

ETHNIC ARCHIVES IN CANADA:
A CASE STUDY OF SEVEN JAPANESE COMMUNITIES

by

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ABSTRACT

In the Canadian archival system, in the past, ethnic communities were not encouraged to establish their own archives because they were considered to lack the resources required for sustaining professionally acceptable archives. In recent years public archives have come to emphasize preservation of their parent bodies' archives, and consequently fewer resources have been available for preservation of private archives, including ethnic archives. There is evidence that some ethnic communities are concerned to preserve their archival materials. This thesis examines the efforts of Japanese-Canadian communities to preserve archival materials bearing on their historical experiences.

A case study using the method of focussed interviews of Japanese-Canadian communities in seven cities revealed the substantial will to preserve archival materials. The study discovered that, while Japanese Canadians have been and are being rapidly assimilated to the larger society, cultural interests and the need for the sense of identity persist and are renewed by each generation. Under these circumstances, community leadership sees archival activities as an integral part of the community activities. The case study also revealed strengths and weaknesses of archival activities in those communities. Closeness to records creators through formal and informal networks within the communities provides community archives with distinct advantages. These archives can easily identify and locate materials of continuing value. They also have easy access to contextual information on records and their creators. Weaknesses were identified in defining acquisition policies and financial

resources. Contrary to concerns of some archivists and researchers, most respondents are aware of the need to abide by professional standards, and they are also willing to make their materials available to the general public.

Based on the findings of the case study, several recommendations are offered. Preservation of ethnic archival materials should be clearly recognized as a responsibility to be assumed by both public archives and ethnic communities. To carry out this responsibility effectively, planning and cooperation among different archives and communities are essential. Ethnic community-based archives, on their part, should follow the accepted principles and practices, especially in the area of acquisition, so that they function as a legitimate part of the Canadian archival system. Networking among ethnic community archives is also recommended in order to reveal relationships among their holdings.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a case study of seven Japanese-Canadian¹ communities' efforts to preserve their historical records. The ultimate purpose of the project is to explore the role that archival programs developed by ethnic communities can perform in the overall archival community in Canada to preserve ethnic archives.

Archivists have identified gaps in preservation of ethnic archival material. In the 1970s, the Public Archives of Canada implemented a program to acquire ethnic archival material and make ethnic groups aware of the importance of preserving their records. Provincial, municipal, and university archives also have been acquiring ethnic materials. Ethnic materials held by these archives, however, are insufficient to reflect the experience of various ethnic groups, which have a fairly strong influence on the economical, political, and sociological conditions of the society at large.

Some possible reasons for the poor record of preservation of ethnic materials by mainstream archives can be identified. First, ethnic archives are often given emphasis in response to political trends in governments but fail to be recognized as an essential aspect of the documentary heritage of the society on a permanent basis. Second, ethnic archives are difficult to define by nature. In this thesis, the definition of ethnic archives by Jian Liu is adopted:

¹ In this thesis, it was decided that the words *Japanese* and *Canadian* are hyphenated when they form a compound adjective modifying a noun as in *Japanese-Canadian communities*. When *Japanese* is modifying the noun *Canadian*, the two words are left open.

archival *fonds* created by organizations or persons identifying or identified with ethnic groups other than those of English, French, and native origin, and whose activities in whole or in part reflect overt actions of an ethnic character, regardless of where these *fonds* are preserved.²

Third, archival institutions do not necessarily have close contact with ethnic communities and, therefore, have difficulty identifying records of enduring value in the communities. Fourth, people and organizations in ethnic communities often feel uncomfortable entrusting their records to "outsiders." Fifth, languages used in records of ethnic communities sometimes cause problems: accessions may be left unprocessed for a long time, or repositories may hesitate to acquire records because of the difficulty of processing them.

Independent archives programs specifically created for ethnic material, such as the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, present an approach different from that of mainstream archives. Those thematic programs tend to emphasize the value of archives as research sources, and they are sometimes criticized as being at odds with the structure of the Canadian archival system.³

Yet another approach to preservation of ethnic archives is the development of archives programs under initiatives of ethnic communities themselves. Some ethnic groups, such as Jewish and

² Jian Liu, "Potential for Acquisition of Ethnic Archives: A Case Study of Five Chinese Organizations in Vancouver, British Columbia" (MAS Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1993), 19-20.

³ For example, see "Canadian Archives: Reports and Responses," *Archivaria* 11 (winter 1980-81): 7.

Finnish Canadians, have long traditions of keeping their archives.⁴ Although community-based programs to preserve ethnic archives are desirable in the light of the principle of territorial provenance,⁵ and they can have great advantages in identifying and acquiring records in the community, they have been difficult to sustain over a long period of time. This is mainly because of the amorphous nature of ethnic communities by definition and scarcity of resources available for archives without well-established sponsors.

No single approach would be successful on its own. Cooperation and balance among different approaches and repositories are essential for adequate preservation of ethnic archives. This project will examine experiences and achievements of different types of archival institutions and try to determine what role community-based ethnic archives programs can play in the broad context of the archival community as a whole. In order to explore perspectives and capacities of community-based ethnic archives, an interview-based case study of seven Japanese-Canadian communities was conducted. Seven local communities were selected for the study from the fourteen Japanese communities that have a local chapter of the National Association of Japanese Canadians. They are Kamloops, Lethbridge, Manitoba, Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal, and Vancouver.

⁴ Edward W. Laine, "Kallista Perintoa -- Precious Legacy!: Finnish-Canadian Archives, 1988-1985," *Archivaria* 22 (summer 1986): 75-94; and A.J. Arnold, "The Birth and Development of a Western Jewish Archives Program," *Canadian Archivist* 2, no.3 (1972): 24-29.

⁵ Territorial provenance is described in this way by Lewis J. Bellardo and Lynn Lady Bellardo, *A Glossary for Archivist, Manuscript Curators, and Records Managers* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1992), 35: "The origin of a group of documents with respect to geographical areas. The concept is directly linked to the principle that archival material should not be removed from the territory in which it was created."

In Chapter One, the archival literature pertaining to ethnic archives in North America is reviewed. In Chapter Two, the history of the Japanese in Canada is summarized. Special attention is paid to the development of communities and the perception of ethnicity in order to facilitate an understanding of the interviews used in this research. Chapter Three describes the methodology of the case study, and Chapter Four reports the results of the research. The thesis concludes with an evaluation of the findings of the case study, and recommendations for preservation of ethnic archives.

Some terms used in this thesis require clarification: a "community" refers to a local ethnic community in a specific geographical locale as opposed to a more abstract ethnic community encompassing all the people of a particular ethnic origin in Canada. The "research" is the case study of seven Japanese-Canadian communities and the "project" refers to the present thesis as a whole.

Chapter One

PRESERVATION OF ETHNIC ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

IN THE CANADIAN ARCHIVAL SYSTEM

Over the years, there have been some efforts in North America to preserve records created by various organizations and persons connected with ethnic groups. This chapter first evaluates some Canadian archival traditions and archival principles that have bearings on ethnic archives. It then reviews attempts to preserve ethnic archives in Canada and the United States.

1. Canadian Archival Traditions and Archival Principles

A basic archival principle is that records should be retained and preserved by those responsible for creating them.⁶ It follows that, whenever possible, organizations should be encouraged to develop their own archives. If organizations transfer their records to their institutional archives in an orderly fashion through well-developed records management systems, the functional integrity of records will be maintained, and users, including records creators themselves, can make the best of the archival material. Because it is generally accepted that institutional archives are unquestionably entitled to acquire records of their sponsoring bodies, the acquisition of institutional records is usually free from the problem of competition.

Not all organizations, to say nothing of individuals, are willing and able to preserve their records. As the report by the

⁶ The Consultative Group on Canadian Archives, *Canadian Archives: Report to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada* (Ottawa: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1980), 15. This publication is hereafter cited as *Canadian Archives*.

Consultative Group on Canadian Archives (commonly called the Wilson report, after the name of the chair, Ian Wilson) states, "all archives must depend for their continuing core funding on their parent body."⁷ Small organizations generally cannot afford to have an archives. If they do manage to sustain an archives, it is likely to pose operational problems. The funding is usually too scarce to allow for professional staff members and proper facilities, and the programs are susceptible to changing priorities and financial conditions of the organization. Another concern is accessibility by the general public. When organizations have in-house archives without receiving public funding, they may not feel obliged to provide services to outsiders. Some organizations with archival programs view them as administrative tools, rather than publicly-valued resources.⁸

Given that it is unrealistic to expect all archival materials to be kept by creators of such materials, many large archival institutions acquire and preserve records other than those of their parent organizations. As in other areas of social functions in Canada, public institutions have been bearing the greater part of the responsibility in preserving the nation's documentary heritage. This tradition of Canadian public archives is significantly different from that in the United States, where historical societies assume significant roles in preservation of private archival material. The tradition is also different from that in

⁷ Ibid., 62.

⁸ For some discussion about the accessibility to private institutional archives by the public, see Christopher L. Hives, "History, Business Records, and Corporate Archives in North America," *Archivaria* 22 (summer 1986): 40-57.

some countries where public archives are primarily concerned with the preservation of public records. The distinctive tradition of Canadian public archives is often discussed as "total archives." Wilfred Smith cites the four elements of the concept of "total archives" in his discussion of the Canadian archival tradition as developed at the Public Archives of Canada (PAC; since 1987 the National Archives of Canada, NAC).

- 1 all sources of archival material appropriate to the jurisdiction of the archives are acquired from both public and private sources;
- 2 all types of archival material may be acquired including manuscripts, maps, pictures, photographs, sound recordings, motion picture and other audio visual material and machine readable records;
- 3 all subjects of human endeavour should be covered by a repository in accordance with its territorial jurisdiction rather than being assigned to different repositories on the basis of subject;
- 4 life cycle ... the archival authority should be concerned with records from the time of their creation at least to the extent that it required to ensure the records judged worthy of preservation are selected and transferred to the archives.⁹

An archival system consisting of a few large total archives has some cogent advantages. The Wilson report observes that it can utilize limited resources efficiently by taking advantage of economies of scale.¹⁰ Large archives can usually provide better environmental control for storage, multi-media access devices and other facilities that are not easily available to small archives. Large archives are also more likely to develop specialized staff with proper training. Finally, users can benefit greatly if they

⁹ R.S. Gordon, *Acquisition Policy Document* (draft), (Ottawa:Public Archives of Canada, 1984) quoted in Wilfred Smith "Total Archives: The Canadian Experience," *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique* 57 (1986): 341.

¹⁰ *Canadian Archives*, 64.

can consult all kinds of material from various sources at one repository.

If put into practice in an ideal fashion, a total archives system should identify and preserve all the archival material worthy of preservation created in all segments and aspects of Canadian society including ethnic archives. As many archivists point out, however, this is not the case.¹¹

The decentralized approach discussed in the Wilson report stems from an awareness of the possible problems incurred by the centralist total archives approach. First, if records are judged only by what is of importance to the central archives, other material that is worthy of preservation from a local perspective may be disregarded. Removing archival material from the milieu in which it was created jeopardizes the integrity, and consequently the use and meaning of the material as a whole. Furthermore, sending materials to remote locations possibly alienates users, donors, and the general public in the originating community. This can impede use and support for further acquisition and funding.¹²

Another problem associated with total archives is competition among repositories. In the total archives model, the primary criterion for determining where archival material should go is territorial jurisdiction. When different levels of governments operate their archives, however, the application of this criterion is problematic. Often, an individual or organization can be considered of local, provincial, and national significance. Added

¹¹ For example, about the inadequacy of preservation of ethnic archives, see Elizabeth Boghossian, *Ethnic Archives Workshop Report* (Ottawa: Multiculturalism Canada, 1985).

¹² *Canadian Archives*, 65.

to the unclear demarcation of scope of acquisition, there are cases of irrational acquisition. As the Wilson report regrettably, but correctly, suggests, acquisition policies are often distorted by attempts to impress budgetary authorities with some well-publicized or prestigious acquisitions or by following fashionable trends.¹³ The situation can even be worsened as university archives, research institutions, and other repositories join the scene, and more or less adopt the total archives approach.

Many archivists have been concerned with competition in acquisition and have discussed ways to cope with, if not completely solve, the problem. One of the most commonly advocated measures to avoid competition among archival repositories is to establish well-defined acquisition policies. The guidelines by Canadian Council of Archives promote the utility of acquisition policies "as the basis for cooperative acquisition strategies and as an important tool in planning for the systematic identification and preservation of our national archival heritage."¹⁴ Kaye Lamb argued that such policies would allow repositories to alert one another to collections in their respective fields.¹⁵ He also suggested that well-defined acquisition policies would be much more likely to attract help from foundations and financial resources than a sporadic acquisitions plan. Kathy Hall specifically points out that phrases such as national (or provincial or local) significance

¹³ Ibid., 64.

¹⁴ Canadian Council of Archives, *Guidelines for Developing an Acquisition Policy* (Ottawa: Canadian Association of Archives, 1990), 1.

¹⁵ "Acquisition Policy: Competition or Cooperation?" *Canadian Archivist* 2, no.1 (1970): 21.

employed in archival legislation should be more precisely defined.¹⁶

Although well-developed acquisition policies are undoubtedly useful in clearing some grey areas, they cannot completely eliminate jurisdictional overlapping and conflicts of interest. A consensus is developing among archivists that cooperation based on communication and well-intended reasoning is essential in order to avoid the potential competition to distort orderly acquisition.

Much less often discussed in archival literature is the issue of records that escape the net of the existing archival system and are lost forever. Archivists seem to be primarily concerned with reducing the competition in acquisition and conflict of interest. Acquisition policies are mainly advocated as a means for individual repositories to avoid competition with others and to make best use of limited resources. They are not taken as a measure for the whole archival community to divide and assign the responsibility of preservation of the society's documentary heritage. What needs to be recognized is that the multitude of records worthy of preservation in the modern society surpasses by far the capacity of all archival institutions put together. Competition must be avoided not only because it is unethical and might violate archival principles, but also because while multiple repositories are chasing records of a prominent individual or organization, other records which are less noticeable but nonetheless significant might be lost.

¹⁶ Kathy Hall, "Archival Acquisitions: Legal Mandates and Methods," *Archivaria* 18 (summer 1984): 66.

The official response of the Association of Canadian Archivists (ACA) agreed with the Wilson report's arguments favouring a decentralized approach. The ACA judges that "a much broader spectrum of historically important materials can be preserved; the full financial burden does not fall directly on the public purse; and the archives remain a living part of their institutional or local community."¹⁷ The ACA further argues that publicly-funded archives can better fulfil the overall archival mandate by supporting and encouraging "institutional, local, and even thematic archives."¹⁸ The inclusion of thematic archives is apparently incompatible with the ACA's response to the Symons Report,¹⁹ which it criticizes for adopting a subject approach wherein records are seen "as grist for scholarly research, subject to collections development which is the library-oriented assembly of materials for scholarly use."²⁰ This apparent inconsistency should be interpreted as the recognition that resources are limited, but new efforts should conform to established principles and patterns of acquisition. As far as the number is concerned,

¹⁷ "Canadian Archives: Reports and Responses," 15.

¹⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹⁹ The Symons Report was issued by the Association of University and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) in 1975. It viewed archival materials as being solely research sources. Thus, the report recommended a subject approach to archival preservation and the central roles of university archives in coordinating the archival system. These view and recommendations were severely criticized by the ACA. For the response to the Symons Report by the ACA, see "Canadian Archives: Reports and Responses," 6-11, and also see Terry Eastwood, "Attempts at National Planning for Archives in Canada, 1975-1985," *Public Historian* 8, no.3 (summer 1986): 74-91.

²⁰ "Canadian Archives: Reports and Responses," 7.

the ACA's appeal for a decentralized approach has been met: archival repositories increased from 294 in 1977 to 764 in 1990.²¹

Some archivists, however, might question the level of performance of those newly established archives. Traditionally, professional archivists were concerned with the possible harm caused by inadequate collecting agencies competing with legitimate archival repositories. At a panel discussion of the Canadian Historical Association in 1969, entitled "Acquisitions Policy: Competition or Cooperation?," one of the major concerns of the participants was acquisition by inappropriate organizations or collectors. Some panelists discussed prerequisites for legitimate archival repositories to ensure responsible preservation of archival material complying with archival principles and accepted practices. Kaye Lamb stated that appropriate physical facilities, ability to provide reasonable conditions of access and use, and some assurance of long-term interest are the prerequisites.²² Another panelist, Donald McQuat, argued that there is one essential qualification for archives, which is that "they must have the specialized facilities and trained staff to preserve, analyze and make available to the public their documentary holdings."²³

2. Public Institutions

When the Canadian federal government adopted multiculturalism

²¹ Association of Canadian Archivists, *Directory of Canadian Archival Repositories* (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1977) and Canadian Council of Archives, *Directory of Canadian Archives* (Ottawa: Canadian Council of Archives, 1990).

²² "Competition or Cooperation?" 22.

²³ Ibid., 25.

as a national policy in 1971, it recognized that the PAC had "relatively few holdings relating to Canada's various cultural groups or their activities."²⁴ Through the policy, the funds to establish the National Ethnic Archives (NEA) program were provided to the PAC. The purpose of the NEA was to "ensure the holdings of the Public Archives more fully represent the fact that the Canadian heritage is drawn from many cultures."²⁵

Six years after the inception of the NEA, Walter Neutel reported on the progress of the program.²⁶ Although the NEA aimed at encouraging "all ethno-cultural communities to take an interest in and responsibility for preserving their archival heritage" as part of its objective,²⁷ the greatest attention was given to collecting and making available at the PAC archival material of national significance pertaining to ethno-cultural communities.²⁸ Neutel points out both negative and positive responses by ethno-cultural communities. In his view, some communities are reluctant to entrust personal records and organizational records to strangers. Communities of East European origin are particularly reluctant because of fear that archival material may be used to

²⁴ Federal Government, "Programs of Implementation" in Federal Government's Response to Book IV of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (Tabled in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971).

²⁵ *Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada* (Ottawa: Ministry of State for Multiculturalism, 1971), 26.

²⁶ Walter Neutel, "Geschichte Wie Es Eigentlich Gewesen or The Necessity of Having Ethnic Archives Programmes," *Archivaria* 7 (winter 1978): 104-109.

²⁷ Public Archives of Canada, *Public Archives Report 1976-1977* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1977), 49.

²⁸ Neutel, 107.

their detriment in the future.²⁹ Positive responses were mainly based on the quality and long-term reliability of the service the PAC could provide as an established permanent institution, and on the PAC's neutrality outside the possible disagreements and rivalries within the community. Another advantage of keeping ethnic archival material at the PAC, Neutel argues, is that it is complemented by the governmental records kept at the PAC.³⁰

If the NEA was better funded than many other efforts to preserve ethnic archives, it was still not free from resource constraints. Neutel admitted that acquisitions by the NEA were still limited. He also saw that further acquisition would be even more restricted because the major proportion of the resources have to be allocated to processing and caring for materials entrusted in order to maintain the credibility of the program to donors. An annual report of the PAC also reports that the large backlog of unprocessed records tends to restrict the acquisition of new material.³¹

Since its inception, the ethnic archives program at the National Archives (NAC) has undergone some changes. The NEA changed its name to the Multicultural Archives program, which was dissolved in 1994. There is some debate at the NAC about withdrawing completely from the acquisition of multicultural archives due to government financial restraints.³²

²⁹ *Public Archives Report 1976-1977*, 49.

³⁰ Neutel, 108.

³¹ *Public Archives of Canada, Public Archives Report 1977-78* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1978), 48-49.

³² E-mail letter to the author from Myron Momryk, Manuscript Division, the National Archives of Canada, 1 May 1995.

Although the NEA undoubtedly contributed to preservation of ethnic archives by acquiring material for itself, the most significant impact of the program may be that it officially added the preservation of ethnic material to the agenda of the archival community. It drew attention to ethnic archival material and induced, to some extent, programs in various forms, such as historical societies and archival committees in ethnic communities and ethnic archives programs at provincial archives and universities.³³

Acquisition of ethnic archival material of "national significance" by the NAC, however, had some inherent problems. Examining the impact of the multiculturalism policy and the state of ethnic archives preservation, Robert F. Harney, then president of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, questioned how the federal archives defines "material of national significance" pertaining to ethnic communities. In his view, the national frame is often rather irrelevant for the life of ethnic groups. He goes on to state that:

National lobbies, self-proclaimed ethnic spokesmen in federal politics, and the national committees for most ethnic organizations are, more often than not, the most ethereal and ephemeral part of any ethnic group.³⁴

Nevertheless, Harney argues that, for political and institutional reasons, the federal effort necessarily imposes a national framework leading to competition among archives at various levels

³³ Neutel, 107.

³⁴ Robert F. Harney, "Ethnic Archival and Library Materials in Canada: Problems of Bibliographic Control and Preservation," *Ethnic Forum: Journal of Ethnic Studies and Ethnic Bibliography* 2, no.2 (fall 1982): 24.

of government and other institutions such as universities and research centres. The result of the competition is:

the illogical removal of materials from regions in which they are relevant and would be consulted regularly to Ottawa or Toronto or some other distant metropolis where they are barely accessible to community members and to those younger, less well funded, academics who should be able to gain easy familiarity with such sources.³⁵

The issue of accessibility is also discussed in one of the annual reports of the PAC. The NEA made it clear that it focussed on persons engaged in research at the post-secondary school level and that it encouraged high school students to rely on provincial and local repositories.³⁶ This distinction, however, cannot be rationalized if the criterion for the acquisition by the NEA is whether the material is of national significance, which is totally irrelevant to the level of research or researchers. For instance, high school students are as likely to be concerned with national questions as any other level of students is.

On his part, Neutel admitted that the NEA had "but skimmed the surface of some communities and in many has not yet accomplished that much."³⁷ It can be suspected that by skimming the most noticeable part of each community, the acquisition by the NEA might have resulted in elitist representation of ethnic documentary heritage. This is particularly ironic because the interest in ethnic archives came to light when archivists and historians realized in the 1960s that archives preservation and history writing had been biased towards the great and powerful while

³⁵ Ibid., 23.

³⁶ *Public Archives Report 1977-78*, 49.

³⁷ Neutel, 108.

neglecting lives of ordinary people. Even worse, in some cases, acquisitions by the NEA resulted in the split of a fonds by transferring only part of it that looked "nationally significant" in the eye of the NEA staff who paid a short visit to the community.³⁸

3. Research-oriented Preservation

Another problem Harney points out about the NEA is its inadequate judgement concerning what to preserve, citing the example of the researching and painting of over five hundred ethnic family coats of arms. He suggests that:

some sort of advisory body of scholars in the field of ethnic and immigration studies might provide a useful guide or check to the archivists and their uses of their budget.³⁹

As a corollary, the best way to preserve ethnic archives Harney believes is to have "research institutes in ethnic and immigration studies with archivists, librarians and museologists as advisors to the academics in charge, spaced wisely throughout the nation."⁴⁰ This is a researcher's view that is not accepted by many archivists. Archivists disagree with Harney's premise that archives exist solely to serve academics or scholars. Archives "exist to preserve documents which exist in their own right, and are valuable in themselves whether any academic has interest in

³⁸ For example, records of Tsutae Sato, who was a prominent educator in the Japanese community, have been preserved at the NAC and the University of British Columbia. The material held at UBC was recently transferred to the Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives in Vancouver.

³⁹ Harney, 24.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 28.

them or not."⁴¹ Furthermore, in archival theory, users are never acknowledged as the adequate judge of appraisal and acquisition. To validate this, one would only have to recall that the present poor state of preservation of ethnic archives is at least partly a result of archivists having followed the trend of history writings and responding to researchers' demands.

In the United States, however, researchers' views are more central in the preservation of ethnic archives. As Jian Liu noted, the concept of ethnic archives is different in the United States than in Canada,⁴² and ethnic archives are mainly collected and preserved as sources for documentation of immigrants' experience.

From its very early stage, the preservation of ethnic archives in the United States was intertwined with demands for source materials by historians. Afro-American historian Carter G. Woodson started collecting historical documents and sociological data on contemporary Afro-Americans as early as 1915 through the foundation of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. He did so because he realized that the collection of source materials was an essential component of his project to "research, write, and publish a history that accurately reflected the black experience."⁴³ Although Woodson should be credited for being far ahead of his contemporaries in recognizing the necessity to preserve source materials for Afro-American histories, his

⁴¹ Boghossian, 22.

⁴² Liu, 20.

⁴³ Jacqueline Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Collection of Source Materials for Afro-American History," *American Archivist* 48, no. 3 (summer 1985): 262.

collection was an accumulation of documents, which does not comply with archival principles.

John Grabowski observes that the burgeoning interest in social history, the history of immigration, and the nature of ethnicity "more than anything, spurred the development of ethnic collections within mainline archival institutions" in the United States.⁴⁴ One such prominent program is the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC), formally established in 1965, which had its genesis in a history project relating to the Minnesota Iron Ranges.⁴⁵

The IHRC is a grand program that can claim some success. In 1985, however, Susan Grigg critically examined its holdings and historic collecting policy.⁴⁶ The collecting policy of the IHRC was of the broadest kind. It encompassed the twenty-four ethnic groups that are identified with the great wave of migration from the 1880s to World War I.⁴⁷ The only explicit limitations of the policy were that acquisitions must be two-dimensional records rather than three-dimensional objects and that they must "deal with the causes of emigration ..., the actual processes of migration, or

⁴⁴ John J. Grabowski, "Archivists and Immigrants, Embarking for New Destinations Together," in *Documenting Diversity: A Report on the Conference on Documenting the Immigrant Experience in the United States of America*, prepared by CDIE Planning Committee (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Immigration History Research Centre, University of Minnesota, 1991), 50.

⁴⁵ Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Immigration Studies Collection of the University of Minnesota," *American Archivist* 32, no. 2 (April 1969): 142.

⁴⁶ Susan Grigg "A World of Repositories, a World of Records: Redefining the Scope of a National Subject Collection," *American Archivist* 48, no.3 (summer 1985): 286-295.

⁴⁷ Vecoli, 142-143.

the experiences of the immigrants and their descendants."⁴⁸ The policy did not include any restriction by geography or time period. The geographic scope was the entire United States at every level of activity from nation to household and the time span was from the beginning of the great migration to the indefinite future.⁴⁹

Examining the holdings of the IHRC, Grigg admits that the IHRC failed to fulfil its ambitious policy. The amount of records was rather small. Even in cases of some ethnic groups which were relatively well documented, the composition of holdings was uneven and the strengths were often within certain topical or geographical limits.⁵⁰

The more discriminatory acquisition plan that Grigg proposes restricts the scope by records creator types, such as the press, church and fraternal organizations, as well as by geographical area. The restriction by geographical area is especially important because, aside from the policy's being too broad, Grigg points out the problem of collecting local materials on a nation-wide basis. She observes that "ethnic history is overwhelmingly local history, and truly local materials can best be chosen and made accessible at a local level."⁵¹

A research-oriented view of ethnic archives prevails in the literature and practices in the United States. One of the

⁴⁸ "Statement of Policy Relating to the Collecting of Materials for the Immigrant Archives". [Mimeographed] (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1974?); quoted in Grigg, 289.

⁴⁹ Grigg, 287.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 290.

⁵¹ Ibid., 292.

prominent approaches to the preservation of ethnic archives is to first plan, or conceive, a particular project of history writing, and then try to identify useful records as source materials for the project. An example is the discussion by Robert M. Warner and Francis X. Blouin Jr., that explores possible source materials for documenting the great migrations between 1820 and 1920, emphasizing collection of materials overseas as essential sources.⁵²

Not only historians but other academics such as sociologists also urge archives to serve their needs by collecting materials useful for them. Richard Juliani argues the need of qualitative data for the study of immigration and ethnicity. He singles out oral history as the first source that can be collected by archives and be useful for sociological studies. He later questions whether it is possible to gather and interpret "data not originally created for research purposes and through this indirect technique to achieve fragments of a functional substitute for the interview."⁵³ It appears that Juliani considers archives as data collecting agencies to work at the demand of scholars and that he has a view at odds with archival theories.

⁵² Robert M. Warner and Francis X. Blouin Jr., "Documenting the Great Migration and a Century of Ethnicity in America," *American Archivist* 39 (July 1979):319-328. Similar approaches are discussed in Marc Lee Raphael, "The Genesis of a Communal History: The Columbus Jewish History Project," *American Jewish Archives* 29 (April 1977):53-69; and Thomas H. Kreneck, "Documenting a Mexican American Community: The Houston Example" *American Archivist* 48, no.3 (summer 1985):272-285.

⁵³ Richard N. Juliani, "The Use of Archives in the Study of Immigration and Ethnicity," *American Archivist* 39, no.4 (October 1976):474, 476.

Even when a repository is engaged in the preservation of archives of a specific ethnic group with programs partly originating in the ethnic community, researchers and research needs are often intertwined with the archives program in the United States. The two Swedish archives in Illinois described by Timothy Johnson and Kermit Westerberg both have strong ties with research institutions.⁵⁴ The Swedish American Archives of Greater Chicago receives professional staffing and storage space from the Center for Scandinavian Studies of North Park College. The archives' owner, the Swedish American Historical Society cooperates with the centre in collection development, fund-raising, planning, policy formation, and promotion of the archives. The Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center is located in Augustana College Library, and it had its major holdings transferred from the College Library. The centre also collaborates with the library in cataloguing published materials. Although cooperation with universities and research institutions can help archival repositories in professional treatment of material and storage space, archivists must be aware of their professional role and ensure that the immediate research needs of the scholars do not affect archival activities such that they violate the archival principles.

In Canada, although there is some strong advocacy for free-standing ethnic archival institutions whose objectives are the study of ethnicity and immigration, archivists unequivocally oppose

⁵⁴ Timothy J. Johnson, "The Swedish American Archives of Greater Chicago, *Illinois Libraries* 69, no.7 (September 1987):600-601"; and Kermit B. Westerberg, "Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center," *Illinois Libraries* 69, no.7 (September 1987):601-606.

academics' view that archival material exists primarily as a data source for them. It is argued that "the loyalty of an archivist lies properly with the community that created these documents, and the first priority lies in serving the needs of those people and in ensuring a continuation of their historical record."⁵⁵

4. Preservation within the Ethnic Communities

At the Ethnic Archives Workshop held in Toronto, 1983, it was argued that in some cases records of community institutions might as well be left with those institutions because they are usually staffed by people of the community in which they are based, and the records would therefore be assured of careful treatment.⁵⁶

Archivists, however, do not share a single perspective on the question of whether records are carefully preserved by the ethnic communities that have created them.

Some archivists think that ethnic groups are not aware of the value of their records as archival material. One of the aims of the NEA was "to alert ethno-cultural communities to the nature of archival material and the importance of its preservation."⁵⁷ The Collection Development Workshop at the Conference on Documenting the Immigrant Experience held in Minnesota in 1990 concluded that there was "the need to increase awareness on the part of immigrant/ethnic communities of the value of archival records,

⁵⁵ Boghossian, 22.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁷ Neutel, 107.

personal papers, and artifacts and to encourage them to take appropriate measures for their preservation."⁵⁸

Other archivists and academics, however, view this issue differently. Harney asserts that "ethnic amateur historians, immigrant organization officials and community archivists have fought to save imperiled material for years while depositories of the circumambient Anglocentric society dismissed their value."⁵⁹ He denounces the aforementioned part of the NEA objective as indicating an "arrogant misunderstanding." In the United States, Rudolph Vecoli observes that "prior to the 1960s, what systematic preservation of immigrant records took place was due to the initiatives of immigrant/ethnic historical societies."⁶⁰ John Grabowski agrees with Vecoli that, until the early 1960s, the field of ethnic manuscript collecting within academic or mainline historical institutions was nonexistent and that only ethnic groups themselves preserved records through their agencies such as museums, archives, colleges, and "a myriad of small reading rooms and 'national' libraries."⁶¹

Although many institutions in ethnic communities should be given credit for preservation of their historical records, it is also true that many ethnic groups simply did not have sufficient resources to manage their archives. As well, as Vecoli suggests,

⁵⁸ CDIE Planning Committee, *Documenting Diversity: A Report on the Conference on Documenting the Immigrant Experience in the United States of America* (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, 1991), 9.

⁵⁹ Harney, 25.

⁶⁰ Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Why a Conference on Documenting the Immigrant Experience?" in *Documenting Diversity*, 42.

⁶¹ Grabowski, 50.

some groups were so marginalized by orthodox history that they did not think they had a meaningful past and, therefore, they failed to value their records as historically significant.⁶² The interviews of Chinese organizations by Jian Liu suggest that this perspective still persists in some ethnic communities. For example, in response to a question regarding the possibility of depositing records in an archives, one of her informants answered with a firm "no," stating that his organization's records were of no use to any other people.⁶³

The apparent neglect of records by ethnic groups does not support the notion that ethnic groups lack significant bodies of historical records. This notion derives from "the stereotype of the immigrants as uniformly illiterate peasants."⁶⁴ According to Vecoli, this notion often has been used as an "explanation" of poor archival holdings of ethnic materials. Publication of more than a thousand newspapers and periodicals in languages other than English in the United States in 1910, and the hundreds of millions of letters sent to immigrants' home countries discredit the stereotype and testify to the existence of records of immigrants worth preserving.

Although there are significant bodies of historical records of ethnic groups, archivists at mainstream institutions are not necessarily enthusiastic about ethnic communities establishing

⁶² Vecoli, "Why a Conference," 42.

⁶³ Liu, 73.

⁶⁴ Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History," in *The State of American History*, ed. Herbert J. Bass (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1970), 74. In this article, Vecoli explores the reasons why ethnicity was long neglected in the American historiography.

their own archival repositories. The NEA did not encourage ethnic communities to have their own archival programs because "they usually have a very limited capacity for arranging and describing collections, little accessibility for research and no access to technical facilities for the care and repair of documents."⁶⁵ Inadequate resources and the lack of professional expertise are the main reasons for opposition to archives developed by ethnic communities... Those archives themselves are not unaware of such problems. The American Jewish Archives (AJA), founded in 1947, identified two major problems in their holdings in 1983: their four-story building was full, and they had two large unprocessed collections totalling two thousand linear feet. The survey conducted as part of the AJA's collection management program further revealed that many of the holdings had been just dumped into boxes.⁶⁶ Similar situations probably exist in most ethnic community archives.

Although these problems need to be recognized and objectively examined, they should not be overemphasized so much that they lend to an outright dismissal of efforts by ethnic communities towards preserving their records. The restriction of resources is not a problem particular to ethnic community archives. Even the most powerful archives of the country, that is, the Public Archives of Canada, had to slow down its acquisition of ethnic archives due to the large backlog of unprocessed records. The need to deal with

⁶⁵ Public Archives of Canada, *Public Archives Report 1976-1977*, 49.

⁶⁶ Kevin Proffitt, "Collection Management at the American Jewish Archives," *American Archivist* 49, no.2 (spring 1986), 177-178.

"minority" languages such as Chinese and Japanese also posed some impediments to the processing of acquired records.⁶⁷ And, while the funding for public archives and other large archives is relatively stable, the status of ethnic archives programs or, if such special program does not exist, acquisition of ethnic archives in the institutions may not be as secure as one might hope. As revealed in the Ethnic Archives Workshop, even though provincial archivists recognized the value of ethnic archives, restrictions of their mandate and budget result in a low priority of ethnic archives in practice. This practical reality owes partly to the fact that the first responsibility of provincial archives lies in preserving governmental records.⁶⁸ Therefore, in time of restraints, ethnic archival acquisitions tend to be one of the first activities to go.

Archival programs established by ethnic communities do have some advantages. Although community archives are not record creators per se, they are close to the creators. Therefore, the preservation of the functional integrity of fonds through the systematic transfer of records is likely to take place. Records of different organizations and individuals acquired by a community archives will complement each other, collectively reflecting the state of the community that created them.⁶⁹ Being part of the

⁶⁷ Public Archives of Canada, *Public Archives Report 1975-76*, 48; and *Public Archives Report 1977-78*, 48-49.

⁶⁸ Boghossian, 4-5.

⁶⁹ For some discussion how organizations in an ethnic community interact with conditions of the community, see, for example, Pyong Gap Min, "Cultural and Economic Boundaries of Korean Ethnicity: a Comparative Analysis," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 14, no.2 (April 1991): 225-241; and Maurilio Vagil, "The Ethnic Organization as an Instrument of Political and Social Change; JALDEF, a Case Study,"

community, a community archives can easily identify and locate creators of records worthy of preservation and have ready access to information on the context of the records. Donors are likely to prefer repositories within the ethnic community, as found out by Liu in her interviews.⁷⁰ Because donors' will is one of the determinative factors in acquisition of archival material,⁷¹ this provides a practical reason for the establishment of an archives within the community.

The evolution of Finnish archives chronicled by Edward W. Laine⁷² suggests some implications of the preservation of archives in ethnic communities. Contrary to the simplistic view of some archivists and historians, the Finns came to Canada with a "well-defined awareness of a native Finnish Archival tradition" that goes back well into the fifteen century and they had a "remarkable degree of historical consciousness concerning their past and present." The first conscious effort by the Finnish community to preserve their historical records is observed in the establishment of "organic archives," by which Laine means repositories created to preserve records of the parent bodies. The first archives of this sort, the Archives of the Finnish Society of Toronto, Laine observes, was an indication that the membership of the Society had developed "a shared sense of history that enabled them to undertake a collective approach to safeguarding their records for future

Journal of Ethnic Studies 18, no.1 (spring 1990):15-31.

⁷⁰ Liu, 99.

⁷¹ "Competition or Cooperation," 21-22; and Boghossian, 9.

⁷² Laine, 75-94.

generations,"⁷³ and the archives was fully aware of such fundamental archival principles as provenance and respect des fonds. Resource restrictions, however, led to the eventual breakdown of Finnish organic archives. The major problem Laine specifically notes is that volunteer organization officials often inevitably worked at home, resulting in the alienation of records from the offices.

The Finnish community's "logical solution" for maintaining important Finnish records was to establish centralized research archives. Two "research" archives, the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Archives and the Finnish Canadian Archives, with a nationwide scope of preservation were established in 1944 and 1947, respectively. They reflected the schism at the time between the right-wing and the left-wing within the Finnish community. Both archives later transferred their holdings to public archives: the former to the Archives of Ontario and the latter to the Public Archives of Canada.

Laine does not directly account for the transfer of their holdings to the public archives. To fend off the criticism of the centralized approach of large public archives which removes records from their originating locales, he argues that the two "national" archives of the community itself solicited records from across the country. He also emphasizes that these Finnish "national" archives secured valuable records that would have been lost without their intervention.⁷⁴

⁷³ Ibid., 88.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 93.

What is not found in the evolution of Finnish archives programs is the archives collectively supported by a local ethnic community, which would readily utilize the advantages of the community-based repositories while observing the principle of geographical territoriality taking on a segment of the whole spectrum of records creators.

An example of this type of endeavour can be found with a network of archival programs developed by the Jews. The Western Region Jewish Archives Committee (WRJAC) was formed in 1967 by the Winnipeg Office of Canadian Jewish Congress, followed by the establishment of archives programs in Calgary and Vancouver in 1969 and 1970, respectively.⁷⁵ The WRJAC cultivated close cooperation with provincial archives, all major organizations and institutions in the field including the University of Manitoba History Department, as well as the National Archives Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal. The close ties with those institutions provide the WRJAC access to professional expertise and facilities of better established archives, while the WRJAC in turn can assist them by bringing to light neglected or undiscovered materials.

The problems experienced by ethnic community archival programs are more a matter of practices and feasibility rather of infringing archival theories and principles. The severe resource shortages are certainly a formidable issue, but it is not specific to ethnic community archives. Moreover, there are other obstacles in the preservation of ethnic archival material. Although Joel Wurl

⁷⁵ Evolution of the Western Region Jewish Archives Committee is detailed in Arnold, 24-29.

acknowledges the great progress in the preservation of ethnic archives during the last thirty years, he identifies several issues involved in ethnic archives.⁷⁶ First, the universe, now consisting of numerous repositories engaged in preservation of ethnic archives, is hardly defined or understood by anyone. Information about "who has what" and "what they are doing with what they have" is essential for better operation of each institution and the overall archival community. Second, Wurl points out "the great difficulty we face in getting a full intellectual grasp of the categories of sources that could be considered 'documentation of the immigrant experience.'" A multitude of languages involved is the third issue. It impedes not only the processing of acquired records but also acquisition because custodians might discard old records of their ancestries or predecessors when they cannot understand the contents. The custodians may fail to appreciate the value of the records or may be afraid of possible damage caused by making the records public. The last obstacle that Wurl observes is the lack of interinstitutional cooperation. He questions, "is it because we are simply too busy keeping our own ships afloat, or are there other forces at work such as proprietary or overly competitive impulses, ethnocentrism, or basic lack of interest in the bigger picture?"

Cooperation among archival institutions in acquisition is all too often emphasized in archival literature without significant consequences. What is as essential is to draw a picture encompassing the whole archival community to design what system is

⁷⁶ Joel Wurl, "The Archival Golden Door; Thoughts on Improving the State of Historical Documentation on the Immigrant Experience," in *Documenting Diversity*, 66-68.

desirable to serve the society at large making the maximum use of limited resources. In the present reality, no category of archival repositories has enough resources to cover the whole field of ethnic archives. Therefore, ethnic community repositories should be viewed as valuable resources of the archival community; and they should be given appropriate roles in relation to other institutions.

Several issues need to be addressed in evaluating the potential of ethnic community-based archival programs. First, to sustain an archival program, there needs to be a substantial entity of community and community members' sense of identity. Second, to function as a legitimate repository, an archives must follow principles and practices acknowledged and realized in the archival community. Acquisition policy should be established following those principles, and professional expertise should always guide processing of acquisitions, creation of finding aids and reference services. The third issue is the accessibility by the public. This includes open hours and locations, as well as treatment of holdings and reference services. Fourth, a community requires long-term financial planning and substantial basis for funding in order to sustain an ethnic community-based archival program.

Chapter Two

DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE COMMUNITIES IN CANADA

This chapter reviews the development of Japanese communities in Canada. These communities underwent drastic changes because of mass evacuations during World War II. Before the war, the Japanese were secluded in their communities having minimum contact with the larger society. After the war, the Japanese came to be considered one of the most assimilated minority groups in Canada, with a high rate of inter-racial marriages and residential dispersion.⁷⁷ Because development of communities and the change in the character of communities are inextricably related with Japanese Canadians' views of their identity and history, and thus related to their archival activities, a review of Japanese-Canadian history should facilitate an understanding of current activities in those communities.

1. Before World War II

Early Immigrants

The immigration from Japan to Canada started in earnest around

⁷⁷ For instance, about the residential dispersal, see Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart inc., 1991), 356; and Keibo Oiwa, "The Structure of Dispersal: The Japanese-Canadian Community of Montreal 1942-52," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 18, no.2 (1986): 25-26. Adachi also discusses the low level of retention of the Japanese language (Adachi, 366). In the 1980s, it was reported that third-generation Japanese Canadians married non-Japanese three times out of four (Roger Daniels, "Afterward: The Struggle for Redress," in Adachi, 373. Furthermore, discussing the third-generation Japanese Canadians' desire to recover some elements of Japanese culture, Adachi states that "they are finding that their own acculturation has limited the possibility of recovery." (Adachi, 363)

the mid-1890s, about a decade after the law to permit emigration of the working classes was enacted in Japan in 1884. There were less than one thousand Japanese in Canada in 1896, of which the majority were fishermen on the coast of British Columbia.⁷⁸ From 1896 to 1901, nearly fourteen thousand Japanese immigrants entered Canadian ports, but the majority travelled through to the United States. Only 4,738 Japanese were recorded in the 1901 census.

Early Japanese immigrants were unmarried males of the average age of 22.8 at the time of their arrival. They would take whatever jobs available, which were often of seasonal nature. Thus, they tended to drift from job to job in various parts of the province.⁷⁹

Development of Communities

In Steveston, a village near the mouth of the Fraser River, nearly two thousand Japanese were engaged in the fishing industry by 1899. The Japanese Fishermen's Hospital was founded in 1895 and provided a primitive form of medicare.⁸⁰ It became instrumental in treating the yellow fever and typhus epidemics of the early 1900s. When the massive reductions of fishing licences were imposed on Japanese fishermen in the 1920s, they organized a system to mitigate the damage. Married men were given priority to retain licences and those who thought they could best be able to find other employment voluntarily withdrew. They also organized the

⁷⁸ Charles H. Young and Helen R. Y. Reid, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938), 6.

⁷⁹ Rigenta Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1935), 55.

⁸⁰ Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, *A Dream of Riches: The Japanese Canadians 1877-1977* (Toronto: Gilchrist Wright, 1977), 24.

Fishermen's Benevolent Society to raise funds for compensation for family heads who lost licences. The Steveston Japanese Farmers' Company was organized in 1923 and bought eighty acres of land to accommodate displaced fishermen in agriculture. The company then organized a series of classes to teach the rudiments of farming in Canada.

In Vancouver by 1907, a sizable Japanese community had grown with small businesses along Powell Street, close to the Hastings Saw Mill, which employed five hundred Japanese around the turn of the century. The Japanese population in the city grew rapidly from 2,036 in 1911 to 4,246 in 1921 and 8,328 in 1931.⁸¹ Within the city, the Japanese were concentrated in particular areas, with more than half of the population living in the Powell Street area in 1931.

In September 1907, the growing antagonism felt among the white population towards the "Orientals" culminated in a Vancouver riot. The Japanese organized fighting units and met the mob, which had swept through Chinatown and continued on into "Little Tokyo" along Powell Street. By nightfall the Japanese formed security patrols to protect the area.⁸²

The fierce anti-Japanese feelings expressed in the riot resulted in the Gentlemen's Agreement between the Canadian and Japanese governments. The agreement set an annual quota of 400 on Japanese immigrants, but returning residents and residents' wives, children and parents were exempted from this restriction. Because of this exemption, the composition of the Japanese immigrants

⁸¹ Young, 68-69.

⁸² Adachi, 74.

drastically changed after 1908. Utilizing the "picture bride" system, Japanese men started importing wives and, until restrictions were placed on the entry of women in 1928, the number of females arriving in Canada exceeded that of males every year except two. Before this influx of women, the Japanese community in Canada was comprised overwhelmingly of males. By 1931, the proportion of females to males increased to nearly seven to ten, which led to a high birth rate. The change in composition of the Japanese population naturally meant a change in the nature of their life in Canada and the community. More and more Japanese considered their lives in Canada permanent as they got settled and started building families.

In December 1915, during World War I, the Japanese community in Vancouver organized volunteer corps to contribute to the war effort of their adopted country. The expenses of the training and maintenance of the volunteers were borne by the Japanese community and the corps trained for three months.⁸³

From the early days of Japanese immigrants in Canada in late nineteenth century through the 1930s, the Japanese relied on their ethnic community for economic and social support. They formed various organizations to cope with the various issues of community members. In 1934, the Japanese organizations in Vancouver numbered approximately eighty-four.⁸⁴ They included highly specialized

⁸³ The federal government, however, did not accept the enlistment of the corps and the group was dissolved. Japanese volunteers from British Columbia later went to Alberta to enlist individually and eventually a total of 196 volunteers went to war.

⁸⁴ Young, 108. There were an approximate total of 230 Japanese organizations in Canada in 1934.

associations such as trade associations, which were not to be found in other smaller Japanese communities. Associations were also specialized according to education, age, and so on. Many organizations in Vancouver assumed a role of pulling together similar organizations in other areas.

The Canadian Japanese Association (CJA) was established as early as in 1897 to aid immigrants in finding jobs and develop adult education programs, especially those focusing on Canadian customs and the English language. Although the Japanese needed to get accustomed to Canadian life, they also retained strong ties with Japan. The CJA exerted increasingly greater control over the Japanese community with "a rather pronounced nationalistic bias."⁸⁵ It derived its authority from its close relationship with the Japanese consulate, which acknowledged and utilized the CJA as an administrative agency of the community with functions such as issuing certificates and collecting statistics.

The Japanese consulate retained great influence in the community well into the 1920s.⁸⁶ It assumed the role of guardian for the Japanese, acting as a spokesperson towards white society and protesting to Ottawa or Victoria concerning anti-Japanese legislation.

The authority and influence of the CJA were challenged by the Camp and Mill Workers' Union. The Union took an opposite position and advocated cooperation with the whites and trade unionism among

⁸⁵ Ibid., 111.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 117.

the Japanese in Canada. It was established in 1920 and had eight locals with a total membership of over six hundred in 1934.⁸⁷

Two Japanese newspapers reflected conflicting views of the CJA and the Union. The first Japanese-language daily newspaper in Vancouver, the *Tairiku Nippo*, was owned by one of the prominent members of the CJA. Established in 1907, the newspaper generally retained a nationalistic stance towards Japan. It provided reports and interpretations of issues and events that were of interest to the Japanese in a manner that secured their identity with Japan. The newspaper had a reputed circulation of over three thousand in 1934.⁸⁸ The *People's Daily*, on the other hand, was established in 1924 to advocate the cause of the Union. There was another newspaper, the *Canada Shimpo*, which took somewhat of a middle course between the other two.

Attitudes of community members also differed along generational lines. The second generation was much more exposed to white society and its values through public schools, and thus acquired characteristics of Canadian society. The second generation resented the first generation's Japanese customs, which were so different from those in Western culture. In turn the first generation lamented the loss of virtues based on Japanese traditions among the second generation.

The Japanese language school was an institutional device by which the first generation parents hoped to perpetuate traditional Japanese values in the growing Canadian-born generation. The Japanese Citizens School was in existence by 1906 on Vancouver's

⁸⁷ Ibid., 112.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 111.

Alexander Street. For several years, it was the central educational institution for Japanese children in Vancouver. Only a few second-generation children attended regular Canadian schools. Eventually, it became clear that Japanese children should be educated in Canadian schools to better fit into Canadian society unless their parents intended to return to Japan. By 1922, all children were enrolled in public schools, and the name of the Japanese school was changed to the Japanese Language School.⁸⁹

By 1935, approximately 40 Japanese language schools were functioning in British Columbia with a total of 80 teachers and 3,283 pupils.⁹⁰ Whereas the courses of instruction were usually limited to reading and writing in the Japanese language, they were designed to instill in the children Japanese values and a sense of pride in their background, by using textbooks imported from Japan and drawing illustrations from Japanese events and concepts.

Although the Japanese community struggled to sustain the language schools, the efforts of the schools to maintain the Japanese language and traditional values in the new generation were "an admitted failure."

Only a very minimal fluency in the Japanese language was achieved in any case. The majority of the Nisei (second generation), a few of whom were full graduates of the schools, seldom read Japanese literature and were unable to read even the simple prose of the vernacular press.⁹¹

While the diversity among the Japanese developed as the community grew, they still tended to stay in their own secluded

⁸⁹ Roy Ito, *Stories of My People: A Japanese Canadian Journal* (Hamilton: S-20 and Nisei Veterans Association, 1994), 133-135.

⁹⁰ Adachi, 127.

⁹¹ Ibid., 129.

community. The Vancouver Powell Street area was the focal point of Japanese activities in the province. It was segregated physically as well as psychologically. One could live in the area eating Japanese traditional food, shopping at Japanese-owned stores, staying in Japanese-operated boarding houses or hotels, and congregating at street corners. "The area was apart as if a ghetto wall defined it."⁹² The Japanese built a wall against prejudice and rejection by creating a miniature of the life they had left behind in their home country in order to establish their identity and secure a sense of communal relation.

There were, of course, practical reasons for their tendency to cluster. Intending to return to Japan as soon as they accumulated enough wealth, early immigrants naturally preferred to remain as geographically close as possible to their homeland. In fact, most of them had barely enough money to cross the Pacific and were not left with any resources to move further when they arrived at the ports of Victoria or Vancouver. Also, because of a lack of knowledge of the English language and customs in Canada, most immigrants had no choice but to work under "bosses" who organized the labour force and negotiated collective contracts of work. The lack of substantial contacts with English-speaking people no doubt impeded acquisition of the English language by the Japanese. In a survey carried out in 1924-26, only 26.2% of 3,480 immigrants studied declared they were able to read and speak in English.⁹³ This alone was sufficient reason for the Japanese to dwell together.

⁹² Ibid., 131.

⁹³ Sumida, 58.

2. The Mass Evacuation during World War II

After Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, a series of orders-in-council passed under the War Measures Act put a halt to the normal life of the Japanese and eventually up-rooted them from the communities in British Columbia where they had lived for nearly half a century.

In mid-January 1942, a partial evacuation of the Japanese was authorized by Order-in-Council P.C. 365. This order, passed on January 14, designated an area one hundred miles inland from the west coast as a protected area and all male Japanese nationals aged 18 to 45 were to be removed from the area and sent to road camps. Between March and June, 1942, a total of 2,161 Japanese were placed in road construction camps.⁹⁴

On February 24, the federal government passed Order-in-Council P.C. 1486, which empowered the Minister of Justice to remove all persons of Japanese racial origin from the protected area. By November, a total of 21,460 people had been evacuated, completing the operation. A majority of 12,029 were located in detention camps in the interior of British Columbia. Though the option of going to sugar beet farms was not appealing at first, 3,641 people moved to farms in Alberta and Manitoba to keep their families together.⁹⁵

In December 1942, the federal government promulgated the policy that "relocation" to the Prairie provinces and Eastern

⁹⁴ Adachi, 425.

⁹⁵ Ibid. Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi, eds., *Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991), 41.

Canada would be 'pushed' beginning in 1943."⁹⁶ Nevertheless, except for those who were sent to internment camps and sugar beet farms, a very limited number moved to the east before the end of the war. In Ontario, which was to hold the largest number, there were only 2,424 persons resettled by the end of 1943 and 3,742 by 1945.⁹⁷ The overwhelming majority stayed in the detention camps in British Columbia.

Beside being removed from their homes and communities, the Japanese suffered property losses. The Custodian of Enemy Property, a federal agency, initially held the property of the evacuees "in trust," but the Order-in-Council P.C. 469 passed on January 19, 1943, authorized the sale of the property without the owners' consent. The hasty process of evacuation and the sale of property without the owners' consent resulted in significant loss of individual and organizational records.

After the war had ended, the Order-in-Council that set the protected area of one hundred miles from the coast remained in effect, and it was not until April 1, 1949, that the Japanese were allowed to return to the west coast. In the spring of 1945, the government announced a program requiring the Japanese to choose between repatriation to Japan or resettlement east of the Rockies. To remain in Canada, they were required to show their loyalty by cooperating with the government in carrying out this policy of dispersal.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Adachi, 253.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 426.

⁹⁸ The government eventually cancelled the programme of deportation on January 24, 1947, under the pressure of a public which was becoming increasingly aware of new ideas of human rights

Japanese themselves thought that to scatter themselves in places where they resettled was essential to avoid conflicts. The Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy (JCCD), organized in Toronto in 1943, assisted the Japanese in resettling and combated the deportation program. The JCCD warned Japanese Canadians against returning to the secluded lifestyle of the pre-war communities. It sought to prevent the Japanese from being concentrated in one section of Toronto and promoted diversification of employment.

Second-generation Japanese Canadians especially sought to assimilate and did not want to be a conspicuous group. In Montreal, a proposal for forming a second-generation organization was turned down in 1944 on the grounds that "it would attract undue and unfavourable attention, give rise to misunderstanding, and actually hinder the process of assimilation."⁹⁹

3. Post-war Japanese Communities

Changes in the Characteristics of the Japanese Communities and Community Members' Sense of Ethnic Identity

In the long run, the evacuation during World War II accelerated the integration of the Japanese into the larger society by destroying the inward-looking Japanese communities and dispersing the Japanese across western and central provinces. Peter Ward argues that the evacuation and the following dispersal

and human freedom. (Thomas R. Berger, "The Banished Canadians: MacKenzie King and the Japanese Canadians," *Fragile Freedoms* [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Ltd., 1981], 118) By this time, however, almost 4,000 people, half of whom were Canadian-born, had left for Japan.

⁹⁹ *New Canadian*, 13 March 1944.

was a crucial turning point in the history of the Japanese in Canada.¹⁰⁰

After the war the Japanese consciously avoided being concentrated either occupationally or residentially. By the 1970s, there were few pronounced concentrations of Japanese Canadians in specific occupational sectors. The second generation Japanese Canadians swiftly entered such fields as medicine, engineering, dentistry, architecture, law and education, several of which were virtually closed to the Japanese before and during World War II. Although most Japanese Canadians live in urban areas, with the majority in Toronto and Vancouver,¹⁰¹ it is rare to find two Japanese families living within the same block.¹⁰² Third-generation Japanese Canadians have further merged into the larger society through an increasingly high rate of inter-racial marriages. A survey in 1975 showed that this rate was about 59%.¹⁰³

Community organizations continued to exist, but their roles became a rather peripheral one in individuals' lives. The Japanese Canadian Citizens Association (JCCA), established in 1932 and once instrumental in advocating civil rights for the Japanese, virtually collapsed as a national entity by the 1970s. This mirrored the fate of most Japanese organizations of the post-war period. Even

¹⁰⁰ W. Peter Ward, *The Japanese in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982), 16.

¹⁰¹ In the census in 1991, 65,680 people gave a response as being Japanese to the question of ethnic origin (this includes 17,085 who gave a multiple response including Japanese), of which 17,065 lived in Toronto and 19,845 in Vancouver.

¹⁰² Adachi, 356.

¹⁰³ *New Canadian*, 18 February 1975.

though the JCCA's local chapters survived, the roles performed were rather insignificant. The "crisis" of the Lethbridge chapter in 1970 was indicative of the situation: it lacked serious problems to occupy its business meetings.¹⁰⁴

In the 1970s, Ken Adachi viewed the Japanese community as one that had lost substantial meaning to individual members.

Now social cohesion and group survival no longer seem important. The Japanese now seldom think in terms of "we-they" but thrive for individual betterment, rather than attempting to improve the condition of the entire group.¹⁰⁵

Adachi further predicted that the Japanese as a distinct linguistic and social minority would likely fade away. He observed that, while interest in "ethnicity" had grown in Canada, the Japanese Canadians' interest in maintaining their "uniqueness" was decreasing. Indeed, at least for some Japanese Canadians, the uniqueness was nothing but a nuisance. As a third-generation Japanese Canadian in Vancouver stated:

We were not proud of it (the Japanese heritage). The last thing I wanted to do was to be in a room with another Japanese. It was like looking into a mirror.¹⁰⁶

This repugnance against their racial origin appears the strongest among the second generation. After the war, this generation told itself, "Never again do we want to be Japanese. We are Canadians."¹⁰⁷ The second generation parents, in turn, tried to shield their children by not evoking the past. Maryka Omatsu,

¹⁰⁴ Adachi, 357.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 356.

¹⁰⁶ "Why Vancouver Lacks Little Tokyo: An American Compares Notes on Race Dispersal," *Vancouver Sun*, 19 March 1983, sec.A, p.10.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

a third-generation Japanese Canadian, suggests that perhaps the parents thought that by not sharing their culture and language with their children, the new generation would not be "tarred by the past."¹⁰⁸ It is not surprising, then, that Japanese communities did not organize history preservation activities during those years.

Redress Movement

The physical dispersal resulting from the evacuation, the attempt by evacuees to conceal the trauma and suppress the agony, and the lack of common interest led to a dormant state of Japanese-Canadian communities. The movement for redress was a catalyst for reviving a sense of community and uniting Japanese-Canadian communities nationwide once again.

It was the inquisitive mind of some third-generation Japanese Canadians that thrust the Japanese community towards the redress movement for the unjust treatment of the Japanese during the war. The third generation, while assimilated into the larger society to a much larger extent than previous generations, saw the need to reconcile with the past and their heritage in order to better know who they were. One of them stated:

What I'm missing is a connection between what I look like and what I am. I want to be able to look in the mirror and recognize myself. What I miss and want to recreate is the richness of community that was lost in the struggle for acceptance.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Maryka Omatsu, *Bittersweet Passage: Redress and the Japanese Canadian Experience* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1992), 39.

¹⁰⁹ Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, 157.

In 1980, the National Japanese Canadian Citizen's Association (NJCCA)¹¹⁰ reorganized itself under the new name National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) and added two new local centres to comprise 15 centres across Canada. The NAJC started what amounted to a nine year process for redress.

The long fragmented communities were not easily united. The attitudes of the community members were far from unanimous. Many of the evacuees wanted to forget the trauma of the 1940s. Others were afraid of possible racist backlash if Japanese Canadians were to organize and become militant.¹¹¹ While struggling to secure public support, the NAJC had to devote much of its efforts to prove itself as the one and only organization representing the communities.

Through consultative meetings with opposing groups, publication of a newspaper to build a national network, and other activities, the NAJC gained the status of being the representative of the Japanese communities by May 1985. Finally on September 22, 1988, the government announced the redress agreement and Prime Minister Mulroney and NAJC president Art Miki signed the agreement.

The Japanese Communities and Their History

Before and during World War II, the Japanese communities were busy coping with the daily practical needs and problems, and after the war most Japanese Canadians preferred not to recall the past. Consequently, preservation of history and archival materials tended to be neglected. After redress, many Japanese Canadians were

¹¹⁰ The NJCCA was developed from the JCCD in 1947.

¹¹¹ Omatsu, 99.

emancipated from fearing racial backlash and from concealing their experiences in attempt to avoid evoking past traumata. They came to realize that their history is worth preserving and that it should be preserved. On the other hand, as the assimilation into the larger society proceeds, Japanese communities are becoming less and less united and more people tend to be indifferent to community activities.

The case study of seven Japanese-Canadian communities explores the present state of the communities by examining demographic figures, existing organizations and community members' attitudes. It then addresses the extent to which each community has developed archival activities and the prospects for the future, all in the community context.

Chapter Three

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDY

1. Research Method

The present research comprehensively examines archival activities in Japanese-Canadian communities. It places the emphasis on illuminating present conditions as they are, so that the researcher can synthesize the reality, and suggest a desirable as well as feasible role for community-based archival programs within the Canadian archival system.

The present research is thus of an applied nature. Michael Quinn Patton defines the purpose of applied research as "to contribute knowledge that will help people understand the nature of a problem so that human beings can more effectively control their environment."¹¹² Applied research searches for "applications of basic disciplinary knowledge to real-world problems and experiences."¹¹³

The methodology of this research entails a qualitative case study through interviews. There have been few studies of archival programs within ethnic communities, and there are no established theories concerning ethnic communities' behaviour regarding archival preservation. This situation lent itself to a qualitative case study, which "seeks to describe" units of study "in depth and detail in context and holistically."¹¹⁴

¹¹² Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1990), 152.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 54.

The difficulty or inadequacy of generalizing results is often pointed out as a weaknesses of the case-study method. Borman, LeCompte and Goetz maintain, however, that even though case studies mostly deal with unique events or unique phenomena, there are usually similar events or phenomena over time or in different locations. Therefore, they argue, conclusions from earlier studies can be utilized in later studies.¹¹⁵ If the utility of the conclusions for other studies is in sufficient in order to claim external validity, Yin frames the validity of case studies in more rigorous terms. He argues that case studies rely on analytical generalization rather than statistical generalization on which survey research relies. Analytical generalization is the process of generalizing "a particular set of results to some broader theory."¹¹⁶ While Yin's perspective on case studies is distinctive in the sense that it assumes the existence of guiding theories prior to a study, his notion of how generalizations may be drawn from case studies is commonly applicable. For the present project analytical generalization will allow the researcher to examine findings in the light of archival theories.

Data were collected using open-ended interviews, which allow for unexpected factors to emerge in the process. For effective conduct of the open-ended interviews, the "general interview guide approach" was deemed appropriate. The approach falls between the "informal conversational interview," which relies on "the

¹¹⁵ Kathryn M. Borman, Margaret D. LeCompte, and Judith Prelissle Goetz, "Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Design and Why It Doesn't Work," *American Behavioral Scientist* 30, no.1 (September/October 1986): 48.

¹¹⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 36.

spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of an interaction,"¹¹⁷ and the "standardized open-ended interview," for which "interview questions are written out in advance exactly the way they are to be asked."¹¹⁸ For the present research, a list of questions (Appendix 1) was prepared and was followed throughout the seven interviews, but it did not preclude asking additional questions that the researcher found relevant during the interviews. The list became lengthy because several variables were used to probe a phenomenon that was not easily measured or observed. For instance, questions about the mass media in the community and about retention of Japanese customs were asked in order to probe how community members retained their sense of ethnicity or community.

2. Selection of the Cases

At the outset of the project's planning stage, it was decided that studying Japanese communities in different cities would be more informative than studying communities of different ethnicity in the same city. Even though understanding individual cases was paramount to comparing cases by standardizing certain variables, it was judged that cases that shared some basic characteristics would be more likely to yield useful data than cases which differed in many more aspects. Furthermore, it was known to the researcher from the Annual General Meeting of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) in October 1994 that all the NAJC's local chapters had some interest in having archival programs within their communities.

¹¹⁷ Patton, 280.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 285.

Although Japanese Canadians live all across the country from St. John's to Vancouver Island, fourteen areas where a local chapter of the NAJC was organized were identified as having a substantial Japanese community. Seven of them were selected for the research: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Manitoba, Lethbridge, Kamloops and Vancouver. The number of cases for a multiple-case study is decided by "discretionary, judgemental choice" which depends on the certainty the researcher wants to have about the results¹¹⁹ as the study does not follow sampling logic of statistical research which uses certain formulas to calculate the necessary number of samples. Communities that varied in population and location were targeted for selection in this study.

3. Description of the Communities Selected

The population and the geographical areas of the seven communities studied are shown in the Table 1. Further information on individual communities is included in the case study report.

All of the Japanese communities that have NAJC local chapters share a common experience in establishing themselves in their respective regions: Japanese immigrants and Japanese Canadians moved to those areas as a result of the evacuation during World War II.¹²⁰ Thus, all present-day Japanese communities have roughly the same historical length. As noted earlier, well-established Japanese communities that existed on the West Coast before the war

¹¹⁹ Yin, 50. In the case of this study, feasibility was another determining factor.

¹²⁰ Lethbridge and the District had a small Japanese community since around the turn of the century, but the evacuation more than tripled the Japanese population in the area.

Table 1: Population and geographical areas of the seven communities

community	population	geographical area
Hamilton	1,000-1,500 [1,480]	Hamilton and its immediate surrounding areas (Burlington, Ancaster, Dundas, Stoney Creek and the Niagara Peninsula)
Kamloops	1,100 +approx.100 (students) [-]	Kamloops and different areas within an hour or two in interior BC (e.g.Ashcroft, Merritt, Sorrento, Chase and Williams Lake)
Lethbridge	3,000 [-]	30 to 40 communities including Lethbridge in Southern Alberta (incl. Brooks, Rosemary, Cassils, Vulcan, Vauxhall, Coleman, Waterton National Park, Milk River, Foremost, Medicine Hat)
Manitoba	2,000 (incl. temporary residents) [1,380:Winnipeg]	The province of Manitoba (majority of people are in Winnipeg)
Montreal	500 (active members) [2,365]	Practically Greater Montreal, technically the province of Quebec (with some people in Sherbrooke, Quebec City, etc)
Toronto	15,000 (Japanese Canadians) 2,000 - 3,000 (Japanese nationals) [17,065]	The Greater Toronto area
Vancouver	15,000 - 16,000 [19,845]	The Greater Vancouver area

[]: population in the metropolitan area shown in the 1991 Canada Census
 No community has conducted a survey recently and has exact number of the pupulation.
 Therefore the figures in this table are more or less the respondents' impression.

were completely up-rooted. Present communities in Vancouver and on Vancouver Island were established anew by the people who moved back to those locations after the war. Therefore, they have no more tangible connections with the pre-war communities than communities in other provinces do, except memories. At the same time, as is sometimes heard at Japanese Canadians' meetings, "everyone is from Vancouver," meaning all Japanese Canadians across Canada were evacuees or have parents who were evacuees, from the West Coast. This fact enables Japanese Canadians in different cities to keep close ties with each other through networks of relatives and old friends.

4. Procedures of the Study

After selecting the cases, a letter explaining the purpose and the contents of the research and requesting participation was sent to the seven communities. It was addressed to the presidents of the NAJC local chapters as prominent and active members of the communities. The letter asked the presidents to forward the letter and enclosures to a potential respondent, if they felt another person in the community was better suited to respond to the interview.

A select list of questions was attached to the request letter (Appendix 2). It informed recipients of the kinds of questions that were to be asked, in order to facilitate their decision of whether or not to participate. The list was also to allow the respondents time to prepare information which might have required investigation prior to the interview. A letter of reference by

Mr. Frank Kamiya, the chair of the Japanese Canadian Archives in Vancouver, was also enclosed.

It can be a concern that by interviewing only one person in a community, some information which is unknown to that person would be missed. As Yin enumerates, there are a variety of other possible sources of evidence for case studies¹²¹ than interviewing as well as the possibility of interviewing more than one person for each case. In this case, it was judged that a person who was prominent in the community and was heavily involved in the community's archival activities was an acceptable respondent, whose possible lack of knowledge or biases could reasonably be expected to reflect on the conditions of the archival activities in which he or she is involved.

Each of the seven NAJC local chapters agreed to participate in the study and returned the consent form to the researcher. An appointment for each interview was made by telephone. The interviews were conducted between February 22 and March 17, 1995.¹²² The length of interviews greatly varied, from ninety minutes to three hours, as responses were not restricted to direct answers to the predetermined questions; some questions led to further discussion and additional questions were asked as deemed necessary. The interviews were recorded on cassette tapes and later transcribed for analysis.

Raya Fidel states that collected data are analyzed throughout the duration of the case study and "new data are constantly

¹²¹ Robert K. Yin, "The Case Study as a Serious Research Strategy," *Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization* 3, no.1 (September 1981): 104.

¹²² The interviews were carried out solely in English.

analyzed and results of previous analyses direct future investigation."¹²³ In the present research, the same list of questions was used for all of the seven interviews and the formal analysis process was started after all the interviews were completed. This was mainly for practical reasons. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that information gathered in earlier interviews affected later interviews by sensitizing the researcher to possibly significant points.

¹²³ Raya Fidel, "The Case Study Method: A Case Study," *Library and Information Science Research* 6 (1984): 274.

Chapter Four

RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDY

This chapter presents information collected on each Japanese-Canadian community through the interview under four headings: Community Context, Present Organizations, Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities, and Archival Activities. In these sections, the information is provided without interpretation or evaluation by the researcher. Summaries of the interview, with some reference to issues concerning development of community-based ethnic archives, follow the four headings. Information about the seven communities will be presented in the same order as the interviews were conducted: from west to east concluding with Vancouver, from where Japanese Canadians started out and where the "national" Japanese-Canadian archives is now being developed.

1. Kamloops

Community Context

Although Kamloops was outside of the "protected area" from which Japanese Canadians were evacuated during World War II, very few Japanese Canadians lived in the Kamloops area before and during the war. It was not until after the war, when camps in the interior British Columbia were closed off, that a substantial number of Japanese Canadians moved into the area. In the late 1940s, the first Japanese community organization in Kamloops, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association, was formed.

At present, the Japanese community includes "anybody of Japanese descent, their spouse, and their family." Temporary

residents, such as college students coming from Japan, are also considered members of the community. Although not strictly included as community members, non-Japanese people who are interested in Japanese culture or the Japanese community are welcome to join cultural organizations or even the local chapter of NAJC.

According to a survey conducted about eight years ago, using the telephone directory, it is estimated that there are approximately eleven hundred Japanese Canadians in Kamloops and the outlying areas. The population is decreasing slightly with young people moving out, but there are people coming into the area for work. There are not many immigrants coming from Japan now. After World War II, there have been twenty to twenty-five immigrants in total.

Community members' attitudes vary according to their ages and generations. The seniors who speak Japanese as their first language tend to have close relationships among themselves, and their needs from community activities are social relationships along with identity and language.

The second generation and younger generations do not retain the Japanese lifestyle except eating Japanese food. Rather, they are largely assimilated into the Canadian culture. The respondent believes that there is some sense of identity, "but not too much." Whereas they are not totally indifferent to the community and want to be kept informed, most of them are not actively involved in the community. In general, the motivation for younger generations to get involved in their community is more a matter of cultural interest than of ethnic interest. Therefore the respondent

believes that it is important for the community activities not to be restricted to Japanese Canadians so that Japanese Canadians can participate with non-Japanese friends or family. The respondent is hoping that the new building of the cultural centre will be something that people would identify with the community and will help get people more involved.

Concerning the means of communications in the community, the monthly newsletter of the Kamloops Japanese Canadian Association (KJCA) is the only means. There are no mass media specifically geared toward Japanese Canadians in the area. A telephone directory of the Japanese community is compiled, but so far only irregularly.

The respondent expects that towards the future the Japanese community will go through significant changes such that it will be a group of people who are interested in Japanese culture, rather than people of Japanese descent. Concerning the far future, for example one hundred years from now, the respondent is not sure whether the community will exist at all and apparently the far future is beyond the scope of the present planning of community activities.

Present Organizations

Kamloops Japanese Canadian community now has two central organizations. One is the KJCA, established in the Japanese Canadian Centennial year of 1976. It has 240 family members and it is estimated that six or seven hundred individuals are affiliated with the organization. The other is the Kamloops chapter of the NAJC, which was formed in 1988 after the settlement of redress. It

had 214 individual members as of 1994, and this number has been fairly stable in recent years.

The KJCA is mainly a cultural organization working within the local community and it publishes a monthly newsletter. The NAJC local chapter is under the national organization and mainly deals with issues outside of the local community such as human rights. The membership is closely overlapping; all the members of the NAJC local chapter belong to the KJCA.

Other community organizations include a seniors' group, a Japanese language school, a Buddhist church, a Japanese-speaking Christian group, and several sports or cultural clubs such as a curling club and a bonsai club. As well, a Japanese library is starting at the cultural centre.

Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities

There have been few activities to preserve the history of the community. Some seventy interviews with older people were conducted during redress by the secretary hired for the redress office, but the interviews have not been transcribed or indexed; nor have they been used for research. The tapes of these interviews have been kept in the basement of the cultural centre. Public schools have invited community members to talk to students about the history of the Japanese Canadians and redress, and sometimes classes are held at the cultural centre for the same purpose.

The respondent thinks the community has not had, and does not have people who are both knowledgeable and interested enough to

actively carry out history preservation activities. For this reason, the Kamloops Japanese-Canadian community relies heavily on Vancouver for information and initiatives.

Archival Activities

A history preservation committee was formed in 1994. The impetus to start archival activities came from discussions of the national NAJC; at the NAJC national meetings it had been argued that, after redress and the many books written on the Japanese-Canadian history, it is now time to start archival activities.

Because archival activities are just starting, the scope of acquisition has not yet been decided. The committee is willing to accept whatever is offered to the archives on condition that they might give it away or dispose of it later. The archives expects to eventually transfer some of their materials to the Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives (JCNMA) in Vancouver. Most records of community organizations are kept at the cultural centre, with or without archival activities, because that is where most community activities take place. Therefore, the history preservation committee's task will be to sort out materials worth preserving.

The committee is already keeping some materials such as tapes of the interviews mentioned above, "all kinds of records" of organizations, a few photographs, and a few newspaper clips, but the archives' physical facilities have not yet been secured. Nor have they created any finding aids. The archives will be located in the cultural centre with approximately three hundred square feet of space. The archives' operation will be integrated into that of

the cultural centre. The cultural centre is now open from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. Monday through Saturday, and whoever is at the cultural centre when the archives' users come will serve them.

The committee received a grant from the NAJC that they will use to start the archives. To sustain the archives, they will rely on fund raising in the community and grants from public organizations.

Recognizing that they are a small entity with a limited capacity, they are cultivating relationships with other larger archives. They are learning expertise from the Kamloops Museum and Archives. They also get information and advice from the JCNMA in Vancouver. Furthermore, the archives works as a part of the JCNMA. The committee members think if their archives ceases to exist, its materials should be sent to Vancouver. They are a member of the Archives Association of British Columbia as part of the JCNMA.

The history preservation committee has not had special contacts with other cultural organizations. Kamloops is, however, a small community and many organizations are already connected through personal ties. Therefore, the respondent believes that once they get enough volunteers it will not be difficult to develop cooperative activities with other organizations in the area, such as organizing exhibitions at a college.

Summary

The Japanese community in Kamloops has characteristics that one would expect in a small ethnic community. Community organizations are interwoven through overlapping staffing and membership, and they work in close cooperation. This would

facilitate archives' activities in many respects, such as coordinating fund-raising events and implementing a record management program for community organizations. On the other hand, being small, the community has limited human resources. To fill the gap, it requires assistance from Vancouver-based organizations, such as the JCNMA.

The archives' close association with the JCNMA is clearly emphasized throughout the interview. Another emphasis was the change within the Japanese community away from a focus on ethnicity toward a focus on cultural interest. This trend will influence the scope of acquisition, such that records of organizations concerning Japanese culture rather than records of "Japanese people" will likely be the focus of future acquisitions.

2. Lethbridge

Community Context

This Japanese-Canadian community is based within the city of Lethbridge and thirty to forty small towns in Southern Alberta (known as the District). Because these towns are scattered over a large geographical area, community members communicate primarily by telephone, fax and mail rather than in personal contact. Lethbridge and the District is nevertheless considered a single Japanese-Canadian community.

The Japanese came to this area around the turn of the century. Community organizations were formed as early as in the 1900s. There were about five hundred to six hundred Japanese before the evacuation during World War II, and due to the evacuation the Japanese population swelled to over two thousand.

The present community includes as its members "anyone with any connection to the Japanese" "regardless of length of stay or status or anything." The Lethbridge and the District Japanese Citizens' Association (LDJCA) normally tries to keep track of temporary residents such as exchange students. Those temporary residents are considered valuable resources because of their knowledge or skills of current Japanese culture. Although there is still some inflow of new immigrants from Japan, the number is negligible. The Japanese community's population has been fairly stable over recent years.

There are no Japanese-Canadian mass media available to the community. Although the LDJCA newsletter is the only communication media source addressing the whole community, due to a shortage of volunteers its publication tends to be sporadic (one to four times per year). A telephone directory was published long ago, but a new edition is not expected in the near future.

There are two Japanese companies in the area. Although they have a grant program for cultural activities in the area, they do not specifically single out the Japanese-Canadian community as the beneficiary. In fact, the Japanese-Canadian community has not received any funding.

There is a sense of identity as Japanese Canadians among community members. This is indicated by the existence of many small community organizations, each of which is strong and united. The respondent believes that people participate in those organizations because "they want to perpetuate the culture and the community." The community as a whole is, however, not cohesive because the small organizations tend to keep to themselves and the

"umbrella" organization, LDJCA, has not been very successful in integrating those various organizations. Post-war immigrants whose first language is Japanese tend to separate themselves from the community mainstream.

Concerning the community's future, whereas the respondent believes it is important for the ethnic community to continue, she doubts whether the community will in fact exist in fifty years because the rate of intermarriage is extremely high.

Present Organizations

The LDJCA is a local chapter of the NAJC and has 150 to 200 members. There are two or three language schools and ten churches (8 Christian and 2 Buddhist). There is no central cultural centre, but churches and other facilities are used for cultural activities. A museum is planned with the archives. There is an organization for "new" immigrants who came to Canada after the 1960s. As mentioned above, there are many cultural clubs and other types of small organizations.

Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities

Activities to preserve the Japanese-Canadian history so far have been limited to some exhibitions. The community once held an exhibition at a mall and drew approximately five hundred people. Sometimes school classes visit the LDJCA office where some museum and archival materials are kept, and the LDJCA staff show students items appropriate to their ages.

The respondent believes that community members are interested in the history preservation, but that the interest is often not strong enough to make them actively involved. The respondent also noted that, among the non-Japanese population in the area, the importance to preserve Japanese-Canadian history is recognized.

Archival Activities

An archives was started in 1989 in a loose form. Under a new president who strongly felt the need to preserve Japanese-Canadian history, the LDJCA shifted its emphasis towards archival activities.

The LDJCA acquires "anything related to the Japanese" in southern Alberta from the beginning of the Japanese-Canadian history in the area to the present, including records from various community organizations.

The present holdings include 150 reels of Japanese films, fifty to sixty videos, approximately two hundred items of an art collection (calligraphy and other types of Japanese art), under five hundred photographs, and a "negligible" volume of textual records. Finding aids have not yet been created. A database to keep track of materials held by individuals and organizations in the community is now being planned.

The storage of the archives, which is approximately one hundred square feet, is secured at the back of the LDJCA office. The archives shares the office space with the LDJCA. The archives' staff are hoping to use some community members' basements or other locations for storing materials in order to better organize the

space in the LDJCA building. A new building for the archives is hoped for but is admittedly not feasible in the foreseeable future.

There are three or four volunteers who work for the archives. It is open to the public everyday when the LDJCA is open May through September and outside of this period users are provided access upon request.

The archives relies financially on grants from both public and private organizations and community fund raising. There are no "rich benefactors."

The archives has some connections with other local archival institutions. It has especially close ties with the Lethbridge City Archives, with which it conducts cooperative activities such as workshops. It is understood that if the LDJCA archives ceases to exist its materials will be transferred to the city archives. The LDJCA archives has little relationship with other cultural institutions.

Summary

So far the archival activities seem to be driven by the passion of a few people, and they are having difficulty getting understanding and cooperation on a broader basis. In terms of population, Lethbridge and the District is not particularly small among Japanese-Canadian communities. Furthermore, community members are not indifferent to the community as can be seen in their participation in various small organizations. Therefore, the community does not lack in human resources; rather, the crucial issue to sustain a community archives is how to pull people and various organizations together under the LDJCA.

3. Manitoba

Community Context

The geographical area of this Japanese-Canadian community technically includes the whole of Manitoba, but with a few exceptions the majority of the community members now live in Winnipeg. This, however, was not always the case with the Japanese population in Manitoba. In 1942, Japanese people started coming to sugar beet farms in Manitoba which were scattered within a two to three hour radius of Winnipeg, but they were basically prohibited from going into the city of Winnipeg. The community's political organization, the Manitoba Japanese Joint Council, was, however, formed around 1942 by people who secretly met in Winnipeg. It was only in 1949 that they were officially allowed to enter Winnipeg, and afterwards more and more people moved into the city.

The present Japanese-Canadian population in the region is around fourteen hundred. With temporary residents included, the population of the Japanese community is approximately two thousand. The size of the population is fairly stable. The respondents also stated that anyone who was interested in Japanese culture was considered a community member. Not many new immigrants have come from Japan in recent years.

The respondents think that, in general, the Japanese-Canadian community is cohesive. The second generation are close with one another, and although the third and fourth generations are not particularly united, they do participate in community activities. One of the respondents strongly believes that there is a sense of obligation among the Japanese Canadians to support their community. This view is substantiated by the fact that for a big event they

have "a large, large number of volunteers coming." Whereas there are both Japanese-speaking and English-speaking community members, "the language doesn't seem to be a problem" that keeps them from working together. Furthermore, there is a strong interest in the Japanese language. Many people of the second generation are taking Japanese courses at the cultural centre to brush up their Japanese.

Little of Japanese lifestyle is retained among community members, except eating Japanese food. Although there is no Japanese grocery store, people have easy access to Japanese food through the cultural centre, which purchases Japanese food and distributes it in the community.

There are no mass media for the Japanese-Canadian community except the newsletter of the Manitoba Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association (MJCCA), which has been published since around 1945. A telephone directory of the Japanese community was created in 1989 and a new edition is being planned.

The Japanese companies in the area have no influence on the Japanese-Canadian community. One reason for this is that the community is reluctant to approach companies for support only because they are Japanese companies. Community members feel it would have to be a fair relationship with mutual support.

The respondents think that members expect community activities to provide a sense of identity, opportunities for cultural activities, and a means of developing social relationships. Community members would like the MJCCA to be more outspoken on political or social issues, such as human rights.

As for the future of the community, the respondents believe that "the community will survive and will continue, but not without

some work." The community organizations will have to work on getting non-Japanese spouses and children of mixed marriages involved, as well as broadly define the community as a group of people who are interested in Japanese culture. Beside the emphasis on cultural interest, the respondents believe that it is important to maintain a political organization for human rights activities.

Present Organizations

At present, the community has the Manitoba Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, which runs various cultural programs including language classes and a library, and the MJCCA which is the local chapter of the NAJC. The MJCCA has a stable membership of five hundred to six hundred. A "seniors'" group, the Horizon Group consists of active people who take strong leading roles in the community. There are two religious organizations: the Manitoba Buddhist Association and the United Church for the Japanese. These organizations are run separately with different boards but memberships are similar and they work in cooperation.

Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities

The respondents acknowledge that before redress there were almost no organized activities for history preservation. An exception was interviews carried out during the Japanese Canadian centennial celebration in 1977, but the interview program has not been continued in an organized fashion.

Redress had a twofold impact on history preservation. First, it brought out stories that had not been told before. Second, it

pulled the local community members together and stimulated communication among local communities, including discussions of the necessity of history preservation. People also recognized the need to record memories before they were lost forever with older people passing away. Consequently, the community started to prepare a book on the history of Japanese Canadians in Manitoba, which will be published this year (in 1995).

At present, there are few people in the community who are interested in history preservation, but the respondents are nevertheless optimistic about community support. They think community members "would appreciate it, once it's set in motion," and also that "part of the obligation of the MJCCA is to set this in motion and to preserve the information for others."

As for the general public's perspective, they are more interested in Japanese culture than in the history of Japanese Canadians. There is, however, some interest in the history as well. For instance, public schools have invited speakers from the Japanese community or have had plays performed at school concerning Japanese-Canadian history.

Archival Activities

No archives in the community yet exists. The MJCCA is concentrating on the publication of the book mentioned above. They are, however, "definitely" going to develop an archival program within a couple of years.

Because the program is at a preliminary stage, the scope of acquisition has not yet been decided. The MJCCA staff are just aware that they have to discuss and plan the scope of acquisition

carefully, because the archives will not be able to acquire everything available.

The archives will be located in the cultural centre's building, and will be jointly run by the cultural centre and the MJCCA. The floor size to be allocated to the archives has yet to be decided.

Financial support for the archives will include grants, fund raising activities in the community, and the Community Fund, which was established after the redress based on the donations from community members. The MJCCA is considering approaching the Manitoba Archives for grants, as suggested by the JCNMA in Vancouver, although they do not know details of Manitoba's grant programs.

The MJCCA is maintaining close communication with, and getting information from, the JCNMA. Because the community does not have members who have archival expertise, the archives will rely on Vancouver. The MJCCA has not developed a close relationship with the Provincial Archives. However, the community has borrowed equipment for interviewing from the Provincial Archives, and the MJCCA staff are sure that the archives will be open to help and educate them when they establish their own archives.

Summary

Although an archival program has not started yet, the community's support for it seems promising. In general, the community is active and fairly cohesive. There is something happening at the cultural centre everyday and every evening and a large number of community members are involved community

activities. Also, the rate of people belonging to the MJCCA is quite high (close to a half of the Japanese Canadians). The existence of the Community Fund suggests that the community is well organized and is working cooperatively. Concentration of the members in one city facilitates community activities and will naturally be a strength for archival activities as well.

4. Toronto

Community Context

The geographical area of this Japanese community is quite large: approximately seventy miles in diameter. Conceptually, the community includes temporary residents from Japan, such as students and young people living in the area on the working holiday visa. However, because the area is vast and the general population of the region is so large, the community cannot keep track of individual members, and temporary residents tend to remain anonymous.

Before World War II, there were probably only a dozen Japanese people in the area. During the war, there were a number of people coming to Toronto on their own, but it was only after the war, when people were made to leave the camps in British Columbia, that the community in Toronto really developed. In 1946 or 1947 Japanese Canadians started to form organizations.

The respondent thinks that the population of the Japanese-Canadian community is probably growing through natural growth of Japanese Canadians and immigration from Japan. There are approximately three hundred new immigrants every year to the area.

The respondent stated that community is "anything but cohesive." It is divided by geography and by different interests,

and there are many community organizations working separately. Furthermore, even with many community organizations, probably about two thirds of the Japanese Canadians are not involved with any ongoing activities. The respondent thinks that "people have a sense that there is not [a community]." People are aware of their ethnicity, but it does not lead them to join community organizations. The respondent also thinks that the community is somewhat divided along the line of language. Most Japanese Canadians do not speak Japanese, and new immigrants and temporary residents from Japan are most comfortable speaking Japanese and have their own organizations. Whereas the Japanese lifestyle retained by Japanese Canadians is "zero," those who are involved are expecting from community activities a sense of identity, opportunity of cultural activities, and a means of social relationships.

The community has mass media aimed at both Japanese Canadians and Japanese. There are four newspapers (three weekly and one monthly), which are distributed across the country. There are two television programs that air once a week primarily delivering news about Japan with community announcements. All of the mass media sources are owned by private enterprises.¹²⁴

Japanese companies represented in the region are numerous; every major Japanese company has a subsidiary or office in Toronto area. The respondent did not have an exact number, but he estimated that one hundred to two hundred companies exist. Those

¹²⁴ There is also a private company publishing a telephone directory yearly in Japanese, which the respondent was not aware of. This is a fairly recent undertaking and it is geared to new immigrants and temporary residents from Japan. This is probably why the respondent had not heard of it.

Japanese companies, however, have provided little support to the Japanese-Canadian community.

As for the future, the respondent stated, "it's a diminishing community." As years go by, divisive elements within the community continue to grow: people move further away from the centre, and the rate of mixed marriages is high. There are too many things that people can do in the city any day or night of the week for them to be interested in activities of the Japanese community. While the NAJC Toronto chapter is trying to get new immigrants involved, they are a relatively small number of people. The respondent thinks that in fifty years the community will still exist, but that the number of the people who are actively involved will be very small.

Present Organizations

The NAJC Toronto Chapter currently has a membership of twelve hundred, which can be estimated to include approximately two thousand individuals because many are family memberships. The number has been steady for the last three years, although it has dropped significantly since five or six years ago when redress was the principal issue. The Chapter publishes a newsletter bimonthly.

A variety of organizations exist in the community: the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, several language schools, Japanese schools for children of Japanese immigrants, a seniors' group, a social service agency, two senior citizens' homes (one of which has about 250 people), a social organization for new immigrants, two businessmen's associations (one for big businesses and the other for small businesses) and churches (Buddhist, United, Anglican, Shinto). There are also many recreational programs and

martial arts programs of which half of the membership is non-Japanese. The East Asian Department at the University of Toronto is, to some extent, considered part of the community because it has a close cooperative relationship with the NAJC Toronto Chapter. They are now jointly running a research program concerning language skills.

Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities

There have been few organized history preservation activities in the community. Some books were published by individuals, and some community members went to public schools to talk about their historical experience, but the latter initiative came from the side of public schools. The respondent believes that the lack of such activities indicates that not many community members are interested in history preservation, or that if they are, the interest is not strong enough to lead to funding or material donations.

The respondent does not think that the community has received a great interest in the history from the general public partly because the curiosity was satisfied during redress by newspaper articles and other reports. There have been, however, projects originating from outside of the community that deal with the history of Japanese Canadians. There have been two successful plays performed by professional theatre groups. The Multicultural History Society of Ontario (MHSO) is preparing an exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), which will run at least for one year, in cooperation with the archives committee of the NAJC Toronto Chapter. These activities originating from elsewhere, in turn,

influence the Japanese-Canadian community by utilizing its human resources and stimulating interest among its members as well as the general public.

Archival activities

The Toronto Nikkei Archives and Resource Centre (TNARC), started in early 1994, is run by a committee of three people under the NAJC Toronto Chapter. One of the committee members is a professional archivist working for a provincial agency. There was not a specific impetus to develop an archives; rather, the leadership of the Toronto Chapter felt that the fact that there was no archives in Toronto was a great lack.

The archives has been concentrating on the exhibition being planned for the ROM in cooperation with the MHSO and has not started actively acquiring materials. It has, however, a written statement of objectives and goals defining the scope of acquisition (Appendix 3). It defines the scope of acquisition by stating "historical, educational and contemporary materials related to the Toronto region Japanese Canadian community" and enumerates types of materials by medium (e.g., photographs), by physical form (e.g., pamphlets) or by contents (e.g., surveys).

Although the scope of acquisition seems wide, the archives will not necessarily acquire records from all the organizations in the community. Rather, it is planning to encourage organizations to keep their own archives, and the Nikkei Archives and Resource Centre will maintain a database to locate records kept within the community. As for materials kept by individuals, the TNARC would rather keep listings than hastily go out and grab materials from

the individuals who are still enjoying their treasures and taking good care of them. In short, the TNARC plans to function as an archival information centre in the community. It is also planning to have an educational component to conduct seminars and workshops to generate interest in the archives and to educate community organizations about how to preserve their records.

The archives is located in the NAJC Toronto Chapter building, with space of approximately two hundred square feet, and there is some room for the archives to expand into. The staff is now working on installing a climate control system. Presently, they serve users by appointment, and in the future, it will open to the public for a few hours every Saturday. To create finding aids, it is in the process of purchasing INMAGIC software.

As for financial resources, the archives has received grants from the national NAJC. To sustain the archives, they will rely on public donations, for which they are applying for a charitable status. The respondent is confident that they will raise enough money to "at least survive." They are not planning on fund raising events because they do not have enough staff and also because they would be competing with the NAJC Toronto Chapter. They are aware of grants from the Canadian Council of Archives (CCA), but have yet to apply for them.

The TNARC belongs to three archival associations: the Ontario Archives Association, the Association of Canadian Archivists, and the Japanese American Museum Association. It has a close cooperative relationship with the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. It keeps a listing of relevant materials held at the Archives of Ontario. It does not have contacts yet with the city

archives and the National Archives of Canada. Given that the TNARC has a professional archivist on the committee, they are not seeking technical assistance from other institutions.

Although the TNARC has not developed substantial communication with the JCNMA in Vancouver, once set in motion, it will work in cooperation and share information with Vancouver. The TNARC thinks a strong network of local archives will be essential for the success of the "national" Japanese-Canadian archives. It also believes that the "national" Japanese-Canadian archives has to recognize the Toronto Japanese community's need to have a local archives. The TNARC has some relationships with some educational organizations, and it has a potential to develop "very broad contacts with educational community."

Summary

The Toronto Nikkei Archives and Resource Centre benefits from having a professional archivist on the staff. Although it is at a beginning stage with a few materials acquired, their activities are preceded by orderly planning, which suggests underpinnings of professional knowledge.

As for the community in general, even though the respondent is discontent with the low rate of participation and says the community is "anything but cohesive" and "diminishing," it is a big community with a fairly large potential.¹²⁵ For example, a wide variety of human resources are available, as the professional

¹²⁵ While the rate of participants is low (less than one-third), still the estimated number of five thousand people involved with community activities is larger than the total population of most Japanese-Canadian communities.

archivist found within the community. A large community implies a strong financial potential, as can be observed in the case of Kobe Relief Fund (for the earthquake in January 1995), which raised over \$100,000 in Toronto.

5. Hamilton

Community Context

In Hamilton and the surrounding areas, there were no Japanese known before World War II. Japanese Canadians came to the area after the war when those who were in the detention camps in interior British Columbia were ordered to move east of the Rockies. The first community organization, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association, was established in 1946 or 1947.

The present Japanese-Canadian community in the area basically consists of permanent resident Japanese Canadians. Although community organization memberships are not restricted to Japanese Canadians, community leaders in the past have found it "difficult to try to draw them (Japanese temporary residents) into our community." The respondent thinks that this might be because they are aware that they are in the area only for a limited time period.

The population of the community is one thousand to fifteen hundred in Hamilton and the immediate surrounding areas. The NAJC Hamilton Chapter serves a wider area in Southern Ontario, and approximately three thousand people receive the Chapter's newsletter. The population has remained about the same during recent years. There are few new Japanese immigrants into the area from Japan.

The community is not very cohesive. A rift exists within the community that was caused by the difference of opinions during redress. The NAJC local chapter and others are trying to seek a reconciliation, and the effort is slowly working. Generally speaking, older people are more interested than younger people in the community. The relationship between post-war immigrants and Japanese Canadians does not seem to be close.

Younger people seem to expect a sense of identity from the community and its activities because the assimilation is so complete that Japanese history and culture are not learned at home. Older people, on the other hand, participate in the community for social reasons. Even English-speaking second generation people seem to be more comfortable among themselves. In addition to culture, the need for activities concerning human rights is also recognized.

There are no community news organs. Important news in the community is reported in Japanese-Canadian newspapers published in Toronto, and television programs produced in Toronto can also viewed in the area.

Hamilton has no Japanese companies. There is a car factory in Cambridge, Ontario, which is included in the area that the NAJC Chapter serves. Although that company gave some support to the new building of the Japanese Canadian cultural centre, it does not have strong influence on the community. The respondent has an impression that Japanese companies do not actively support Japanese-Canadian communities.

As for the future of the community, the respondent thinks that the younger people will retain a sense of Japanese ethnicity, but

that they would not rely on the small community for economic or social reasons. Therefore, the community organizations are trying to create programs geared toward the lifestyle of younger people in order to attract them. The respondent does not think that the emphasis of the community would necessarily shift onto culture in the future, because there are a group of young people who feel the NAJC local chapter should take part in human rights issues in the broader society.

When asked about the community in fifty years, the respondent said she did not know what the community would be like then. It is possible that the community will not exist at all, or it might be maintained for reasons different from the present. There are, however, some heartening observations. Between intermarriage couples, the non-Japanese person is often interested in understanding Japanese culture or encourages his or her Japanese partner to get involved with the community. Another good sign is that, in recent years, the membership of the NAJC Hamilton chapter is increasing, with younger people joining.

Present Organizations

Presently, the NAJC Hamilton chapter has 260 members. During redress, the membership of the JCCA quickly increased and subsequently dropped. In the recent years, however, it is on the rise again with younger people (late 20s and 30s) coming back. The Chapter is trying very hard to recruit young people because they are the future of any organization.

Other organizations in the community include the culture and community centre, religious groups (Buddhist, United), an

investment club of second generation people, social groups and cultural groups. While there is no language school, the cultural centre runs language classes.

The culture and community centre and the NAJC local chapter publish newsletters and the two newsletters work in cooperation. The cultural centre's newsletter is monthly and the NAJC newsletter is quarterly; both are bilingual.

Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities

In the past, there have not been many history preservation activities in the community. There was a small photograph exhibition held in conjunction with a community picnic. There have been some books written by Hamilton residents, but they were not the result of organized community efforts.

Enough people are interested to start archives. The leadership believes that once an archives is established, those who were previously not interested would become more interested. There is also some interest within public schools and public libraries. Public schools ask the community for speakers on the Japanese Canadian experience, and the Hamilton Public Library once had a Japanese-Canadian photograph exhibition.

Archival Activities

The archival activities in the Hamilton community are at a preliminary stage. The community is hoping to start an archives this year. There was not a specific impetus for the archives, but they "just felt that it was probably a very important part of the

existence of (their) organizations to have that kind of resource material to be made available to, not just to the Japanese Canadian people, but to the public at large."

Planning for the archives has not yet begun. Whether it will be a program of the NAJC local chapter or it will be jointly run by the cultural centre and the chapter has not been decided; neither has the scope of acquisition been discussed yet. The archives will be located in a new building shared by the NAJC local chapter and the cultural centre. The respondent has no idea how large the floor size of the archives will be. The possible sources of funding include the general income of the Chapter, fund raising events, grants from governments or other funds, but no concrete funding plan has yet been made.

The present holdings consist only of a small number of photographs used for the Public Library's exhibition. They have not yet contacted any other archives or cultural institutions.

Summary

The Hamilton Japanese-Canadian community is small, but it does not necessarily mean it has few resources. It has easy access to information in Toronto, and in a sense, it shares a reservoir of human resources with Toronto. They can call on prominent community members active on the national level in Toronto, and Hamilton itself provided some prominent national leaders. As a result, the community members are aware of national developments and, as indicated in their active interest in human rights, they have a wide view of the society at large.

As for the coming archives, it is not yet at the stage to be evaluated. Close cooperation with Toronto will be critical.

6. Montreal

Community Context

This Japanese-Canadian community theoretically encompasses the province of Quebec. The great concentration of the population is, however, in Montreal, and community activities are generally geared to those in Montreal.

Before World War II, there were about forty Japanese people in Montreal area. In 1942, some people started to come voluntarily from Vancouver. In 1944, young people started to come from the camps in interior British Columbia. Gradually, their parents, brothers, and sisters joined them. Because the city of Toronto closed its doors to Japanese Canadians, many came to Montreal instead. The community started to form organizations, such as church groups and a welfare group, during the war. When the camps in British Columbia were finally closed off, a receiving camp for those who were with large families and could not move out of the retention camps was set up in Farnham, Quebec, from where many people later came to Montreal for jobs.

Although the census in 1991 shows that the population of Japanese Canadians in the metropolitan Montreal area is 2,365, the respondent estimated the number of people actually participating in the community activities is less than five hundred. Although temporary residents sometimes take part in cultural activities, or even contribute to them with their knowledge of Japanese culture and language, most of them do not participate routinely in

community activities. They have their own sports clubs, and they are busy supporting their children's Japanese School. The size of the community looks like shrinking with older people passing away and moving out to live in Japanese senior citizens' homes in Ontario, or to be with their children elsewhere. On the other hand, younger people might be moving into the area without being noticed by the community. Therefore, whether the community is actually decreasing in population is not clear.

The present Japanese community consists of a "traditional community" that includes the first generation and older part of the second generation, and younger generations. The traditional community members are very close to one another; this is not surprising given that they have known one another for more than fifty years, mainly through churches. Younger generations need specific purposes to participate in the community, unlike seniors who come to the drop-in at the cultural centre every week. Although some younger people say they are not interested in the community, when an organization holds an event, attendance is usually sufficient to assure that the effort is worthwhile. Furthermore, the community leadership identifies some groups of younger people who are in need of an individual sense of belonging. Younger third generation members in their 20s sometimes feel a sense of loss. They miss the connection with their grandparents, with whom they cannot communicate because of the language barrier. Children of intercultural marriages also sometimes have a particular need to seek identity, and so do children of post-war immigrants, who may have very Japanese ways of thinking depending on how their parents educated them.

Recently, there are few Japanese immigrants to Montreal. There are, however, many Japanese people living in Montreal as students or on working holiday visas. There does not seem to be close relationships between Japanese Canadians and post-war immigrants, and the community recognizes the need of outreach to post-war immigrants and their children. The respondent believes that the language difference influences the community; communication requires effort, which people might avoid if they do not have particular purposes to do so. Some younger people, however, are interested in the Japanese language as a cultural issue.

There are thirty to forty Japanese companies in the area, but some are leaving. The respondent thinks that they are providing financial support to the cultural centre.

There are no television programs or newspapers for the community. Community organizations sometimes put notices or announcements in Japanese-Canadian newspapers published in Toronto. A telephone directory was compiled in 1992, but an updated edition has not been planned.

In response to the question whether the community will exist in fifty or one hundred years, the respondent said, "without immigration coming in, it is difficult, to certain extent." She thinks that even in five years the community will have changed, but and she does not know how it will change.

Present Organizations

The NAJC Quebec chapter, established in 1986, at present has 220 members. This number has not changed significantly in recent

years. Other existing community organizations include the Cultural Centre, the Montreal Bulletin, a language school for children of Japanese Canadians and immigrants, Nikkei Artists' Network, Nikkei Network for work opportunities, cultural groups, and sports groups.

The Cultural Centre is "more the organization of the community (than the NAJC Quebec chapter is), because it's attached to the building (where community activities have been carried out for years)." It has run seniors' drop-in programs since 1979. It has a library, and many groups use its building for their activities and events. The Cultural Centre's administration is supported by a council of representatives of groups in the community. The council also includes a representative of the Canada Japan Society; it is not a Japanese-Canadian organization and its membership is mainly French-speaking.

The Montreal Bulletin is a group that publishes the *Montreal Bulletin*, a monthly newsletter of the community. It is independent and serves as a communication medium for all the community organizations. It is published in both English and Japanese. Contents in the two languages are not the same because the Japanese section tries to respond the needs of the people who do not read English or French newspapers.

The community also has a seniors' care program that includes visits, meals on wheels, and transportation to hospitals. It is supported by provincial government funding.

Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities

There have been some activities aimed at preserving Japanese-

Canadian history. Since 1982, interviews of older people were carried out. There have been three or four exhibitions at a college and a market place, but since redress there has been none. Speakers have occasionally been invited to schools to talk about their experiences. A booklet on the history of Japanese Canadians in Montreal was published in 1987 by the Cultural Centre. The NAJC Quebec chapter is thinking of updating it and the new edition will be distributed to high schools and CEGEPs.

Concerning the attitudes of community members, the respondent did not necessarily say they are indifferent to history preservation, even though there are not many people getting involved with such activities. Rather, the respondent believes the leadership should actively reach out and encourage volunteers to participate.

As for the interest of the general public, the respondent is "not aware of it." She thinks the community "has to sell it."

Archival Activities

A committee of five people is keeping records of the community. A substantial amount of materials are kept at the Bulletin's managing editor's house (hereafter this preservation activity is called the archives). The archives started in 1982 with interviews of seniors. There was no particular impetus for it; rather it emerged naturally from community members' conversations. They thought that the archives was a good thing to have because there had not been many official history preservation activities. According to the respondent, however, the archives "is

not maintained," and two people are going to look through the materials and make standardized file descriptions.

The scope of acquisition is Quebec in terms of geography, although the primary emphasis is on Japanese Canadians' resettlement in Montreal. Recent records are within the scope, and the committee thinks it has to acquire records from current organizations, although they are not acquiring on a regular basis. This is partly because the archives does not have a status as the central repository of the community; many organizations including the Cultural Centre keep their records for themselves. Presently, the archives receives records when an organization or an individual prefers to transfer them. Even for the materials kept there, the archives does not have ownership but is only a custodian. If a user wants to quote from a material or use a photograph, he or she has to obtain permission from the owner or the owner's descendent.

The major part of their holdings is 170 files (approx. three linear metres) under names of individuals, organizations, and sometimes geographical names. The records can be either information on the individual or organization that is the file title, or records created or held by it. There are also approximately one hundred sound tapes of interviews, as well as books, photographs, slides, and newspaper clippings of Japanese Canadian newspapers concerning Montreal. The volume of these holdings has not been measured.

As for finding aids, the archives has listings of files, which will be supplemented with more detailed descriptions. The archives is open to the public and users are given access to the holdings by appointment.

The room that the archives occupies is approximately 156 square feet. They do not have resources to build or acquire new facilities. Because the Cultural Centre is spending a substantial amount of money on insurance for the materials, the committee is discussing photocopying materials and sending one set to another repository so that they do not have to insure the holdings. Whether they should keep the originals or send out the originals, and which archives is best to transfer materials to, have not yet been decided. The archives will decide those issues considering users.

To sustain the archives, they have received government grants for employment creation. Equipment and overhead have not required a substantial amount of funding, partly because they have access to the Montreal Bulletin's equipment. Fund raising activities are not planned so far, and grants for archives, such as those from the CCA, have not been investigated.

The archives has little contact with other archives. Public archives have sometimes requested information about the materials they have, while the archives sent people to Ottawa and Toronto to make copies of materials kept at other archives. The archives, however, does not have organized documentation on materials kept at other archives.

Summary

A striking feature of this Japanese-Canadian community is its networking functions. Community organizations are connected through the council of the cultural centre, and some of the major community activities themselves are networking, such as Nikkei

Artists' Network and Nikkei Network. This may be because networking is relatively easy since the Japanese community is fairly small in population, and at the same time, it is necessary since the community is situated in a big busy city.

The archives is very low key. It uses whatever resources are available, and the people who run it do not feel an urgent need for long-term planning. The holdings, however, consist of a fairly impressive amount, as a result of the earnest efforts of volunteers. The location of the archives within an individual's house may be problematic in terms of public access and long-term sustainability.

7. Vancouver

Community Context

The immediate area of this Japanese community is Greater Vancouver and this section mainly reports about the Vancouver Japanese-Canadian community. The Japanese-Canadian archives in Vancouver is, however, "national" with the scope of activities encompassing all Canada.

After World War II, Japanese Canadians were officially allowed to come back to the west coast in 1949, but not many people moved back all at once. It was only during the 1950s when the Japanese community got started again in Vancouver. The Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association (JCCA), which had existed before the war, was reestablished in the early 1950s.

The present community members include any Japanese-related person living in the area, including children of mixed marriages. Temporary residents are always welcome to participate in community

activities and they do come to some of the events, but the respondent did not particularly identify their roles in the community. Japanese speaking post-war immigrants seem to have some reluctance to associate with English-speaking Japanese Canadians and tend to stay within their own groups.

The population of the Japanese Canadians in Greater Vancouver is approximately eighteen thousand with four thousand to five thousand Japanese speaking households. Japanese company employees from Japan in the area are less than one thousand, and there are about two thousand Japanese on working holiday visas. Although the respondent did not have precise numbers, he believes that the population is growing because of Japanese Canadians moving in from other areas of Canada. There are not, however, a great number of immigrants coming from Japan in recent years.

The present community is not cohesive because there are differences of opinion on certain things. Furthermore, not many young people are interested in community activities. Whereas they are aware of their ethnicity, they do not care whether they associate with Japanese or non-Japanese people. On the other hand, the second generation and especially the first generation tend to want to associate with Japanese Canadians. Some people in the community are hoping that the Nikkei Heritage Centre being planned in Burnaby will change the attitudes and perspectives of younger people.

The respondent thinks that community members expect from the community all the three elements the researcher suggested: a sense of identity, a place for cultural activities, and a means of social relationships. He also noted that a human rights group is very

active in Vancouver with a world-wide scope, although some people criticize them for becoming involved with many issues that do not seem relevant to the Japanese-Canadian community per se.

There are mass media sources geared toward Japanese speaking people in the community. These include television and radio broadcast, newspapers and other publications in Japanese. There is, however, no mass media source specifically designed for English-speaking Japanese Canadians. A telephone directory of the community listing Japanese businesses, organizations, and so on, is published annually by a private company. It is also in Japanese and contents are geared to new immigrants and temporary residents.

The respondent thinks the Japanese Canadians in the area still retain some Japanese lifestyle. Some still hold some annual family events, which their grandparents did, such as the new year's party. There are quite a few Japanese grocery stores and more than one hundred Japanese restaurants.

Japanese companies that have offices in Vancouver have supported certain community events and projects, such as the Japanese gardens at the University of British Columbia and at the Pacific National Exhibition. The community is hoping that they will also support the Nikkei Heritage Centre.

In response to the question of whether the Japanese-Canadian communities across Canada are united, the respondent answered, "There isn't one big community as such," because while the NAJC tries to integrate it, there are different groups with different interests. The local communities are, however, interconnected with one another mainly through personal ties. Because almost all of the older Japanese Canadians moved out from Vancouver, and in the

past the Japanese often got married among themselves, people in different cities have relatives and friends nation-wide. The respondent believes this is where their strength lies. Also, the respondent thinks that wherever they currently live, the first generation and the second generation think very similarly.

Present Organizations

There is no umbrella organization overseeing the whole community. While the JCCA tries to integrate the community groups and represent the community, and they do succeed in some ways, they have not been so successful in other ways. The membership of the JCCA is twenty-three hundred and the number has been stable in recent years.

The community has approximately 110 organizations and groups both large and small. They are mostly cultural or social groups. Several language schools, some of which have two to three hundred students, teach the Japanese language and culture to children of Japanese Canadians and immigrants. There is one Japanese school for children of Japanese business people and other temporary residents. There are more than ten Japanese churches in the area including Buddhist, United, Anglican and other denominations. There are Japanese business people's associations, and a strong gardeners' association that often supports Japanese garden projects. Another type of organization is Kenjinkai, which is a group of people getting together by prefecture in Japan from which they or their ancestors originated. There are no cultural centres, libraries, senior citizens' homes or museums. The JCCA building is often used for cultural activities. The Nikkei Heritage Centre,

planned to open in 1997, will include a cultural centre, a senior citizens' home, a library, a care home, and a museum in conjunction with the archives.

Preservation of the History of the Community and Related Cultural Activities

In 1977, a photograph exhibition on Japanese-Canadian history was produced in Vancouver as a Japanese Canadian centennial project, which travelled across Canada. The exhibition was later published as a book.

The Japanese Canadian History Preservation Committee was established in 1981 under the Vancouver JCCA. Originally, the emphasis was on interviewing older people. This was because the main impetus for the establishment of the committee was that older people were passing away, and the community recognized the need to record their experiences before it was too late. The committee has also put displays at the annual community festival, and produced and conducted walking tours in the areas of the city that are historically significant to Japanese.

The respondent believes that community members are generally interested in the history. They do not, however, actively seek out information.

Public schools have requested information on the Japanese-Canadian history, as well as speakers for classes. Students have often gone on walking tours. The respondent thinks that these are indications that the general public has an interest in Japanese-Canadian history.

Archival Activities

The History Preservation Committee, formed in 1981, was later transformed into the Japanese Canadian Archives. It changed the name to Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives (JCNMA) in 1995 with the plan to be part of the Nikkei Heritage Centre.

The archives acquires "anything to do with the Japanese Canadian history." They would include a non-Japanese person's records talking about the Japanese-Canadian history. The geographical scope of acquisition is national, but they would welcome materials of Japanese Canadians who went back to Japan. Records of existing organizations also fall in the scope of acquisition (for the acquisition policy of the JCNMA, see Appendix 4).

As for the delineation of acquisition in relation to Japanese-Canadian archives in other local communities, they emphasize the need for computer networking so that information (contents of materials) can be shared among different locations. Although the respondent believes that original materials should be ideally kept in a safe place with proper facilities and environmental control, he realizes that the archives should not force smaller archives to transfer originals because their facilities are not as good. He thinks that "the national [Japanese-Canadian archives] should set the policy and try to get cooperation from all the other groups, to find out what the best thing to do is."

The archives' current holdings include three hundred interviews, fifteen hundred photographs and eight meters of textual records. Many of the textual records have not been processed because they are mostly in Japanese.

They are already carrying out displays at different occasions such as annual community festivals, and they plan to expand the activities. The new building in the Nikkei Heritage Centre will include a display area of five hundred square feet. They are also planning to conduct educational activities, such as seminars.

The archives is open to the public from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday. Presently, users usually need to make an appointment before they can use materials.

For finding aids, they create fonds level description according to the RAD using INMAGIC. They also have binders of photocopies of prints for searching photographic images.

The archives presently has one paid staff member.¹²⁶ There are volunteers who respond to specific needs.

The archives is now located in the JCCA office building with 150 square feet of space. In the Nikkei Heritage Centre, it will have three thousand square feet to be shared with the museum.

The archives requires funding from the public, governments, corporations and any other possible sources. They are applying for a charitable status and once they get it, they are going to "aggressively look for other funding." They have already received some grants from the Archives Association of British Columbia.

As for the relationship with other archives, the archives have joined the ACA and the Archives Association of British Columbia, and are participating in the British Columbia Archives Union List. Although the archives is not yet carrying out cooperative activities with other archives, it is in contact with nearby

¹²⁶ As of September 1995, there is another person working as a project director both for the archives and the museum.

municipal archives and museums related to the Japanese-Canadian history. The archives has connections with the University of British Columbia and in contact with librarians and archivists of the UBC libraries.

Summary

The Japanese-Canadian archives in Vancouver is planned to be an independent full-fledged archival organization, rather than a part of an existing organization. The mandate and collection policy of the archives show that they realize that it is essential to follow the professional theory and practices of archives in order to be successful. Strict criteria for the grants that they have begun to receive have probably prompted this understanding.

The archives is, however, still at a starting stage and there are areas where more discussion and planning are required. The scope of acquisition suggests that they are more of a subject-oriented collector, rather than one that systematically receives records from a specific groups of records creators. If a historian studied the Japanese-Canadian history along with other subjects, the archives might acquire only part of his fonds that is concerned with the Japanese-Canadian history. The collection policy does not serve as criteria of acquisition or appraisal. Rather, it is mainly concerned with feasibility of preservation and processing.

So far, most of the textual records have not been processed. This is because most of them are written in Japanese and the archives needs personnel from outside to deal with them. For the present, the British Columbia Archives Union List lists fonds consisting solely of photographs from the archives' holdings.

In order to function as a "national" archives of Japanese Canadians, it has to form networks and integrate planning and activities in different Japanese-Canadian communities across the country. This has yet to be started in earnest.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This case study revealed that all of the Japanese-Canadian communities studied have the will to develop archival programs aimed at preserving their records. Five communities have already started archival programs in some form, and the two remaining communities are planning to start one within a few years. This chapter first examines the present stage and plans of archival activities in relation to community conditions. It then analyzes the objectives and potentials of archival activities in the communities in light of archival theories. The chapter concludes with recommendations for sound preservation of archival materials related to ethnic groups.

1. Community Context and Archival Activities

In terms of population, the seven Japanese-Canadian communities are grouped into large and small ones; Toronto and Vancouver are large with more than fifteen thousand Japanese Canadians, and other five communities are small with the Japanese-Canadian population ranging from one to three thousand. Japanese people temporarily living in the area are considered part of the community, although the extent to which these temporary residents are integrated into the community varies from one case to another.

The "Japanese-Canadian community" was not clearly defined in any of the communities where interviews were conducted. Two types of approaches to the definition of ethnic community are observed in the interviews: One is to view the community as a group of

individuals whose ethnicity is somehow related to the Japanese. This includes Japanese Canadians who were born in Canada, immigrants from Japan, Japanese temporarily living in the area, and non-Japanese who are married to Japanese or Japanese Canadians and their children. This approach tends to be a conceptual one because it is impossible to keep track of all the community members by this definition. As well, for an individual to be a member of a Japanese-Canadian community by this approach is one of his or her many characteristics; thus, this approach can rarely be of practical use in defining an archives' acquisition scope. The other approach is to closely identify the community with community organizations and activities. In this approach, a non-Japanese who participates in community activities is more of a community member than a Japanese Canadian who never associates with community organizations.

Manitoba is the only community that a respondent clearly stated was cohesive. Other communities are not thought to be very cohesive because there are differences of opinion within the community, or few people are interested in community activities. Community organizations are, however, working in fairly close cooperation in small communities except Lethbridge. In Lethbridge and the District, the geographical dispersion of the population seems to impede the community leaders' abilities to integrate organizations. In the large communities, such as Toronto and Vancouver, numerous organizations are carrying out their activities with their own interests and goals. No single organization is working as a real hub of the community, and it seems that no individual or organization by itself can comprehend needs and

conditions of the whole community. Organizations are, however, not necessarily disconnected from one another, and some of them do cooperate. The large communities have more developed communication means than the small communities, such as television broadcasts, newspapers, and newsletters of major organizations.

The cohesiveness of a community does not seem to affect significantly the extent to which archival activities have been developed within the community so far. Nor is a particular impetus for archival activities identified by the respondents. Rather, they emerged from discussions of community leadership, or were simply recognized as an desirable part of community activities. The difference in the degree of development of archives is mainly due to the difference in the time when they started one (the earlier an archives was started, the better it is developed). When a community started archival activities was apparently determined by priorities of the leadership of the community. This is because in recent years the community leadership take initiative in planning activities and attract people, rather than responding to obvious needs of the majority of the community members since few community members have to rely on the community for their essential economic or social needs. None of the respondents thought that the majority of the community members were strongly interested in archives at the moment, but most respondents believed that once an archives is set in motion many people will be interested and will support it. How cohesive the community is or how active the community generally is will have bearings on the future development of the archives. Where community organizations are working in close cooperation and getting many volunteers, the archives is

likely to be part of the cooperative efforts and to be supported on a broad basis.

In initiating archival activities, a community's awareness that its history is an integral part of the history of the larger society seems to be more significant than the cohesiveness or activity of the community. Although redress was not mentioned by respondents as an impetus for developing archival activities, it apparently had an impact on perspectives of Japanese Canadians regarding their history. Consequently it had some indirect impact on history preservation. For example, no Japanese community had organized archival activities before the movement for redress started, whereas presently all the communities have plans for them. Redress helped form foundations in communities to accept and cultivate archival activities.

The current state of Japanese-Canadian communities indirectly induced archival activities. Now that Japanese Canadians do not have urgent needs for which they rely on the community, community organizations need a *raison d'être*, and community leaders seek activities to tie community members together. At the same time, the current financial and social state of the communities allows them to carry out cultural projects that would have been a luxury in the 1940s, when Japanese Canadians needed a committee to purchase rice.¹²⁷

It seems that there is a significant relationship between the size of the community and archival activities' development. Toronto and Vancouver are the only communities that have a written mandate and policy, and so far they are aiming at more formal

¹²⁷ Montreal Bulletin, *Bulletin* 1, no.2 (April 1946) 1.

development of archives than the smaller communities. This seems to be because of the two large communities' stronger confidence in their resources. However, the objectives of the two communities' archival thrust differ. Vancouver aims at functioning as a "national" archives of Japanese Canadians and seek to acquire materials on a national scale. Toronto, on the other hand, limits its scope to the Greater Toronto area, just as other small communities do to their city. Furthermore, the Toronto Nikkei Archives and Resource Centre does not intend to actively acquire materials, but rather it emphasizes on identifying where materials pertaining to the Japanese experience are located in the area. It will educate community organizations to keep their own archives and maintain information on the location and contents of materials. The cause of the difference in the approaches of the two communities is not clear. It may be because Vancouver views itself as the "home town" of Japanese Canadians, while Toronto only happens to have a large Japanese-Canadian population because it is a large city. Alternatively, it may be simply because of the difference in the thoughts of the leadership.

2. Objectives and Potential of Japanese-Canadian Archives

As discussed in Chapter One, archival theories assert that, whenever possible, records creators should be encouraged to keep their own archives. Archives acquiring materials with a scope delineated in terms of territoriality are considered to be the alternative to institutional archives. On the other hand, collecting resource materials on a certain theme has been largely

criticized in the Canadian archival community. Where do the Japanese-Canadian community archives fit in these categories?

Acquisition policies of Japanese-Canadian community archives tend to be thematic ones. Three communities (Kamloops, Manitoba, Hamilton) had not yet decided on the scope of acquisition. Three communities (Lethbridge, Montreal, Vancouver) describe their scope of acquisition using more or less thematic terms, such as "Japanese-Canadian history in Southern Alberta," "resettlement in Montreal," and "archival materials which illustrate the heritage and history of Japanese Canadians in Canada." Toronto's approach is not outright thematic, stating "materials related to the Toronto region Japanese Canadian community." However, it does not define the acquisition scope by records creators, either. Complicating matters, many of those archives aim at being a research resource centre, keeping library and/or museum materials along with archival materials. Without professional expertise, the essential difference between library or museum materials and archival materials seems to be often overlooked.

In staffing and facilities, the larger communities have relatively more resources. Vancouver has full-time paid staff, and although the archives in Toronto is run by volunteers, a professional archivist is contributing to the efforts. The two communities have definite plans to have environmentally controlled storage for materials. In small communities, these provisions are presently beyond their scope.

All the communities have their archives open to the public or plan to do so. This is a corollary of their underlying motivation

for archival activities: to preserve and make available the history of Japanese Canadians for future generations.

Closeness to records creators and complementarity among records to be acquired are identified as advantages of community-based archives. This is the case with Japanese-Canadian community archives because community organizations work in cooperation, especially in small communities, and informal networks among community members also exist. Community archives have advantages in locating important records and advocating for archival activities in the community. Although those community archives are not free from language problems, given that most Japanese Canadians do not read Japanese, as one respondent expressed, they are likely to have easier access to the needed human resources.

As *Canadian Archives* argues, it is desirable that an archives depends on its parent body for its core funding. Most of the Japanese-Canadian community archives are formed under the local chapter of the NAJC, and in some communities the cultural centre is also involved in its operation. While none of the archives presently have definite budget plans, only one expects that their funding might be part of the budget of the NAJC local chapter. Others think that they have to procure funding themselves. Although none of them has a stable financial basis, they are not too concerned with the issue, especially those in small communities. This is probably because they would carry out activities that their financial conditions allow, rather than start with a grand plan and then try to procure the required funding.

Whether or not a community as a whole is willing and able to support an archival program is another concern. Young generations

are largely assimilated into the larger society; and Japanese culture is something they consciously learn, rather than the environment they grow up in. Thus, cultural interests are growing as a motive to participate in community activities, and in many communities, the need for a sense of identity is acknowledged. Archival programs are likely to be welcomed as one way to respond to this need. Another factor that emerged from the present study is the visibility of programs. In many communities, the outstanding presence of an organization's building is considered a factor that attracts people's attention and that procures participation and support. For an archival program to obtain broad support, it may be effective to establish a formal organization (not necessarily independent) and operate with visible facilities.

3. Recommendations for Sound Preservation of Ethnic Archives

As discussed in Chapter One, public archives and the Canadian archival community are not enthusiastic about preservation of archival materials related to ethnic groups by ethnic communities. Nevertheless, this case study revealed there is substantial amount of effort to preserve records by Japanese-Canadian communities. It also showed that, although those community based archives can rarely afford professional staff, it does not necessarily mean they are unaware of archival theories and established practices. For the archival community at large to utilize the efforts of ethnic communities, several recommendations based on the results of the present study are offered.

First, preservation of ethnic archival material should be recognized as a responsibility to be assumed by public archives and

ethnic communities. Unlike in the past, when public archives could afford relatively extensive, if not systematic, acquisition of private archival materials, they now explicitly place their emphasis on records of their parent bodies because of financial constraints, needs to respond to freedom of information acts, and other factors. Acknowledging this reality, Christopher Hives argues that the archival community should shift their focus to "a more holistic approach which embodies a collective or shared responsibility for the preservation of private records."¹²⁸ Preservation of ethnic archival materials is not an exception. Although public archives cannot afford to assume the whole responsibility on their own, they must not neglect the importance of keeping ethnic archival materials as part of the society's documentary heritage. Public archives and the archival community at large should recognize their share of the responsibility, and also acknowledge the potential that ethnic communities have in contributing to the preservation of their records.

Second, the archival community should actively cooperate with ethnic communities when the latter are willing to carry out archival activities. Larger and established archives should provide whatever assistance they can to community-based archives. Whereas community archives' closeness to records creators facilitates identifying records of continuing value and understanding their context, public archives might be able to provide professional expertise, storage space, access to specialized facilities, and so on. For example, in a small

¹²⁸ Christopher Hives, "Viewpoint -- Acquiring and Preserving Private Records: Thinking Globally, Acting Locally," *AABC Newsletter* 4, no.2 (spring 1994): 4.

community, the community and a public archives or a university archives can jointly run a program. The former, with close connections within the community, can contribute by researching records creators and contextual information on records, fund-raising in the community, and advocating for the archives program within the community; the latter can provide physical facilities and professional staffing. Though few archives are enjoying affluent resources, public archives will view these contributions as reasonable if they recognize that ethnic community archives carry out activities for which they are equally responsible.

Third, collective planning of ethnic archives preservation is needed. Hives suggests that the British Columbia Archival Union List is a significant first step towards the collaborative efforts of archives in British Columbia to preserve private records. In order to avoid futile and even harmful competition in acquisition, it is useful to know the holdings and acquisition policies of other repositories. To preserve a well-rounded body of ethnic archival materials for the future generations without leaving haphazard gaps, proactive planning to utilize resources and to allocate responsibilities to involved parties is essential. As observed in this case study, ethnic community archives tend to adopt a thematic approach to the acquisition of materials. The archival community should help ethnic archives plan their activities in such a way that allows them to fit within the Canadian archival system.

The acquisition policy is an essential issue that ethnic community-based archives need to address in developing their programs. The thematic approach to acquisition should be avoided because it leads to idiosyncratic collections of materials;

pertinence can never be a legitimate criterion of acquisition given that it changes depending on the use. When an ethnic community establishes an archives, the ultimate goal of records preservation is best served if the archives functions as a collective repository of community organizations. In this way, the archives assumes a role similar to an institutional archives, which can retain the integrity of records and consequently preserve their context. Ideally, an archives should be supported by all of the community organizations in terms of funding and acquiring their records, much as an institutional archives is supported by its parent body. As for records of individuals, the criteria of acquisition should be complementarity to the organizational records. A celebrity's records should not be acquired only because he or she happens to be of a certain ethnic origin.

Ethnic community archives should also understand the difference between archival materials and library or museum materials. Ethnic community archival programs are often run in conjunction with libraries, museums, cultural centres, or research centres. One organization can have distinct functions, but the principles and practices underlying one function must not be confused with those of the other. For the preservation of archival materials, ethnic community archives should adhere to archival theories and practices accepted and realized in the archival community.

Ethnic community archives should also develop a network among archives of the same ethnic group in different areas. Because ethnic communities at different locations often work in collaboration and share interests, and their records are often

interrelated, networking is necessary for sound and efficient preservation of their records. The principle of territoriality applies to ethnic archives as well; a "national" archives of a ethnic community should not glean records of "national significance" from across the county. This would result in the illogical removal of records from the locale where they were created, as done in the past by some powerful public archives. It should be understood that ethnic archival materials are created in a context that is defined by the local milieu as well as by the ethnicity.

4. Suggestions for Further Studies

This case study explored the attitudes of ethnic communities towards the preservation of their records and their potentials. Because the present case study dealt with only one ethnic group through interviews with people involved in the developing archival activities, the issue of preserving ethnic archival materials could be profitably examined in future research.

First, because the archival activities revealed in this case study were all at the preliminary stage, the actual sustainability of such programs was not made clear. To further explore the sustainability and performance of ethnic community-based archives, it will be useful to examine archives that have been functioning for longer durations.

This case study examined views of people who are involved in archival activities. It will be also informative to examine other community members' perspectives and study how an archival program is viewed, and supported, by the ethnic community at large.

How public archives and other archives are dealing with ethnic archival materials should also be reexamined. It has been a decade since the Ethnic Archives Workshop was held,¹²⁹ and much has changed since then.

It would be also useful in planning collective preservation programs of ethnic archival materials to study different ethnic groups and explore what factors prompt them to establish their archives. Perhaps some ethnic communities are indifferent to preservation of their records as archival materials under certain circumstances.

* * * * *

Ethnic archives are integral part of documentary heritage in the Canadian society. Cooperative efforts among larger archival institutions and ethnic communities to preserve ethnic archives can enrich the archival system on the whole, and those efforts themselves can become one of the important pillars of cultural identity in a country of multiculturalism.

¹²⁹ Boghossian.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview Questions

Definition of the community

What do you consider to be the geographical area of your community?

Who are members of the community?

Do you usually include temporary residents (e.g. Japanese-company employees and students) as community members? What are the roles and places of the temporary residents in the community?

Population of the community

What is the population* of the community?

Is the community growing or shrinking in numbers? If it is growing, are newcomers coming mostly from the rest of Canada or from Japan?

* The population depends on who are considered to be members of the community. (e.g. whether it includes temporary residents.)
The numbers of the people of Japanese origin reported in 1991 and 1981 census were obtained from the census reports except those of Kamloops and Lethbridge.

Membership of the NAJC local chapter

What is the number of the individual members?

What is the number of the organizational members?

Is the membership increasing or decreasing? Why?

History of the community

When and how did the community start? What was the relationships between the evacuation during WWII and the community?

When was the first community organization established? (club, company or any type of organization)

Future of the community

Do you think that people have a strong sense of identity with the community? Do you think they will retain this sense of identity in the future? Will the community continue to exist because of inflow of people from Japan?

Establishment of the NAJC local chapter

When was the NAJC local chapter established? Did it exist before the redress movement? What was the impetus to establish it?

If the local chapter was established because of the redress movement, were there other general organizations which integrated the community as a whole before the local chapter was established?

Current state of the community

General

Generally speaking, do you think the community is fairly cohesive? Are many people interested in community activities? Do community members tend to have closer relationships with each other than with people outside of the Japanese community?

Organizations

What organizations exist in the community?

e.g. language schools, cultural centre, senior citizens' residences, museums, libraries, religious institutions, business or professional associations, political organizations

Needs and expectations of members

What do members expect from community organizations? Do they want a sense of identity, a place for cultural activities, or a means of social relationships? Are there more practical needs that members expect the community to address?

Mass media

Are there broadcasts of television or radio in/for the community?

Is there Japanese press in/for the community?

Are telephone directories of the community published?

Who organizes existing media? Which language does the media use? What is the target audience?

Lifestyle

To what extent do the community members (especially Japanese Canadians) retain the Japanese lifestyle? Are there many stores selling Japanese foods and goods? Are they aimed at Japanese Canadians and immigrants or temporary residents?

Immigration

Is there substantial inflow of new immigrants from Japan now? What is the relationship between old immigrants who have been in Canada since before WWII and their children, and recent immigrants? Is the community somewhat divided along the line of languages?

Japanese companies and organizations

Are there many subsidiaries or branches of Japanese companies and organizations in the area? How do they affect the community? Do they provide support to activities in the Japanese community?

Redress movement

How many people in the community have been approved to be eligible for compensation?

Activities to preserve the history of the community

What activities were carried out, or are being planned to preserve or disseminate the history of the community?

Are many people in the community interested in the history and its preservation?

What is the perspective of the general public and organizations (e.g. schools and libraries) of the area in regard to the preservation and dissemination of the history of the Japanese Canadians?

Archives programmes

Do you have an archives programme in your community? If not, are you planning one?

If the community is not interested in having an archives programme, why? Is it because of lack of resources or lack of interest among community members, or matter of priority of the activities in the community? Or do people think the preservation of histories is the responsibility of public archives?

about the existing archives programme

When was the programme started or when is it planned to be started?

What was/is the impetus to develop the archives?

What is the scope of the acquisition? Do you have a written acquisition policy? Do you limit your acquisition by records creator's type, time period, geographical area or type of media?

Is the archives keeping recent records? For example, records of the redress movement, records of the NAJC local chapter, and those of existing organizations of the community.

What is the volume of your holdings? (textual, sound tapes, photographs, etc.)

Does the archives programme include activities other than keeping materials? (e.g. exhibitions, publications, seminars)

How many people are working for the archives? (paid staff and volunteers)

Where is the archives located? Does it have its own building or sharing a building with other organizations? What is the floor size of the archives?

What is the source of funding for the archives programme? What is the prospect for the future?

Do you receive grants from governments? Do you know about the CCA and the provincial council of archives?

What is the relationships of the archives with other archives, especially with the NAC and provincial archives? (e.g. cooperation in acquisition, duplication of holdings, guides to holdings, cooperative exhibitions and seminars)

What is the relationships with other cultural institutions such as libraries, museums and universities? (e.g. cooperation with a museum in conservation activities)

APPENDIX 2

Sample questions

These are examples of the questions I will ask you. I would like to discuss issues that arise as the interview proceeds, and there will be additional questions. I hope that they will help you prepare for the interview. Please feel free to discuss them with other people or otherwise investigate to answer them, if you wish.

Definition of the community

Who are members of the community?

Do you usually include temporary residents (e.g. Japanese-company employees and students) as community members? What are the roles and places of the temporary residents in the community?

Population of the community

What is the population* of the community?

Is the community growing or shrinking in numbers? If it is growing, are newcomers coming mostly from the rest of Canada or from Japan?

* The population depends on who are considered to be members of the community. (e.g. whether it includes temporary residents.)
The numbers of the people of Japanese origin reported in 1991 and 1981 census were obtained from the census reports except those of Kamloops and Lethbridge.

Membership of the NAJC local chapter

What is the number of the individual members?

What is the number of the organizational members?

Is the membership increasing or decreasing? Why?

History of the community

When was the first community organization established?
(club, company or any type of organization)

Establishment of the NAJC local chapter

When was the NAJC local chapter established? Did it exist before the redress movement? What was the impetus to establish it?

Current state of the community

Organizations

What organizations exist in the community?

e.g. language schools, cultural centre, senior citizens' residences, museums, libraries, religious institutions, business or professional associations, political organizations

Mass media

Are there broadcasts of television or radio in/for the community?

Is there Japanese press in/for the community?

Immigration

Is there substantial inflow of new immigrants from Japan now?

Redress movement

How many people in the community have been approved to be eligible for compensation?

Activities to preserve the history of the community

What activities were carried out, or are being planned to preserve or disseminate the history of the community?

Archives programmes

Do you have an archives programme in your community? If not, are you planning one?

If the community is not interested in having an archives programme, why?

about the existing archives programme

When was the programme started or when is it planned to be started?

What is the scope of the acquisition? Do you have a written acquisition policy? Do you limit your acquisition by records creator's type, time period, geographical area or type of media?

What is the volume of your holdings? (textual, sound tapes, photographs, etc.)

APPENDIX 3

Toronto Nikkei Archive and Resource Centre

Goals and Objectives

The Toronto Nikkei Archive and Resource Centre shall collect, conserve and make available for public study, historical, educational and contemporary materials related to the Toronto region Japanese Canadian community. The past and the present will be reflected.

Archival Materials and Resource Materials:

- Books, Pamphlets, Studies, Academic Papers
- Newspapers, Magazines, Periodicals
- Records, Minutes of Meetings, Notices, Posters, Yearbooks
- Official Documents, Passports, Identification
- Diaries, Letters
- Photographs
- Maps, Plans, Surveys, Drawings
- Lists of Persons,
- Audio Tapes, Video Tapes, Film, Vinyl Records, Compact Disks
- Contemporary Japanese materials - magazines, manga comics, videos
- Japanese Language Instruction Manuals

[Excerpt from an application for funding from the National Association of Japanese Canadians]

APPENDIX 4

Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives

Archives Mandate

The Japanese Canadian Archives exists to:

1. Collect and preserve archival materials which illustrates the heritage and history of Japanese Canadians in Canada.
2. Arrange and describe these materials according to archival principles and make them accessible to the general public on a regular basis, unless access is restricted by legal requirements or written agreements with the donor.
3. Provide adequate and appropriate conditions for the storage, protection, and preservation of archival material.
4. Provide regular reference services to individuals, organizations, or other groups interested in the activities and holdings of the J. C. Archives.
5. Provide educational and outreach programming whenever possible to increase public awareness and appreciation of the history of the Japanese Canadian community and its development.

Archives Collection Policy

The Japanese Canadian Archives will:

1. Collect material the Archives can afford to keep and maintain.
2. Collect material that shows a high ratio of use to volume, processing and cost.
3. Store and maintain material as long as it is deemed by the archivist and/or the Archive committee as meeting these above criteria. *Until such time as this material is no longer deemed as relevant to the Archive, the given property may be deaccessioned.* Deaccessioning shall not take place without the written authority from either a trained archivist and the Archives' Acquisitions Committee.
4. Accept historical material of any medium, as it corresponds to our mandate, including: textual and administrative records, public and private records, photographs, books, maps, oral histories and other audio-visual documentation.
The Archives' Currently collects artifacts if they have archival value and if their size and condition are suitable for the

Archives' premises. These objects will need to be reviewed by the Archives' acquisitions committee before being accepted.

5. Accept material on a permanent basis, except when the Archives borrows material for short-term loans to reproduce or to include in displays or exhibits.

6. Accept material only as long as the proper deed of gift or loan agreements are signed by both the donor, lender, and an archivist or Archives' representative.

7. Retain the right to reproduce materials by mechanical means for security, conservation, or research purposes as specified by the deed of gift and loan agreements.