have the arrogance to think that we know better/best. Such attitudes replicate existing colonial relations. The relational sphere is where joint decisions are made between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, it is a space of shared power, where Indigenous-Chinese families live this relationship in an everyday sense. This sphere includes existing work that centres relationship-building, and coalitional organizing for a common goal. It is within the sphere of ‘getting our houses in order’ that requires more imaginative strategies, and leadership from non-Indigenous Chinese peoples to bring Chinese peoples into alignment with decolonization, and refuse property relations to land.

In attending to these spheres of solidarity, I want to emphasize the role of translation (and perhaps interpretation), in an expansive sense, that becomes a foundational practice to grow understanding and relationships in meaningful ways. Indigenous translations of the land and their worldviews for non-Indigenous peoples has been a powerful and effective method that has mobilized non-Indigenous solidarity. This is a translation of place and culture. Another set of translation work within the relational sphere is a translation of place-based history seen in the memorialization and historical recovery work. These are translated in film and arts-based work, but also in oral histories. Storytelling, in many ways, is an act of translation, to present ideas, theory, or ethics in narrative format for intelligibility and digestibility. Use of metaphors and analogy are forms for translation. In the third sphere, we see translation from its most common

meaning (from one language to another) to a more expansive meaning that includes translations of history, place and culture. These involve multimedia methods - text, images, video, direct conversations. This translation work informs the third tenet of celestial solidarity - generating portals across worlds. To consider contemporary solidarity praxis transnationally, the question of “what can we do?” is answered by what people are already doing.

Chapter Nine - In Place, in Relation, in Time: Pedagogies for Decolonial Solidarity

A central question that speaks to the heart of pedagogy is how do we conceive of knowledge? In Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's (2014) explanation of Nishnaabeg epistemology and the meaning of knowledge, she asserts that knowledge is not individual property, there is a responsibility to teach and share. Meanings are not generated in data or western theory but through interdependent relationships. She speaks of how intelligence is gained through mutual respect, care and reciprocity. Knowledge is both intellect and heart - physical and spiritual worlds combined. Intelligence is also consensual engagement, relational, informed and honest consent. She tells the story of a Kwezens' (girl's) discovery of maple syrup as land-based pedagogy. The way she talks about theory and knowledge is not what is institutionally recognized in academia, but what is learned from the Earth, non-human animals, plants, and elders. Theory comes from the ground up, and land is both context and process. She argues that visiting and "get[ting] a practice" is the basis of knowing, learning and becoming involved in theory and generating theory. Theory and practice are then inseparable, knowing is through doing.

On the topic of land-based pedagogies and spaces for learning and teaching, Indigenous scholars have critiqued how colonial systems of education separate out time and space dedicated to learning, which was not how learning worked in their practices. In her paper on pūrākau (storytelling) as method, J Lee (2005) highlights that ako - the Māori word most commonly translated as "to learn and to teach" (Pere 1982, cited in Lee J 2005) - is a process that is not isolated or separated from everyday Māori life, "rather ako was integral in the creation, transmission, conceptualization, and articulation of Māori knowledge" (Lee J 2005, 5). Teaching and learning are therefore not enclosed within formal educational institutions, but inseparable from everyday life. Growing up in Tāmaki Makaurau, surrounded by volcanic mountains, Leanne Simpson's discussion made me think about how land as pedagogy can also mean the shifting terrains and the changing nature of knowledge; how ideas are never fixed, never stable, in constant flux, renewed, regenerated, decaying, seeded, growing and this growth cannot happen without land, without a place to exist. Like knowledge, pedagogical strategies shift and change in real time. They are unfinished collective experiments in process. Knowledge sharing outside of formal institutions is less centralized and more diffuse and learning happens in everyday relationships and interactions.

Although ‘mutual support for survival’ did not necessarily require political consciousness, for contemporary solidarity work, political education is still important to disrupt colonial erasures and fictions. In this chapter, I argue that the culmination of place-based and relational pedagogies has been powerful tools employed for teaching towards Indigenous solidarity, and much of this work is outside of colonial educational institutions and held in communities. Teaching and learning are not mutually exclusive. I focus on how people seek knowledge and share knowledge. With few exceptions, most people I interviewed did not learn about colonialism, treaties, or Indigenous peoples from compulsory schooling (primary/elementary to secondary school). For many, it was not until university that they encountered this knowledge. While Indigenous professors within universities played a significant role in many people’s political consciousness, university education is not accessible to everyone, and more Indigenous professors and courses are needed. For wider public outreach, community-based pedagogies have been used. These approaches include relational pedagogies through dialogues, place-based pedagogies, and treaty workshops.

Integrating Indigenous Scholarship in Tertiary Curricula

[F]or all of us who are trying to do this work, particularly for those who are thinking about training and teaching, transferring knowledge, how careful we need to be not teaching and transferring knowledge that is already colonized knowledge. - Alice

As Alice articulates, for those in professional teaching positions, there is responsibility and care involved to not reproduce colonized knowledge. The more explicit conversations I had about pedagogies were with Chinese diasporic professors. They shared an array of different ways they would teach to integrate content on Indigeneity and colonialism. The most common was integrating Indigenous scholarship and Asian scholarship on colonization and decolonization. This would be in their course design and curriculum. By doing this, they expose students to Indigenous knowledge and theories relevant to their disciplines. Richard Fung explains:

I have tried in all of my curriculum, for example, when I was teaching, and no matter what course I did, I worked in Indigenous authors and Indigenous artists, and Black ones. And that was part of thinking through how to raise the variety of things, no matter what you do. So it would not be just in a course on Indigenous artists that students would encounter, but they would encounter it in everything.

This is one method to close the gaps created by the inconsistent compulsory education on

colonization and Indigeneity. Across the disciplines of film-making, social work, Asian studies, Women's Studies, there have been efforts made to explore colonialism with some reflexivity on the positionality of the educator. When teaching Black and Indigenous histories where there have been some Indigenous nations involved in slavery, Joe struggled with this as a Chinese professor who had two Indigenous students in his class. One year, he decided to drop that content out of fear of losing them. There are no simple answers on how to navigate these situations. What is perhaps different in the tertiary setting is that classes are open to people of various backgrounds and positionalities. What does it mean to be a non-Indigenous educator teaching Indigenous students on their own histories? I know I have resented this dynamic taking an Asian Studies course by a white professor in my undergraduate years. Within community-based work, there is more freedom to hold caucus spaces.

Outside of the course content, other pedagogical strategies have involved assignments that are based on reflective journaling, film-making, and more creative work rather than solely essay writing. These could be individual or group projects. I regret not asking more questions about how relationships between students are facilitated. Based on my conversations on 'doorways to decolonization,' the relationships formed in the classroom have been pathways for students to become politically active off-campus. These relationships can become the bridge between pedagogy and praxis. It is not only the content that matters, or the ways it is taught, it is also the openings through relationships to act on that knowledge.

Relational Pedagogies: From Familial to Community

When I asked Manying Ip what she thought it would take to counter racism, she boiled it down to education plus interaction. Based on the 'entry points,' it is clear how important direct interaction and relationship-building is to bypass colonial propaganda. Here, I draw out the theme of 'relational pedagogies,' I use this term to refer to a pedagogical method that does not require 'teacher' and 'student' roles, but grassroots learning/teaching that centres direct interaction, dialogue, and everyday relationships. This is where learning/teaching is not separated from everyday life, nor enclosed within classroom settings. We can think about how we might learn within friendships, kinships, collectives, and community work. This reflects Gibrán Rivera's idea of 'co-evolution' cited in brown (2017, 193), where "we evolve in relationships of mutual transformation." We might be 'catching up' with a friend, and co-generate theories and ideas, on

a road trip visiting friends, or late night conversations on a marae drying dishes. There are fractals or spirals from interpersonal/kin/friendship relations to wider community or institutions. I share two examples of this, what Hongwen called ‘microactivism,’ and the community-based relational learning through exchanges, dialogues, or marae visits.

I treat ‘microactivism’ as the internal and familial work within the sphere of ‘getting our own houses in order,’ focusing on transformation through interpersonal relations and everyday conversations. Many people shared their experiences trying to communicate with their parents. Intergenerational communication in diasporic contexts is already laden with patriarchal dynamics, but when it comes to conflicting political perspectives, it can be difficult for children to be taken seriously. Simultaneously, Orientalism and internalized white supremacy can lead children of Chinese immigrants to see their parents are ‘more backward’ or ‘conservative.’ These conversations are difficult. In Desmond Wong’s experiences, they “aren’t necessarily that generative. They have, in a lot of cases with my family, devolved into like little more than shouting matches.” Several others shared similar reflections.

In Kimberley Wong’s experience, using academic jargon and black-and-white thinking when engaging with parents have been ineffective. Instead, approaching parents with curiosity, humility, and using simple language can facilitate deeper mutual understanding. Recalling their teenage attitudes, Kimberley Wong also had a “this is the only way to know it” approach that they learned from white spaces. Since then, they have been more open to understanding their mother’s perspective. Kimberley warns against using academic theory language like ‘intersectionality’ or ‘colonization,’ which can make people feel ‘small’ if they don’t understand it. They alluded that this puts people on a defensive stance: “If they are immediately confronted with the smallness of themselves, the things they didn’t have, it can often turn into a ‘what about me?’ conversation.” This emphasizes a need for humility and checking our own arrogance in younger generations, especially those who have been university-educated.

However, there are also peer-to-peer conversations in the same generation that are involved in learning and teaching. There is also infinite space for growth amongst younger generations, Avril shares:

[S]ounds masochistic, but I do like getting challenged in terms of my own political beliefs because I think that's how you're able to grow. Because if you're not, you're just in stasis the whole time. If you don't get your views challenged, and you're just going to stay the same.

Whichever generation we are in, there is space for growth, it is not only about youth teaching elders or the inverse. To generalize that youth are more progressive can elide the work of many elders who have carved the space for youth to have easier access to these politics or knowledge.

Indigenous peoples have been doing similar work in their own families to counter anti-Chinese racism. In this account, Professor Margaret Mutu shared how she challenges this in her family:

[W]hen we were doing this work with Manying, Winston Peters was being his horrible self about Chinese. And so my whānau was saying horrible things about Chinese, and it's like, [sigh] I do what I often have to do with our people and say, 'right, so your Cousin Agnes.'

'Yeah what about Cousin Agnes?'

'You know your Cousin Agnes, her father was Chinese.'

'Yeah, we know that.'

'Well, is Cousin Agnes bad?'

'Nah, of course not.'

'Well, what about her husband Donald?'

'Oh, he's a good fulla.'

'But he's Chinese.'

'Oh yeah, he is. So?'

'Well you just said you don't like Chinese.'

'Well...' [laughs]

And it's that whole thing of having to strip away the propaganda. It's effectively white supremacist propaganda... coming in that's determined to keep us apart. So you have to get past that first, and then go, 'Remember this, remember that?' And then they'll think about my cousin Agnes' father, and they'll say, 'that fulla was a lovely fulla. He showed us how to do gardens, he showed us how to do this and that

and the other.’ And I go, ‘yeah. And he was good eh?’ And they’d go, ‘yeah, he was.’

Prof. Mutu illustrates how these conversations ‘strip away the propaganda’ that maintains white supremacy and divisions. It has helped to anchor anti-racist conversations within family relationships. However, intergenerational relationships are also idiosyncratic and constantly changing. But this is one pedagogical tactic that has been tried, with varying degrees of success, and perhaps important to keep trying regardless of how often it seems to fail. These are familial and everyday examples of relational pedagogy in practice. They spiral outwards from family, friends, and beyond.

Another approach within relational pedagogies involves wider community-to-community relations, such as groups of Indigenous and Chinese or non-Indigenous peoples coming together. Exemplifying this are the Vancouver Dialogues project, the marae visits organized by Manying Ip, and the visits to Hokianga to commemorate the sinking of the SS Ventnor. The Vancouver Dialogues approach reflects Manying Ip’s formula of education + interaction, emphasizing a relational pedagogy. The cultural exchanges of ‘Dances With Dragons’ is another example of community to community relational pedagogies, it goes beyond dialogue to a more embodied experience of each other’s cultural practices and traditions. This work would also not be possible with the ‘microactivism’ and interpersonal relationships at smaller scales. Much of this work on a collective relational level often integrates place-based pedagogies, where these relationships are formed through place, and knowledge is sparked, remembered and generated in places of significance.

Place-based Pedagogies and Indigenous Translation of the Land

When we hear a new language, we may hear the sounds and words, but unless we learn their meanings not only as literal translations but translations within their cultural context, we will be oblivious to the depth of what is communicated. Living on Indigenous lands, I may see the forests, mountains and rivers, but I will never know their meanings and histories, except through Indigenous peoples who can ‘translate’ the land. I have felt this growing up in Tāmaki Makaurau, where Ihumātao is not far from my parents’ house. If I see the land, I can appreciate what I see in a superficial sense of the beauty, but I would never ‘understand’ its significance without the stories shared by Pania Newton of their ancestor Hape. I never appreciated how the roots of trees form

interconnections underground and to water sources linked to distant lands, from Turtle Island to Palestine, until a First Nations matriarch shared that teaching at York University on the first (and only) day of the pro-Palestine encampment before it was removed by riot police. These stories are what animates places, that brings out their truths, their relations, their characters, in all their dimensions, as ancestors or atua. Indigenous peoples have been in the practice of translating their lands to non-Indigenous peoples, and in turn helps us to understand their long history and deep connection to the lands we migrate to. These stories of the land can mobilize us to support Indigenous land and water defense.

Place-based pedagogies involve visiting and immersion in Indigenous-hosted spaces where they can articulate their truths on their own lands, and are the narrators of their histories and contemporary situations. These are spaces and places where Indigenous presence could not be erased, where resistance and resurgence continue. In the chapter on Aotearoa, I detailed the marae-based learning and relationship-building. Here, I will elaborate on the pedagogy and practices in Bill Chu's tours. Toronto-based organizer, Calvin attributes his knowledge of Indigenous and Chinese relationships to Bill's tour and visiting BC:

[T]hese tours [were] really organized on the basis of Indigenous relationship-building, because a lot of these sites are obviously on First Nations [land], and while you could totally see budding historians going like, 'well, it's public land. We can go.' No, Bill was very much about, 'we need a relationship with the community. We're going to come on when you get permission, we need to be reciprocal and provide something meaningful to the community.'

The values of consent and reciprocity are practiced through these tours, which alludes to how place-based pedagogy of visiting, tours, or marae-based learning requires care and caution to not replicate an exploitative tourist gaze. Red envelopes, food and fruits, and other gifts are given to Indigenous peoples who we meet with as contributions and reciprocity from attendees. It cannot be treated as a fun 'cultural' experience that is transactional, or going into it with voyeurism.

In May 2023, I had the privilege of attending one of Bill Chu's tours. It is not only the Indigenous people we meet, it is their oral history, the trees, the cemeteries, the hummingbirds, the rocks, and memorials - the places we visit, the land being defended - that we come to understand the huge difference in worldviews, and what is at stake. We felt the coldness and the danger in the abandoned tunnel where Chinese railway workers once tried to blast through. We drank from a stream that was still clean enough to drink from. The journey itself involves spending time with

people, sharing food, and feeling the wind while looking out to the Fraser river. It is also a social and collective experience. The land is full of stories and being there generates memories and connections.

The tours that Bill runs are never the same, it depends on the availability of his Indigenous friends, the height of the river, whether we can access certain communities, and the time of year. Sometimes, there is serendipity involved, people they meet along the way that were unplanned. The trip we took was two days of carpooling, staying one night in Lillooet. We stopped at sites of early Chinese history, a train tunnel near the Fraser Canyon where it became too dangerous to continue blasting, a camp where a solo Indigenous defender, Hubie Jim, stayed on for twenty years to resist the imposition of a ski resort onto his nation's unceded territories. At each stop, Bill explains the significance and the stories attached to the place in relation to Chinese and Indigenous histories in Cantonese. As Bill explains to a group of newly arrived Cantonese speakers near a memorial for railway workers, across the train tracks, I see the words in orange paint on the side of a house: "Find All The Children" and the faded number "1505," the number of Indigenous residential school children found buried in unmarked graves that has now been well surpassed - a reminder that the stories of these children and the full extent of the violence within such torturous schools is not yet recovered. We heard from an elder from the Sto:lo nation, who also had Chinese ancestry, about his experience in residential school, the violence and ongoing attempts to seek justice and accountability.

Driving on Highway 1 in 2023, the sight of charred trees from wildfires lined parts of the roads. We passed through the devastation in the town of Lytton which had yet to be rebuilt. Not far outside of Lillooet, we stopped near a small Chinese cemetery on First Nations land. The interred were early Chinese farmers who grew tomatoes. Bill only learned about this cemetery through door-knocking when he was inviting Indigenous nations to a Historic Banquet he organized in Vancouver in 2004. It revealed a history of Chinese leasing Indigenous lands to grow food. The cemetery's original timber fence had decayed long ago but the gravesite was kindly re-fenced by the Indigenous owner. This highlights the Indigenous respect for and relationship with the Chinese. We did not go onto the land since Bill was unable to track down and obtain explicit consent from the owner.

The second day, we visited Bill's long-time friend at the Mt Currie reserve, just missing their annual horseback archery competition. We visited Hubie Jim, an Indigenous land defender

who is also a residential school survivor. He has been successfully blockading a site for over 20 years to stop the development of a ski resort, protecting the land and waters there. As hummingbirds fluttered around us, he spoke about the violence and harassment of the RCMP and settlers. Walking us back towards the road, he showed us a stream that was still clean enough to drink from. We scooped our hands in and tasted the water.

This trip was organized for a group of new Hong Kong immigrants, who left due to the worsening political situation there. It serves as an early orientation to the historical and political context of British Columbia. While new migrants may have some preconceived notions based on Canada's multicultural propaganda and as a country that 'protects human rights,' they have yet to be told they are engulfed in a neo-colonial culture steeped in anti-Indigenous racism. To prevent the perhaps natural and default allegiance to the Canadian state as saviour by the grateful migrants or refugees, Bill's intervention can serve as an orientation into the rarely advertised colonial reality they have migrated into. This tour is a 'chance to listen' to the Indigenous truths of the land firsthand, and from the grassroots, whether they are frontline land defenders or residential school survivors, their perspectives which are often strikingly different from what we hear through mainstream media and museum displays.

The other people attending the tour matter, we learn as much from each other as the Indigenous peoples we meet, and Bill's commentary on the places we go to. The tour experience is an embodied and place-based relational pedagogy based on decades of relationship-building and tailored to different groups. Being part of a larger group and doing this learning and journeying together opens more expansive understandings and processing of the insights on these histories from Indigenous people or Bill's narrations. It gave us a deeper understanding of colonialism and Indigeneity that would be difficult to impart in two days in a classroom. It was education and interaction, not only interaction between people, but between people and land through the people who have long stewarded the land.

I tried to imagine what a similar tour might be like in Aotearoa, where might be the places of shared significance? Kirsten Wong, in the transnational focus group noticed the similar images shared in the CBC video of the tours and the video she shared of visits to Hokianga for Ventnor commemorations. I think about the places of market gardening, Ōtaki, Te Tairāwhiti, Heretaunga, Taranaki, and Māngere. The places of all the stories that Moana Jackson shared - Ōtepoti, Waikato, and Taranaki. For these sites, it would require more intentional relationship-building and finding

the right people. I also wonder about if during these visits, there are opportunities to give back to the people and the land beyond koha and honorarium.⁸⁶

Place-based tours and direct interactions seem to be more effective for older generations than conversations with their children. For two decades, David Ng's efforts did not work with his father when he approached it with anger and a "Know-It-All" attitude, but his father's perspective changed after attending a tour:

[O]ne of the stops in the tour was on a reservation, and the person there shared the history of basically the residential schools and the effects that that has had. [...] I was quite frustrated because I have been talking about this for decades, but it was from this moment that my dad [...] started recognizing all of these things around colonization, and also like the role that Christianity, like his religion played in that.

This affirms the power of listening to Indigenous peoples sharing firsthand experiences.

Transnational travel is another form of place-based pedagogy. Visiting other Indigenous lands, colonized lands, or 'homelands' and place-based exchanges as Māori and Indigenous peoples occupied by Canada have done. Professor Mutu shared that she only felt confident to collaborate with Manying Ip after visiting Hong Kong and Taiwan. In Hong Kong, she met with a historian who briefed her on the Opium Wars. In Taiwan, she connected with the Indigenous peoples there who share linguistic and ancestral links to Māori. Revisiting China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong after living in or being born in diaspora is another form of pedagogy. For those born in diaspora, going back to Asia had a major impact on them. Rita Wong spent time in Japan and China teaching English, and she had taken a trip down the Yangtze River before the Three Gorges Dam was built, and she had opposed the building of the megadam.

In my research experience, the teachings and learnings from each place was also through participation in local actions and events. I arrived in Toronto in fall of 2019. The months leading up to this move was at the height of the Protect Ihumātao movement. When I moved to these lands, I heard about the struggles of Grassy Narrow during a Climate Strike in September. Through a graduate course with Prof. Mona Oikawa on Settler Colonialism and Settler Subjects, a classmate

⁸⁶I was grateful to visit old friends in Taranaki who gave my friend Kirsty and I an opportunity to plant harakeke along the coastline with them. My friend was telling me that there had been some anti-Asian sentiments because of Chinese people coming in busloads to take shellfish from their shores during a rāhui. I wondered if they knew what a rāhui means, and if there needs to be interventions that involve some translation to prevent this from continuing. But I also wondered about the possibilities of instead bringing busloads of Chinese to help restore the land when needed.

invited me to join a ‘toxic tour’ of Aamjiwnaang reserve in what they call Chemical Valley. The Aamjiwnaang reserve is surrounded by 40% of Canada’s oil and gas refineries and they have been subjected to unpredictable gas leaks and chemical spills onto their territories since its inception. It gave a clear picture of what Canadian environmental racism looks like. Not long after that, I learned about the Wet’suwet’en struggle against Coastal Gaslink through a documentary called *Invasion* (UnistotenCamp 2019). I started following what was happening through social media, I started attending solidarity actions in Toronto.

It was in the middle of a snowy winter when calls were made to block the rails across the country in solidarity with Wet’suwet’en. I had never protested in such a cold climate before. The organizers had fires set up, music, and dancing to keep warm. I used hand and feet warmers for the first time. It was during one of these protests where I first heard the Dish With One Spoon Wampum belt explained. It could have been Mohawk scholar, Ange Loft (2021) who wrote that she had spoken about this sacred agreement at a #ShutDownCanada blockade in February 2020. There were marches and blockades, there was drumming and singing during these actions. There were round dances in busy intersections of Toronto and in Nathan Philip Square. I remember these as my entry into Toronto-based Indigenous solidarity. I would see other East Asian faces scattered in the crowds during these actions as I began to orient myself around the political context I had entered into. At that time, as railway tracks were blockaded, I had yet to learn of the significance of railways in Chinese Canadian history. I saw the solidarity statements coming out from Asian communities from Chinese social justice organizations. If I was not physically living in Toronto, I would not have learned all this in an embodied sense. What I learned in the classroom can supplement this kind of embodied knowledge, but it could never have replaced it.

Treaty Education in Aotearoa

While place-based pedagogies have not been a prominent approach to intentional pedagogical practices of Chinese in Aotearoa, much of this education is community-based and outside of formal educational structures. A key pedagogical strategy, primarily for non-Māori, is treaty education. As a movement with decades of history, Huygens (2016) argues that treaty education is an under-recognized decolonial movement in Aotearoa. Within this history is also a connection to feminist movements. Huygens (2016) asserts that this work is predominantly done by women and feminists as a possible explanation for why it’s not recognized, and because it is

not adversarial activism. It is a movement that was initiated through Māori activists challenging Pākehā to do their own decolonial work and leave Māori to work on rebuilding Māori structures and systems. Treaty education was extended to other tauwiwi (non-Māori) after calls from primarily South Asian community leaders to make treaty education accessible to their communities at the “Treaty Conference 2000: Tauwiwi communities affirm the Treaty of Waitangi” (Tangata Tiriti-Treaty Peoples n.d.). Tangata Tiriti established to provide treaty education to newcomers. Most of the facilitators were Pākehā with some exceptions like Trish Cheng. After struggling as a Chinese facilitator and experiencing racism trying to teach Pākehā, she felt this was better suited to her. Since then, more facilitators of Asian and Middle Eastern backgrounds have joined, including Kirsty Fong.

I have attended Pākehā-facilitated treaty workshops during the early 2010s, and have found their approach omits racism against migrants of colour or transnational histories of colonialism. While the teachings on treaty breaches and Māori resistance are crucial, I remember thinking that it would need to be adapted to Asian communities. Huygens has supported ASTR with treaty training to prepare us to conduct our own workshops. Prior to ASTR’s adaptation of Tangata Tiriti resources, Wai Ho started running treaty workshops for Asians from the mid-2000s. He recalls:

I feel like treaty workshops are really just a vehicle to talk about power and racism and colonization in New Zealand. But obviously, those words are hard for people, so if you put it in a nice liberal treaty workshop, people feel less threatened. I mean, that’s a valid vehicle. It’s a tactic, or it’s a strategy.

These workshops have been a vehicle for finding community as much as for unpacking colonization. This sets a context for ASTR in developing treaty education to reach Asian communities and adapting the content accordingly.

With feedback and support from the late Dr. Moana Jackson, ASTR adapted the existing Tangata Tiriti treaty workshop exercises and material with additional research into Asian immigration histories and policies. We introduced conversations about racism and complicity and what that means from Asian positionalities inspired by the work Bonita Lawrence and Ena Dua (2005), Beenash Jafri, and Harsha Walia. The workshop covers:

- He Whakaputanga and relationships before Te Tiriti
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi
- History of colonial violations of Te Tiriti

- History of Māori resistance against colonialism
- History of racist immigration legislation
- An exploration of Asian positionality and responsibilities to Te Tiriti

These workshops are continually evolving and changing with the political climate. Kirsty shared with me the recent additions of the Doctrine of Discovery and covering the visions in the Matike Mai Aotearoa report. These workshops are intended to be introductory and for those that are Asian-specific, provide a space away from whiteness but also sparing Māori of racist attitudes that might come up. These in-person Te Tiriti workshops require people to spend a full day attending. For the most part, people who attend in this way have generally approached the material with more openness to learning. As a treaty facilitator, Kirsty Fong comments, “that is a really incredible space, people are hungry for knowledge.” Most of the ASTR workshops are conducted in English and with people who voluntarily sign up and attend outside of work hours.

However, in one example given by Hongwen where the workshop was done during paid work hours for a group of Mandarin-speaking librarians and Chinese seniors, the response was less generous. This workshop was also given half the time so the full content could not be covered. Mandarin-speaking members of ASTR translated the workshop and facilitated, but had a frustrating experience, ‘hierarchy of age in Chinese Confucianist cultures was a big part of it’ (Qianye Lin, 2023, interpersonal comms.). Here is a graphic depiction based on Hongwen’s perspective:

A DIFFERENT SET OF MYTHS



AN ASTR TE TIRITI WORKSHOP WAS REQUESTED AND DONE WITH A GROUP OF MANDARIN-SPEAKING LIBRARIANS AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS.

HONGWEN

AT FIRST, THERE WASN'T A LOT OF PUSHBACK THAT YOU USUALLY GET FROM LIKE, IF WE FACILITATE WITH PĀKEHĀ NEW ZEALANDERS. ONLY ONE OR TWO, I THINK, HAD DRANK THE KOOL-AID, OR THEY WERE LIKE COMING IN NOT WITH THE MOST GENEROUS HEART.



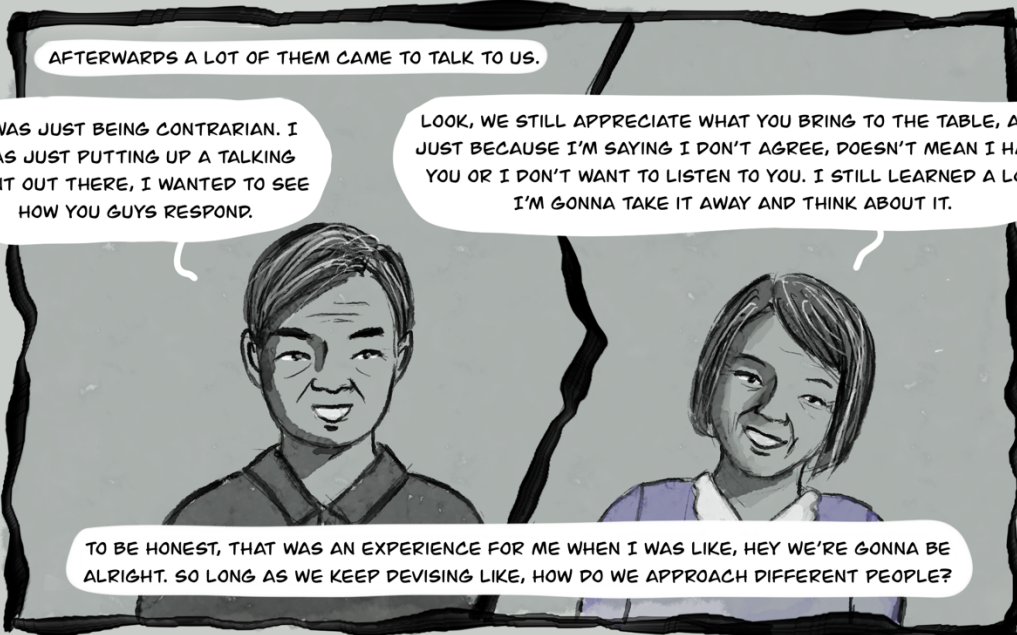
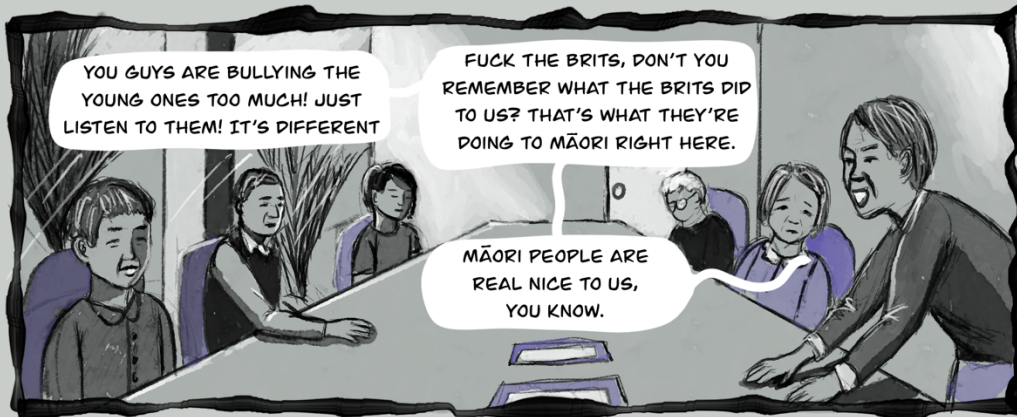
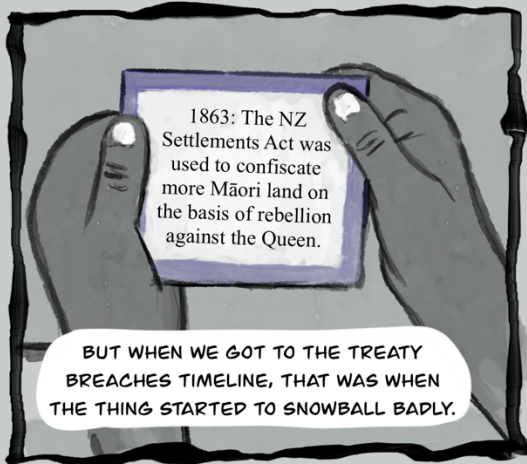
CHINA SUFFERED A LOT OF HUMILIATION AND INVASION AND WAR BUT EVENTUALLY ABLE TO RISE UP. THEY WERE ABLE TO FIGHT BACK THE FUCKING COLONISTS, WHY DIDN'T THIS HAPPEN HERE?



WHAT DO THESE KIDS KNOW?

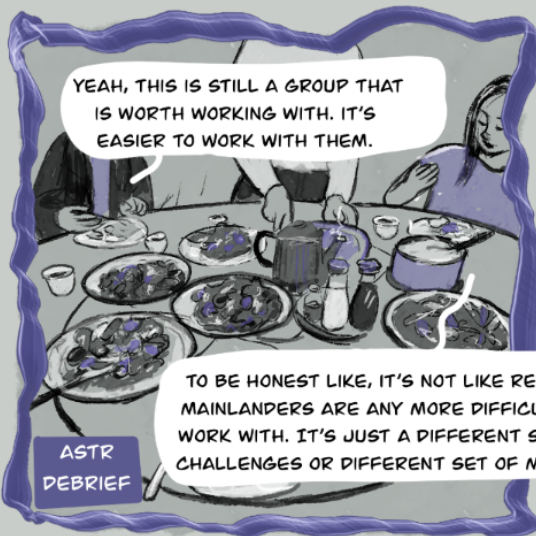
WITH THESE KINDS OF PARTICIPANTS, IT'S HIT OR MISS, WHATEVER, YOU GOTTA DO LIKE YOUR THING RIGHT? WE'LL JUST PLANT THE SEEDS.







I WAS ONE OF THE CO-FACILITATORS FOR THE NZCA WORKSHOP. THIS GROUP OF PEOPLE WEREN'T LIKE MAINLAND RECENT IMMIGRANTS, THESE WERE THE MULTIGENERATION HAVING LIVED HERE.



YEAH, THIS IS STILL A GROUP THAT IS WORTH WORKING WITH. IT'S EASIER TO WORK WITH THEM.

TO BE HONEST LIKE, IT'S NOT LIKE RECENT MAINLANDERS ARE ANY MORE DIFFICULT TO WORK WITH. IT'S JUST A DIFFERENT SET OF CHALLENGES OR DIFFERENT SET OF MYTHS.

ASTR
DEBRIEF



BUT THE NZ CHINESE CREW MULTIGENERATION LIKE ALL THE OLDER ONES, THEY ALSO HAD THEIR OWN THING.

WHAT ABOUT THE MORIORI?

WE WORKED SO HARD. WE WERE ALSO ALONGSIDE SOME MĀORI KIDS AS WELL BUT WE MADE A LIFE FOR OURSELVES, WHY CAN'T THEY?



THAT WAS AN EVEN BIGGER MOMENT FOR THEM THAN SOME OF THE MORE RECENT MIGRANTS.

LET'S CHECK OURSELVES. JUST BECAUSE THEY'RE MORE FLUENT IN ENGLISH OR WHATEVER, IT DOESN'T MEAN THEY ARE MORE ENLIGHTENED.

SO IT'S JUST DIFFERENT SET OF CHALLENGES FOR DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF OUR COMMUNITY.

Hongwen's experience further confirms the multiple 'houses' within Chinese diasporas. We get a sense of the 'different set of myths' to be prepared for. It demonstrates that no singular approach can overcome the multiple sets of myths underlying anti-Māori racism. The lessons I saw in this story are: 1) strong age and gendered hierarchies makes treaty facilitation more challenging, 2) despite this being a difficult experience, it is still a teaching/learning moment to gauge where some Chinese communities are at and what we have to confront, 3) being prepared for mixed responses when treaty workshops become a workplace tick box and the content has to be compromised to fit their terms. Knowing how ageism and Confucian patriarchy operates in mainland Chinese communities, I wondered if having an elder there present would have changed the outcomes. I think of Song Lam, who translated a book about Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the *Being Māori-Chinese* book by Manying Ip (2008). She has written and spoken about Māori culture and language in Mandarin-speaking media, often having to dispel a lot of racist stereotypes and myths about Māori. Or is it the introductory treaty workshop structure itself not being an effective pedagogy for some Chinese communities? Would they have been more engaged in place-based education? Based on learnings from the intergenerational work in Vancouver, perhaps building relationships with seniors first would have changed the dynamics.

This is a lesson in 'knowing ourselves' and our communities to be better prepared to 'get our own houses in order.' This speaks to how the relationships matter for translating these histories. It also signifies a wider intergenerational gap in the Aotearoa context, where there are not yet organized attempts at a community level to bridge those gaps for intergenerational relationship-building in meaningful ways. Looking at the work in Vancouver can provide guidance on the possibilities while recognizing the place-based differences where much of the intergenerational work is focused on Chinatown where there is a concentration of Chinese peoples. In Aotearoa, Chinatowns no longer exist, and the capacity for language translation in younger generations is more limited.

As ASTR branches grew in other cities, these workshops and treaty facilitation training for ASTR organizers were also held in Pōneke and Ōtepoti, where resources and workshop kits were shared. Kirsty Fong with other ASTR members have been supporting other branches to run their own treaty workshops since 2021 and continued into 2024. In 2022 during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Pōneke branch of ASTR was preparing to run the Te Tiriti workshop online. Freya was involved in planning an online workshop where everyone involved would go through the

sections together rather than delegating individuals to each section, so everyone takes the time to learn the materials and to be able to facilitate all the sections. The process of planning is also part of collective learning. Treaty workshops have now been adapted to a digital space.

As a treaty facilitator, Kirsty Fong shares that Te Tiriti education is in high demand, especially from Asian and tauwi of colour communities. One contextual point to note is that when applying for jobs in Aotearoa, one of the interview questions is often, “what do you understand about the Treaty of Waitangi?” This becomes an impetus, an economic one, for new migrants to learn about Te Tiriti. Over the last 10 years, there has been a growth in interest to make sense of Asian positionality and place in Aotearoa. Te Tiriti education has been one method used by Chinese and Asian activists more broadly to “educate our own communities” towards supporting Māori struggles. The need for treaty education has only grown and these workshops essentially ‘fill the gaps’ in knowledge that should already be in the curriculum.

While ‘treaty education’ does not translate in the context of Vancouver, there are potentials in Toronto to unpack the history of ‘Treaty 13’ and the ‘layers of treaties’ laid out in *A Treaty Guide for Torontonians* (Loft et al. 2022), where there are exercises outlined for embodied and place-based learning. A facilitation guide for newcomers has also been developed. I have drawn on both for introductory workshops with a Chinese feminist group in Toronto.

However, these pedagogical efforts are most effective when embedded in social movements to bridge pedagogy and praxis. As Paulo Freire states (2005, 65):

It is only when the oppressed find the oppressor out and become involved in the organized struggle for their liberation that they begin to believe in themselves. This discovery cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection: only then will it be a praxis.

Like Wai Ho insisted regarding treaty workshops, they are only a vehicle. These pedagogical vehicles must be moving to destinations of praxis, a continuous cycle of action and reflection. Māori activist, Mereana Pitman condenses this to “education, action, reflection.” Simply learning and understanding is not enough. Implement and act on those learnings. Intervene and organize. Build collective power through solidarity. What are some strategies that can help to bridge theory and praxis for Chinese diasporic communities?

Drawing on Shared, Intertwined, Transnational Histories

Lee Maracle [...] once shared with me when she was growing up in Coast Salish territory, as [...] a Coast Salish girl, that the reserve was right next to a group of Chinese farmers. And that Chinese farmers would always leave the community food, and they would participate in the celebrations that the community - like were often invited to the celebrations for the community that were open to other people. And there were really good relations between the Chinese and the Coast Salish. She said to me, 'Those people knew - your relatives - knew that they were on Coast Salish lands, and they did not try to disrupt that, and they did not try to push it. They... were just being respectful guests, and were in good relations to us, as the Coast Salish.' [...] Chinese farmers seem to be pretty happy to just do their thing, live their lives, celebrate, and be in community with the people that they knew were the stewards of those lands, and were on their lands. And not buying into the ideas of property and ownership. And I dream of a world where we all think like that. - Desmond Wong

This strategy of remembering good relations and historical recovery is shared across Aotearoa, Vancouver, and Toronto. This has been a powerful method to bring in the connections, and to remember relationships of mutual respect and care. These stories resist erasure. This is one method for Chinese communities to understand the historical connections and avoid the single-stranded narratives of history. These stories can generate affective and emotional connections, especially for diasporic Chinese descendants of early Chinese migrants. Landy Anderson also spoke to the importance of this, and the power of the 'shared histories.' We can share these stories and histories as pedagogy, to avoid academic jargon and bring it down to a human level that is easily intelligible. Stories of connecting on the margins offer a glimpse of what alternative relationalities have been, and could still be into the future, as respectful guests. This is one aspect of drawing on the shared histories on Indigenous lands.

Another aspect is the shared histories of colonialism from Indigenous lands to our own homelands. For example, Danny advocates drawing the connections between colonialism and imperialism, connecting the Chinese experiences of colonialism to the Māori experience:

DRAW THE PARALLELS



DANNY KARATEA-GODDARD

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT ALWAYS SURPRISES ME IS THAT GIVEN OUR HISTORY, THAT OUR LOCAL CHINESE POPULATION CAN'T DRAW THE PARALLELS, BUT IT DOESN'T SURPRISE ME [LAUGHS], BECAUSE WE PROBABLY DIDN'T HAVE PARENTS THAT TALK ABOUT IT.



MARUTAKAIWAHO KARATEA-GODDARD

SEE, PEOPLE DON'T KNOW THAT THE OPIUM WARS AND THE BOMBING OF GUANGZHOU, THE FORCED OPENING OF PORTS, AND THE TAKING OF HONG KONG, HAPPENED AROUND THE SAME PERIOD AS THE TREATY OF WAITANGI.

AND IT WAS HAPPENING ALL OVER THE WORLD, THE COLONIZERS AGAIN WERE DOING IT EVERYWHERE. AND THAT'S WHERE I HAVE THE HOPE. BECAUSE WE SURVIVED THAT.

CHINA HAS SURVIVED THAT AND REBORN ITSELF AND MAYBE NOT EXACTLY IN THE WAY WE THOUGHT IT MIGHT [LAUGHS] BUT I THINK MĀORIDOM HAS THAT AT ITS FEET NOW. WE CAN START AGAIN, IN A WAY, MAYBE, BUT THERE'S A LOT TO BE CONFRONTED AND DISMANTLING OF THINGS.

THAT WOULD BE REALLY GOOD, PEOPLE NEED TO KNOW THAT STUFF.

BUT I HAVE HOPE IN OUR CHILDREN.

The interconnections of colonial histories help us to contextualize colonialism in a transnational context. In both Danny and Desmond's narratives, these histories provide us with lessons that inform futures. As colonizers would often act and make decisions based on the cumulative learnings of colonization around the world, those resisting colonialism can also learn from the cumulative knowledge from histories of anti-colonial resistance.

Shared and connected histories of anti-colonial resistance then become another critical element of histories. Foregrounding historical connections of resistance against imperialism and colonization also debunks the myth of Asian passivity internalized among many Chinese diasporic peoples. Beverly touched on this, emphasizing why we must learn and remember our own histories of anti-colonial struggle and revolution:

There was like a huge general strike, I think, in the [19]20s that almost collapsed the British Empire.[...] There is the Boxer rebellion, and there's a lot of different movements, and they all had their issues and stuff. I think recognizing that we have it in us, and we don't always have to be peaceful all the time.

These histories of resistance are also bridged between 'homelands' and diaspora. Within diasporic contexts, there are also hidden and rich histories of organizing, community work, 'activism' and resistance that can easily become lost if there is a disconnect between generations of 'activists' and organizers. Alice shared the desire for younger people to get to know their elders, and connect with the histories of struggle. We can learn from elders who have been on the forefront, who are not activist celebrities or well-known but have been tirelessly working from multiple fronts. During the COVID-19 pandemic, I saw many narratives on social media about Asian silence as if it is universal across Asian communities. This erases these histories and contemporary iterations of activism and organizing. We have never been fully silent. But these histories need highlighting and amplification.

Within this toolbox of connected histories are 1) the stories of good relations between early Chinese and Indigenous communities 2) the connected histories of colonialism across Asia, Aotearoa, and Turtle Island, 3) the connected histories of resistance and revolutionary exchanges, 4) the histories of Chinese diasporic organizing, activism, and resistance. Indigenous and Chinese peoples in Aotearoa and Vancouver have been focused on reviving the stories of good relations. The third and fourth areas are important for understanding the genealogy of resistance, to be strong

in our own power, and build from previous generations that have worked hard for the current generations. In ASTR treaty workshops, these connected histories are currently underexplored. It will require continued research and political education to seek this knowledge and to translate it into contemporary strategies for organizing. The task of historical recovery and ethical remembering is an ongoing one. We would benefit from being grounded in these interlinked, transnational and intergenerational histories.

In remembering these histories, we need to be careful not to overly romanticize, instead be honest and transparent about the tensions that have and still exist. This is a reminder of the ongoing work needed to challenge anti-Māori racism and pro-colonial dispositions among some Chinese diasporas. It also encourages us to remember ethically, when we memorialize and speak to shared histories, to speak truthfully about the present relations. If we reflect on the type of labour Chinese miners did, it was to extract gold from Indigenous lands. The wealth they were able to generate, although paid less than white miners, were through colonial extractivism.

Additionally, another tendency to avoid is what Diabo (2019) calls ‘historical transactionism’ in response to Asian gratitude towards Indigenous nations for kindness, care, or solidarity shown in the past. The logic is that because Indigenous people were kind to the Chinese, we now owe them respect and gratitude, to ‘return the favour.’ This basis for solidarity could be shaky when there might not be instances, stories, or memories of this in all places, and if this becomes a requirement for contemporary solidarity.

Mobilizing Chinese Values and Cultural Practices

In my interviews, I asked Chinese participants, what cultural values, practices, or histories could be drawn upon to engage and mobilize Chinese diasporic communities? Landy Anderson offered reciprocity as a key value in Indigenous communities. She defines this as “the sharing and the giving of time and space, and being able to invite each other into each other's space.” Speaking with Prof. Margaret Mutu, Suzanne Gee, and Meng Foon, they all talked about shared cultural values that diverge from Pākehā cultural norms. Values that were brought up were *manaakitanga* (taking care of guests, hospitality), respect for elders, care for children, food-centred gatherings, and respect for ancestors. The values of collectivism and family were some that were named as antithetical to the individualism of white culture. Perhaps this can be a starting point for making connections and fostering a sense of commonality.

However, emphasizing ‘shared cultural values’ can risk essentializing Chinese and Indigenous culture(s). Cultural values and practices also shift and change. Simultaneously, we need to be reflexive about the impact of assimilation, white adjacency, and internalized white supremacy on our lives. While exploring similarities in culture can be helpful for mutual understanding, I fear this presupposes sameness as the basis of respect and solidarity when differences also deserve respect. I have seen diasporic Chinese academics conflate Chinese and Māori concepts in reductionist ways which brings up questions of cultural translation. For example, Ma’auga and Liu (2020) compare whakapapa to filial piety, which I understand to be quite different concepts. I see this as a misunderstanding of both concepts and ignores the misogynist and heteronormative element of filial piety in practice (Xie 2023a, 2023b; Yeh 2003). The only connection is a respect for elders and ancestors. Apolitical diasporic romanticization of ‘Asian’ or ‘Chinese’ concepts without consideration of how these ideologies and philosophies have been practiced does a disservice to the goals of decolonization.

Meanwhile, there have been creative incorporations of Chinese cultural traditions for ‘getting our own houses in order’ and in the relational sphere. This strategy is employed in the mixing of politics with Chinese cultural festivals like Mid-Autumn Festival, Spring Festival/Chinese New Year, and Lantern festival. It was in celebration of the Mid-Autumn Festival, when Kingsley Kwok invited me to speak to a group of Chinese unionists in the Chinese Workers Network. During Lunar New Year 2024, Chinese members of ASTR attended the Auckland Lantern Festival with red vertical banners with “Honour Te Tiriti” and “Support Indigenous sovereignty” written in simplified Chinese calligraphy, handing out red cards with information about Te Tiriti in Chinese and English. During the Mid-Autumn Festival, I was reminded by a Chinese unionist of the history of mooncakes as a secret messaging system in Chinese revolutionary histories. Bringing decolonial politics into Chinese cultural festivals harnesses community social gatherings to reach people who may not want to attend a full day workshop or attend a protest. In terms of cultural values, the concept of ‘honour’ was brought up by Wai:

I dunno if honour is the right term, but maybe I think of that because of ‘honour the treaty’ and because I watch a lot of Chinese kung fu movies. [both laugh] And there’s always this really huge theme about honour, in the kung fu movies, but also in a Chinese culturalness, whatever that might mean, there’s this thing about the family honour, and not embarrassing the family, not shaming the family.

Honour could mean 1) high respect and regard, and 2) upholding an agreement. The call to ‘honour the treaty’ can draw from both meanings. The way that ‘honour’ works in Chinese collectivist cultures, I would say, speaks more to ‘reputation’ and is centred on protecting the family name, and it is often paired with shame. From a feminist perspective, the concept of ‘honour’ has been used for heteropatriarchal control of women, girls, and queer people, where the actions and decisions of younger generations/women can bring ‘dis/honour to the family.’ How do we also critically examine cultural values from an anti-oppressive framework if we are to draw from them? Are there ways we can reclaim this without reinforcing the oppressive deployment of ‘honour’?

Linking to Un/belonging and Honourable Belonging

Linking decolonization to ‘honourable belonging’ is proposed by Wai Ho as a potential affective strategy. In more academic literature by Asian or Chinese authors exploring Te Tiriti o Waitangi or relationships with Māori, or the category of “Tangata Tiriti” (treaty people), belonging is often noted as a central motivation (Dam 2023; Wang 2023). In Saburo Omura’s (2014) psychology thesis, Te Tiriti education is what can lead to greater feelings of belonging for Asian migrants. In afterthoughts that Wai Ho sent me after our interview over email, he returned to belonging as having potential:

I remember thinking at the time [early 2000s], around belonging and place etc. for me as a Chinese person, as well as a tauwi person, is that not only is there no honour for us until honourable relations are restored, like through Te Tiriti or just general justice / structural change / revolution / decolonisation, but no belonging either. Kinda like we are unsettled settlers, or unbelonging migrants cos the relations are not correct, and things haven’t been put right.

Unless Te Tiriti is honoured, as tauwi Asian, we cannot honourably belong. Honouring Te Tiriti then becomes a pathway to belonging. This is an alternative route to NZ or Canadian nationalism; however, it is still centred on migrant anxieties of not belonging. My concern is what happens when conversations on Asian identity as ‘Tangata Tiriti’ or solidarity with Indigenous peoples is focused on relieving our own feelings of unbelonging? What is prioritized and what gets minimized? What if belonging is offered by white colonizers? In Aotearoa, the astroturfing tactics of Hobson’s Pledge prior to 2023 NZ elections (Hancock 2023) evoked images of multicultural faces, Asian languages, and even Stop Asian Hate, as an innocuous front campaign against co-governance (shared decision-making power between Crown and Māori). Their campaign slogan

was “We Belong” and posted graphics to social media like “Aotearoa is my home” in Hindi and Chinese.⁸⁷ If the conversation decentres belonging, it would be harder to fall into these traps.

Interestingly, Chinese participants rarely attributed belonging as motivation for Indigenous solidarity. However, I wonder if drawing on the affect of belonging can be strategic to reach Chinese communities for whom it is their central concern. Are there ways to politicize belonging that divest from colonial nationalisms and possessive belonging? The Matike Mai report also features belonging as one of the seven values as basis for a new constitution, where Māori participants expressed an understanding of the hostility towards Asians in Pākehā society and how this could be rectified through Te Tiriti. It offers a way to meaningfully and honourably belong in Aotearoa as Tangata Tiriti.

In Canadian contexts, the desire for inclusion into Canadian national identity has been recently destabilized. Through the exposure of the unmarked graves on former residential sites, David Ng, has noticed a shift. When the news from a former residential school in Kamloops reported the remains of hundreds of Indigenous children buried in unmarked graves, this changed something, “there’s a very different energy,” David Ng recalls. He observed a questioning of the nation-state that wasn’t there before, and the response to anti-Asian racism with “we are Canadians too” has been “destabilized a little bit.” This destabilization of attachment to Canadian identity is an opening that can perhaps lead to supporting Indigenous struggles.

Prof. Henry Yu offers the refusal of belonging and pride in non-belonging as an alternate path, embracing Cantonese non-belonging and ‘permanent guesthood’ as a gift, and as “better way to be.” He explains:

It should be easier to say, ‘hey we don’t belong here, but [...] neither do the British, this is Indigenous territories.’ [...] For me, it does create a point of leverage, or breaking up of that sense of normal Canadian history.

In so-called Vancouver, where the lands are unceded, there currently is not a legitimate or consented space for settlers to belong, unlike what was offered in Te Tiriti. These place-based histories matter in this discussion of belonging and non-belonging, but it is worth exploring these questions and conversations. My fear in centring ‘belonging,’ however, is that it can produce a

⁸⁷ ASTR has subverted these images with alternate messaging such as “Aotearoa is Māori land,” “Honour Te Tiriti,” and “Aotearoa is occupied by an illegitimate colonial state.”

self-interested motivation, or that supporting decolonization is contingent and conditional on our own belonging. I see decolonization and restoration of Indigenous land and sovereignty as crucial regardless of whether it offers us belonging. However, I can understand the strategic purpose of engaging in these conversations to draw out the ‘personal stake’ for Chinese diasporas, and as my friend Piripi Wills pointed out, not addressing belonging risks ceding ground and leaving a vacuum for the far right to exploit.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored a range of pedagogical strategies that aims to build solidarity between Indigenous and Chinese communities. We can see the power of place-based and relational pedagogies that involve immersive experiences, being there, being present, and learning through doing/practice. For the most part, solidarity pedagogies are done at a community and grassroots level, such as through microactivism, dialogue circles, place-based tours and treaty education. Learning and teaching are inherently relational, but relationships themselves are a site of mutual learning. In these relationships, we learn to practice and prefigure treaty-based relationships, and respect for Indigenous self-determination.

Within discussions of pedagogical strategies are also specific tactics and affects offered. We see the practice of drawing on shared and intertwined histories already in practice, especially local histories of interaction, but this could be further expanded into transnational histories. By reflecting on Chinese cultural values and practices, we can build bridges without conflating cultural concepts or values. Our cultural festivals can be accessible spaces for integrating political education and draw from our own history of resisting empire. Similarly, conversations on un/belonging can be a potential starting point, but I am wary of the transactionalism and conditionality of our solidarity if it is centred on our own sense of belonging. But if colonialism is a structure, we cannot stop at relationship-building and education, there needs to be radical transnational political transformations.

Chapter Ten - Transnational Dialogues to ‘Dream Bigger’

Connecting with people transnationally has changed me in all the ways that new places and new relationships change us. Through these relationships are new possibilities, new knowledges, a joining of dots to create a constellation, to see patterns across the islands and continents. One of the most profound impacts of connecting with Chinese diasporas transnationally, especially those from Hong Kong, is an expansion of my political purview to go beyond the white settler colonies and to address the multiple colonialisms and imperialisms we are connected to. In this brief chapter, I attend to the question of what are the potentials of transnational exchanges between diasporic Chinese peoples towards decolonization? I contend the most critical lesson at our current juncture is the duty to attend to the multiple faces of colonialism, in particular, the faces that look like us, and their entanglements with white settler colonies. Here I draw from the transnational focus group and interview materials that allow us to think through ‘colonialism from East to West.’

The transnational roundtable held online and across time zones felt like creating a temporary portal for transnational and intergenerational dialogue. It illustrates the power of generating portals across worlds and borders. Bill Chu and Kirsten Wong both shared videos of their work which involved buses of Chinese people visiting places where Indigenous peoples shared their knowledge of their (and their ancestors’) relationships with Chinese people. The younger generations, Kirsty Fong (Aotearoa), Beverly Ho (Vancouver), and Chiyi (Toronto) all spoke of housing injustices as either what mobilized them to get involved or the work they are currently doing. The ‘neoliberal generation’ saw the unravelling of the welfare state and the growing housing crisis. As much as Chinese people were scapegoated for the housing crisis in Auckland and Vancouver, young Chinese people have been on the frontlines fighting for housing justice for Chinese seniors and Indigenous communities.

This focus group was the most exciting aspect of this project, bringing people across borders together. It was structured for everyone to have a chance to introduce themselves and share a bit about the work they have been involved in, and have an opportunity to ask questions of each other. It closed with a round of what people are taking away from this session, and what they want to offer as further food for thought. It culminated as an intergenerational and transnational sharing session and conversation involving two people from Vancouver, two people from Aotearoa, and

one person who was partially present from Toronto. There were many ideas and words of advice shared and exchanged, as well as questions. Everyone found the experience to be fruitful and learned something from it and left with more questions.

Out of all the themes from that conversation, the most urgent and profound was the challenge from Bill Chu to be prepared for a Cold/Hot War between US and China by “fixing our eyes on social justice, and be strong in terms of denouncing colonialism, both practiced by the West and those by the East.” This speaks to a dual responsibility of fighting colonialism in the diaspora as well as in our homelands/Asia, rather than being polarized into denouncing only colonialism by one side while cheering for that by the other. In the round of reflections on key learnings, Beverly Ho shared:

It's just become clearer to me after the discussion today, not just the importance, but our duty, as like diasporic folks or settlers to fight colonialism like in China, and here as well.

There are multiple colonialisms that diasporic Chinese need to take responsibility for. If diaspora is a ‘bridge’ then we have a role in bridging struggles to our homelands and other Indigenous lands we have been through too, whether that is Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, or elsewhere. We can think about this through the ethic of reciprocity with all the lands that have grown and nurtured us, we have a responsibility to those people and lands too. It speaks to Calvin’s desires for greater internationalist orientations, and an approach to decolonization beyond nation-state borders, beyond what passports we hold.

Toronto-based organizer, Calvin suggests an approach that rejects both Canadian and Chinese state nationalism to counter both tankie politics and liberal anti-racism. I addressed the problems with Canadian nationalism in liberal anti-racism in the previous chapters, but both hinder meaningful solidarity and efforts towards decolonization. Calvin spoke at length about the damage and divisions caused by tankie politics for diasporic Chinese organizing in Toronto. Tankies⁸⁸ or ‘campists,’ for our purposes, are those who unconditionally support authoritarian regimes that call themselves ‘communist’ such as the Chinese Communist Party. This is founded on an idea of “the

⁸⁸The term ‘tankie’ was originally used to describe the supporters of the Soviet Union tanks crushing of the Hungarian workers’ uprising in 1956. However, Raine (2021) argues these politics go back to the signing of a pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. This illustrates how ‘socialist’ states and powers have the capacity for alignment with fascism and to use fascist tactics of violence and control to crush other leftist movements.

enemy of my enemy is my friend,” and it comes from a desire to end US imperialism while denying and disregarding other non-western imperialisms. In contemporary form, it is based on a binary narrative in the US and China rivalry.

Campist critiques of US imperialism often transition to apologism or promotion of Chinese state policies that further imperialism, settler colonialism and genocide. They take disinformation and propaganda from so-called ‘communist’ states at face value as a method to ‘counter’ western propaganda. It is a knee-jerk reaction to US imperialism and anti-China propaganda without considering the nuances, entanglements and collaborations between these superpowers, and how both can be opposed at the same time. Fundamentally it focuses on solidarity with states, rather than people. The lived experiences of people struggling for liberation are ignored and erased in the process. As Syrian writer, Leila Al Shami (2018) explains:

This left exhibits deeply authoritarian tendencies, one that places states themselves at the centre of political analysis. Solidarity is therefore extended to states (seen as the main actor in a struggle for liberation) rather than oppressed or underprivileged groups in any given society, no matter that state’s tyranny.

For Chinese diasporas, anti-China propaganda in the west can manifest as heightened anti-Chinese racism regardless of what their views are on the Chinese state. Like the Israeli state’s weaponization of antisemitism and the conflation of Israel with all Jewish people, any criticism of China becomes construed as Sinophobia. A critical de-conflation of Chinese peoples and the Chinese state is required for fighting both anti-Chinese racism in the West and to confront the real violences of the Chinese state. Campist ideology is based on racism where in this case, Chinese peoples and Indigenous nations living under Chinese settler colonialism are treated as undeserving of liberation from authoritarian state capitalism, meanwhile the Chinese state is treated as victims of US imperialism incapable of agency and capacity for oppression, and thus need not be held accountable because its violence is dismissed as ‘not as bad as’ the US empire.

The growing influence of these politics being spread in some leftist Indigenous academic circles is alarming. These politics deny, minimize, and at times, justify the genocides of Uyghurs and Tibetans. The settler colonial and genocidal technologies used by the Chinese government borrows and builds from the US and Canadian residential school system, mass incarceration, and the Islamophobic discourses of the US ‘War on Terror’ and UK counter-terrorism strategies (Byler 2022). Like settler colonialism elsewhere, the economic intentions are made clear through the

exploitation of Indigenous labour alongside dispossession to make way for extractive industries (XqSu 2021). Salimjan (2024) has explored how Han Chinese settler colonialism on Kazakh territories is linked to ‘green colonialism’ and how state discourses on Indigenous peoples construct them as ‘backward’ and in need of ‘modernization’ and ‘development.’

To this effect, there is also a danger in conflating Chinese business dealings and relationships with First Nations as forms of Indigenous and Chinese solidarity. Corporate interests are set on extraction, access to Indigenous resources, and profit. Indeed, one of the reasons why Bill Chu in Vancouver has slowed down the visible cultural exchanges is due to the risk of cooption for Chinese state corporate interests. Calvin elaborates on this point:

I've come across news articles of business deals being signed with the Chinese Government or Chinese state companies with certain First Nations around the resources like fisheries and things like that. But I will also say that there's a huge hypocrisy 'cause [...] if that gets played up as an example of somehow that the Chinese State is a supporter of Indigenous sovereignty in solidarity, it really comes up short, because, of course, Sinopec, the major Chinese petroleum natural resource extraction companies are fully invested in one of the pipelines related to Wet'suwet'en struggles.

[...] When we talk about colonialism on Turtle Island, in Canada and colonialism in China - these two processes are completely intertwined.

The entanglements of colonizer states point to the shared interests in resource extraction from Canadian companies in Tibet, or Chinese companies on Canada-occupied Indigenous territories. They both engage in extractive colonial capitalism that undermines Indigenous land and power. Ian Liu-jia Tian (2021, 116) while advocating for critical socialism in post-socialist China argues that within the rise of China “is closely connected with multiple forms of extractive regimes,” citing examples of mining investments on Aboriginal land in so-called Australia, and in Canadian pipelines going through Indigenous territories. Transnational capitalism relies on the continuation of settler colonialism, opening up Indigenous territories for further exploitation and extraction. This offers another analysis to reject both kinds of nationalism to move through the campist or nationalist politics that has proven to be divisive in Toronto and blocks solidarity from below.

Bill Chu argues we need to be consistent, we cannot be fighting for Indigenous liberation in one place and ignore the issues of colonialism in the place of our birth or ancestry, or worse “cheering it on.” To be consistent in supporting Indigenous liberation, opposing settler colonialism

and genocide in China, does not mean supporting US imperialism either. To move away from what could be characterized as the redwashed fascist politics of campism and tankies, there are further solidarities to be built in the diaspora and beyond with those impacted by China's imperialism and settler colonialism. This could look like relationship building with diasporic Tibetans, Uyghurs, Kazakhs and other Muslim Indigenous populations under CCP occupation, with Hong Kongers, Taiwanese, and Chinese feminists and labour activists. The gift of being in diaspora is that we are already living transnational lives and often live in the same cities as those displaced by imperialist and colonial regimes from our homelands too. We have more opportunities to build those relationships in the diaspora. These transnational exchanges can draw us out into a bigger picture, one of 'co-resistance' beyond 'solidarity.' This allows us to "dream bigger, dream better" as Hongwen insists.

Chapter Eleven - Dreaming Different Dreams: Futurities and Celestial Solidarity

Achieving change involves “active toil and an honest analysis of historic cause and consequence, as well as the willingness to dream different dreams” wrote the late Dr. Moana Jackson (2019). In this chapter, I explore the dreams and hopes for futurities emergent from interviews and focus groups. I argue that their dreams of relational futurities and dreaming in constellation are practices that return to the spiritual, acting with future generations in mind. Crucially, these dreams are articulated along with practical strategies and critical questions. Many spoke to the radical transformations still required: to have a future at all amid climate catastrophe requires the end of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, capitalism, colonialism, and the restoration of Indigenous land, power, and culture. I circle back to the visions for Indigenous liberation and decolonization. Future aspirations are often envisioned within particular spheres, such as those within Chinese diaspora communities, within a relational sphere, or within a larger transnational/planetary and structural scale that go well beyond specific communities. To exercise my imagination in the synthesizing of key lessons from this project, I expand on the tenets of celestial solidarity and what they mean for praxis. In closing this chapter, I present a comic of Prof. Henry Yu’s metaphor of a raft to imagine the future of organizing.

Dreaming as Method and Praxis

Returning to celestial solidarity, I want to expand on the tenet of “honouring all that is unseen” by exploring dreaming as praxis. While attending NAISA⁸⁹ and listening to Randizia Cristosmos’ (CHamoru) paper on grief work, she cited the work of Dian Million (Tanana Athabascan). Dian Million’s work articulated thoughts that had been swirling in my mind. She states:

Dreaming to me is the effort to make sense of relations in the worlds we live, dreaming and empathizing intensely in our relations with past and present and the future without the boundaries of linear time. Dreaming is a communicative sacred activity. Dreaming often allows us to creatively sidestep all the neat little boxes that obscure larger relations and synthesize imagination. I also believe that dreaming,

⁸⁹North American Indigenous Studies Association

theory, narrative, and critical thinking are not exclusive of each other. They form different ways of knowing. (Million 2011, 314-315)

Dreaming is a source of theory and knowledge. I consider dreaming more broadly to encompass the dreams in our sleeping state, the daydreams, and in the sense of desired visions and goals that engages our wildest imagination. Combined they draw from a deep well of imaginative power that can sustain solidarity and organizing towards decolonized and re-Indigenized futurities.

Moana Jackson would often talk about the ‘imagination realm’ as a site of struggle, inviting us to “imagine the impossible” (Jackson 2017), where colonization seeks to limit Indigenous imagination and where liberalism tries to dampen aspirations with a pessimistic pragmatism of “that’s impossible.” Alongside strategic conversations, the Matike Mai Aotearoa (2016) working group invited Māori communities to dream, and imagine through the question, “If you could change the way the country is governed tomorrow, what would it look like?” The report fuses these dreams into the values and structures proposed, dreams of a future that Māori ancestors had envisioned when they signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Through dreaming, we can break out of the intellectual colonial prisons that try to contain our desires.

During the beginnings of the pandemic, in Toronto, I was having vivid and recurring apocalyptic dreams that prompted me to reflect on the power of dreams, and what we can learn from our political unconscious. I do not think it was coincidental that it was on Anishinaabe lands that I started meditating on this. Many Anishinaabe scholars have written about the centrality of dreams and visions (Shawanda 2020; Miller 2013; Richotte Jr 2013; Shawanda and Manitowabi 2023). Like storytelling, Simpson and Manitowabi (2013, 282) argue:

dreams and visions propel resurgence because they provide Nishnaabeg with both knowledge from the spiritual world and processes for realizing those visions. Dreams and visions provide glimpses of decolonized spaces and transformed realities that we have collectively yet to imagine.

Likewise, queer Anishinaabekwe scholar, Riley Yesno explains:

In many Indigenous nations, including my own, dreams are taken very seriously. More than just a symptom of repressed emotion, or the product of watching something really weird before bed, dreams, in my teachings, are a very real alternate world that speaks this one. They are in conversation with each other. And they can be a way for those voices and beings that we often ignore on our day to day to reach out and find a pathway for communication. (Ayed 2024)

Listening to dreams more intensely, she proposes, can be a practice of everyday ‘future-forging.’ It could be how our unconscious calls us to pay attention to what is otherwise unseen.

In Black radical traditions, Robin DG. Kelley elaborates on the revolutionary power of surrealism, as a movement that emphasizes the freedom of the imagination; “It is a movement that invites dreaming, urges us to improvise and invent, and recognizes the imagination as our most powerful weapon.” He notes that surrealism, as practices and principles, was already present in Afrodiasporic cultures. Crucially, he asserts that surrealism is not a replacement of collective organizing, direct action, protest, but that “surrealism recognizes that any revolution must begin with thought” and advocates for a future based on love and creativity rather than a cold economic rationality, which undergirds capitalism (Kelley 2002, 193).

From my own genealogy, my 爷爷 (paternal grandfather), Fu Zhenggu, was a scholar of dreams, who bestowed the character for ‘dream’ in my name. He studied Chinese dream culture through ancient dream literature and poetry. He passed away the same year we left for Aotearoa during my childhood. In recent years, I found many articles where he analyzes dream culture, poetry and literature with thousands of years of history. There are ancient collections of texts, whole bodies of Chinese literature where poetry and song has been a way of recording and interpreting dreams. Dreams have been recorded since the beginnings of Chinese literature and have been central to ancient Chinese literary creations. The genre of dream writing has also been a space of disguised and cryptic political critiques. He argues that dreams and literary creation are both founded on the imagination, and he explains why dream writing has been a common thread across Chinese literature (Fu 1988). Dreams, he writes, are a spiritual/divine power that is ‘a peculiar combination of fiction, imagination, and creativity’ (Fu 1988, 70). He elaborates:

在这力的支配下,它可把人变性、变形、变质,变成另外的人种或一切非人的物种,也可把一切非人的物种变成人种,把非人的世界变成人的世界,甚至使人物不分,浑然一体。庄周梦蝶,是庄周变成蝶,还是蝶变成庄周呢?

Under the influence of this power, it can transform, deform, and metamorphize humans into other humans or all kinds of non-human beings. It can also transform non-human beings into humans and the non-human world into the human world, and even make no distinction between humans and things, where people and things are one and the same. Zhuang Zhou dreamed of being a butterfly, did Zhuang Zhou become the butterfly, or did the butterfly become Zhuang Zhou? [Reference to a famous poem by Zhuang Zi who lived in 369—286 BCE] (Fu 1988, 70)

Dreams can open our imagination to the blurriness and fluidity of human/nonhuman, self/other distinctions, and how no material realities are fixed and final. In ancient Chinese cultures, dreams were considered a form of spirit wandering (Strassberg 2008). We have been reminded to honor the spirit in the work of decolonization by tohunga and Indigenous feminists like Lee Maracle. Dreaming is also spiritual work. While ‘teamwork makes the dream work,’ there is also truth in the inverse, that *dream work makes the team work*. In the method of dreaming, I see the convergence of the spiritual and political.

Indigenous Futurisms and Aspirations

Drawing on Black abolitionist Ruth Gilmore Wilson’s thinking that ‘freedom is a place,’ Riley Yesno (Ayed 2024) conceptualizes the future, too, as a place. In thinking about the future, she returns to the past for guidance and future imaginings, and reflects on present everyday resurgent practices in Indigenous families, and in broader social movements referencing the occupation of Alcatraz Island and Standing Rock. Future-making is not a break from the past, but a return to Indigenous dreams for the future. The returning/respecting of Indigenous land, power, and culture are central to Indigenous aspirations shared across Aotearoa, Vancouver and Toronto.

To overcome Canadian settler colonialism, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson proposes radical resurgence to rebuild Indigenous nationhood. She cautions us on the co-optability of cultural resurgence without political resurgence that can be absorbed into the framework of multiculturalism under Canadian settler colonialism, and He-Lin has observed this in institutions prioritizing ‘cultural solutions to political problems.’ Radical resurgence involves dismantling of heteropatriarchy, anti-Blackness, and building ‘constellations of co-resistance’ (Simpson 2017). Coulthard and Simpson (2016, 254) advocate for the ethical framework of grounded normativity founded on Indigenous place-based practices and knowledge:

Grounded normativity teaches us how to live our lives in relation to other people and nonhuman life forms in a profoundly nonauthoritarian, nondominating, nonexploitive manner. Grounded normativity teaches us how to be in respectful diplomatic relationships with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous nations with whom we might share territorial responsibilities or common political or economic interests.

This indicates desires for radical transformation of relations founded on Indigenous land-based practices and relations that have endured for millennia.

At the grassroots level, the slogan of “Land Back” can be seen spray painted in the city, chanted at demonstrations, and hashtagged on social media, a slogan originating from Indigenous artists and activists online (Alook et al. 2023, 34). I saw an enormous “Land Back” mural in Vancouver’s Chinatown. The return of Indigenous land is a shared demand across many Indigenous nations across the world. Land back, culture back, language back, power back, water back, and everything-that-was-ever-stolen back. Alook et al. (2023, 34) state, “Indigenous peoples getting land back means allowing us to return to our traditional livelihoods, governance, languages, and cultures. It means abolishing colonial and capitalist systems.” They also argue for a return to Treaty rights and relationships to fully respect Indigenous sovereignty.

The demand for land back is common across Indigenous struggles. Alook et al. (2023), argue for the abolition of ‘private property’ so that our relationship to land is not based on capitalist extraction and exploitation. This requires a transformation of non-Indigenous relationships to Indigenous lands that is based on reverence, and the highest form of respect, rather than possession and property relations. We cannot practice solidarity with tangata whenua (people of the land), without also respecting the whenua (land).

The Matike Mai Aotearoa report envisions a future where mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga would be restored. When I asked if the kāwanatanga sphere needs to be parliament, Prof. Margaret Mutu said it does not, and explained that during the gatherings, “our people didn’t have a lot to say about how Pākehā should organize themselves.” Thus, there is also space for non-Indigenous people to, as Moana Jackson would say, “dream different dreams” (2019). The kāwanatanga sphere can change with constitutional transformation work, but there is also flexibility and choice in which ‘sphere’ to be in. Professor Mutu clarifies that, 1) the kāwanatanga sphere is also an invitation to rethink non-Indigenous self-determination that can be in respectful relation to Māori, 2) there is the option to be in the rangatiratanga sphere provided that tikanga is followed and non-Māori do not try to make decisions for Māori, and 3) support from non-Pākehā is absolutely welcome provided we do not tell Māori what to do.

Regarding the term ‘sovereignty,’ Professor Mutu has talked about how the etymology of that word comes from a European genealogy that doesn’t encapsulate or translate the meaning of mana motuhake. She explains:

Mana motuhake is very different to sovereignty. Mana motuhake is that power and authority derived from the gods, and it’s an ultimate paramount authority derived

from the gods, which brings with it responsibilities and it brings with it the fact that the country does belong to us. And that we have the power and authority to decide how and who we might want to share it with, but it's up to us, we make those decisions. [...] So that is in terms of us exercising our own, what is generally known as Indigenous sovereignty, I would refer to it as our mana motuhake.

These nuances of translation are important for tauiwi to understand. Indigenous visions for the future are vital for guiding solidarity work and informing diasporic visions of futurities that are in relation, and in constellation. A practice of shared visioning is what is lacking in Desmond Wong's experience: "I feel like my community is very constrained by extant political structures, and refuse to sit down and vision with Black and Indigenous scholars." I take this as an invitation to dream in relation and for better relations, but also in respect of Indigenous and Black leadership who have been doing the dream work.

Dreams (and Nightmares) of the Future

Imagining a future at all for humans on Earth can be a struggle. When I asked participants about their dreams and desires for the future, this question was more focused on the sense of 'dreams' as desired visions or imagination of futures they hope for. At times, there was resistance to dream. When I asked about the future in 40 years' time, Derek's first response was "I don't want to think about 40 years, maybe we don't even exist because it's too hot if we don't do enough now." This encapsulates the fears and despair among younger generations, especially with the caveat, "if we don't do enough now." For many Indigenous communities, the apocalypse already came with colonialism - the mass slaughter of bison, the poisoning of rivers and water, mining and extraction from their lands without consent, oil and gas industries - none of this is new. Indigenous peoples are already surviving and living in a post-apocalyptic world (Maynard and Simpson 2022). Yet they have not given up on reclaiming and restoring the land. They have not stopped protecting the waters. They are still making decisions in the interests of the next generations to come.

For those of us living in diaspora, the decisions for migration are also often made in the interests of the next generations. Every immigrant parent makes sacrifices to move, leaving families, communities, lands and waters behind. But I wonder if those of us living in diaspora have given up on our lands and people because our ability to dream of liberation on our own lands has been so effectively crushed, so much so that we can only see a future for ourselves on someone else's stolen lands. Do we see our diasporic state as temporary and yearn for a time of return? What

happens to our dreams, and where do we dream of and from? In articulating dreams for the future, none of the Chinese participants saw themselves going back to their ‘homelands’ but instead building better relations with Indigenous peoples on their lands and hoping for radical transformations, dreaming big.

During the beginnings of the pandemic, there was a glimpse of what could be possible. Homeless people could be housed. Industry could stop and shut down operations, animals can return to places they have been displaced from. The Black Lives Matter uprising sparked by the murder of George Floyd spread across the world. Abolition was in sight and the possibility of defunding and dissolving the police was a real possibility. We see exactly how connected the world is through the transmission of COVID-19, an airborne disease, that showed us how much air and breath we share with each other across the globe. Diana Leung reflects on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and how it increased empathy across differences, and how the truths of colonization and genocide became unavoidable:

I think during COVID, a lot more people became more sensitive to how not all communities or peoples are experiencing COVID the same way, are not experiencing economic downturn the same way. People are affected differently. I think I'm hopeful with this heightened public sensitivity to what's happening to the people around us. And also that we're on stolen lands, lots of children are missing and murdered, and all those stories are no longer being questioned as to whether they're real or not. We can't avoid those truths anymore and I'm hopeful that that's where the solidarity from everyone will come from, and maybe not necessarily from like a capital A Activist kind of way.

Arundhati Roy talked about how the pandemic is a portal, a portal to a different world. The world some of my collaborators hope for in the future is a world post-capitalism, post-nation-states, and post-white supremacy - a world truly post-colonial. Many participants spoke directly to the roots of the problem, and spoke with conviction that the collapse of capitalism was inevitable. Rita Wong states:

My hope is that the collapse is met with another system that has been here all along, that's been... maybe a life-support system if you wanna call it that. That is Indigenous brilliance as well as many other things, my hope is that we're up to the challenge of the hardships that face us.

The alternative that she hopes for involves “a radical redistribution of wealth.” She cited Grace Lee-Boggs, a radical Chinese-American activist, who advocated for alternative economies.

Beyond economic transformation, the dreams of political transformation include the dissolution of the nation-state system. This is Derek's vision:

I definitely hope that Canada does not exist anymore. And I hope that our movements are not restricted by papers, documents, and like fingerprints and biometrics and all that kind of stuff. [...] I hope we have a different way of organizing the world that is not nation-state based.

Many others agree that the nation-state of Canada cannot co-exist with “the true realization of Indigenous sovereignty” as He-Lin articulates. Desmond Wong adds ending white supremacy to the list of structural changes required, noting specifically Chinese diasporic tendencies of white adjacency and ascendancy that prop up white supremacy. Further to this, abolitionist desires are shared in the dreams across Toronto and Vancouver, and these are not only to abolish police and prison systems, but to create alternatives so that they become obsolete, as Black abolitionists like Angela Davis have long been advocating.

On a smaller local scale, the dreams for Chinese diasporic communities are desires for growing presence, internationalism, strengthening of intergenerational relationships and knowledge exchange, developing activist and academic infrastructures to focus on political education and material support for marginalized Chinese and Asian communities. For solidarity to be meaningful, people like Calvin propose that Chinese community organizing needs to be strengthened first. Hongwen in Tāmaki Makaurau concurs, positing that to truly engage the grassroots, treaty education work or the decolonizing work needs to be connected to workers. Toronto-based activist, Calvin elaborates that growing the presence and doing worker-based organizing in Chinese communities “can be the opening point to building relationships and connections with Indigenous communities too.” Aotearoa-based Chinese-specific organizations are less focused on political work or meeting the needs of Chinese workers, more on heritage preservation, cultural events, and fostering belonging. However, the lack of Chinese-specific political organizing in Aotearoa has not stopped solidarity-building between Chinese and Māori. That presence has grown exponentially. Although building those infrastructures would be worthwhile, we don't necessarily need to wait to achieve A to move to B. Why not simultaneously? Why not in relation?

Locally and nationally, there are also desires for stronger intergenerational relationships between youth and elders. For elders to pass down memories and lessons from their community

working and for youth to remember and know their political genealogies. Kirsten Wong offered an idea for gatherings of people who are already connected, to strengthen those connections, what she called “reinforcing networks,” but with an open field and no expectations, creating an organic space for sharing and finding commonalities and where collaborations can form. This is premised on the power of relationship-building as the base to make things happen.

In regards to pedagogies, the need to have continual education or dialogues around colonization was proposed. Specific to Aotearoa, in our interview in 2022, Tze Ming Mok suggested developing Aotearoa Asian Studies, “a pan-diasporic tradition” as academic infrastructure. She saw this as a medium-term goal for movement building, in anticipation of the growth of the Asian population in the next 20 years, to establish an infrastructure for passing on institutional memory, a “vital blueprint for future generations to learn from, to replicate, to adapt.” Her proposal here corresponds with the university-based entry points for political activism and consciousness. However, since our first interview, the funding landscape for humanities is no longer sustainable. Her energies have been focused on building archives and histories through community projects so that resources will be available if Aotearoa Asian Diaspora Studies were to be established in the future. Canadian universities have more options and have already established Asian-Canadian Studies. Teaching Aotearoa New Zealand history in compulsory education, alongside an “adult program of education of New Zealand history, how Māori communities function” is proposed by Meng Foon. This would be for everyone, not just Chinese diasporas specifically, but all immigrants and settlers.

At a grassroots level in Aotearoa, Hongwen suggested political education and basic activist skill-based training. For example, from media training to situational awareness, street medic skills, how to organize a rally etc. In short, a training curriculum to build capacity and transfer knowledge and skills. Since this interview, ASTR has begun to organize and has been granted resources to do political education work with Asian youth through the Youth Movement Fund. These projects are now in motion.

At a neighbourhood scale, many of the younger people I spoke to had dreams specific to Vancouver Chinatown as threats of gentrification loom over the neighbourhood. Kendall Yan hopes for the focus of Chinatown to be less about the architecture, cultural displays and events, but more on the people who live there. She sees that this would also shift the relationship with the Downtown Eastside, to be able to connect on the shared issues of gentrification, cost of living and

displacement. Youth in Chinatown like Beverly Ho dreams of housing complexes that houses Black and Indigenous peoples, for seniors and sex workers and where everyone would have universal basic income and healthcare. These are dreams for eradicating houselessness and poverty, where everyone has what they need to live.

Nearly all of the older people I spoke to expressed hope in the younger generations. They have witnessed changes in their lifetime of the education system and have a sense that younger people are more aware. It comes with the sense that this is a long-term struggle, that the fruits of our labour will not be harvested for a few generations:

Winnie Ng: Maybe some of the hope is in the new generations of activists, people like you and others, the second generations, the younger generations of activists in preserving Chinatown, it's creating space for arts and activism. These are the next generation activists who are gonna provide or create that reaching out, that relationship building with Indigenous counterparts.

Bill Chu: The younger generation from Hong Kong are potentially the solution as well, because they have witnessed the repressive re-colonization of Hong Kong by China and now are more exposed to the concept of reconciliation, although not a perfect one, here. But with more exposure to the colonial history of this land, and the resolve not to join some colonial mindset to further exploit and dispossess the Indigenous population, then there should be some hope for the needed reconciliation for Canada.

Danny Karatea-Goddard: I do believe that younger generations of Chinese are better informed, better educated, but we still find pockets of people who are racist everywhere. [...] I do have hope for the new younger Chinese community, and of course, it's diverse now.

These quotes not only express hope in the younger generation but also marks a change in education and awareness. My nephew once told me, "we're Second Nation" after learning about First Nations people and residential schools from his teacher when he was about 6 years old. Possibly out of all my family members living on Turtle Island, he knows most about Indigenous peoples and histories as these topics enter their education at an early age. As a mother, Diana Leung has also seen the changes to the education system for her child, and wishes she had the same opportunities. When I asked Tze Ming where she wants the new generation take things, her response was:

In terms of the natural way that social movements grow, they become more organized, they become more established. You see with ASTR, it's just

proliferating, in an amazing scale, because people are crying out for it. Younger generations are really crying out for something that makes conceptual sense and gives them a place to stand, and that is just the right thing. It speaks to the way they understand to be true. It's self-evident.

The younger generations are often brought up as symbols of hope. This growth, this change in the political landscape of Asian activism has been noted and acknowledged. Throughout the period of this PhD research, I have witnessed this in real time, as attacks on Indigenous peoples continue, the resistance is only growing stronger.

For young people themselves, their responses to thinking about the future reflects what Alan Chen named as a “fleeting dance between hope and despair.” From the younger generations, the most descriptive dreams articulated have involved food-sharing and feasting. Food for many Chinese youth is a connection to Chinese culture, but this also builds on the history of Indigenous and Chinese relations often involving sharing, growing, and gifting of food. These are dreams by Lorraine Lam in Toronto, and Evelyn from Vancouver of bringing people together through food and feasting, in respect to shared Indigenous and Chinese practices:

Lorraine: I think about this dream of having a Mid-Autumn Festival where we're eating together, eating bannock and mooncakes, which feels like a very simplistic way of looking at it, but thinking about the process of actually making the food, is actually also a long process. There's a lot of cross-dialoguing, a lot of preparing things together, a lot of side by side work. I think that would be my dream, because a lot of what I see now is a big gap in terms of, there's no working alongside, it's either talking at each other or talking through a third party.

Evelyn: I'd love to just have a big potluck with everyone, and just share food. And I think that that's one of the best ways [...] to help with understanding each other, and accepting each other. I'd like for us to all just in 40 years, everyone's just gonna sit together in a beautiful lush green park. And we're all just gonna bring our picnic blankets, and cute, woven baskets and they're gonna be filled with traditional foods that we've learned to cook from our friends and our families and our chosen families, and we just all just gonna have a yummy little feast and I would love for that to happen. And that to me is collective liberation.

These sound like simple dreams, and more than possible to manifest even in the near future. But if we can take these scenes and extrapolate greater meanings, both reveal a desire for everyone to be well-fed, for community, connection, and good relations. As many Chinese youth have learned that food is a language of love, these dreams demonstrate love for Indigenous communities and

respect for their cultures.

To build from the Vancouver Dialogues project, those who were involved see the importance of ongoing education for newcomers grounded in Indigenous truths. While printed resources and videos are available to access, Kamala Todd wants to see more Dialogue-style projects. The outcomes of the Dialogues project have been significant, and the relationships have continued. Kamala mentioned one of the outcomes was a Musqueam citizenship ceremony that they hosted on their reserve community for the first time. There will be other ongoing reverberations from that project. A local project can be replicated across regions. The dreams here are for all newcomers to have reliable and accurate information about Indigenous peoples and to build direct relationships, and for Indigenous peoples to have control over the welcoming and immigration process and how their culture and histories are represented to newcomers.

The desire for deeper inter-cultural exchange and learning is shared by Jane Shi where mutual listening can create space for understanding the nuances, being in reciprocal relations and “following processes that are based on Indigenous sovereignty.” She hopes for more sharing of resources, knowledge of plants, songs and medicines - both material and intellectual sharing. The knowledge exchange and understanding of plants and medicines were also what had been happening already in the history of Chinese and Indigenous relations, such as in David Wong’s grandmother’s experience, and railroad workers’ stories describing how they were given medicines. Many of these hopes are essentially continuing genealogies of sharing.

Intra-generational dialogues and exchanges were brought up by Winnie Ng, such as story-sharing sessions between Indigenous and Chinese seniors: “How about engaging, bringing Chinese seniors to visit the Native Canadian Center, and share a meal together?” This ensures all ages can build lateral generational relationships. Overall, there is a dream of deeper connections and relationships across and within generations, between Indigenous and Chinese communities.

Through building and maintaining relationships, it is these relationships that can be the guide. In my conversation with Wai Ho, reflecting on his experiences and where he is at now from the early 2000s to now the 2020s, he spoke about feelings of ‘bailing’ because he no longer does treaty education work. It’s not something he is passionate about anymore, but he is passionate about building houses and has spent several years learning and honing that skill. What has been an anchoring point for Wai though are the relationships with Māori:

Where you have strong relationships, that's where you can work stuff out, whatever that is specific to those relationships to that time and place can be. And it might be gifting your land back, but it also might be, I dunno, doing cooking lessons at the pā or helping out where you can. I think if we're engaged in meaningful relationships, the relationships tell us what we need to do, how we need to go and how we need to be.

For Wai, the directions for the future are guided by these relationships, rather than a specific dream or vision. Once there are strong relationships formed, these relationships can guide the directions of solidarity work.

Within the space of relationship-building is also the desire for producing more art together. Jen Sungshine wants to see more collaborative art, not just for outcomes but the process. She suggests having a conference or a festival where art is brought together, and conversations can be held. This speaks to using art practices as a form of relationship-building and collaboration, but also engages the creative urge to imagine different futures. Artists play a foundational role, Alice remarks:

As always, you look to the artistic community who are at the forefront of providing, at least, the images that one can speak to, maybe not always the language. But I would say the artists, the poets, people who are able to dream and to bring an image to that dream.

This reiterates the role of the artist in the 'imagination realm.' In one of my dreams, during my time of doing 'fieldwork' I remembered this line, "art is world-making, yearning for worlds that have been lost or destroyed, and ones that have yet to be found and created." I knew I had to write it somewhere in my dissertation. My dreams were helping me process and reinterpret what I was learning and in Vancouver in particular, the role of art and artists, the power of art to move people affectively. Thus, time and space carved out focused on arts and dreamwork can bring those visions and worlds to life, expanding our imagination of what is possible.

Dreams of Celestial Solidarities

Upon my second return to Aotearoa in 2024, my mother showed me my grandfather's last piece of writing that he dictated to my grandmother as he laid in hospital. It was entitled 'Thoughts on the Sky,' another moment of serendipity, where his thoughts were already intertwined with mine without me knowing. He writes about the ancients, who developed spiritualities in relation

to the sky. He talks about his deep love for the sky, the desire to grow wings and fly into the “vast and boundless” space. To weave the central lessons from this transnational study, I propose an expansive notion of solidarity based on ‘celestial’ relations that bridges temporal-spatial, transnational, unconsciousness and consciousness, ancestral, and spiritual elements. I draw on the invitation from Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2016) to build ‘constellations of co-resistance,’ to allow the stars and the sky to guide us, to think about earth and celestial relationalities and interdependencies, reclaiming the racial slur of ‘Celestial’ in early European racialization of Chinese peoples. Celestial, meaning alien, otherworldly, celestial in relation to terrestrial, sky-based in relation to land-based.

‘Celestial solidarity’ is to imagine otherworlds, to embrace alienness. Inspired by Octavia Butler, adrienne maree brown (2017) often points out that all organizing is ‘science fiction.’ We do not have to be human; we can be the void that is full of possibilities. There is something in this metaphor or metaphysical conception of the celestial that can encapsulate the ancestral, the spiritual, the other forces at work, the churning of the seasons, of cyclical time, of life itself being sustained on the relationships of interdependency between the earth, the sun, the moon, the solar system, the other galaxies, to think beyond human exceptionalism and terrestrial isolation. Instead, we can think about sky and earth resonance, and “celestial-terrestrial reciprocity” (He 2024, 62). The solar system as a metaphor for solidarity was shared by Winnie Ng’s (2010, 171) participant:

When I was growing up in school, we drew the solar system with the different planets revolving around each other. You can’t do anything without the other. Solidarity is kind of like the solar system. Each planet has a purpose and everything is protecting each other, not one without the other. (Interview transcript C 103, December 20, 2009)

What can be learned from the skies and heavens? China used to be known as the ‘Celestial Kingdom’ where this racial slur originates from. A nationalist mythology tells us we are descendants of dragons, sky-dwelling creatures. Our racialization and dehumanization have been based on our alienness, our foreignness, extraterrestriality, a perilous threat to the white race and more recently under late capitalism, an Asian robotism that Ian Liujia Tian has theorized (Scholar Strike Canada 2021). During the pandemic, we were a virus, a disease (Wong 2020). Within these forms of racist dehumanization are also a latent fear and construction of Chinese as more powerful than ‘human.’ In the queer traditions of reclamation, I explore the power of the ‘celestial’ and what

it could mean for solidarity building. These are some of the tenets of this framework I'd like to offer to synthesize some of the main learnings:

1. Honouring all that is unseen
2. Integration of temporal and spatial solidarity
3. Generating portals across worlds and borders

To elaborate on the first tenet, we cannot see everything in the universe, but we can imagine, we can embrace the space of mystery, of the unknown and unknowable, to not have to 'conquer' through knowledge and capture to respect what is. Informing this tenet are the stories from Aotearoa and Vancouver, especially the 'unconscious' solidarity, memorialization, historical recovery, and attention to the spirit. Humans do not have full control and power over our world(s). Wai Ho's story of the taniwha possession insists on paying the proper respects to the spiritual world. The absence of the spiritual made the non-Indigenous activists spiritually dangerous. Learning from Lee Maracle and Dorothy Christian, Rita Wong also spoke to the importance of the spirit in decolonization and "all the unseen that you don't necessarily consciously know but that you are still in co-existence with." How we do this perhaps requires personal and collective reflection on our relationship to the spiritual and to respect Indigenous spiritualities without needing to fully understand it. It means an openness to and respect for Indigenous ontologies and addressing spiritual colonization enacted through Christianity and the Doctrine of Discovery Domination. This is a call to reflect on our own relationships to spirit, the histories of spiritual colonization in our own lives and families, and how to do decolonization work that honours the spirit. I keep returning to the role of the unconscious, both in the sense of 'unconscious solidarity' but also the realm of dreams and the practice of dreaming as method as Dian Million articulated, and the spiritual element of dreams that holds a power to reveal our political unconscious.

If we think about solidarity as a spectrum, many people I spoke to in Vancouver and Aotearoa have remarked that it was never 'intentional' or 'conscious.' 'Solidarity' in the form of relationship-building, mutual care and respect, of looking after each other, while often for mutual survival, did not require political consciousness. Some of the Chinese elders I spoke to did not use the language of solidarity, but they did the work regardless. There is a common assumption that education and consciousness come before action, a linear/one-directional relationship between the two. From these histories, we learn that practices of good relations of care and respect can precede

the ‘theory.’ In conditions of oppression and marginalization, there is also ‘unconscious solidarity,’ and this facet of human relations is understated. It is the places that people are pushed to, in close proximity, that facilitate these relationships. Solidarity does not always look like public declarations or mass mobilizations, but these relationships have mattered for survival. We see this in the formation of Chinese and Indigenous families, and the bridge-building from dual heritage Indigenous-Chinese peoples.

I think about the relational ‘serendipity’ in the story of how the history of the SS Ventnor was recovered involved ‘ancestral stuff’ happening when Wong Liu Shueng moved to Rawene. There is an element of fate, destiny, or 緣分/缘分 (jyun4fan6/yuánfèn) - relationships that are meant to happen. This tenet is for us to be open to those moments, however you interpret them. This is about understanding that things will and can happen that are beyond our control, that there are other unseen forces at work. Throughout this research process and my time on Turtle Island and in Aotearoa, there were many moments where I thought, ‘so many webs of relations have had to be in place for this to happen at this time and place.’ I heard many stories that some participants interpreted as ‘miracles,’ chance meetings in Chinese restaurants where immigration officers were able to expedite their family’s applications, or where grandparents learned about the Head Tax redress.

Historians can be/are the guardians of memory, and ethical remembering when they refuse and resist historical erasures, when they hold valid Indigenous oral histories that are often invalidated. History is not only remembered but imagined, storytelling relies not only on the words of the storyteller but the imagination of the listener. We imagine as we hear stories, we might conjure images in our minds, characters, places we have never been to. Storytelling is not a one directional transmission but also requires interpretation and imagination. When I listen to participants’ stories, I use my imagination to animate their words. They are presented in comics, where images are mostly based on photos and references, the shading, colours, the lines are interpretations. These histories help to expand our imagination, to ground our action and activism, and see ourselves as connected to a genealogy of solidarity and resistance.

Furthermore, honouring the unseen involves acknowledging and not taking for granted the behind the scenes, mundane, often feminized, invisible work that makes solidarity possible. We can also consider the labour of non-humans, the plants, animals, insects, and fungi that keep us alive - the elements of water, wood, earth, fire, and metal. This tenet disrupts western dichotomies

that privilege consciousness over sub/unconsciousness, and public displays of solidarity over private behind the scenes work. What this means in terms of praxis are continuing and expanding the practices of ethical remembrance, honouring the spirit, openness to serendipitous moments, appreciating the underground, submerged, and invisible labour that sustains and grows solidarity. This is a call to actively search for and pass on memory, recover histories, to counter-archive fiercely against colonial erasures, with the next generations in mind. It is a call to dream and harness the power of our unconscious and our imagination.

Moving to the second tenet of integrating temporal and spatial solidarity, I want to first share another way to spatialize time outside of ‘backward’ and ‘forward.’ In Chinese, certain expressions of time is spatialized vertically, at least in relation to weeks, 星期 (sing1 kei4/xīngqī), ‘star phases.’ Up is the past, and down is the future. ‘Last week’ is 上星期 (soeng6 sing1 kei4/shàng xīngqī) “the upper week,” “next week” would be the 下星期 (haa6 sing1 kei4/xià xīngqī) ‘lower week.’⁹⁰ The longer the history, the higher it is. Celestial solidarity is reaching for genealogies as high as the stars, and as deep as the expanse of the universe. Time and space are inseparable. Jeff Corntassel argued the most effective and powerful solidarity is when there is a convergence of the spatial and temporal. When there has already been long-term place-based relationship-building, when crises occur, it is easy to mobilize. I think about this in relation to the successful movement to Protect Ihumātao that grew from relationship-building outside of times of crisis and being able to quickly mobilize when the eviction notice came. The place-based histories and pedagogies inform this tenet of spatial-temporal integration, where these histories are grounded in place, and where futurities are imagined in place.

As much as knowing our place matters, reading the moment and making the decision to move at a particular time is an invaluable skill. What is our current political moment? How can we adapt when things change suddenly? In integrating spatial and temporal solidarity, we need to be able to read the weather, feel the direction of the wind and interpret the clouds. Prof. Manying Ip’s words linger in the back of my mind:

⁹⁰Using the same terms, time references the celestials - “week” is literally “star time/phase,” time 期 references the moon. Day is 日, representing ‘sun,’ the character for stars is made up of “sun” and “birth.” Other expressions of time in Mandarin such as ‘qiantian,’ the day before yesterday uses ‘qian’ meaning in front, and ‘houtian’ is the day after tomorrow, ‘hou’ indicates behind. This is like Māori notions of time where the future is behind you and the past is in front (Rameka 2016).

All kinds of movements need to have activism, need to have people to spearhead but also very important is the timing of it. [...] We need to know when the time is right, to be ready to move [...] it needs to be on the correct date and correct time to have impact.

If we read the political moment, we move when the timing is ripe. Drawing on ‘natural world’ metaphors offered by adrienne maree brown, place-based and spatial solidarity is like the mycelial networks that grow and connect organisms and transport nutrients. Temporal solidarity is like the mushrooms that bloom when the conditions are right, and spores can be spread further. The networks, the everyday relationships and organizing are constant, grounded in place. For praxis, this is to ensure that solidarity is not only ‘temporal’ or crisis-based, but consistent across time and grounded in place. This could mean everyday place-based slower relationship-building, whether that is at land reclamations, or on marae, as a lifelong commitment.

Finally, the third tenet of generating portals across worlds and borders is to open ourselves up to experiencing many worlds, a multiverse, perhaps parallel or intersecting. My experience of multi-sited research between Aotearoa, Vancouver, and Toronto was in some ways like going to a parallel universe in each place. On the other side of the earth, even the names of regions, towns, streets are familiar because of British colonization. What I thought were historical ‘parallels’ were often historical connections. The same colonizers of Aotearoa were on Turtle Island. The same Cantonese diasporas that went to Aotearoa during gold mining had relatives in Vancouver, Sydney, Fiji etc. The movement for poll tax apology in New Zealand was directly inspired by a newspaper article about the efforts for Chinese head tax redress. News and information have long traveled. In geometry, the transversal is the line that crosses parallel lines. The two points of intersection are what I originally thought were parallels, but instead are direct connections. That is the travel, the communications, the same people going between the worlds of Aotearoa, Vancouver, and Toronto. They are connected to other webs and networks all over the world.

Translation creates portals into the multiverse to make solidarity possible. Historical storytelling involves translations through time to be legible in the present. Indigenous translations of the languages of the land through articulating their sacredness, significance, and histories have been part of place-based solidarity and pedagogies. Translations within the sphere of responsibility for our own communities bypasses whiteness and makes Indigenous truths more accessible. We can think about translation in the most expansive sense as a pedagogical practice, translating from culture to culture, history to history, language to language, worlds to worlds, words to images, or

sounds to meanings. All this translation is a necessary foundation for relationship-building and mutual understanding, but care is required to avoid conflation or reductionist comparisons, or mistranslations. From Aotearoa and the history of Te Tiriti, we all know the impact and dangers of mistranslation.

From the dreams expressed in this chapter, our strategies must transcend colonial nation-state borders. Deconstructing the nation-state not only involves transnational conversations but also cross-regional conversations. The same ways that “Chinese diaspora” becomes a fraught and problematic collectivity because of the intersectional, cultural, and political differences, ‘Canada’ and ‘New Zealand’ too dissolves into incoherence. This was especially apparent in how there were more similarities between solidarity practices and place-based histories in Te Ika-a-Māui, Aotearoa and ‘Vancouver,’ than between participants in ‘Vancouver’ and Toronto, despite being occupied by the same colonial government and connected by land.

Locally, portals are also generated between Indigenous and Chinese communities living in the same place, but living in different worlds. Indigenous translations of the land create portals for entering their worlds. For diasporic Chinese peoples, the experience of living in a portal ‘between two worlds’ is already a common experience between Chinese and white settler/Pākehā worlds. While engaging in Indigenous worlds is radically different, the experience of stepping into another world is not new.

As praxis, this could mean continuing the practice of translation in its most expansive sense, seeking transnational connections, pooling and sharing resources and learnings, building in the cumulative learnings from resistance to colonialism while respecting place-based differences. This is to recognize the multiple ontologies that co-exist. We create portals for connection, across time and space, to build “constellations of co-resistance” (Simpson 2017). In these portals, we can exchange and share strategies and map the colonial tactics that are used transnationally. I could see resonances between ‘reconciliation’ and ‘biculturalism’ as forms of colonial foot-dragging to avoid political and material transformations by primarily resourcing ‘cultural’ revitalization. With the scales of solidarity, we expand out, from our family and friends, our neighbourhoods and community, our city/town, province/island, ‘nation-state,’ continent, seeing the earth from above the clouds, moving higher into the sky to see the moon orbiting, the earth and other planets orbiting the sun, the beyond the solar system, the galaxies with spirals of stars and planets. Then we spiral back inward to ourselves.

Future of Organizing: a Raft Metaphor

It's not an impossible dream, but I will encourage you all to unlearn and forget about some of the typical ways of doing things. - Bill Chu

If the future is a place, how can we get there? What Bill offered during the transnational focus group, and Prof. Henry Yu's metaphor of building a raft, brought up many questions for me as an organizer. Often there is an impetus to build mass organizations as a measure of success and efficacy. Their perspective helped me to reflect that perhaps it can be a very humble boat, that does not require a large group to operate. It can be a small group that is consistent and trusting of each other without a mass of people that can eventually bring on inertia. Prof. Yu observes from Bill Chu's work that it does not require a big organization for it to be effective. Small initiatives can still have a big impact with decades of persistence. Similarly, Bill has encouraged those in the transnational focus group to strive for **movement, not membership**. This is the approach that Bill has taken over the decades. Instead of expending energy and time on maintaining large membership, he focused on having a small core group to do the much needed work of educating, researching, lobbying and relief organizing.

It reminds me of a Chinese idiom: 滴水穿石 (dik6seoi2 cyun1 sek6, dīshuǐchuānshí), water drops can penetrate stone. Here I want to share a comic based on what Prof. Yu said during our interview that questions the need for large organizations, using a potent metaphor of raft-building to symbolize solidarity and organizing:

BUILDING A RAFT



I'M NOT THAT BIG A KAYAKER OR CANOEER, BUT THAT IDEA OF, ARE WE IN THE SAME BOAT? HAVE WE BEEN IN THE SAME BOAT, CHINESE AND INDIGENOUS?

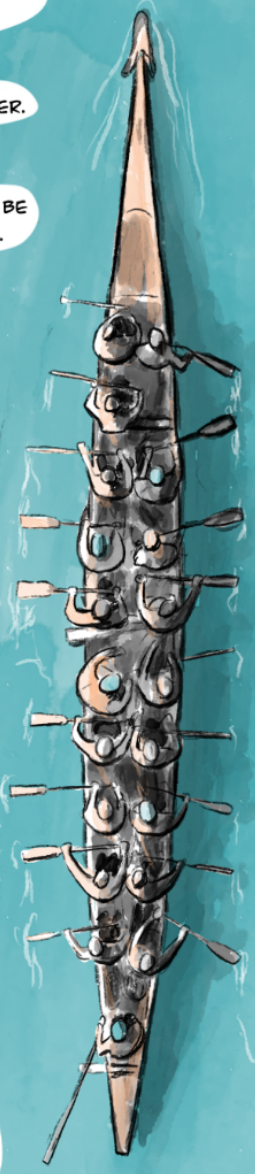
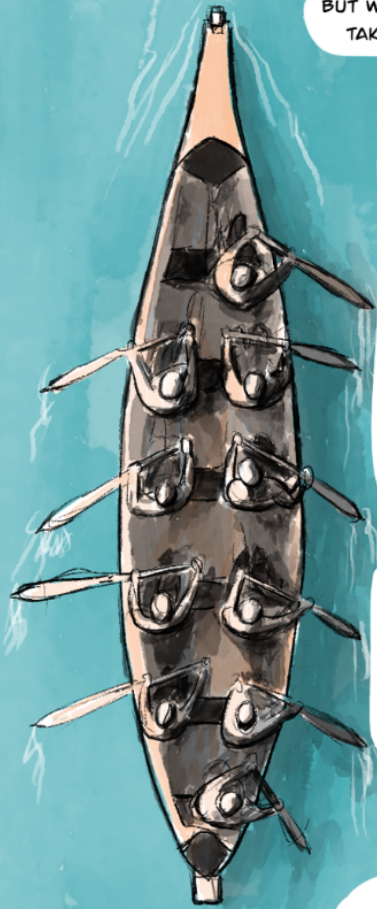
NO, WE'VE BEEN IN THE SAME RIVER.

BUT WHETHER YOU JUST WANT TO BE TAKEN BY THE THE CURRENTS...

OR WHETHER YOU WANT TO ACTUALLY GET IN A BOAT TOGETHER WITH OTHERS AND PADDLE AGAINST THE CURRENTS, BECAUSE IT'S THE ONLY WAY TO GET TO A DESTINATION, THAT YOU'VE DECIDED THAT YOU WANT TO GO TOGETHER...

THAT'S WHERE I THINK THE ROWING AND ALL THIS KIND OF STUFF MAKES SENSE, IS THAT THE CURRENT IS TAKING US SOMEWHERE ELSE.

IF YOU DO NOTHING, THINK NOTHING, THE CURRENT WILL TAKE US THERE, TAKE YOU THERE.



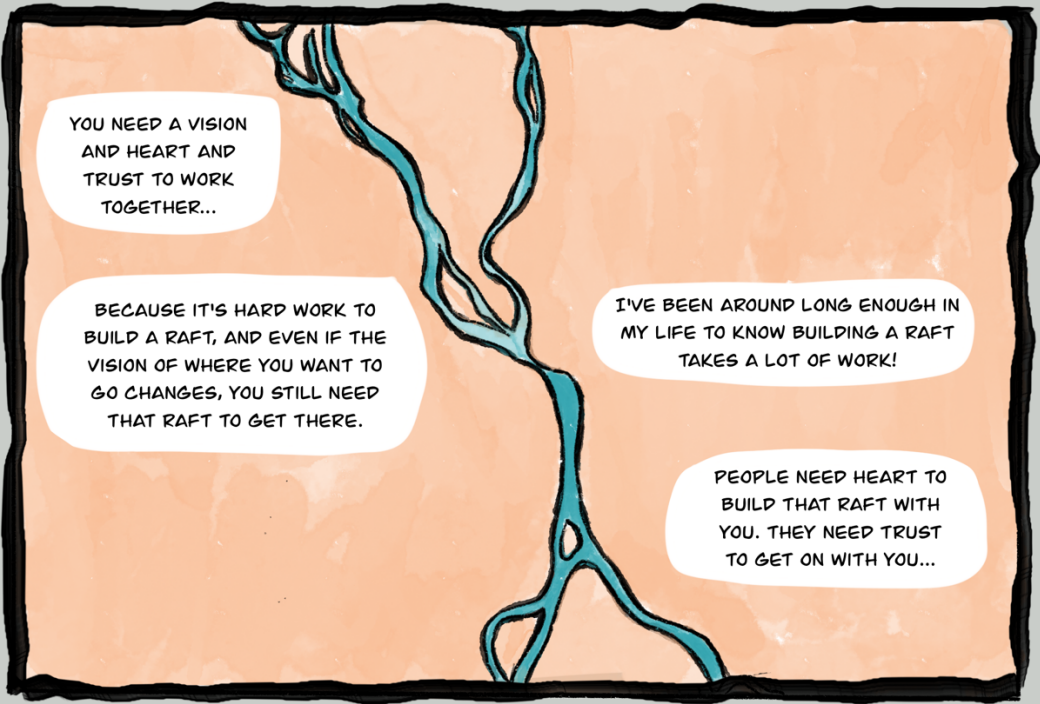
IF YOU WANT TO GO TO A DIFFERENT DESTINATION, THEN YOU COULD PADDLE ON YOUR OWN OR YOU CAN BUILD A BIGGER RAFT WITH OTHER PEOPLE SO YOU CAN ALL ROW TOGETHER.

BUILDING A RAFT TOGETHER IS A METAPHOR FOR THE POWER OF BUILDING YOUR OWN STRUCTURES AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY. IN COMING TOGETHER, YOU ARE STRONGER IN SOLIDARITY, AND YOU CAN DECIDE TO ALL ROW IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION.

BUT FOR WHAT PURPOSE? WHY ARE YOU TOGETHER? WHAT ARE THE GOALS THAT ARE MUTUAL GOALS?

AND IF YOU NO LONGER SEEM TO BE GOING IN THE SAME DIRECTION, DO YOU DISMANTLE THE RAFT? REBUILD THE RAFT? WHY IS IT NOT WORKING? MAYBE YOU'RE JUST ROWING IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS.

IT'S SO HARD TO BUILD A RAFT WHILE YOU'RE ON TREACHEROUS WATERS, AND YOU DON'T WANT TO SINK THE BOAT AND DROWN EVERYONE, ESPECIALLY AFTER WORKING SO HARD TO BUILD SOMETHING TOGETHER.



YOU NEED A VISION
AND HEART AND
TRUST TO WORK
TOGETHER...

BECAUSE IT'S HARD WORK TO
BUILD A RAFT, AND EVEN IF THE
VISION OF WHERE YOU WANT TO
GO CHANGES, YOU STILL NEED
THAT RAFT TO GET THERE.

I'VE BEEN AROUND LONG ENOUGH IN
MY LIFE TO KNOW BUILDING A RAFT
TAKES A LOT OF WORK!


PEOPLE NEED HEART TO
BUILD THAT RAFT WITH
YOU. THEY NEED TRUST
TO GET ON WITH YOU...



THINKING ALONE DOESN'T CHANGE THE WORLD. THESE ARE
POWERFUL CURRENTS. JUST BECAUSE YOU CAN NOW IDENTIFY
THE CURRENTS AND THE DIRECTIONS AND THEIR POWER..YOU'RE
NOW AWARE. THAT'S BETTER THAN NOT BEING AWARE.

BUT WHAT YOU DO WITH THAT KNOWLEDGE, AND HOW
YOU FIGURE OUT HOW TO NAVIGATE IN A WAY THAT ISN'T
JUST GOING ALONG WITH THE CURRENTS, THAT
DEPENDS ON HOW YOU WORK WITH OTHERS.

HOW DO YOU BUILD A RAFT TOGETHER? HOW
DO YOU REALLY BEGIN USING THAT
CONJOINED POWER OF BEING IN SOLIDARITY
AND ROWING IN THE SAME DIRECTION?



JUST TO PUSH THAT METAPHOR--DOES EVERYONE HAVE TO ROW
IN ORDER TO BE ON THE BOAT? WHAT ABOUT FREE RIDERS?

IF YOU HAVE TOO MANY PEOPLE ON THE BOAT, IT'S NOT JUST
THAT THEY AREN'T ROWING. IF YOU NEED TO CHANGE
DIRECTION, AND THEY'RE JUST FREE RIDING, IT MAY BE
REALLY DIFFICULT TO STEER IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION.

THAT MAY SEEM JUST METAPHORICAL, BUT IT ISN'T. WITH A
LOT OF PEOPLE ON BOARD, THERE'S MORE MASS AND INERTIA.
IF TOO MANY PEOPLE AREN'T ROWING, IT'S MUCH HARDER TO
GET OFF THE DIRECTION YOU ARE ALREADY GOING.

I THINK WHAT OFTEN HAPPENS IN ANTI-
RACIST MOVEMENTS IS THE NEED TO
CONVINCE A LOT OF PEOPLE TO GET ON THE
RAFT CREATES A CHALLENGE LATER.

IF YOU'RE NOT CLEAR ON THE DESTINATION
BEFORE THEY GET ON, IT ACTUALLY MAKES IT
REALLY DIFFICULT TO STEER AND CHANGE
DIRECTION IF THE CURRENTS CHANGE.

In everyday conversations with co-organizers and friends in Aotearoa, we have grappled with these questions before, and have seen the issues of organization and membership growing too quickly. We become wary of dilution, cooption, infiltration, and liberalism creeping in, and the refocus of energy on internal structures and relations that detracts from solidarity as material presence and external community organizing. This perspective was validating that, yes, it is okay to have a small boat. If there are other people who want to join us, they can build their own vessels to come with us. It is not always our responsibility to build a boat big enough to fit everyone. Trust takes time to build. Learning from adrienne maree brown's (2017) work on emergent strategy, the work of deepening existing relationships for long-term work is more important than widening the net with shallow relationships.

We can also end our journey on a small boat and decide the next journey and destination requires something different. The vehicle can change, be dismantled, and reconstructed based on the changing context and new destinations. There is no singular blueprint or solution as Winnie Ng has stated, it is okay to experiment and be ready to fail and make mistakes. Failures and mistakes are also teachings. Some rafts have already been built, and sailed off into the expanse. Some rafts are in the process of being built, with materials still being sourced. Some of us may not even need a raft, if the destination is close, we can swim and be submerged in the journey, amongst the seaweed, fish and marine animals. The process is equally as salient as the destination or outcome. Speaking from decades of experience, and noting the changes he has seen in his lifetime, Bill's parting message in the transnational roundtable was:

Don't be discouraged, although the challenge at times seems to be insurmountable. As alienation and having two narratives of reality within Canada is unsustainable, we must believe and convince others that reconciliation is not optional. Go from without and within, 'cause we are not trying to do something which is from a textbook, or which has been done many times before. Right? So to reverse every bias, every damage, every entitlement cumulated over the last few centuries may well take just as long. There will be some difficulties and resistance along the way. But bear in mind that it's not only do-able, but is actually the right thing to do.

My dream is for us to not only imagine that such destinations are possible to reach, but to be at a point where we can even start preparing for arrival, and life after arrival. What gifts do we bring to the new/old place? How will we live when we get there? Will we arrive there without even realizing that we've made it?

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have primarily explored the visions, dreams and hopes of a destination. These dreams and desires can lead us into futures worth fighting for. Dreaming and the imagination are central to any political movement for liberation. In honouring the spirit, we can allow our spirit to wander in dream realms where we can imagine the impossible. In this collection of dreams are visions that stem from Māori ancestral desires articulated in He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti, there are aspirations for restoration, revival, resurgence, reclamation, respectful relationships, return of land and power for Indigenous peoples. There are dreams of radical transformations on a transnational scale: the end of white supremacy, capitalism, nation-states systems themselves. There are dreams of building better relations between Indigenous and Chinese peoples at a national, city, and neighbourhood level. There are deep hopes from elders in the youth, that they can carry forward these relationships and this struggle. There are dreams of future feasting, gathering, cultural exchanging, and deeper dialoguing. There are dreams of future remembering that the shared histories will be told and retold for the generations to come. Dreaming relationally refuses the neoliberal push towards individual success, instead orbiting desires for collective liberation, where solidarity and relationships are the gravitational pull, towards dreaming in constellations.

Embedded in many narratives of hopes and dreams, are also ideas for future strategies. From short-term ideas to organize gatherings, meetings, and conferences, to general strategies for future work that expands existing strategies that have been in motion and working effectively. From the grounded hyper-localities to the vastness of galaxies beyond what is knowable, thinking through celestial solidarity teaches us that we don't need to fully know or see to respect; that it is the relationships that create the conditions for life. As much as solidarity efforts are place-based, they are not fixed in place. If we understand places in a celestial framework, then we can understand that place is never fixed to begin with, it is in constant motion, in orbit. In proposing a framework of celestial solidarity, I wanted to acknowledge the spiritual and ancestral connections, that ancestors are part of this journey and work as much as the future generations.

Conclusion: Change is not Linear

You had to pick a side.

You couldn't live with your eyes and ears open, and not realise what's going on. But once you picked that side, you realised it wasn't about sides. It was about remembering. The memories that live through bodies, and words, and actions, and refuse to be erased or re-written.

And the bully stomped on and threw its toys.

There aren't really sides to understanding. Being quite short seemed to help Leeland. Easier to not get caught in tall poppies heads being chopped off.

Standing underneath the rhetoric, propoganda [sic], denial and hot-air, to see where it's all leading.

For wounds to heal, the thorn must be removed; not ignored and 'moved on from.'
Common sense really. Unfortunately commonsense was not so common these days.
- dumpling (2013)

Returning to this excerpt of a short story that Wai wrote more than 10 years ago, I am reminded of changes since 2010, when we first went to Waitangi as a small group of Asians. We had to pick a side. We must remember, ethically, defiantly, against the attempts of colonial gaslighting and erasure. Revisiting this story again, I think about the political climate post-2023 NZ elections, and the bulldozing of the hard-won gains for Māori. The bully continues to stomp and throw its toys. The thorn remains, salt thrown into existing wounds as new injuries are committed, not only locally in Aotearoa, but through a global resurgence of fascism and settler colonial violence.

In closing, I want to reflect on the changes over time and what is at stake. I will explore the implications of the knowledge collectivized in the framework of 'celestial solidarity' and what that means for praxis. To practice reflexivity, I examine how my positionality has impacted the research process, presentation, and the limitations of the research methods and design. I end with a reminder of what is at stake.

In 2004, during the Foreshore and Seabed hīkoi, Tze Ming Mok (2004) asked, "where is the Asian bloc?" While she noticed people like Nancy Kwok and Wai Ho, her essay provides a snapshot of a time when it was rare to see Chinese people actively/visibly support Māori movements. To answer her question, the "Asian bloc" was in the future, at Waitangi 2010 and the

following years after. I remember a time when it felt like there were only a handful of us ‘Asians’ interested, spread across Tāmaki Makaurau and Pōneke. And now in 2024, this has proliferated and rippled throughout Asian communities in ways that I would have never predicted. During the historic Hīkoi mō Te Tiriti (march for the treaty) on November 19th, 2024, the Asian bloc not only grew to a 50-80-strong group on the march to parliament, but we also joined forces with a group of diasporic Africans for Te Tiriti called African Diaspora for Indigenous Rights (ADIR). They made a banner like ours with ‘Toitū Te Tiriti’ in African languages. It is not only ASTR doing this work, but many migrant of colour organizations are also taking this up in their own ways. Similarly, since Prof. Manying Ip first visited Prof. Henry Yu in the early 2000s, a proliferation of historical recovery efforts and solidarity-building has been in motion in ‘Vancouver.’ There have been significant changes in the past 20 years.

Implications of Rethinking Solidarity through Celestuality

Through synthesizing and interpreting collective knowledge, I attempt to answer the questions that have guided this research. 1) *What have been the histories, contexts, and pathways for Chinese diasporic peoples to align with decolonization and Indigenous struggles resisting New Zealand and Canadian colonialism?* 2) *How do place-specific histories of Aotearoa, ‘Vancouver,’ and ‘Toronto’ influence how Chinese solidarity with Indigenous peoples is practiced today and into the future?* 3) *What are the potentials of connecting Chinese diasporas transnationally to generate meaningful dialogues, praxis and strategies?* To answer the first question, there are multiple interconnected histories of colonialism, Indigenous resistance, diasporic migrations, contemporary social movements and interactions that have led to pockets of Chinese diasporic communities to align with Indigenous struggles. The practice of ethical remembering helps us to trace these histories and their entanglements to counter colonial gaslighting, erasure, and siloing of histories. ‘Positioning’ is as much about knowing ‘ourselves’ as knowing ‘our place’ in the sense of our relationships to others, and the places we have come from and entered into. Families, communities, social movements, and universities have been prominent doorways to politicization and decolonization. The power of these sites of politicization are clear, and perhaps most important is the entry point of social movements, outreach done through activism, universities, and community organizing can move people to act.

The ‘types’ of solidarity practices are also affected by the place-based histories emergent

from the lands based on Indigenous, Chinese, and colonial interactions. These place-specific histories matter for contemporary socio-spatial proximities, kinship-based relationships, and historical recovery and memorialization. They matter in whether dominant modes of solidarity are primarily temporal, or place-based. For example, the existence of Chinatown on unceded Squamish land and its proximity to the Downtown Eastside provides a space for direct relationship-building and neighbourhood-based organizing. ‘Vancouver/BC’ and Aotearoa New Zealand have similar stories of mutual care and solidarity that have been recovered in more recent years due to memorialization efforts of Indigenous and Chinese peoples. This is one reason why I found more similarities in the relationships and practices of solidarity between so-called ‘Vancouver’ and Aotearoa, than between Vancouver and Toronto. There is power in these ‘stories of the land’ (Jackson 2021). As an outlier, the modes of solidarity among Toronto-based Chinese diasporas were more temporal and less rooted in shared histories.

These place-based differences hold important lessons if we look across contexts, they can help assess what might be missing, or highlight other creative strategies. Toronto-based participants still understood the significance of histories, to repoliticize and avoid ‘single-stranded’ narratives and drew on Vancouver-based histories. Toronto-based organizers also offer valuable union-based frameworks of ‘solidarity’ in clarifying where power and leverage lie, and the role of workers and unions within decolonial struggles. Furthermore, there are connective threads to Vancouver through Canadian discourses of ‘reconciliation,’ and to Aotearoa through the idea of ‘treaty peoples.’

Overall, non-Indigenous Chinese people interviewed have been operating across different ‘spheres of solidarity’ across spirals or ‘scales’ from everyday interpersonal relations to larger political confrontations with the colonial state. In supporting Indigenous-led frontline resistance, this is practiced through presence and material support. In the relational sphere, direct relationships are formed in contexts of ‘mutual support for survival,’ recovering and memorializing shared histories, facilitating dialogue circles, and working in collaboration. To ‘get our own house(s) in order’ has involved translation, treaty education, place-based pedagogies, microactivism, and intergenerational relationship-building. The solidarity work has been on a spectrum of unconscious to conscious, unintentional to intentional forms of solidarity, where practice can often precede political consciousness in contexts where Indigenous and Chinese peoples were pushed together through colonial and racist policies. In an era of neoliberalism, political consciousness does not

necessarily lead to a better quality of solidarity if it solely engages the intellect, without the heart or the spirit. Thus pedagogical strategies for decolonial and political education benefit from drawing on affective, arts-based, place-based, and relational methods that can produce deeper and longer-term commitments.

By considering solidarity through a place-based lens, I could analyze what were more place-specific practices, and what could be of transnational relevance. I answer the final question by synthesizing my learnings into what I call ‘celestial solidarity.’ Celestiality provides an aspirational framework for solidarity praxis towards decolonization, one that understands interdependence of liberation without conflating our struggles. We do not have to be the same to be in respectful relations. If we learn from celestial relations, we see how stars emit their own light without dimming others. Celestiality teaches us about interdependency without sacrificing independence. Simultaneously, we can honour the full spectrum of human experience that spans the unconscious to conscious, and spiritual to material realms.

Thus, the overarching thesis of this dissertation is that thinking through celestiality allows us to hold the past and future in tandem in aspiring, and perspiring, towards material, spiritual, and political strategies, relations and solidarities beyond colonialism. I illustrate this by examining how transnational exchanges can lead us to refine, clarify, and strengthen strategies for decolonization as Indigenous peoples have long been doing. I have grouped aspects of celestial solidarity into three interconnected tenets and practices 1) honouring all that is unseen, 2) integrating temporal and spatial solidarity, and 3) generating portals across worlds and against borders. The practice of translation has been a key practice across all these tenets, including Indigenous translations of the land, language-based translations, storytelling and arts-based practices as translation, and translations of cultures and histories. Recently, my partner reminded me that translation has another meaning, as ‘movement.’ Thus, it is not only about translations at the level of symbolic meaning, but also on a physical level: “The action of transferring or moving a person or thing from one place, position, etc., to another” (Oxford English Dictionary 2024). Here, translation is then both a process and a goal that can move us to the ‘elsewheres’ (Tuck and Yang 2012) of decolonization.

Drawing on celestiality, a key component of solidarity is also an acceptance of not needing to know and understand everything, and being open to the possibility that you will never know or fully understand other people’s culture or ontology, but still respecting those differences. It forgoes

the urge to assimilate culturally specific concepts into your own for them to have meaning or value, or be deserving of respect. We can be at peace with ‘being in the dark,’ and learning from darkness, and ultimately operate from a basis that the unknown and unknowable should not be feared, conquered or domesticated. This is not to say, do not seek out knowledge, rather for non-Indigenous peoples to be at peace with not understanding everything about Indigenous cultures.⁹¹

Reflections on the Research Process

As this project comes to a close, I want to share reflections on how my positionality has impacted this research process. While I did not start with an explicit positionality statement in my introduction, I hope I was able to show through vignettes who I am in relation to others and within the webs of power relations. As a member of Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga, many other ASTR members I spoke to were open and honest about the internal challenges, and willing to be self-critical. Having been away for two years before returning to Aotearoa provided me some distance to ask questions, after being slightly more ‘removed’ from day-to-day organizing. Prior relationships built through this work meant that many people were supportive and eager to be involved. It would not have been possible without that relational groundwork.

Before going to Vancouver, I held conversations with Prof. Henry Yu and Denise Fong online to discuss what’s possible there. They cautioned that it would be difficult to reach Indigenous communities if my stay is only for two months. I considered how as an outsider, I need to respect the decision of Chinese participants to connect me or not with the Indigenous people they collaborate with. My interview with Kamala Todd was thanks to Diana Leung’s suggestion. Bill Chu insisted that I needed Indigenous perspectives and gave me names and contact details. I reached out to them, but I had left Vancouver, and I did not hear back after proposing to meet over a video call. Some of the commentary on Bill’s work is documented in other forms, such as in letters and videos.

In Aotearoa, based on Danny and Marutakaiwaho’s perspective that Māori-Chinese need to be involved, and Kirsten Wong’s recommendations, I invited more Māori-Chinese based on snowballing and purposive sampling. However, while there was initial interest, the interviews did

⁹¹To give an example, we do not need to be fluent and understand all of te ao Māori or the Māori language to advocate for Te Tiriti and constitutional transformation. I think about all the times I have been through a pōwhiri, a welcoming ceremony on a marae, and these are almost always entirely in the Māori language. I can only understand parts of the whaikōrero, but I don’t need to understand everything to still participate, respect the process and follow the protocols.

not eventuate as communication fizzled. They were people I had not met before, and I had not taken the time to build prior relationships with Māori-Chinese communities. Therefore, this research is limited in gaining a range of Māori-Chinese perspectives, and perhaps an area for further exploration for Māori-Chinese researchers to lead. I try to mitigate this by highlighting existing research from Jenny Bol Jun Lee (2007) and Manying Ip (2008) that have already shared Māori-Chinese experiences and perspectives, while recognizing their work is temporally-specific.

While being diasporic Chinese gave me easy access to other Chinese peoples, revealing that I grew up in Aotearoa has become a point of connection for many different Indigenous people. They would often share that they went on an exchange to Aotearoa. Through Māori scholars and activists who have visited Toronto, either for conferences, or through invitations to speak, I also had opportunities to learn from local Indigenous scholars. The prior and existing transnational relationships between Indigenous peoples have paved these pathways.

To reflect more on other aspects of my positionality, the culmination of my age, passport/nationality, gender, age, prior university education, family and social connections, the professors on my committee, and class background afforded me many privileges and access to people that made this project possible. Where I am generationally situated is an important factor, as a 'Millennial' but also as a 1.5 generation migrant, being born and growing up in this specific period shapes my perspectives of the world, and what I do/do not take for granted. I have grown up in a time of Indigenous cultural resurgence. Having a New Zealand passport and nationality allowed me access and travel back to Aotearoa, even when borders were tightly controlled in 2021. While there were times I was worried about finances and access to health care as an international student, I always had a place to stay, especially with extended family nearby. Having housing and relative economic stability, extended family, a partner, a generally able-body and a supportive group of friends made this work possible and allowed me to focus time and energy into this project.

In conversation with Nabilah Husna Abdul Rahman, a Muslim Malay-Tamil Singaporean ASTR organizer and PhD researcher, I realized that my perspective of solidarity changed through this research process (Rahman and Fu, forthcoming). It did not change from moving to Toronto, but from returning to Aotearoa after spending time in Toronto. In our diasporic and transnational migrations and travels, it is not just 'leaving' that changes us, but also the 'return.' This reflects Yi Chien Jade Ho's (2023) explorations of 'returning' as method within her articulation of 'radical pedagogies of place.' With time, places and people change. Time spent elsewhere changes us. I

had spent 2 years in Toronto, one year during lockdown, having done coursework and comprehensive exams, and reconnecting with relatives. By the time I returned to Aotearoa, I was not the same person and saw things with a different lens.

To turn to my research methods now, my initial research design changed in the process. I originally planned to do walking interviews, to draw out the memories and stories of places. Kimberley Wong remarked that if we were doing the interview in Chinatown, they would be able to share more stories. Due to the pandemic, many interviews were conducted over Zoom, others done in parks, in homes, and cafes. The research process has not been linear, with my last interview in September 2023, when I had already started writing. I did most of the transcriptions, coding, illustrations, and writing in Toronto. When I realized I did not have time to do full transcriptions of all the interviews, I started taking notes and only transcribing quotes that I thought I might use. I coded the transcripts, notes, and quotes in NVivo software, which helped me to draw out the themes from the interviews and focus groups. Interviewees were sent the transcripts or key quotes to review and edit. As I was transcribing, reviewing, and coding each interview, I would make note of the stories that could be visually represented.

I repurposed quotes and storytelling segments from interviews as comic scripts, which I later illustrated. I decided to illustrate digitally as it would give me more flexibility to edit and move components around. All the comics were drawn through a digital drawing app on a tablet with a stylus pen. I used photographs that were publicly available online, or from my own photo library as references, and for tracing. I used stock photos for people who wanted to be anonymous or for people referenced whose identities are unknown. I invited Ant Sang as my comics tutor/advisor at the tail end, after the linework had been completed to provide guidance. This was also helpful for feedback, accountability and meeting deadlines. Comics really are a labour of love, they always take longer than you anticipate, but it allowed me to connect with the stories in a deeper way. The process of art-making and the product of art both can have educational purposes. In the comics, I noticed the theme of water. Water, land, and sky shine through inherent in the stories, making them visible is to honour the spiritual elements, to the non-human nations, or what would otherwise be unseen.

Nothing is written in a vacuum. For the most part of the writing period of this dissertation, genocides have been unfolding elsewhere in Palestine, Sudan, Congo, West Papua, Kanaky, East Turkestan, Tibet, and Kashmir alongside the normalized everyday genocidal features of settler

colonialism of Canada, US, Australia, and New Zealand. In moments of resistance within the settler colonial Zionist university, we are met with repression and reprisals, especially when calling for a free Palestine, to boycott and divest. In December 2022, the ‘white paper’ revolution in China was sparked by a fire in Urumqi where dozens of Uyghur residents died. Due to the zero-COVID policy, their doors were locked from the outside with no way to escape. Chinese feminists and activists in the diaspora were then forced to reckon with this state violence, Han Chinese settler colonialism, and genocide of Uyghurs, and what Darren Byler (2022) calls “terror capitalism.”

For seven weeks between February to April 2024, as a striking worker, I wrote in cracks of time on the picket lines and in the subway to and from York, in transit, underground. This research and writing were done in times of personal and collective grief, crises, and at times I have put dissertation work on the backburner and prioritized organizing and activism over writing. These experiences of organizing and participating in actions along the way have informed my reflections and analysis.

In a world on fire, I have tried to implement the learnings I gained as they have come. I did this mostly in Toronto and remotely with ASTR organizers in Aotearoa. In Toronto, I felt like I was less in an ‘organizer’ or leadership role and more of a participant, volunteer, and at times, facilitator and connector. I organized one symposium on Decolonial Anti-Fascism that brought guest speakers from Aotearoa over to connect with Toronto-based Asian and Indigenous organizers. I worked with a local Chinese feminist group in ways where background knowledge can be shared in the process, and where workshop plans can be replicated without my presence. With a friend and the support of a local Chinese feminist group, we held an introductory workshop and then a workshop series from September 2023 - May 2024 in Mandarin and English to engage Chinese feminists in Toronto on Indigenous issues. This is also inspired by Bill Chu’s work to introduce new migrants to Indigenous histories and current issues that are often omitted or hard to access. We don’t have the relationships to organize a tour, but we can offer a basic political orientation for newcomers.

We drew on existing resources like the Indigenous Peoples of Toronto guide for newcomers, Talking Treaties resources, and my own research. Doing this collaboratively and with people of similar generation or younger with feminist politics made this less daunting. And we continued through a monthly workshop series that covered topics like MMIWG2ST+ and Indigenous feminism, global settler colonialism and Palestine, and through connections made in

this research, I invited Winnie Ng to facilitate the final session to share her activist journey and involvement with Indigenous feminists. This connection formed through university spaces and gender studies, so my position as a PhD candidate at York accorded me with more opportunities to build these relationships. With one of the Toronto-based participants, I found myself at a Land Alliance solidarity rally near Queen's Park translating for a Chinese senior who came across it wanting to know what was going on. When we explained to her in simple terms that First Nations lands are threatened by mining operations, in the context of already experiencing decades of mercury poisoning of their rivers, she understood and stayed until the end. She listened to the songs, which impacted her on an emotional level. This reaffirmed the power of translation and songs of Anishinaabe women.

Limitations and Contributions

The limitations of this research are based on my positionality, the nature of a PhD project/timeline, and in the research design and implementation. Regarding my own positionality, I have covered most of this in my reflections on the research process. Additionally, my language proficiency (or lack of) in Mandarin, Cantonese and other Chinese languages has limited the conversations to be primarily held in English. This could have resulted in a different sample of participants and added other knowledge or dimensions to the interview materials. The nature of a PhD project and the associated institutional constraints as an individual-led research project hindered this from being more collective and long-term. The limited timeframe and funding opportunities, especially as an international student, has made this process feel rushed. Because of time and resource constraints, I only conducted one regional focus group in Vancouver, which meant the collective place-based reflections and conversations were limited across places.⁹²

Due to time considerations and word limits, I decided to forego a discourse analysis of contemporary media and social media. Initially, I did online searches for public communications from the last 20 years related to expressions of Chinese solidarity with Indigenous and decolonization movements from Aotearoa or so-called Canada. I included news media, social media, recorded panel discussions, webinars, podcasts, film, speeches as well as visual arts-based expressions through zines, film, posters or photography. I did initial searches on this material in

⁹²My original budget was intended to provide honorarium for up to 20 people for interviews and focus groups. The interviews already held enough knowledge to answer my research questions.

English, traditional and simplified Chinese, and the Māori language.⁹³ Some articles were directly sent to me by interviewees. With this, I could trace the key themes in ‘public’ expressions of solidarity and how new technologies and social media are employed for anti-racist and decolonial education, especially since the COVID-19 pandemic. Although there were interesting patterns in online materials, it was enough for its own project using discourse or critical media analysis. In the spirit of leaving enough for others, I decided to focus more on the richness of the interviews and focus group material instead and leave this for future researchers to explore.

In the research design and implementation, the recruitment of Chinese participants in four cities meant that those living in smaller cities, towns, or rural areas were largely excluded. Thus the study design was urban-centric, reflecting my positionality as someone who has only lived in big cities. In places with higher Indigenous populations, there are probably more stories there to learn from. Even within the cities, this research is not exhaustive nor comprehensive of all the practices of solidarity and people involved in this work.

As a multi-sited transnational study, I wanted to capture the breadth of the knowledge, and doing this meant sacrificing some analytical depth. Within each place, strategy, and each sphere of solidarity, there could have been deeper analysis. I hope that future and current researchers can work on those aspects in localized place-based ways. There are also many place-based differences within Aotearoa, between Tāmaki and Pōneke, rural and urban settings, and within each city that I did not attend to.

Although Toronto was the largest city, it also had the smallest sample size and is missing many other perspectives. As the last place I did interviews, I was conscious that I already interviewed twice as many people I originally planned to. The snowballing and purposive sampling recruitment technique was perhaps a limiting factor in reaching people in Toronto, and because many of the people I spoke to were based on recommendations of people in academia, this meant that the Toronto sample was disproportionately made up of academics and PhD candidates. The class and educational level of interviewees is another limitation, working class perspectives are under-represented. The only people with precarious immigration status I spoke to were other international students.

Due to these limitations stated, I propose some ideas for future directions and research.

⁹³In Aotearoa, there are Chinese people who are fluent Māori speakers as well as Māori who are fluent Chinese speakers. Māori and Sinophone expressions of solidarity would be important to trace and analyze.

These are not intended to be prescriptive, but could build from what is missing from this research project, and where there could be deeper analysis:

1. To evaluate the effectiveness and impact of place-based pedagogies, further studies could be done with participants/students of such pedagogies. Similarly with treaty education in Aotearoa. How effective are they? What further political education might be needed? How do participants apply the learnings in their lives?
2. What has changed in the realm of literary, film, media, and arts-based analysis on Asian-Indigenous relationalities and solidarity since Rita Wong, Larissa Lai, Malissa Phung, and Yu-Ting Huang's work? How have the conversations shifted or remained?
3. What can be learned from more rural and small town relationships? How are relationships different from urban spaces? Further studies could be done on Indigenous-Chinese relations and solidarities in other cities, small towns or rural places that might have higher populations of Indigenous peoples.
4. A challenge from Bill Chu is to connect with Chinese diasporic peoples in other settler colonies of Australia and US to hold similar conversations, but to also interrogate what it means to oppose colonialism from 'east to west.' We can explore questions of: how do we simultaneously offer and build solidarity with Indigenous peoples living under Han settler occupation? How can we keep hopes and dreams alive for liberation and decolonization on our own ancestral lands?

I am particularly interested in the third and fourth questions and see opportunities for further exchanges and ongoing connections to explore these issues transnationally.

The main contributions of this study to scholarship on Indigenous-Asian relations are the explorations of unconscious and conscious practices of solidarity, and insights into collective, relational, and place-based pedagogical strategies to move us towards decolonization. Methodologically, the attention to community organizers, writers, activists, students, artists, and educators provides insights into emergent theory from the grassroots. The integration of arts-based methods centres storytelling as a key practice and illustrates the multivocality in this dissertation as a collectivization of knowledges. The linking of Chinese diasporic peoples across so-called Canada and New Zealand drew further connections to settler colonialism and genocide in Asia, and thus calling for internationalism and diasporic responsibilities to 'homelands.' We see in the 'spheres of solidarity,' existing relationships and practices that prefigure visions for constitutional

transformation. This offers us a guidance around boundaries, responsibilities, and accountabilities. It provides clarity on our contextual roles. Drawing from our own ancestral intelligence, we can find tools and ontologies that are grounded in our own political, place-based, and social histories.

What is at Stake

As a closing offering, I want to return to what is at stake to fuel our fires. Living in Toronto, my understanding of Indigenous relationships to land and waters further solidified. From the opposition to pipelines going through unceded Wet'suwet'en territory to the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt, we are forced to reckon with not only relationships among humans but relationships to land and waters. I think about how our obligations to Te Tiriti are not only about social relations that settlers have with Indigenous peoples, but to also respect Indigenous relationships with the land. Encapsulated in a slogan at Ihumātao, 'ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au' (I am the land, the land is me), Indigenous liberation and liberation of the land are inseparable. The Matike Mai report also emphasizes the value of well-being of Ranginui and Papatūānuku put forth by rangatahi, and the value of place. For tauiwi, this might mean both supporting land and water defense but also Indigenous land restoration efforts, thinking of ways to return land, and alternatives to capitalist ownership of land. In our practices, solidarity is inconsistent (and ineffective) if it is not practiced from the personal to structural, individual to collective, passive to active, and human to all life, land and the interconnected elements. Just before he passed, my grandfather dictated to my grandmother these thoughts:

Caring for the sky is caring for nature. Caring for the environment is caring for humanity itself. Let us always find reverie and inspiration from the sky, and let us always breathe pure and fresh air from the sky.⁹⁴

I take these words seriously, and see that Indigenous liberation and the end of all colonialism and imperialism as the key to protecting the waters, land, and skies.

It is well-known by now that most of the world's biodiversity is protected and defended by Indigenous peoples. Scientists have argued how the COVID-19 pandemic is heavily linked to biodiversity loss (Lawler et al. 2021), and it has also demonstrated how connected the world is and how fast infectious diseases can spread. A virus found in Wuhan, China spread across the globe

⁹⁴I do not know where this was published, it is from a page cut out of a book or magazine, but the page number is 148. It is titled 'Thoughts on the sky' by Zhenggu Fu.

within a short span of time. The pandemic should have been a sobering warning as to what is at stake if we do not radically transform the current economic and political order, ‘if we do not do enough now,’ to echo Derek’s words. All our futures are on the line. From histories of resistance, we know that social change is not linear (Alook et al. 2023), things getting worse does not necessarily mean it will not get better. Ultimately for human survival, the return, respect, and restoration of Indigenous land and power everywhere is necessary for climate justice (Alook et al. 2023). At the Designing Our Constitution hui in April 2024, Dayle Takitimu explained how all the settler colonies have supported each other since their inception, and thus if one falls, all others will be threatened.⁹⁵ The settler colonial nation-states are all interdependent on each other for their industries to exploit, extract, and profit. Decolonization is an economic battle as much as political, and fundamentally, it is a transnational struggle that requires transnational “constellations of co-resistance” (Simpson LB 2016). Like the sky, our capacity for solidarity is infinite and boundless.

⁹⁵This was mentioned in the context of settler colonial countries’ support for Israel (Event Services 2024).

Bibliography

- 4rs_youth_movement. 2021. "In February Our Vancouver NLC Team..." *Instagram*.
<https://www.instagram.com/p/COL1D12LFfY/>.
- Abbott, Kaitlin. 2022. "Tuākana/Tēina: Relational Responsibilities of Pacific Tauwi to Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi." Wellington: Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington.
https://openaccess.wgtn.ac.nz/articles/thesis/Tu_kana_T_ina_Relational_Responsibilities_of_Pacific_Tauwi_to_M_ori_and_Te_Tiriti_o_Waitangi/20514870.
- Abdul Rahman, Nabilah Husna, and Mengzhu Fu. Forthcoming. "Spiraling in and out: A Conversation on Decolonial Asian and Indigenous Solidarity from Aotearoa and so-called Canada to Asia." *Amerasia Journal*, accepted 25th September 2024.
- Aikman, Pounamu Jade, and Mengzhu Fu. 2022. "Racism in Peril? Mutual Aid and Solidarity in the Face of New Zealand's History of White Supremacy against Chinese and Māori." In *Peace Action: Struggles for a Decolonised and Demilitarised Oceania and East Asia*, edited by Valerie Morse, 145–54. Te Whanganui-A-Tara (Wellington): Left of the Equator Press.
- Aikman, Pounamu Jade William Emery. 2019. "Terra in Our Mist: A Tūhoe Narrative of Indigenous Sovereignty and State Violence." Thesis, Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Akiwenzie-Damm, Kateri, Sonny Assu, Brandon Mitchell, Rachel Qitsualik-Tinsley, Sean Qitsualik-Tinsley, David A. Robertson, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, et al. 2019. *This Place: 150 Years Retold*. Winnipeg: Portage & Main Press.
- Al Shami, Leila. 2018. "The 'anti-Imperialism' of Idiots." Blog. *Leila's Blog*.
<https://leilashami.wordpress.com/2018/04/14/the-anti-imperialism-of-idiots/>.
- Alberton, Amy M, G Brent Angell, Kevin M Gorey, and Stéphane Grenier. 2020. "Homelessness among Indigenous Peoples in Canada: The Impacts of Child Welfare Involvement and Educational Achievement." *Children and Youth Services Review* 111: 104846.
- Alexander, M Jacqui. 2005. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Alexander, M Jacqui, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty. 2013. *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Alfred, Taiaiake. 2005. *Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Alfred, Taiaiake, and Jeff Corntassel. 2005. "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism." *Government and Opposition* 40 (4): 597–614.
- Alook, Angele, Eaton, Emily, Gray-Donald, David, Laforest, Joël, Lameman, Crystal, and Tucker, Bronwen. 2023. *The End of This World: Climate Justice in So-Called Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Amadahy, Zainab, and Bonita Lawrence. 2009. "Indigenous Peoples and Black People in Canada: Settlers or Allies?" In *Breaching the Colonial Contract*, 105–36. Springer.

- Anae, Melani. 2020. *The Platform: The Radical Legacy of the Polynesian Panthers*. Vol. 85. Bridget Williams Books.
- Anderson, Atholl. 2016. *The First Migration: Māori Origins 3000BC-AD1450*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.
- Anishinabek Nation. 2021. *Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZutAepSBYp8>.
- Arvin, Maile, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill. 2013. “Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy.” *Feminist Formations*, 8–34.
- Asafo, Dylan, and Litia Tuiburelevu. 2021. “Critical Race Theory and the Law in New Zealand.” *Counterfutures* 12: 95–133.
- Asians In Support of Wet’suwet’en. 2020. “Asians In Support of Wet’suwet’en.” 2020. <https://asiansinsupportofwetsuweten.water.blog>.
- Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga. 2016. “We Solemnly Swear, Hobson’s Pledge Is up to No Good.” *Mellow Yellow Aotearoa* (blog). 2016. <http://mellowyellow-aotearoa.blogspot.com/2016/09/we-solemnly-swear-hobsons-pledge-is-up.html>.
- Awatere, Donna. 1984. *Māori Sovereignty*. Auckland: Broadsheet.
- Ayed, Nahlah. 2024. “(Land) Back to the Future.” *CBC Ideas*. <https://www.cbc.ca/listen/live-radio/1-23-ideas/clip/16074456-land-back-future-or-riley-yesno>.
- Bamboo. 2013. “Tau Iwi People of Colour Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga.” *Mellow Yellow Aotearoa* (blog). <http://mellowyellow-aotearoa.blogspot.com/2013/08/tau-iwi-people-of-colour-supporting.html>.
- Barman, Jean. 2013. “Beyond Chinatown: Chinese Men and Indigenous Women in Early British Columbia.” *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*, no. 177: 39–64.
- Blackwell, Maylei, Laura Briggs, and Mignonette Chiu. 2015. “Transnational Feminisms Roundtable.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 36 (3): 1–24.
- Brake, Justin. 2019. “‘Blatantly Unjust’: Poet, Climate Activist Jailed over TMX Protest Speaks out from Prison.” *APT News*. <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/blatantly-unjust-poet-climate-activist-jailed-over-tmx-protest-speaks-out-from-prison/>.
- Branti-Birioukov, Kiera, Kiera Brant-Birioukov, Gail Brant-Terry, Anton Birioukov-Bran, Karissa Maracle, and Mark Currie. 2023. *Indigenous Peoples in Toronto: An Introduction for Newcomers*. Toronto: City of Toronto.
- brown, adrienne maree. 2017. *Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds*. California: AK Press.
- Brown, Leslie Allison, and Susan Strega. 2005. *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press.
- Byler, Darren. 2020. “How China’s ‘Xinjiang Mode’ Draws from US, British, and Israeli Counterinsurgency Strategy.” *Lausan Collective*. <https://lausancollective.com/2020/chinas-xinjiang-mode-counterinsurgency-strategy/>.
- . 2022. *Terror Capitalism: Uyghur Dispossession and Masculinity in a Chinese City*. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Byrd, Jodi A. 2011. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press.
- Canadians For Reconciliation. 2013. “Canadians For Reconciliation.” *Welcome to Canadians for Reconciliation*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130527211837/http://canreconcile.ca/>.
- CBC. 2001. *Developing Chinese Indigenous Relationship from Vancouver BC*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pjpik0xcok>.
- . 2011. *Back in Time*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vqVfIW7ZXXM>.
- CBC News. 2012. “Musqueam Negotiations Ongoing Says B.C. Minister.” *CBC News*, May 31, 2012. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/musqueam-negotiations-ongoing-says-b-c-minister-1.1163390>.
- . 2022. “Q+A | An Indigenous Scholar on Why the Pope Needs to Address the Doctrine of Discovery.” *CBC News*, July 27, 2022. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/steven-newcomb-doctrine-of-discovery-1.6533637>.
- Cha, Eunhee. 2003. *A Tribe of One*. Documentary. NFB Films. <https://www.nfb.ca/film/tribe-of-one/>.
- Chan, Arlene. 2013. *The Chinese Community in Toronto: Then and Now*. Toronto: Dundurn.
- Chow, Lily. 1996. *Sojourners in the North*. BC, Canada: Caitlin Press.
- Chun, Allen. 1996. “Fuck Chineseness: On the Ambiguities of Ethnicity as Culture as Identity.” *BOUNDARY 2* 23: 111–38.
- City of Vancouver. 2012. *Our Roots: Stories from Grandview-Woodland*. Vancouver: Social Policy, City of Vancouver. <https://vancouverdialoguesandyouthvry.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/dialogues-project-our-roots-stories-from-grandview-woodland-final-book.pdf>.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2015. “Intersectionality’s Definitional Dilemmas.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 41 (1): 1–20.
- Combahee River Collective. 2002. “A Black Feminist Statement.” In *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, 234–44. Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press.
- Conference organisers. 2007. “Report on Day 1.” Blog. *Sweet As: Post-Conference News* (blog). 2007. <http://sweetasnews.blogspot.com/2007/06/report-on-day-1.html>.
- Cook, Peter, Neil Vallance, John Lutz, Graham Brazier, and Hamar Foster. 2021. *To Share, Not Surrender: Indigenous and Settler Visions of Treaty Making in the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia*. UBC Press.
- Corntassel, Jeff, Alfred, Taiaiake, Goodyear - Ka’ōpua, Noelani, Noenoe K. Silva, Hokulani Aikau, and Devi Mucina, eds. 2018. *Everyday Acts of Resurgence: People, Places, Practices*. Olympia, Washington: Daykeeper Press.
- Coulthard, Glen S. 2007. “Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the ‘Politics of Recognition’ in Canada.” *Contemporary Political Theory* 6 (4): 437–60.

- . 2020. “Once Were Maoists: Third World Currents in Fourth World Anti-Colonialism, Vancouver, 1967–1975.” In *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, edited by Brendan Hokowhitu, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, Chris Andersen, and Steve Larken, 378–91. New York, London: Routledge.
- Coulthard, Glen, and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. 2016. “Grounded Normativity/Place-Based Solidarity.” *American Quarterly* 68 (2): 249–55.
- Dam, Lincoln. 2023. “Be (Com) Ing an Asian Tangata Tiriti.” *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online* 18 (3): 213–32.
- Davis, Angela Y. 2016. “Feminism and Abolition: Theories and Practices for the Twenty-First Century.” In *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*, 107–126 (ebook). Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Day, Iyko. 2016. *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- De Jong, Sara, and Dannecker, Petra. 2018. “Connecting and Confronting Transnationalism: Bridging Concepts and Moving Critique.” *Identities* 25 (5): 493–506.
- Demerson, Velma. 2004. *Incorrigible*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- Dhamoon, Rita. 2015. “A Feminist Approach to Decolonizing Anti-Racism: Rethinking Transnationalism, Intersectionality, and Settler Colonialism.” *Feral Feminisms* 4: 20–37.
- Diabo, Gage Karahkwí: io. 2019. “Bad Feelings, Feeling Bad: The Affects of Asian-Indigenous Coalition.” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 20 (2): 257–70.
- Dua, Ena, and Alissa Trotz. 2002. “Transnational Pedagogy: Doing Political Work in Women’s Studies—An Interview with Chandra Talpade Mohanty.” *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice* 26 (2): 66–77.
- Dua, Enakshi. 2007. “Exclusion through Inclusion: Female Asian Migration in the Making of Canada as a White Settler Nation.” *Gender, Place & Culture* 14 (4): 445–66.
- Dufoix, Stéphane. 2017. *The Dispersion: A History of the Word Diaspora*. Translated by Walker, Iain. Leiden, Boston: Koninklijke Brill.
- dumpling. 2009. “Sameness Does Not Equal Safety.” *Mellow Yellow Aotearoa* (blog). <http://mellowyellow-aotearoa.blogspot.com/2009/08/sameness-does-not-equal-safety.html>.
- . 2010. “Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga at Waitangi.” Blog. *Mellow Yellow Aotearoa* (blog). January 31, 2010. <http://mellowyellow-aotearoa.blogspot.com/2010/01/asians-supporting-tino-rangatiratanga.html>.
- . 2013. “A Slice of Waitangi.” Blog. *Mellow Yellow Aotearoa* (blog). <http://mellowyellow-aotearoa.blogspot.com/2013/02/a-slice-of-waitangi.html>.
- Eastwood, Kevin. 2021. “Change + Resistance.” *British Columbia: An Untold History*. The Knowledge Network. <https://www.knowledge.ca/program/british-columbia-untold-history>.
- Event Services. 2024. *Designing Our Constitution - Day Two (Morning Session) (1080p) Edited*. <https://vimeo.com/937534996>.

- Fei, Rosalyn. 2022. "Settler Colonialism by Settlers of Color: Understanding Han Taiwanese Settler Colonialism in Taiwan through Japanese American Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i." *Asian American Research Journal* 2 (0): 1–11.
- Freire, Paulo. 2005. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York and London: Continuum.
- Fu, Mengzhu. 2022. "The Virus and the Violence: Reflections on 'Anti-Asian' Hate And Racist Maskaphobia." In *The Deadly Intersections of Covid-19: Race, States, Inequalities and Global Society*, edited by Sunera Thobani, 162–77. Bristol: Bristol University Press.
- Fu, Mengzhu, and Azarmandi, Mahdis. 2023. "To Centre Constitutional Transformation for Asian 'Tangata Tiriti.'" *Te Tangi A Te Ruru* (blog). 2023. <https://tetangiateruru.wordpress.com/2023/02/04/to-centre-constitutional-transformation-for-asian-tangata-tiriti/>.
- Fu, Zhenggu 傅正谷. 1988. "梦: 不同文学创作轨迹的一个交汇点——从中国古代文学引出的理论思考." *天津社会科学* 6: 65–70.
- Fung, Amy. 2019. *Before I Was a Critic I Was a Human Being*. Toronto: Book Hug Press.
- Fung, Richard. 2016. *Re:Orientations*. Documentary. <http://www.richardfung.ca/index.php?/scv/reorientations-2016/>.
- Gaztambide-Fernández, Rubén A. 2012. "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1 (1).
- Ghoussoub, Michelle. 2020. "Indigenous Woman Says She Was Punched, Told to 'go Back to Asia' While Walking in East Vancouver." *CBC News*, May 17, 2020. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/indigenous-woman-says-she-was-punched-told-to-go-back-to-asia-while-walking-in-east-vancouver-1.5573835>.
- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 1993. "Public Enemies and Private Intellectuals: Apartheid USA." *Race & Class* 35 (1): 69–78.
- Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Noelani. 2018. "Dreaming Is an Everyday Act of Resurgence." In *Everyday Acts of Resurgence: People, Places, Practices*, edited by Corntassel, Jeff, Alfred, Taiaiake, Goodyear - Ka'ōpua, Noelani, Silva, Noenoe K., Aikau, Hokulani, and Mucina, Devi, 82–88. Olympia, Washington: Daykeeper Press.
- Goto, Hiromi, Wong, Rita, and Lai, Larissa. 2022. "Gratitude for Lee Maracle." *Rabble.Ca*, January 7, 2022. <https://rabble.ca/indigenous/gratitude-for-lee-maracle/>.
- Gray, Christina, and Rück. 2019. "Reclaiming Indigenous Place Names." Yellowhead Institute. <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/place-names-brief.pdf>.
- Grewal, Inderpal, and Caren Kaplan. 1994. *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*. Minneapolis, London: U of Minnesota Press.
- Guo, Shibao. 2022. "Reimagining Chinese Diasporas in a Transnational World: Toward a New Research Agenda." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (4): 847–72.
- Haina-Mana History. 2023. "Haina-Mana History." 2023. <https://www.hainamanahistory.co.nz/about/>.
- Hainamana.com. n.d. "Hainamana: Asian New Zealand Art and Culture." <https://hainamana.com>.

- Hancock, Farah. 2023. “‘Astroturf’ Accusations over ‘We Belong’ Website Run by Anti Co-Governance Group.” *Radio New Zealand*, August 31, 2023.
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/in-depth/496933/astroturf-accusations-over-we-belong-website-run-by-anti-co-governance-group>.
- Haritaworn, Jin, Ghaida Moussa, and Syrus Marcus Ware. 2018. *Marvellous Grounds: Queer of Colour Histories of Toronto*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Hartendorp, Kassie. 2020. “Who Our Ancestors Intended Us To Be.” *Te Tangi A Te Ruru* (blog). 2020. <https://tetangiateruru.wordpress.com/2020/01/31/who-our-ancestors-intended-us-to-be/>.
- Hau’ofa, Epeli. 2008. *We Are The Ocean: Selected Works*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- He, Ashley Zhiyue. 2024. “For the Cosmos to Know Itself: A Cross-Cultural Study of Astronomy, Material Culture, and Human-Celestial Relationships.” Honors in Anthropology, Massachusetts: Wellesley College.
https://repository.wellesley.edu/_flysystem/fedora/2024-06/wctc_2024_heashleyzhiyue_forthecosmos.pdf.
- He Tohu. 2017. *Moana Jackson - He Tohu Interview*. Wellington.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDM-Ct21N4I>.
- Herman, John E. 2007. *Amid the Clouds and the Mist: China’s Colonization of Guizhou 1200-1700*. USA: The Harvard University Asia Centre.
- Hirano, Katsuya, Lorenzo Veracini, and Toulouse-Antonin Roy. 2018. “Vanishing Natives and Taiwan’s Settler-Colonial Unconsciousness.” *Critical Asian Studies* 50 (2): 196–218.
- Ho, Hannah. 2005. *Mellow Yellow*. Wellington: Self-Published Zine.
- Ho, Yi Chien Jade. 2023. “Radical Pedagogy of Place: A Decolonial Feminist Narrative Exploration of Returning, Organizing, and Resisting.” PhD Thesis, Vancouver: Simon Fraser University. <https://summit-sfu-ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/item/37847>.
- Hohaia, Te Miringa, Gregory O’Brien, and Lara Strongman, eds. 2005. *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- hooks, bell. 1989. “Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness.” *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, no. 36: 15–23.
- . 1992 “Representation of Whiteness in the Black Imagination.” In *Cultural Studies*, 338–46. New York, London: Routledge.
- . 2000. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Chicago: Pluto Press.
- Hu, Chuan-an. 2017. “Early Chinese Empires and the People without History: Resistance, Agency and Identity of Ancient Colonial Sichuan.” PhD, Montréal: McGill University.
- Huygens, I. 2016. “Pākehā and Tauīwi Treaty Education: An Unrecognised Decolonisation Movement?” *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online* 11 (2): 146–58.
- Ip, Manying. 2003. “Maori-Chinese Encounters: Indigene-Immigrant Interaction in New Zealand.” *Asian Studies Review* 27 (2): 227–52.
- . 2008. *Being Māori Chinese: Mixed Identities*. Auckland: Auckland.

- , ed. 2009. *The Dragon and the Taniwha*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- . 2014. “Nancy Wai-Lan Kwok-Goddard: A Pioneer Humanist-Socialist.” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 16 (2): 141–58.
https://www.nzasia.org.nz/uploads/1/3/2/1/132180707/jas_dec2014_ip.pdf.
- ISS of BC. 2020. “Welcome to Our Homelands – [Multi-Lingual Educational Videos and Study Guides].” *Immigrant Services Society of BC*. <https://issbc.org/our-resources/issobc-newcomer-awareness-tools/>.
- Jackson, Moana. 1987. “Maori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective, He Whaipaanga Hou.” 108675. New Zealand Dept of Justice.
<https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/maori-and-criminal-justice-system-new-perspective-he-whaipaanga-hou>.
- . 2015. “He Manawa Whenua.” In *He Manawa Whenua: Conference Proceedings*, edited by Pihama Leonie, Skipper, Herearoha, and Jillian Tipene, 59–63. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, University of Waikato.
https://issuu.com/tekotahi/docs/proceedings_final_hi_res_version_si/64?ff.
- . 2019. “The Connection between White Supremacy and Colonisation.” *E-Tangata*, March 24, 2019. <https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/the-connection-between-white-supremacy/>.
- . 2020. “Stories of Māori and Chinese Solidarity: An Excerpt from Dr. Moana Jackson’s Talk.” *Te Tangi A Te Ruru* (blog). December 11, 2020.
<https://tetangiateruru.org/2020/12/11/stories-of-maori-and-chinese-solidarity-an-excerpt-from-dr-moana-jacksons-talk/>.
- . 2021. “Decolonisation and Stories of the Land.” *E-Tangata*, May 9, 2021. <https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/moana-jackson-decolonisation-and-the-stories-in-the-land/>.
- Jafri, Beenash. 2012. “Privilege vs. Complicity: People of Colour and Settler Colonialism.” *Equity Matters* (blog). 2012. <https://www.ideas-idees.ca/blog/privilege-vs-complicity-people-colour-and-settler-colonialism>.
- . 2020. “Refusal/Film: Diasporic-Indigenous Relationalities.” *Settler Colonial Studies* 10 (1): 110–25.
- Jewell, Eva, and Mosby, Ian. 2023. “Calls to Action Accountability: A 2023 Status Update on Reconciliation.” Yellowhead Institute. <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/YI-TRC-C2A-2023-Special-Report-compressed.pdf>.
- Johnstone, Laura, Ariela Zibiah, Josephine Varghese, and Linda Mussell. 2024. “Dawn Raids Never Died: Why Formal Apologies and Restoring NZ Citizenship Are Still Not Enough.” *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/dawn-raids-never-died-why-formal-apologies-and-restoring-nz-citizenship-are-still-not-enough-229797>.
- Kazimi, Ali. 2011. *Undesirables: White Canada and the Komagata Maru: An Illustrated History*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Kelley, Robin DG. 2002. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- . 2017. “What Did Cedric Robinson Mean by Racial Capitalism?” *Boston Review* 12.

- Kelley, Robin D.G. 2023. "Racial Capitalism: An Unfinished History." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46 (16): 3562–68.
- Kemara, Te Rangiwhaikiria. 2024. *Te Hui Oranga Tina Ngata*. Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGEDQVhMnYc>.
- Kerekere, Elizabeth. 2017. "Part of the Whānau: The Emergence of Takatāpui Identity-He Whāriki Takatāpui." Wellington: Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington. https://openaccess.wgtn.ac.nz/articles/thesis/Part_of_The_Wh_nau_The_Emergence_of_Takat_pui_Identity_-_He_Wh_riki_Takat_pui/17060225/1.
- Kim, Christine. 2019. "National and Global Decolonial Practices: Asian and Indigenous Inter-Referencing." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 40 (5): 547–63.
- Kimmerer, Robin Wall. 2013. *Braiding Sweetgrass*. Canada: Milkweed Editions.
- Koleszar-Green, Ruth. 2018. "What Is a Guest? What Is a Settler?" *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry* 10 (2): 166–77.
- Kukutai, Tahu, and Arama Rata. 2017. "From Mainstream to Manaaki: Indigenising Our Approach to Immigration." In *Fair Borders?: Migration Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by David Hall, 10–18. New Zealand: BWB Texts.
- Kuumba, Bahati M. 2001. *Gender and Social Movements*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.
- Kwi Awt Stelmexw, and Snichim Foundation. 2021. "Squamish Atlas." Squamish Atlas. 2021. <https://squamishatlas.com/about/>.
- Lai, Larissa. 2020. "Bone to Bone, Spirit to Spirit—Sovereign Matriarchy, Asian/Indigenous Relations, and the Work of Directed Re-Membering." *Ideology in Postcolonial Texts and Contexts* 213: 223.
- Lawler, Odette K, Hannah L Allan, Peter WJ Baxter, Romi Castagnino, Marina Corella Tor, Leah E Dann, Joshua Hungerford, Dibesh Karmacharya, Thomas J Lloyd, and María José López-Jara. 2021. "The COVID-19 Pandemic Is Intricately Linked to Biodiversity Loss and Ecosystem Health." *The Lancet Planetary Health* 5 (11): e840–50.
- Lawrence, Bonita. 2003. "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview." *Hypatia* 18 (2): 3–31.
- Lawrence, Bonita, and Enakshi Dua. 2005. "Decolonizing Antiracism." *SOCIAL JUSTICE-SAN FRANCISCO*- 32 (4): 120–43.
- Lee, Jenny. 2005. "Māori Cultural Regeneration: Pūrākau as Pedagogy." In *3rd International CRLL Conference: What a Difference a Pedagogy Makes: Researching Lifelong Learning and Teaching*. Stirling, Scotland.
- Lee, Jenny Bol Jun. 2007. *Jade Taniwha: Māori-Chinese Identity and Schooling. Auckland: Rautaki*. Rautaki: Rautaki.
- Lee, Jo-Anne. 2016. "Non-White Settler and Indigenous Relations: Decolonizing Possibilities for Social Justice." *Lectora: Revista de Dones i Textualitat*, no. 22: 13–26.
- Lee, Lily. 2021. *Farewell Guangdong: Refugee Wives and Children Arrive in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1939-1941*. Wellington: Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust.
- Lee, Peter. 2007. *Eating Pork'n'Puha with Chopsticks*. Documentary. Māori Television. <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/eating-porknpuha-with-chopsticks-2007>.

- Lee, S.K.Y. 1990. *The Disappearing Moon Cafe*. Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre.
- Leung, Diana E. 2008. "Recovering Evicted Memories: An Exploration of Heritage Policies, Intangible Heritage, and Storytelling in Vancouver, BC." MA Thesis, Vancouver, BC: The University of British Columbia.
<https://open.library.ubc.ca/soa/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0066356>.
- Leung, Diana, and Kamala Todd. 2017. *Cedar and Bamboo*. Vancouver.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Io19r8vQOQ8>.
- Ling, Jenny. 2023. "Ongoing Battle between Carrington Resort and Iwi Reignited." *The Northern Advocate*, February 26, 2023. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/northern-advocate/news/ongoing-battle-between-carrington-resort-and-iwi-reignited/CO374IZ3YJAPDN3SDSGEHQQ3EY/>.
- Liu, Liangni Sally. 2018. *Chinese Transnational Migration in the Age of Global Modernity*. Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Liu, Sikee, and Blomley, Nicholas. 2012. "Making News and Making Space: Framing Vancouver's Downtown Eastside." *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien* 57 (2): 119–32.
- Loft, Ange. 2021. "Remember Like We Do." In *Indigenous Toronto: Stories That Carry This Place*, edited by Denise Bolduc, Mnawaate Gordon-Corbiere, Rebeka Tabobondung, and Brian Wright-McLeod, 17–28. Toronto: Coach House Books.
- Loft, Ange, Victoria Freeman, Martha Stiegman, and Jill Carter. 2022. *A Treaty Guide for Torontonians*. Toronto: Art Metropole.
- Lorde, Audre. 2012. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Crossing Press.
- Lowe, Lisa. 2015. *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Duke University Press.
- Love Intersections. 2023. *HOT POT TALKS! Ft. Rita Wong: "The Poetry of Water: Eco-Justice and the Meaning of 'Activism.'" Hot Pot Talks Season 3.*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3A3U2T6Opt8>.
- Lu, Hanna. "Part Three: The Borders of Identity: Illusions in Auckland's Chinese History." Auckland History Initiative, 2020. <https://ahi.auckland.ac.nz/2020/11/10/the-borders-of-identity-illusions-in-aucklands-chinese-history/>.
- Lu, Jun. 2009. "Ancient Māori-Chinese Ancestral Links." In *The Dragon and the Taniwha: Māori and Chinese in New Zealand*, 12–31. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Lu, Jun. 2024. "Memory Restoration: Working through Histories in the North American Chinese Diaspora." PhD Dissertation, Toronto: York University.
<https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/items/a4816c54-1a03-44d9-b9af-d2d1a3e37d9a>.
- Ma'auga, Tessa, and Liangni Sally Liu. 2020. "MANA WHENUA: POINTS OF CONVERGENCE IN CHINESE AND MĀORI WORLDVIEWS REGARDING HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIPS." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 22: 1.
- Macrae, Farzin. 2–8. 1788. Chinese Canadian Historical Society of Canada.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V7e9tTvpvmo&t=5s>.
- Manning, Suzanne L. 2014. "Democracy Meets Rangatiratanga: Playcentre's Bicultural Journey 1989-2011." *History of Education Review* 43 (1): 31–45.

- Manuel, Art, and Grand Chief Ronald Derrickson. 2017. *The Reconciliation Manifesto: Recovering the Land and Rebuilding the Economy*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company.
- Manuel, Art, Derrickson, Grand Chief Ronald M., and Klein, Naomi. 2015. *Unsettling Canada : A National Wake-Up Call*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Maracle, Lee. 2017. *Bobbi Lee Indian Rebel*. Toronto, Vancouver: Women's Press.
- Massy Arts Society. 2023. "At The Gallery / Chinatown Looks by Yarrow Intergenerational Society for Justice + Soloman Chiniquay." *Massy Arts Society* (blog). 2023.
- Matamua, Rangi. 2020. "Matariki and the Decolonisation of Time." In *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 65–77. Routledge.
- Matata-Sipu, Qiane, Pania Newton, and Frances Hancock. 2022. "Protecting Ihumātao." In *Peace Action: Struggles for Decolonized and Demilitarised Oceania and East Asia*, 37–52. Te Whanganui-A-Tara (Wellington): Left of the Equator Press.
- Matike Mai Aotearoa. 2016. *He Whakaaro Here Whakaumu Mō Aotearoa: The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa-the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation*. Matike Mai Aotearoa.
- Mawani, Renisa. 2011. "Cross Racial Encounters and Juridical Truths: (Dis)Aggregating Race in British Columbia's Contact Zone." In *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the Lens of Cultural Diversity*, edited by Ashok Mathur, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagné, 164–92. Ottawa, Ontario: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Maynard, Robyn, and Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. 2022. *Rehearsals For Living*. Toronto: Knopt Canada.
- McBreen, Kim. 2015. "Our Tūpuna Dreamed the Future for All of Us: Re-Building Healthy Relationships Is at the Heart of Decolonisation." *He Hōaka* (blog). March 6, 2015. <http://starspangledrodeo.blogspot.com/2015/03/our-tupuna-dreamed-future-for-all-of-us.html>.
- . 2019. "It's About Whānau: Oppression, Sexuality, and Mana." In *Mana Wahine Reader: A Collection of Writings 1999-2019*, 2:134–46. Waikato: Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- McElroy, Justin. 2022. "Majority of Metro Vancouver Residents Now Identify as Visible Minority, Census Data Shows." *CBC News*, October 26, 2022. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/2021-census-minority-demographics-metro-vancouver-bc-1.6630164>.
- Migizi, Gidigaa. 2018. *Michi Saagigi Nishnaabeg: This Is Our Territory*. Winnipeg: ARP Books.
- Mikaere, Ani. 2019. "Colonisation and the Imposition of Patriarchy." In *Mana Wahine Reader: A Collection of Writings 1999-2019 Volume II*, 4–18. Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand: Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- . 2020. "Ani Mikaere - Keynote Speaker at the Community Waikato Conference, 'Strengthening through Stories.'" Presented at the Community Waikato Conference, Waikato, October 2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PBjf7LK2dKE>.

- Miller, Cary. 2013. "Every Dream Is a Prophecy: Rethinking Revitalization - Dreams, Prophets, and Routinized Cultural Evolution." In *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World Through Stories*, edited by Doerfler, Jill, Sinclair, Niigaanwewidam James, and Stark, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik, 119–32. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press.
- Million, Dian. 2011. "Intense Dreaming: Theories, Narratives, and Our Search for Home." *American Indian Quarterly* 35 (3): 313–33.
- Mittelstedt, Meg. 2014. "Touring BC's 'Hidden' History Shared by Chinese and Indigenous People." *The Tyee*, October 13, 2014. <https://thetyee.ca/News/2014/10/13/Shared-Chinese-Indigenous-History/>.
- Mok, Tze Ming. 2004. "Race You There." *Landfall*, 18–26.
- Moraga, Cherríe, and Gloria Anzaldúa. 2002. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 2015. *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press.
- Morris, Glenn. 2023. "Ake! Ake! Ake! Stories and Lessons of Liberation from Moana Jackson." In *The Power in Our Truth, The Truth of Our Power*, 123–45. Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.
- Mosby, Ian. 2013. "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 46 (1): 145–72.
- Musqueam First Nation, and MOA. n.d. "Musqueam Teaching Resource | Musqueam: Giving Information about Our Teachings." Musqueam Teaching Resource | Musqueam: Giving Information about Our Teachings. n.d. <https://www2.moa.ubc.ca/musqueamteachingkit/index.php>.
- Musqueam Nation. 1976. "Musqueam Declaration." Musqueam Nation. https://www.musqueam.bc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/musqueam_declaration.pdf.
- . 2012. *Musqueam Through Time - Part 2*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oCt3IoAobeM>.
- Mutu, Margaret. 2009. "Māori Media Depictions of Chinese from Despised and Feared to Cultural and Political Allies." In *The Dragon & The Taniwha: Maori & Chinese in New Zealand*, edited by Manying Ip, 236–74. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- . 2018. "Behind the Smoke and Mirrors of the Treaty of Waitangi Claims Settlement Process in New Zealand: No Prospect for Justice and Reconciliation for Māori without Constitutional Transformation." *Journal of Global Ethics* 14 (2): 208–21.
- . 2019. "'To Honour the Treaty, We Must First Settle Colonisation' (Moana Jackson 2015): The Long Road from Colonial Devastation to Balance, Peace and Harmony." *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 49 (sup1): 4–18.
- . 2020. "Mana Māori Motuhake: Māori Concepts and Practices of Sovereignty." In *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 269–82. New York: Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780429440229-24/mana-m%C4%81ori-motuhake-margaret-mutu>.

- Nanibush, Wanda. 2021. "Williams Treaties." In *Indigenous Toronto: Stories That Carry This Place*, edited by Denise Bolduc, Mnawaate Gordon-Corbiere, Rebeka Tabobondung, and Brian Wright-McLeod, 29–36. Toronto: Coach House Books.
- Naples, Nancy A, and Manisha Desai. 2004. *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Global Politics*. Routledge.
- National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. 2019. "Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls." Canada. <https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report/>.
- Native Women's Association of Canada, . "Indian Act." Native Women's Association of Canada, 2024. <https://nwac.ca/policy/indian-act>.
- Neocleous, Mark. 2003. "Off the Map: On Violence and Cartography." *European Journal of Social Theory* 6 (4): 409–25.
- New Zealand Drug Foundation. 2009. *Once Were Gardeners - Moana Jackson on the Scientific Method and the 'Warrior Gene.'* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HfAe3Zvgui4>.
- Ng, Wing Chung. 1999. *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80: The Pursuit of Identity and Power*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Ng, Winnie Wun Wun. 2010. "Racing Solidarity, Remaking Labour: Labour Renewal from a Decolonizing and Anti-Racism Perspective." PhD, Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto. <https://library-archives.canada.ca/eng/services/services-libraries/theses/Pages/item.aspx?idNumber=1333711517>.
- Ngata, Tina. 2019. *Kia Mau: Resisting Colonial Fictions*. Wellington: Rebel Press.
- Ngata, Tina. 2020. "What's Required from Tangata Tiriti." *Tina Ngata* (blog). 2020. <https://tinangata.com/2020/12/20/whats-required-from-tangata-tiriti/>.
- . 2021. "The Top 5 Colonial Conspiracy Theories." *Tina Ngata* (blog). 2021. <https://tinangata.com/2021/03/07/the-top-5-colonial-conspiracy-theories/>.
- . 2022. "Setting the Scene." In *Peace Action: Struggles for Decolonized and Demilitarised Oceania and East Asia*, 13–25. Te Whanganui-A-Tara (Wellington): Left of the Equator Press.
- Ngata, Tina, Emalani Case, Tāwhana Chadwick, and Kassie Hartendorp. 2019. "Deconstructing the Doctrine of Discovery." University of Otago, Wellington, September 23. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FmH2W_357qc.
- NIWA 2024. 2024. "Climate Change and Agriculture." *NIWA Taihoro Nukurangi*. <https://niwa.co.nz/agriculture/climate-change-information-climate-solvers/climate-change-and-agriculture>.
- NZPA. 2004. "Clark Defends Refusal to Meet Hikoi." *NZ Herald*, May 4, 2004. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/clark-defends-refusal-to-meet-hikoi/QRSC24DRDHC27S6VMQXVH6VJUI/>.
- O' Sullivan, Dominic. 2007. *Beyond Biculturalism: The Politics of an Indigenous Minority*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

- Omura, Saburo. 2014. "The Treaty of Waitangi and Asian Immigrants in Aotearoa: A Reflective Journey." Thesis, Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand: University of Waikato. <https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/8833>.
- Ong, Aihwa. 1999. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Ong, Aihwa, and Donald Nonini. 2003. *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Oxford English Dictionary. 2024. "Translation (Noun)." *OED: Oxford English Dictionary*. https://www.oed.com/dictionary/translation_n?tl=true.
- Pacific Panther Network. 2024. "Pacific Panther Network." *Facebook*. <https://www.facebook.com/PacificPantherNetwork/>.
- Peng, Jimao. 1996. "A Community in Motion: The Development of Toronto's Chinatown and Chinese Community, 1947-1981." Guelph: The University of Guelph.
- Perry, Adele. 2021. "Indigenous Lands, Imperial Travels, and James Douglas." In *To Share, Not Surrender: Indigenous and Settler Visions of Treaty Making in the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, edited by Peter Cook, Neil Vallance, John Sutton Lutz, Graham Brazier, and Hamar Foster, 29–48. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Phung, Malissa. 2011. "Are People of Colour Settlers?" In *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the Lens of Cultural Diversity*, edited by Ashok Mathur, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagné, 290–98. Ottawa, Ontario: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- . 2015. "Asian-Indigenous Relationalities: Literary Gestures of Respect and Gratitude." *Canadian Literature* 227: 56–72.
- . 2019. "Indigenous and Asian Relation Making." *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 5 (1): 18–30.
- Pihama, Leonie, Herearoha Skipper, and Jillian Tipene, eds. 2015. *He Manawa Whenua*. Hamilton: Te Kotahi Research Institute, University of Waikato. https://issuu.com/tekotahi/docs/proceedings_final_hi_res_version_si/64?ff.
- Poston Jr, Dudley L., and Wong, Helen Juyin. 2016. "The Chinese Diaspora: The Current Distribution of the Overseas Chinese Population." *Chinese Journal of Sociology* 2 (3): 348–73.
- Rameka, Lesley. 2016. "Kia Whakatōmuri Te Haere Whakamua: 'I Walk Backwards into the Future with My Eyes Fixed on My Past.'" *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood* 17 (4): 387–98.
- Rata, Arama, and Faisal Al-Asaad. 2019. "Whakawhanaungatanga as a Māori Approach to Indigenous-Settler of Colour Relationship Building." *New Zealand Population Review* 45: 211–33.
- Rata, Arama, Gabriella Brayne, and Simon Barber. 2023. "Māori Sovereignty or Death." *Decolonization of Criminology and Justice* 5 (1): 5–30.
- Rata, Arama, Mengzhu Fu, Jess Mio, and Emalani Case. 2021. "Ko Wai Tēnei e Tū Ake Nei? Activating Collectivity and Accountability through Grounded Positioning." *Counterfutures* 12: 55–79. <https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/counterfutures/article/view/7721>.

- Richotte Jr., Keith. 2013. "Telling All of Our Stories: Reorienting the Legal and Political Events of the Anishinaabeg." In *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World Through Stories*, edited by Doerfler, Jill, Sinclair, Niigaanwewidam James, and Stark, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik, 379–96. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press.
- Road to Justice. 2011. "Biographies of Website Interviewees." Road to Justice. 2011. <http://www.roadtojustice.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Biographies-of-Website-Interviewees.pdf>.
- Rudy. 2014. "Accomplices Not Allies: Abolishing the Ally Industrial Complex." *Indigenous Media Action* (blog). 2014. <https://www.indigenouaction.org/accomplices-not-allies-abolishing-the-ally-industrial-complex/>.
- Salimjan, Guldana. 2024. "Green Colonialism in China: Socialist Legacy and Kazakh Dispossession." *The Funambulist*. <https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/asian-imperialisms/green-colonialism-in-china-socialist-legacy-and-kazakh-dispossession>.
- Scholar Strike Canada. 2021. *Creating Otherwise Worlds: Relations, Abolition and Freedom*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0Wwe5tNNI4>.
- Sharma, Nandita, and Cynthia Wright. 2008. "Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States." *Social Justice* 35 (3 (113)): 120–38.
- Shawanda, Amy. 2020. "Baawaajige: Exploring Dreams as Academic References." *Turtle Island Journal of Indigenous Health* 1 (137–47).
- Shawanda, Amy, and Manitowabi, Joshua. 2023. "Anishinaabe Dream Methodology." *Turtle Island Journal of Indigenous Health* 1 (3): 25–37.
- Shui, Maggie. 2020. "Māori-Asian Solidarity in Aotearoa Can Be Game-Changing." *Re:*, 2020. <https://www.renews.co.nz/maori-asian-solidarity-in-aotearoa-can-be-game-changing/>.
- Simpson, Audra. 2007. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial
- Simon, Hemopereki. 2022. "The Critical Juncture in Aotearoa New Zealand and the Collective Future: Policy Issues in Settler/Invader Colonial Zombiism Found in" Biculturalism." *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 15 (2): 119–42.
- Simon, Hemopereki. 2023. "Settler/Invader Identity and Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand: Critiquing 'Tāngata Tiriti' and Moving Toward the Collective Future." *Ethnic Studies Review* 46 (3): 95–127.
- Simpson, Audra. 2007. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, no. 9: 67–80.
- . 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Duke University Press.
- . 2016. "The State Is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty." *Theory & Event* 19 (4).
- Simpson, Leanne. 2008. "Looking after Gdoo-Naaganinaa: Precolonial Nishnaabeg Diplomatic and Treaty Relationships." *Wicazo Sa Review* 23 (2): 29–42.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. 2011. *Dancing On Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence, and a New Emergence*. Manitoba: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

- . 2014. “Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation.” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3 (3): 1–25.
- . 2016. “Indigenous Resurgence and Co-Resistance.” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 2 (2): 19–34.
- . 2017. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. Chicago: U of Minnesota Press.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake, and Manitowabi, Edna. 2013. “Theorizing Resurgence from within Nishnaabeg Thought.” In *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World Through Stories*, edited by Doerfler, Jill, Sinclair, Niigaanwewidam James, and Stark, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik, 279–93. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press.
- Sioui, Georges E. 1992. *For an Amerindian Autohistory*. Canada: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- . 1999. *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2021. *Decolonizing Methodologies*. London: Zed Books.
- Snelgrove, Corey, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, and Jeff Corntassel. 2014. “Unsettling Settler Colonialism: The Discourse and Politics of Settlers, and Solidarity with Indigenous Nations.” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3 (2).
- Squamish Nation. 2024. “Tracing Our Roots.” Squamish Nation. 2024. <https://www.squamish.net/about-our-nation/our-history/>.
- Starblanket, Gina. 2018. “Resurgence as Relationality.” In *Everyday Acts of Resurgence: People, Places, Practices*, edited by Corntassel, Jeff, Alfred, Taiaiake, Goodyear - Ka’ōpua, Noelani, Silva, Noenoe K., Aikau, Hokulani, and Mucina, Devi, 28–32. Olympia, Washington: Daykeeper Press.
- Statistics Canada. 2023. (table). *Census Profile*. 2021 Census of Population. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2021001. Ottawa. Released November 15, 2023. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>
- Statistics Canada. 2022. “The Canadian Census: A Rich Portrait of the country’s Religious and Ethnocultural.” Census data. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026b-eng.pdf?st=vcCr2hnR>.
- Stats NZ. 2024. “Ethnicity (Detailed Total Responses Level 3), Age, and Gender for the Census Usually Resident Population Count, (RC, TALB, SA2, Health), 2013, 2018, and 2023 Censuses,” <https://explore.data.stats.govt.nz/>
- Strassberg, Richard E. 2008. *Wandering Spirits: Chen Shiyuan’s Encyclopedia of Dreams*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Synders, Tom, and O’ Rourke, Jennifer. 2001. *Namely Vancouver*. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Tawhai, Veronica. 2020. “A RED-TIPPED DAWN: Teaching and Learning about Indigeneity and the Implications for Citizenship Education.” Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Te Ao with Moana. 2024. *Is Te Tiriti o Waitangi Really under Threat?* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T8XqKz84pMI>.

- Te Tākupu. 2023. *The Power in Our Truth, The Truth of Our Power*. Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.
- Te Tiriti Based Futures & Anti Racism. 2023. *Perspectives on Power, Change, and the State for Chinese in Aotearoa*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmpF9GLMBrg>.
- Tehanetorens. 1999. *Wampum Belts of the Iroquois*. The Book Publishing Company.
- The Squamish Nation. 2024. *Tiná7 Cht Ti Temíxw We Come From This Land: A Walk Through the History of the Squamish People*. Vancouver: Page Two Books, Inc.
- Thistle, Jesse A. 2017. *Indigenous Definition of Homelessness in Canada*. Toronto: Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press. <http://www.calgaryhomeless.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Definition-of-Indigenous-Homelessness-in-Canada.pdf>.
- Thobani, Sunera. 2007. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Todd, Kamala. 2015. *The Dialogues Project*. <https://indigenoucity.com/2015/01/30/the-vancouver-dialogues-project/>.
- Tongco, Maria Dolores C. 2007. “Purposive Sampling as a Tool for Informant Selection.” *Ethnobotany Research & Applications* 5:147-158.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015. “Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.” Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf.
- Tsang, Henry. 2023. “A White Riot in Vancouver: Tracing the Steps of the 1907 Anti-Asian Mob.” *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/a-white-riot-in-vancouver-tracing-the-steps-of-the-1907-anti-asian-mob-197960>.
- Tsleil Waututh. 2010. *Tsleil-Waututh Nation “People of the Inlet.”* The ACE Film Company. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=paWn3fKaLkk>.
- Tsleil-Waututh Nation. 2021. “Our Story.” Tsleil- Waututh Nation: People of the Inlet. 2021. <https://twnation.ca/our-story/>.
- Tuck, Eve. 2009. “Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities.” *Harvard Educational Review* 79 (3): 409–28.
- Tuck, Eve, and Monique Guishard. 2013. “Uncollapsing Ethics: Racialized Sciencism, Settler Coloniality, and an Ethical Framework of Decolonial Participatory Action Research.” In *Challenging Status Quo Retrenchment: New Directions in Critical Qualitative Research*, edited by Tricia Kress, Curry Mallot, and Brad Porfilio, 3–27. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
- Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor.” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1 (1).
- Tuwe, Makanaka. 2021. “Projectile Solidarity.” *The Pantograph Punch*, 2021. <https://pantograph-punch.com/posts/projectile-solidarity>.
- TWN Communications. 2023. *Tsleil-Waututh Nation - People of the Inlet*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f2qkpKnknhc>.

- University of Otago, Wellington. 2019. *Deconstructing the Doctrine of Discovery*. Wellington. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FmH2W_357qc.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. 2016. "Introduction: Settler Colonialism as a Distinct Mode of Domination." In *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, 17–24. Routledge.
- Visweswaran, Kamala. 1994. *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press.
- Vowel, Chelsea. 2016. *Indigenous Writes: A Guide to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Issues in Canada*. Winnipeg: Highwater Press.
- Waitangi Tribunal. 2014. "Te Paparahi o Te Raki Stage 1 Report." 1. New Zealand: Waitangi Tribunal. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_85648980/Te%20Raki%20W.pdf.
- Walia, Harsha. 2012. "Decolonizing Together." *Briarpatch Magazine* 1: 27–30.
- . 2013. *Undoing Border Imperialism*. Oakland, CA: Ak Press.
- Wang, Jingjing. 2023. "Asian Tauwi and Tangata Whenua: Maori-Asian Relationships and Their Implications for Aotearoa New Zealand's Constitutional Future." *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, no. 36: 161–77.
- Wikipedia. 2024. "Ojibwe Grammar." Wikipedia. 2024. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ojibwe_grammar.
- Williamson, Ron, and Lesage, Louis. 2021. "On the Back of the Turtle: Ancient Life and Death in the City." In *Indigenous Toronto: Stories That Carry This Place*, edited by Bolduc, Denise, Gordon-Corbriere, Mnawaate, Tabobondung, Rebeka, and Wright-McLeod, Brian, 45–54. Toronto: Coach House Books.
- Wilson, Kory, and Jane Henderson. 2014. *First Peoples: A Guide for Newcomers*. Vancouver: City of Vancouver. <https://vancouver.ca/files/cov/first-peoples-a-guide-for-newcomers.pdf>.
- Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387–409.
- Wong, David. 2012. *Escape to Gold Mountain*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Wong, Edward Hon-Sing. 2020. "When a Disease Is Racialized." *Briarpatch Magazine*, February 3, 2020. <https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/when-a-disease-is-racialized-coronavirus-anti-chinese-racism>.
- Wong, Rita. 2017. "DecolonizAsian: Reading Asian and First Nations Relations in Literature." In *Asian Canadian Studies Reader*, edited by Roland Sintos Coloma and Gordon Pon, 225–42. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- . 2019. "Lessons from Prison: A Shackled Pipeline Protester Reflects." *The Tyee*. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2019/09/24/Lessons-From-Prison-Pipeline-Protester-Reflects/>.
- Wong, Rita, and Cindy Mochizuki. 2015. *Perpetual*. BC, Canada: Nightwood Editions.

- Worden, Andréa J., Nuzigum Setiwaldi, Elise Anderson, Henryk Szadziwski, Louisa Greve, and Ben Carrdus. 2022. "Forced Marriage of Uyghur Women: State Policies for Interethnic Marriages in East Turkistan." Washington: Uyghur Human Rights Project. https://uhrp.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/UHRP-Forced-and-Incentivized-Marriages_2022-11-15.pdf.
- XqSu. 2021. "Dust Storms, Green Waves: A Lattice of Violent, Global Relations Sustains China's Colonization of 'Xinjiang.'" *Lausan Collective*. <https://lausancollective.com/2021/dust-storms-green-waves/>.
- Yang, Taoyu. 2019. "Redefining Semi-Colonialism: A Historiographical Essay on British Colonial Presence in China." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 20 (3).
- Yarrow Intergenerational Society for Justice 世代同行會. 2022. "Demanding Healthcare for All: A Statement of Solidarity with Drug Users in Chinatown and the DTES." *Yarrow Intergenerational Society for Justice* (blog). 2022. <https://www.yarrowsociety.ca/single-post/demanding-healthcare-for-all-a-statement-of-solidarity-with-drug-users-in-chinatown-and-the-dtes>.
- Yee, Paul. 2005. *Chinatown: An Illustrated History of the Chinese Communities of Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Halifax*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company.
- . 2006. *Saltwater City: An Illustrated History of the Chinese in Vancouver*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Yoshikawa, Alejandro. 2016. *All Our Father's Relations*. Vancouver. <https://gem.cbc.ca/media/absolutely-canadian/s17e10?cmp=sch-all%20our%20father%27s%20relations>.
- Yu, Henry. 2017. "Global Migrants and the New Pacific Canada." In *Asian Canadian Studies Reader*, edited by Roland Sintos Coloma and Gordon Pon, 341–51. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Yu, Henry. 2018. "The Cantonese Pacific in the Making of Nations." In *The Relevance of Regions in a Globalized World*, edited by Galia Press-Barnathan, Ruth Fine, and Arie M. Kacowicz, 123–36. New York, London: Routledge.
- Zhou, Min, and Benton, Gregor. 2017. "Intra-Asian Chinese Migrations: A Historical Overview." In *Contemporary Chinese Diasporas*. Singapore: Palgrave.

Appendix A: Glossary of Māori Terms

Term	English Translation
Ako	To learn, study, teach
Ao	World, globe, earth, cloud
Aroha	“Compassion, love, charity” (Rata and Al-Asaad 2019, 226)
Atua	“(noun) ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as 'god' and now also used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning. Many Māori trace their ancestry from <i>atua</i> in their <i>whakapapa</i> and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains. These <i>atua</i> also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world. Normally invisible, <i>atua</i> may have visible representations.” (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Awa	(noun) river, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Hapū	A nation formed through a group of families, the main political entity and form of organization, to be pregnant
He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni	The Declaration of Independence signed in 1835
Hīkoi	Walk, march
Hui	Meeting, gathering
Iwi	an alliance of hapū, nation, bones
Kai	Food
Kaitiaki	Stewards, caretakers
Karakia	Recited prayer
Kaupapa	1. (noun) level surface, floor, stage, platform, layer. 2. (noun) topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative. 3. (noun) raft. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Kawa	(noun) marae protocol - customs of the marae and <i>wharenuī</i> , particularly those related to formal activities such as <i>pōhiri</i> , speeches and <i>mihimihi</i> . This seems to be a modern extension of the word. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Kāwanatanga	(loan) (noun) government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship, province. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Koha	(noun) gift, present, offering, donation, contribution - especially one maintaining social relationships and has connotations of reciprocity. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Kohanga reo	Preschool language nests
Mana	(noun) prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - <i>mana</i> is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Mana motuhake	(noun) separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority - <i>mana</i> through self-determination and control over one's own destiny. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Mana whenua	(noun) territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or

	territory, jurisdiction over land or territory - power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land. The tribe's history and legends are based in the lands they have occupied over generations and the land provides the sustenance for the people and to provide hospitality for guests. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Māori	the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa, lower case 'māori' means 'normal'
Manaakitanga	(noun) hospitality, kindness, generosity, support - the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024) "Reciprocal care and respect" (Kukutai and Rata 2017)
Māra	garden
Marae	(noun) courtyard - the open area in front of the <i>wharenui</i> , where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the <i>marae</i> . (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Maramataka	(noun) almanac, Māori lunar calendar, calendar - a planting and fishing monthly almanac. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Matariki	(personal noun) Pleiades, Messier 45 - an open cluster of many stars in Te Kāhui o Matariki, with at least nine stars visible to the naked eye. Marks the Māori new year, now official public holiday (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Mātauranga	(noun) knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill - sometimes used in the plural. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Matike mai	Rise up, name of the working group calling for constitutional transformation
Maunga	mountain
Mihi	formal greeting, acknowledgement, thanks
Moriori	an Indigenous nation from the Chatham Islands
Pākehā	white New Zealanders
Papatūānuku	(personal name) Earth, Earth mother and wife of Rangi-nui - all living things originate from them. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Pāua	Abalone
Pepeha	A way of introducing yourself in Māori highlighting connections to places and ancestors (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Pōwhiri	(noun) invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Pūha	perennial sowhistle, a small leafy edible plant
Pūrakau	(noun) myth, ancient legend, story. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Rangatahi	Youth, young people
Rangatira	Commonly translated as 'chief' but others have explained it using the root words to mean 'one that weaves the people together'
Ranginui	(personal name) Sky Father (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Reo	Language, tongue
Takatāpui	close or intimate friend of the same gender, but also used as an umbrella term for Māori 'LGBTQIA' communities
Tangata Tiriti	people of the treaty
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Taniwha	(noun) water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, chief, powerful leader, something or someone awesome - <i>taniwha</i> take

	many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory, but may also have a malign influence on human beings. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Tapu	(stative) be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under <i>atua</i> protection (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Tauīwi	non-Māori, settler
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi in the Māori language, ‘Te Tiriti’ is used as shorthand.
Tikanga	(noun) correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol - the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Tino rangatiratanga	the ‘exercise of mana’ - the ultimate power and paramount authority ‘derived from the gods’ (Mutu 2020, 269) (noun) self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Tohunga	(noun) skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer - a person chosen by the agent of an <i>atua</i> and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Tuanui	Roof
Tūpuna	(noun) ancestors, grandparents - western dialect variation of tīpuna. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Wairua	(noun) spirit, soul - spirit of a person which exists beyond death. It is the non-physical spirit, distinct from the body and the <i>mauri</i> . [...] (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Wāhine	women
Whakaaro	(noun) thought, opinion, plan, understanding, idea, intention, gift, conscience. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Whakaminenga	Confederation
Whakapapa	(noun) genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent - reciting <i>whakapapa</i> was, and is, an important skill and reflected the importance of genealogies in Māori society in terms of leadership, land and fishing rights, kinship and status. It is central to all Māori institutions. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Whakatika	To make right
Whakawhanaungatanga	(noun) process of establishing relationships, relating well to others. (Te Aka Māori Dictionary 2024)
Whānau	family, extended family
Whareniui	Meeting house
Whenua	Land, placenta

Appendix B: Glossary of Chinese Terms

Traditional	Simplified	Jyutping	Hanyu Pinyin	Definition
緣分	缘分	gyun4 fan6	yuánfèn	a predestined relationship, a fate and inevitable connection bound to happen.
天		tin1	tiān	sky, day
日		jat6	rì	sun, day, date
月		gyut6	yuè	moon, month
星期		sing1 kei4	xīngqī	Week, lit. star phases
團結	团结	tyun4 git3	tuánjié	Unity, solidarity
中國人	中国人	zung1 gwok3 jan4	zhōngguó rén	A citizen of the People's Republic of China (PRC), referring to nationality
華人	华人	waa4 jan4	huárén	Chinese as an ethnicity, encompassing diasporas globally and across Chinese language groups.
漢族	汉族	hon3 zuk6	hànzú	Han Chinese, the dominant ethnic group in China
華僑	华侨	waa4 kiu4	huáqiáo	General term referring to overseas Chinese
華商	华商	waa4 seong1	huáshāng	Chinese merchants, who made up the earliest migrations to predominantly Southeast Asia
華工	华工	waa4 gung1	huágōng	Diasporic Chinese workers
華裔	华裔	waa4 jeoi6	huáyì	Ethnically Chinese
老華僑	老华侨	lou5 waa4 kiu4	lǎo huáqiáo	The multigenerational early diaspora. Lit. 'old Chinese diaspora'
越南華僑	越南华侨	gyut6naam4 waa4kiu4	yuènnán huáqiáo	Vietnam Chinese Diaspora
海外華人	海外华人	hoi2ngoi6 waa4jan4	hǎiwài huárén	Those who may not have ties to the 'homeland' - distinguishing between settler and sojourner dispositions. Lit. overseas Chinese
天文		tin1man4	tiānwén	Astronomy, Lit. 'sky language'
銀河系	银河系	ngan4 ho4 hai6	yínhéxì	Milky Way. Lit. The Silver River
太陽	太阳	taai3 joeng4	tàiyáng	Sun
月亮		gyut6 loeng6	yuèliàng	Moon
唐人街		tong4 jan4 gaai1	tángrenjiē	Chinatown, lit. "Tang people street" (Tang is an older word for Chinese people, referencing the Tang Dynasty)
華埠	華埠	waa4fau6	huábù	Chinatown, used in more in Cantonese, official translations in the names of Chinatown organizations.
清明節	清明节	cing1 ming4 zit3	qīngmíng jié	Ching Ming (Qingming) or Tomb-sweeping festival
海		hoi2	hǎi	ocean

原住民		jyun4 zyu6 man4	yuánzhùmín	Indigenous, lit. 'original people'
爺爺	爷爷	je4je4-2	yéye / yěyé	paternal grandfather
上		soeng6	shàng	Upper or Previous
下		haa6 / haa5	xià	Down or Lower or Next
前		cin4	qián	In front, 前天 means the day before yesterday
後	后	hau6	hòu	Behind, 後天 means the day after tomorrow
滴水穿石		dik6seoi2 cyun1 sek6	dīshuǐchuānshí	If you persevere, things will succeed / small problems can become big problems over time, lit. water drops can penetrate stone
百花齊放	百花齐放	baak3faa1 cai4 fong3	bǎihuāqífàng	Metaphor for the flourishing of different and multiple methods and expressions. Lit. Let the hundred flowers bloom
老家		lou5gaa1	lǎojiā	'Old home,' home village.

Appendix C: Directory of Key Organizations and Projects

Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: A group established in 2016 to gather tauwi Asians in support of tino rangatiratanga, to show up for tangata whenua-led mobilisations, to strengthen relationships, and to educate and engage with Asian communities towards honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Website/contact details: <https://asians4tino.weebly.com>

Asians in Support of Wet'suwet'en

Place: Turtle Island

Purpose: Translations of a statement in support of Wet'suwet'en resistance against the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline into Asian languages.

Website: <https://asiansinsupportofwetsuweten.water.blog>

Canadians for Reconciliation

Place: Vancouver, BC

Purpose: Founded by Bill Chu in 2001, Canadians for Reconciliation is a faith-based grassroots non-profit with these objectives: "1. To promote the understanding of history and foster true reconciliation between Canadians and Indigenous People. 2. To facilitate the research, understanding and acknowledgement of some minorities' missing history within the history of British Columbia."

Website: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140517041351/http://www.canreconcile.org/> (website captures between 2014-2017)

Chinatown Concern Group 唐人街關注組

Place: Vancouver

Purpose: “唐人街關注組宗旨（團結宣言）Statement of Unity: The Aim of Chinatown Concern Group

透過組織工作來團結住在市中心東端地區的華裔平民以：

- 一）維護唐人街和爭取華裔平民的權益
- 二）支持各族裔平民爭取公義

Through organizing, to unite low-income Chinese people of the Downtown Eastside to:

1. Defend Chinatown and fight for the rights and interests of low-income Chinese people
2. Support low-income people of all ethnicities to fight for justice”

Website: <https://chinatownconcerngroup.wordpress.com>

Chinese-Canadian Historical Society of BC

Place: British Columbia

Purpose: “The Chinese Canadian Historical Society of British Columbia is a non-profit, participatory provincial organization dedicated to broadening our shared understanding of history of the Chinese in British Columbia through research, documentation, preservation and education.”

Website: <http://www.cchsbc.ca>

Chinese Canadian National Council-Toronto

Place: Toronto, Ontario

Purpose: “The Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter (CCNCTO) was formed in 1985. They are a non-profit organization made up of Chinese Canadians in the Greater Toronto Area that promote equity, social justice, inclusive civic participation, and respect for diversity. The first Chinese Canadian National Council was formed in 1980 in Ontario; however, CCNC has developed a nationwide presence, with many different chapters. CCNCTO is one of these chapters, which is completely separate and different from CCNCSJ.”

Website: <https://www.ccnctoronto.ca>

Chinese Workers Network (Toronto)

Place: Toronto, Ontario

Purpose: “Chinese Workers Network works with Toronto and York Region Labour Council and Labour Community Services to advance social justice and employment goals that impact Chinese workers.”

Website: <http://www.chineselabour.ca>

Foundation to Commemorate the Chinese Railroad Workers

Place: Toronto, Ontario

Purpose: “The Foundation to Commemorate the Chinese Railroad Workers in Canada is a registered charitable organization with a mission to honor and remember the Chinese Railroad Workers who played a vital role in building the first transcontinental railway (the CPR) that connected Canada geographically and politically. Our goals include promoting understanding and awareness of the significant contributions made by Chinese Railroad Workers to Canada’s history, raising awareness about the unjust Immigration Acts imposed on Chinese pioneers and their families, establishing scholarships, and supporting other Canadian charitable organizations that promote Chinese Canadian History. We are dedicated to preserving the legacy of Chinese Railroad Workers and fostering a better understanding of their contributions to Canada’s rich

cultural heritage.”

Website: <https://fcrwc.com>

Friends of Chinatown

Place: Toronto, Ontario

Purpose: A grassroots group “fighting for housing justice, racial justice and economic justice in Toronto’s downtown Chinatown”

Website: <https://www.instagram.com/friendsofchinatownto/>

Hua Foundation

Place: Vancouver, BC

Purpose: “Hua foundation is a youth empowerment non-profit connecting cultural heritage and social change. Our approach is about leading community-based research and action, empowering youth and incubating youth-led initiatives, and building community partnerships and resilience.”

Website: <https://huafoundation.org>

Indigenous Pacific Uprising

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: “A movement of First & Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific, dedicated to the nourishment and reforging of our ancient and ancestral ties.”

Website: <https://www.facebook.com/IndigenousPacificUprising/>

Love Intersections (Vancouver)

Place: Vancouver, BC

Purpose: “Love Intersections is a media arts collective made up of queer artists of colour dedicated to using collaborative art-making and relational storytelling to address systemic racism in our communities. We produce intersectional and intergenerational stories from underrepresented communities of colour – centering the invisible, the spiritual, the metaphysical and the imaginary. We believe in deep and meaningful relationships, that intersectionality is a verb and a call to action, that we must cultivate social trust through collective care and community responsibility. Our desire is to provoke (he)artful social change through the lens of love.”

Website: <https://loveintersections.com>

Matike Mai Aotearoa

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: “Matike Mai Aotearoa, the Independent Working Group (the Group) on Constitutional Transformation, was first promoted at a meeting of the Iwi Chairs’ Forum (the Forum) in 2010. The Terms of Reference given to the Working Group were deliberately broad –

‘To develop and implement a model for an inclusive Constitution for Aotearoa based on tikanga and kawa, He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tirenī of 1835, Te Tiriti o Waitangi of 1840, and other indigenous human rights instruments which enjoy a wide degree of international recognition.’

“A Forum Representative, Professor Margaret Mutu, was appointed the Working Group Chair and Moana Jackson was invited to be its Convenor. Members of the Working Group were nominated by Iwi and other organisations or were co-opted. The Chairperson and Convenor facilitated 252 hui between 2012 and 2015. The rōpū rangatahi convened by Veronica Tawhai presented 70 wānanga. The Working Group also invited written submissions, organised focus groups, and conducted one-on-one interviews. The views they received canvassed a number of topics such as the relationship between Te Tiriti and democracy, what is meant by a treaty relationship, what is a constitution, and other related issues, this Report synthesises those views.”

Website: <https://matikemai.maori.nz/matike-mai-aotearoa/>

Mellow Yellow Aotearoa

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: A zine and blog project “dedicated to radical social change from a section of the "Asian" tau iwi population in Aotearoa. We wish to create more dialogue and space to talk about issues that are specific to our experience. It’s about opening up a space in which Asian feminists in Aotearoa can speak and communicate our specific and diverse experiences, to counter the dominant white feminisms and left-wing politics, to challenge colonialism, racism, sexism and all forms of unjust social hierarchy. To engage in decolonisation, to create understanding between all oppressed people, to support each other, to inspire solidarity and organize collectively for a better world.”

Website: <http://mellowyellow-aotearoa.blogspot.com>

New Zealand Chinese Association

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: “The New Zealand Chinese Association (Inc) (NZCA) was established as an incorporated society in 1935. Over the years there have been many changes to its organisation and structure and in 1996 a new Constitution and Rules were adopted to bring the organisation into line with current requirements.

The Association was established with specific intention of being a national Chinese organisation that represented and worked for the well-being of the Chinese people in New Zealand. Its main objectives include:

- To provide NZ Chinese the means of mutual help, social interchange and recreation
- To promote the intellectual, moral and physical well-being of Chinese in NZ.
- To unite and co-operate for cultural and educational purposes.
- To deal with matters concerning the welfare of Chinese in NZ
- To be and remain non-political and non-religious”

Website: <https://www.nzchinese.org.nz>

Ngā Tamatoa

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: A Māori activist group active in the 1970s that organised against racism and colonialism. They fought for te reo Māori to be recognised as an official language and confronted treaty violations by the New Zealand government. They drew inspiration from the Black Panther Party and American Indian Movement.

Wikipedia page: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ngā_Tamatoa

No One Is Illegal Toronto

Place: Toronto

Purpose: “No One Is Illegal is a migrant justice movement rooted in anti-colonial, anti-capitalist, ecological justice, Indigenous self-determination, anti-occupation, and & anti-oppressive politics. We are part of a worldwide movement of resistance that strives and struggles for the freedom to stay, the freedom to move, and the freedom to return. We undertake public awareness about the exploitation inherent in the immigration system and border controls, as well as inter-related systems of exploitation capitalism and race, gender, sexuality, and ability based oppression. We mobilize tangible support for refugees, undocumented migrants, and (im)migrant workers and while also prioritizing solidarity with Indigenous land defenders. We struggle alongside allied anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian, and anti-imperialist movements, and fight back through rallies and direct actions to affirm dignity and respect for our communities.

No One Is Illegal – Toronto (NOII – TO) strives to build a strong community organization of racialized migrants and allies that struggle for dignity and the freedom to move, return and stay of movement for all people everywhere. We are fighting to create critical change for undocumented people in the country, while organizing against the forces of displacement.”

Website:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200513104850/http://toronto.nooneisillegal.org/demands> (Web archive captures from 2014-2023)

Pacific Panther Network

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: “Connecting with Pacific synergies, utilising indigenous knowledges and practices to strengthen our communities in resistance against colonisation.”

Website: <https://www.facebook.com/PacificPantherNetwork/>

Playcentre

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: “Playcentre Aotearoa’s constitutional philosophy is to operate as a whānau

organisation which empowers whānau and tamariki to work, play, learn and grow together; honours Te Tiriti o Waitangi and celebrates people's uniqueness; values and affirms parents as the first and best educators/kaiako for their tamariki so that whānau are strengthened and communities enriched.”

Website: <https://www.playcentre.org.nz>

Protect Ihumātao - SOUL

Place: Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa

Purpose: Active between 2014-2020, Protect Ihumātao - Save Our Unique Landscape (SOUL) was a mana whenua-led campaign which successfully stopped Fletchers Ltd from building housing developments on sacred land.

Website: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200421152014/https://www.protectihumatao.com/> (campaign website captures from 2018-2020)

Racial Equity Aotearoa

Place: Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa

Purpose: “Racial Equity Aotearoa (REA) is an organisation committed to the kaupapa of Indigenous mana motuhake, and the dismantling of systemic racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. REA aims to build decolonising conversation and action between Tāngata Whenua and Tāngata Tiriti. This aim occurs within the wider goal of ‘resetting the agenda’ within Aotearoa, also known as ‘constitutional transformation.’ The REA haka ‘Ka Whakawhananga te Iwi’ depicts this goal. REA believes that a socially just Aotearoa, stems from Tino Rangatiratanga and the honouring of a Tiriti relationship guided by tikanga. The Colonial-State system over the past two centuries has created, and continues, the structure of systemic racism in New Zealand (within the global context of White Supremacy and Settler-Colonialism). Restoring tikanga as the lore of this land, and establishing a Tiriti honouring relationship between Tāngata Whenua and Tāngata Tiriti, will enable long term social equity.”

Website: <https://racialequityaotearoa.wordpress.com>

S.U.C.C.E.S.S

Place: Vancouver, BC

Purpose: S.U.C.C.E.S.S. is a multicultural social service agency founded in 1973 by volunteers. They offer settlement services and programs to newcomers, seniors, youth, and families. Their head office is in Vancouver Chinatown.

Website: <https://successbc.ca>

Tāmaki Housing Group - Defend Glenn Innes

Place: Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa

Purpose: A group led by Māori women active between 2011 and 2021 to stop state housing

evictions and gentrification in Glenn Innes.

Website: <https://gihousing.wordpress.com/tamaki-transformation-programme/>

Tangata Tiriti - Treaty Peoples

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: “Tangata Tiriti – Treaty People is an education programme on Te Tiriti o Waitangi: the Treaty of Waitangi. Its key aim is to build relationships between tangata tiriti – people of the Treaty (non-Māori), and tangata whenua – people of the land (Māori).”

Website: <https://treatypeople.org>

Te Wharepora Hou

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: “Te Wharepora Hou is a collective of wāhine Māori/indigenous women of Aotearoa (New Zealand). We are a network of wāhine that reach across the motu and who come together on this blog to share whakaaro and comment on key kaupapa affecting Māori.

Our collective strives to be a pro-active wahine voice on relevant issues and through any channels available to us. Our primary concern is the wellbeing of whānau, hapū, iwi and our planet. We reflect on our responsibility to protect Papatūānuku and to sustain our living systems. We see ourselves as part of a global indigenous network particularly of women who are reasserting the place of women as leaders of change. We speak on a platform of indigenous solidarity worldwide.”

Website: <https://tewhareporahou.wordpress.com>

Toronto Chinatown Land Trust

Place: Toronto, Ontario

Purpose: “The Toronto Chinatown Land Trust (TCLT) is a community-controlled effort to build an inclusive, culturally competent, and ever-evolving Chinatown in Toronto. We acquire, develop and steward land, in perpetuity, for community needs and benefit. These needs include but are not limited to: 多伦多唐人街社区土地信托是一项由社区控制的项目，旨在在多倫多建立一個备有包容性、文化競爭力，并且不斷进展的唐人街。我们收购、开发和管理土地，以满足社区需求和利益。这些需求包括，但不限于：

- Developing relationships with Indigenous peoples and groups in order to contribute to their needs and goals as it relates to pursuing land back and cultural resurgence in Chinatown. 建立与原住民的关系，以满足他们有关唐人街的土地回归和文化复兴的需求和目标。
- Democratically controlled and deeply affordable housing. 提供受民主控制且经济适用的住房。
- Culturally competent and multilingual, affordable resources that serve low-income,

racialized people, and/or newcomers to Canada. 建立具有文化能力、多语言、经济适中的资源，为低收入、种族群体和/或加拿大新移民提供服务。

- Supporting the evolution of Chinatown’s traditional mutual aid societies and existing support networks. 支持发展唐人街的传统互助社团和现有支持网络。
- Education in Chinatown about Indigenous land back movements, alternatives to speculative markets and private property, and community-controlled strategies for anti-displacement. 在唐人街教育有关原住民土地收回运动、投机市场和私有财产的替代方案，以及社区控制的反失所策略。”

Website: <https://chinatownlandtrust.ca>

Toronto Indigenous Harm Reduction

Place: Toronto, Ontario

Purpose: “Toronto Indigenous Harm Reduction (TIHR) emerged in April 2020 during the first wave of the COVID19 pandemic in response to a massive shutdown of frontline services and a lack of basic needs for Indigenous houseless folks in the city of Toronto. Over the past year, we have provided basic needs, access to critical health support & covid 19 testing, harm reduction supplies, sexual, reproductive health and prenatal support, traditional medicines, traditional food, expressive arts, and ceremony to some of our most vulnerable people. TIHR aims to reduce the negative impacts of substance use and other stigmatized behaviours and experiences through culture and unconditional support. TIHR is an entirely queer and Two-Spirit Indigenous collective founded by Nanook Gordon, co led by Brianna Olson Pitawanakwat and supported by Dashmaawaan Bemadzinjin (They feed the people) and countless volunteers.”

Website: <https://www.torontoindigenoushr.com>

Vancouver Artists Labour Union Co-operative - VALU Co-op

Place: Vancouver

Purpose: “The Vancouver Artists Labour Union Co-operative — 溫哥華藝文工會合作社 (VALU CO-OP) is a unionized workers co-operative with a mission to transform labour practices within the arts and cultural sector.”

Website: <https://www.valucoop.ca>

Vancouver Dialogues

Place: Vancouver, BC

Purpose: “The City of Vancouver Dialogues Project aimed to create cohesive communities by exploring the stories of Vancouver’s First Nations, urban Aboriginal and immigrant communities.”

Website: <https://vancouver.ca/files/cov/dialogues-project-book.pdf>

Yarrow Intergenerational Society for Justice 世代同行會

Place: Vancouver, BC

Purpose: “Yarrow Intergenerational Society for Justice 世代同行會 supports youth and low-income immigrant seniors in Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside. We build power in our community through intergenerational relationship building, and by helping seniors overcome language and cultural barriers to services that meet their basic needs. We combine service provision and grassroots organizing, with a core belief that service work is political and that as a community, we have the tools we need to take care of one another. We empower seniors and youth to work together to improve their communities and tackle the difficult problems of oppression and violence. Our vision is of a Chinatown that is intergenerational and thriving, with accessible and culturally relevant services and an environment that cherishes our seniors and youth.

Yarrow recognizes and values the diversity of everyone in our community. As an organization we are committed to welcoming and affirming the human rights of all people, including racialized people, Black and Indigenous peoples, LGBTQIA2S+ people, sex workers, people who use drugs, and disabled people.

世代同行會在唐人街和市中心東端為青年和低收入年老移民提供支持。我們通過建立多代同堂的關係和幫助老年人克服其滿足基本生活需求遇到語言及文化的障礙，而增加社區力量。我們認為服務的提供是政治性行為，而我們社區的資源足以相互照顧，因此結合了草根組織和服務工作。我們支持青年和長者合作以改善自己的社區，應付壓迫和暴力的複雜社會問題。我們展望一個繁榮昌盛、多代同堂的唐人街，而此唐人街無障礙、有符合居民文化的服務社，並且有珍惜我們的青年和長者的環境。

世代同行會支持所有人的人權，包括有色人種、原住民、LGBTQIA2S+（男同性戀、女同性戀、雙性戀、跨性別人士）、性工作者、藥物使用者和行動障礙者/身心障礙者(前稱殘疾人士)。”

Website: <https://www.yarrowsociety.ca>

Young Asian Feminists Aotearoa

Place: Aotearoa

Purpose: A network of asian feminists based in/has ties to Aotearoa (New Zealand) active between 2010-2014.

Website: <https://www.facebook.com/yafaotearoa/>