

COMMUNITY HERITAGE COMMISSION

THE MAYOR AND COUNCILLORS

SUBJECT: FRAMEWORK FOR RECONCILIATION WITH BURNABY'S CHINESE CANADIAN COMMUNITY

RECOMMENDATION:

1. THAT Council receive this report for information and authorize implementation of the reconciliation framework outlined in this report; and,

THAT Council forward a copy of this report to the Burnaby Intercultural Planning Table; Burnaby Together: Organizing Against Racism and Hate; the Parks, Recreation and Culture Commission, and the Social Planning Committee for information.

REPORT

The Community Heritage Commission, at its meeting held on 2023 February 09, received and adopted the <u>attached</u> report providing information pertaining to the City of Burnaby's past discrimination against people of Chinese descent, and outlining a framework for community consultation to support acknowledgement and a formal apology.

Respectfully submitted,

Councillor D. Tetrault Chair

Councillor R.T. Lee Vice Chair

Copied to: Chief Administrative Officer

Deputy Chief Administrative Officer/CFO GM Corporate Services GM Parks, Recreation & Culture

GM Planning & Development Chief Human Resources Officer

Meeting 2023 February 9



COMMISSION REPORT

TO:

CHAIR AND MEMBERS

DATE:

2023 February 1

COMMUNITY HERITAGE COMMISSION

FROM:

GENERAL MANAGER

FILE:

77000 05

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

SUBJECT:

FRAMEWORK FOR RECONCILIATION WITH BURNABY'S CHINESE

CANADIAN COMMUNITY

PURPOSE:

To provide the Commission with information pertaining to the City of Burnaby's past discrimination against people of Chinese descent, and to outline a framework for community consultation to support acknowledgement and a formal apology.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. THAT the Community Heritage Commission receive this report for information.

REPORT

1.0 INTRODUCTION

At its 2022 October 13 meeting, the Community Heritage Commission requested staff prepare a report summarizing the laws, regulations, and policies of the City of Burnaby that discriminated against people of Chinese descent, and provide recommendations for a community consultation process in support of reconciliation, including public acknowledgement and a formal apology.

The motion was in response to correspondence from the Burnaby Intercultural Planning Table and Burnaby Together: Organizing Against Racism and Hate. At its 2022 August 29 meeting, Council referred this correspondence to the Social Planning Committee. The correspondence was subsequently referred to the Community Heritage Commission. The correspondence requested that Council commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the *Chinese Exclusion Act* on July 1, 2023 by issuing a formal apology to the Chinese Canadian community for systematic and legislated discrimination.

Staff previously received direction from Council at its 2022 June 20 meeting to develop a commemorative strategy to acknowledge the 100th Anniversary of the *Chinese Exclusion Act* in 2023. Work to develop the commemorative strategy is underway and will be advanced to Council through the Community Heritage Commission at a future meeting.

The potential reconciliation process framework described in this report combines two projects:

- existing work on a commemorative strategy to acknowledge the centenary of the *Chinese Exclusion Act*; and
- a process to acknowledge historic discriminatory practices with a formal apology.

From: General Manager Planning and Development Re: Framework for Reconciliation with Burnaby's

Chinese Canadian Community

The framework provides for community consultation and engagement in advance of an apology, and is informed by reconciliation processes that were implemented by neighbouring municipalities to acknowledge and apologize for past discrimination against Chinese Canadian residents.

The research and the reconciliation process framework presented in this report are provided for the information of the Community Heritage Commission. Should the Commission wish to recommend that Council authorize staff to begin work on a reconciliation process, a motion would be required.

2.0 POLICY CONTEXT

Commemoration of Burnaby's unique history and acknowledgment of the contributions of diverse community members are supported by several City policies, including the *Corporate Strategic Plan* (2022), the *Burnaby Social Sustainability Strategy* (2011) and the *Official Community Plan* (1998).

3.0 RESEARCH INTO PAST DISCRIMINATION BY THE CITY OF BURNABY

Preliminary research into discriminatory practices by the City of Burnaby (then the Municipality of Burnaby) between 1892 and 1947 has been conducted, based largely on documents available through the City of Burnaby Archives with supplemental research from other English and Chinese language sources.

A research summary identifying five areas of municipal action that resulted in discrimination against Chinese Canadian residents in Burnaby has been included with this report (see *Attachment #1*). For the purposes of this research, discrimination is identified as systematic and legislated bias against a group of persons of a specific ethnic origin, with a view of depriving them of, or substantially hindering, their exercise of rights and freedoms enjoyed by others in the community.

The historical research presented in *Attachment #1* is intended as a summary of preliminary findings, and would be expanded as additional research is undertaken. The summary identifies practices of the Municipality between 1892 (when the Municipality of Burnaby was incorporated) and 1947. 1947 is the year the *Chinese Exclusion Act* was repealed, and is also the year that British Columbia's Municipal Act was amended to extend the right of franchise to Chinese Canadians and South Asian Canadians. At its 1947 August 4 meeting, Burnaby's Municipal Council unanimously endorsed a resolution to support the efforts of the Union of B.C. Municipalities to advocate for this amendment by the Province of BC. The Act was amended later that year, resulting in the enfranchisement of Chinese Canadians and South Asian Canadians.

4.0 RECONCILIATION PROCESSES IN OTHER COMMUNITIES

In 2006, the Prime Minister of Canada formally apologized in the House of Commons for the *Chinese Head Tax* and subsequent exclusion of Chinese immigrants, and in 2015 the British Columbia Legislature apologized for more than a hundred laws, regulations, and policies that were imposed by past provincial governments that discriminated against people of Chinese descent between 1871 and 1947. The City of New Westminster issued a formal apology for past discriminatory practices toward the Chinese community in 2010, and the City of Vancouver made a formal apology in April 2018.

From: General Manager Planning and Development Re: Framework for Reconciliation with Burnaby's

Chinese Canadian Community

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Both the City of New Westminster and the City of Vancouver's processes included historical research into past discriminatory practices, received input from a community advisory group, and undertook community consultations. Acknowledgement of past discrimination and a formal apology took place following engagement and consultation processes that took more than a year, and included a commitment to legacy actions to continue to advance reconciliation with the Chinese Canadian community.

4.1 City of New Westminster

Following a July 2009 Council motion outlining a process for reconciliation with the Chinese Canadian Community, Council assigned oversight of the work to the Multicultural Advisory Committee (a Committee of Council). A research project was undertaken to identify past discriminatory bylaws, regulations, and policies by the City of New Westminster, and a community consultation process was undertaken to identify actions for reconciliation. The research and community consultations culminated in a staff report to Council recommending acknowledgement and an apology, and identifying actions to advance reconciliation through projects to raise public awareness and commemorate events and places of significance to New Westminster's Chinese Canadian community. Council adopted the recommendations of the report, which resulted in an apology made in September 2010. Work is ongoing to implement legacy projects.

4.2 City of Vancouver

A May 2014 Council motion directed staff to undertake research into past discriminatory laws, regulations, and policies of the City of Vancouver, to consult with members of the Chinese Canadian community, and to report back to Council with recommendations to support reconciliation, including public acknowledgement and an apology. A consultant was retained to undertake the required research, and an Advisory Group was formed to guide public engagement. Sub-groups of the advisory group provided advice and support to the researcher and drafted the apology.

The research uncovered during the project was shared with the community, including at several forums which were held to consult with the community and generate suggestions for reconciliation. Based on the consultations, reports were advanced to Council that outlined historical discrimination (1886-1947), provided recommendations for redress, and presented a draft apology. The Official Apology was made in April 2018, and included a commitment to legacy actions that are ongoing and creation of a staff team to support a long-term plan for Chinatown.

5.0 RECONCILIATION PROCESS FRAMEWORK

The potential reconciliation process framework outlined below provides suggested actions should the Commission and Council choose to pursue a reconciliation process. Drawing on the processes undertaken by the City of Vancouver and the City of New Westminster, the framework includes establishment of an Advisory Group to support community consultation and engagement in advance of a formal apology. It also includes milestones for advancing reports to Council, an estimated timeline, and projected costs.

From: General Manager Planning and Development Re: Framework for Reconciliation with Burnaby's

Chinese Canadian Community

5.1 Advisory Group

The framework includes establishment of a community-based Advisory Group, to provide input on community consultation and engagement. The Advisory Group would be convened by staff, with the following purpose, composition, and term:

• Purpose: to provide input into a community consultation process to identify potential actions for reconciliation for historical discrimination against people of Chinese descent, including acknowledgement, a formal apology, and actions for reconciliation.

• Composition:

- O Community representation, including up to two City staff members of Chinese Canadian heritage, a historian/academic advisor, and up to four community members to include historic families, educators, and representatives of community organizations, with a focus on those that serve local Chinese Canadian communities.
- O Staff support provided by a Planner and a Planning Assistant from the Planning and Development Department, the Senior Manager Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion, the City Archivist and the Museum Curator.
- Term: March 2023 to July 2025.

5.2 Community Engagement

The framework includes development of an engagement strategy to outline a process for engaging with the local Chinese Canadian community, with input from the Advisory Group. The goal of engagement would be to identify potential actions to address historical discrimination, such as acknowledgement and a formal apology. The engagement strategy could include an awareness campaign and communications strategy to be implemented by the City, open house/town hall conversations with community stakeholders, and outreach to Burnaby-based community groups and cultural groups. Outreach and engagement would be delivered in Chinese languages as well as English.

5.3 Milestones

5.3.1 "What We Heard" Report

The framework includes advancement of a "What We Heard" report to Council, through the Community Heritage Commission, following community consultation and engagement. The report's purpose would be to outline preliminary recommendations to support reconciliation and to advance acknowledgement and an apology.

5.3.2 Final Report and Recommendations

As a final step, the framework includes advancement to Council, through the Community Heritage Commission, of a report with recommended actions in support of reconciliation. The final report would include a timeline and plans for an apology.

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5.4 Estimated Timeline

Milestone	Date
First meeting of Advisory Committee	April 2023
Engagement Strategy Development	June to September 2023
Acknowledgement of the centenary of the Chinese Exclusion Act at the City's official Canada Day events**	July 1, 2023
Community Engagement	September 2023 to February 2024
"What We Heard" report	May 2024
Acknowledgement of the centenary of the Chinese Exclusion Act at the City's official Canada Day events**	July 1, 2024
Report with recommendations to Council	September 2024
Target date for apology	May 2025
Implementation of actions for reconciliation	TBD

^{**} Actions shaded in light grey will be included in the commemorative strategy for recognition of the centenary of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which is being developed separately from the process outlined in this report.

5.5 Estimated Funding Requirement

Estimated funding to implement the framework outlined in this report is \$40,000 for the work identified for 2024. Work identified for 2023 could be implemented within the existing operating budget of the Planning and Development Department. Requests for funding to support 2024 work could be included as part of the 2024-2028 Financial Plan. The estimated cost includes research, communication, community engagement in English and Chinese languages, and engagement events.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This report provides a summary of the City's laws, regulations, and policies that discriminated against people of Chinese descent, and outlines a framework for community consultation in support of reconciliation. It is recommended that the Community Heritage Commission receive this report for information. Should the Commission wish to proceed with this work, it should recommend that this report be forwarded to Council and that Council authorize implementation of a reconciliation process in accordance with the framework outlined in this report.

E.W. Kozak, General Manager

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

LC:sa
Attachment

Copied to: Chief Administrative Officer

Deputy Chief Administrative Officer and CFO General Manager Parks, Recreation and Culture

General Manager Corporate Services

Chief Human Resources Officer Director Legislative Services

Summary of Historic Discriminatory Practices Targeted at Chinese Residents of Burnaby

Chinese migrants began settling in Burnaby in the 1890s. Most of Burnaby's earliest Chinese Canadian settlers arrived from Guangdong province in southern China. They engaged in a range of industrial activities including agriculture, forestry, and domestic work throughout Burnaby. Restrictions in land ownership prevented many Chinese settlers from purchasing land. Chinese Canadian men formed partnerships with male family members and relatives to operate independent businesses such as laundries, green grocers, farms, and piggeries on land that they often leased from European landowners.

Chinese Canadians experienced discriminatory legal and social restrictions from all levels of government. The federal government introduced the \$50 head tax in 1885 to restrict the arrival of Chinese people. This amount was later increased to \$100 in 1901 and \$500 in 1903, and became a significant source of income for the British Columbia and federal governments. The head tax slowed down the immigration of Chinese to Canada. Desiring to stop Chinese immigration altogether, the federal government passed The Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 (known as the Chinese Exclusion Act) which barred Chinese from immigrating to Canada, and caused devastating impacts on families that were forcefully separated for over two decades.

When the colony of British Columbia became a part of Canada in 1871, the government passed legislation that disqualified "native Indians" and "Chinese" from the right to vote. This enabled municipal governments to introduce anti-Chinese legislation and policies. The disenfranchisement also made it possible to exclude Chinese Canadians from professions and rights that used voting eligibility as a basis for inclusion.

Between 1892 and 1947, Burnaby introduced discriminatory bylaws, trades licenses, and labour regulations to restrict the livelihood of Chinese Canadians. A turning point took place after the Second World War had ended. The participation of Chinese Canadians who voluntarily served in the Canadian and British Armed Forces changed societal attitudes towards the Chinese Canadian community. Opportunities for Chinese Canadians to purchase land became more widely available. With the repeal of the *Chinese Exclusion Act* in 1947, Chinese men were able to bring wives and children to Canada to be reunited. By the 1960s and 1970s there were many neighbourhood businesses operated by Chinese Canadian families, including corner stores, green grocery stores and restaurants. Chinese Canadians continued to farm in Burnaby, with several families purchasing farm land in the Big Bend area. The City hired its first Chinese Canadian staff member in 1953.

Today, over one-third of Burnaby's residents are of Chinese descent, including new immigrants as well as fourth- or fifth-generation Chinese Canadians who have deep roots in Burnaby. The City has advanced work to commemorate the long history and living heritage of Chinese Canadians in the community, including publication of a *Chinese Canadian History in Burnaby Resource Guide* (2021) and work currently underway to publish a book recognizing the long history of Chinese Canadian contributions to the community.

Research Methodology

A search of records at the City Archives has been conducted, along with supplementary research using English and Chinese language archival documents from a variety of sources to identify discriminatory laws, regulations, and policies of the City of Burnaby that targeted people of Chinese descent. The temporal scope of the research covered the period from 1892 to 1947. Research made reference to City policies, practices and regulations that may have contributed to racist and discriminatory practices against the Chinese Canadian community in Burnaby.

The following summary of actions is based on this research, and outlines the primary areas of action through which the City imposed unequal treatment on Chinese Canadian community members.

Summary of Discriminatory Actions by the City of Burnaby Targeting the Chinese Canadian Community

Research completed to date identifies five areas of municipal action that resulted in discrimination against Chinese Canadians, and in some cases extended to additional racialized communities. The five areas are described below with examples:

1. Voting Rights

Before Burnaby was incorporated as a Municipality in 1892, the Province of British Columbia passed an amendment to the 1888 New Westminster Act to exclude Chinese, Japanese, and Indigenous people from voting in any municipal election for the election of a Mayor or Alderman. By 1908, the Municipal Elections Act disqualified "Chinese, Japanese, other Asiatics, and Indians" from voting in any municipal election. While further research is needed to understand the direct impact of disenfranchisement on Chinese Canadians in Burnaby, it has been well documented that disenfranchisement not only prevented Chinese Canadians from voting in municipal, provincial, and federal elections, but was also used to prevent Chinese Canadians from accessing services and certifications that were based on eligibility for voting, including being able to run for public office and to be admitted into professional associations such as law, pharmacy, and medicine.

After the Second World War, Chinese Canadian veterans and other non-Chinese allies criticized the government for its "recruitment without enfranchisement" policy. The BC and federal governments granted Chinese Canadians the right to vote in 1947 and 1948 respectively. On August 4 1947, Burnaby's Municipal Council unanimously adopted an amendment to the *Municipal Elections Act* "to provide for the right of franchise to persons of British East Indian and Chinese origin who qualify as Canadian Citizens."

2. Advocating for Discrimination

Several examples were found of Burnaby's Municipal Council endorsing resolutions from citizens and other local governments to support advocacy efforts to discriminate against Asian immigrants. Groups advancing petitions or engaging in other types of political pressure to impose restrictions

on Chinese immigration, business licensing, and the purchase of land forwarded requests to Burnaby's Council for support, and Council's support of these efforts are recorded in the minutes.

Council minutes from 1896 recorded petitions advocating discrimination that were brought forward by Burnaby citizens and organizations, or by other local governments. The petitions were read during the Council meeting, and motions were approved that the petitions be signed and the Corporate Seal affixed.

For example, in 1921, Council unanimously endorsed a resolution regarding "Orientals acquiring land" received from the council of Duncan. The resolution advocated that the Province of BC take action so that "all transactions bearing upon conveyance of title to lands and leasing of lands in this province be first submitted for the approval of the municipal council concerned" to give local governments the authority to prohibit Asian immigrants from buying or leasing lands.

During the 1910s to 1920s, Council minutes recorded a number of instances where trade licenses for Chinese Canadian greengrocers in Burnaby were rejected or tabled for further consideration. In 1922, Council received a petition from members of the Ward V Ratepayers' Association. Council unanimously endorsed the petition's resolution "That no further Oriental retail or wholesale traders be licensed in this Municipality" and directed staff to forward a letter to the Attorney General of BC, requesting an amendment be made to Section 290 of the Municipal Act to include a new clause to introduce the restriction. The letter stated, "It is realized that it is doubtful whether this can be enforced under the powers conferred by the Municipal Act, but in any event such a course will cause an Oriental to go to considerable trouble in order to obtain a license." The advocacy work of the Ward V Ratepayers' Association and Burnaby's Municipal Council was ultimately unsuccessful, as the BC Attorney General's office responded that "a Municipality has no authority to refuse a retail license to any person on account of his race or nationality."

Burnaby's Municipal Council continued to advocate for discriminatory action against Asian immigrants. In 1927, Council endorsed "a resolution regarding Oriental Exclusion" which was forwarded to Council by the Vancouver Klan No. 1 Ku Klux Klan. The group requested that Council endorse their resolution calling for the deportation of all Asian migrants and Asian Canadians and the expropriation of their property "at fair prices", and to advise senior levels of government of such a resolution. The motion was carried with opposition from Councilors William T. Willson and Lawrence Lambert.

Council's advocacy for discriminatory policies against Chinese Canadians included testimony by Burnaby's Reeve Nicolai Schou to the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration in 1902 (Schou was the first elected Reeve of Burnaby, and served as Reeve from 1893 to 1903). During his testimony, he declared that "he would favor almost total exclusion" of people of Chinese origin. He argued that the presence of Chinese migrants discourages British settlers from clearing the land. He also pointed to Burnaby's fourth Bylaw, the *Chinese and Japanese Exclusion Bylaw*, as an example of successful exclusionary legislation.

3. Restricting Livelihood

From the late 19th century until the mid-20th century, the BC Government and numerous municipalities across British Columbia inserted clauses into contracts to ban the hiring of Asian migrants and Asian Canadians. During this time, the Municipality of Burnaby introduced restrictive bylaws that prevented Chinese Canadians from being employed by the Municipality, as well as preventing their employment by companies that were contracted by the Municipality.

In 1892, Burnaby's Council adopted Bylaw 4, the *Chinese and Japanese Exclusion Bylaw*, which prohibited the employment of Chinese and Japanese workers "in Municipal work of any kind in the district, by the Council or by any Committee or individual acting under the authority of the Council or by any employer of labour or contractor in carrying out work under a contract or contracts entered into with the Council."

In 1914, Council unanimously endorsed a resolution of the Burnaby Board of Trade asking the Municipality of Burnaby to give preference "to firms employing none but British subjects or white labour when purchasing supplies."

In 1929, when the Municipality entered into an agreement with the Dominion Bridge Company to enable them to establish a steel manufacturing business in Burnaby, a clause to prevent employment of Asian workers was included in the agreement. The agreement forms Schedule A of Bylaw No. 937, the *Dominion Bridge Company Limited Aid Bylaw* (1929). Clause 8 of the agreement states that Dominion Bridge "will not at any time employ any Oriental labour in the construction of its buildings and installation of its plant and machinery therein in the said Municipality of Burnaby or in the operation of its structural steel manufacturing business." Other similar instances of exclusionary hiring practices were reported in the *Burnaby Broadcast*, including a requirement that that "no Orientals are to be employed" by the contractors retained to re-survey Capitol Hill in the early 1930s.

Under Bylaw 162 (1913), a By-law to amend the *Burnaby Trades License By-Law* (1911), the Municipality of Burnaby imposed an annual fee for any hawker or peddler who did business in Burnaby. Though the language used in the bylaws did not specifically identify any racialized group, exceptions were made for farmers who sold products from farm stands on their own farms. While sales from farm stands were common among European farmers, this was not the case for Chinese Canadian farmers who generally distributed their produce through vendors who sold vegetables door to door. An amendment to the bylaw in 1918 charged an extra \$25 security deposit fee to traders who were not residents of Burnaby. This again would have largely impacted Chinese Canadian vegetable sellers who typically lived in Vancouver's Chinatown but conducted business in Burnaby.

Trade licensing regulations that targeted Chinese Canadians without specifically identifying Chinese Canadians as the target are referred to as "facially neutral" discriminatory tactics: while they do not appear to be directed at a particular group, their impact is intended to have discriminatory consequences. Another example of a facially neutral bylaw in Burnaby Bylaw 138, the Blasting Regulation Bylaw (1912), which prevented any "person who is not conversant with the English language" from receiving a license to blast with dynamite, gunpowder, or other

explosives in Burnaby. Chinese labourers had been employed for decades by landowners to assist with clearing their land of stump and brush, and employed explosives in this work. The bylaw would have significantly reduced their ability to perform this work.

4. Enforcement and Regulation

Historical researchers have documented the common practice in the neighboring municipalities of Vancouver and New Westminster of the targeted enforcement by bylaw enforcement and municipal police of Chinese Canadian business owners. This unequal enforcement impacted Chinese Canadian business owners who conducted business in Burnaby.

An example of targeted regulation is the regulation of piggeries in Burnaby, and related enforcement targeted at Chinese Canadian piggery businesses. Bylaw 317, the *Piggery Location Bylaw*, was adopted in May 1921 "to regulate and prohibit the location, construction or use of piggeries within such residential districts and to prevent the keeping of pigs within such districts."

Through the 1920s, considerable effort was made to enforce restrictive measures that forced many Chinese Canadian owned piggeries out of business as a result of health inspections and fines. Piggeries operated by Chinese Canadian farmers predated the creation of residential districts in Burnaby. As European settlers began to settle in Burnaby, some organizations and citizens that lived near Chinese Canadian-owned piggeries wrote letters and signed petitions to lobby Council to prohibit the operation of Chinese-owned piggeries.

While there were piggeries operated by non-Chinese owners, the enforcement of the Burnaby Piggery Location Bylaw was focused on Chinese-owned piggeries along Douglas Road. Enforcement was well-documented in correspondence between Council, the Burnaby Municipal Police, and Burnaby's municipal Medical Health Officer. In compliance with the Piggery Location Bylaw, these Chinese businesses were required to reduce the number of pigs to less than fifteen; this effectively forced several piggeries to close.

Between the 1910s and 1930s, North Burnaby merchants lobbied the municipal government and police commission to take action to stop "Oriental" shops from carrying on business on weekends and evenings. A story published in the *Vancouver Sun* (1922) reported on a proposed early shop closing bylaw at a Burnaby Council meeting. The bylaw specifically cited two "Oriental" shops in Burnaby Heights that were operating past 6 o'clock at night, thereby forcing "the white men's business... to keep open in competition." Though the proposed bylaw was defeated, it was noted that "Reeve McLean promised his support to the petitioning shopkeepers."

5. Restricting Access to Land

Chinese Canadians faced difficulty in purchasing land in Burnaby and elsewhere. While Burnaby's historical record has not yet revealed any explicit bylaws or formal policies to prohibit the sale of land to Chinese Canadians, it is clear that Chinese Canadians were largely excluded from land ownership in Burnaby.

One mechanism for excluding members of racialized groups from owning property was the registration of discriminatory covenants on land titles. Discriminatory covenants were registered on lands throughout British Columbia, including Burnaby. For example, in a 1928 land deed for a property in Burnaby Heights, real estate developer G.F. & J. Galt Limited included the following clause: "that no person of Asiatic, Negro or Indian extraction shall have the right or be allied to own, become tenant of, or occupy the said lands and premises hereby conveyed, or any part thereof, at any time." While these discriminatory covenants are not permitted today, property owners were able to register them on their properties until after the Second World War. As of 1978, these discriminatory covenants became void under Section 222 of the Land Title Act.

Burnaby Broadcast coverage from December 31, 1930 provides insight into how the Municipality of Burnaby used its powers to prevent land ownership by Asian Canadians. Earlier that year, local residents organized a petition protesting the sale of municipal land on Albert Street in the Heights neighbourhood to Asian Canadians and presented it to Burnaby's Municipal Council. The group expressed concern that "an Oriental colony was building up in that vicinity, close to the entrance of Confederation Park." The Burnaby Broadcast article notes that the sale of two lots to an Asian Canadian purchaser was not ratified even though the deposit was received and a building permit was issued. In response to the petition, Council removed from sale all municipal properties in the neighbourhood.

Also in 1931, the Ward IV Ratepayers Association wrote a letter to Council requesting "a ban on the sales of municipal properties to Orientals" in Capitol Hill. The *Burnaby Broadcast* article reporting on the issue notes that it was recognized that no municipal bylaws were in place to prevent the sale of municipal land to "Orientals".

While further research will be conducted to try to uncover the specific mechanisms that were used to discourage and prevent land ownership by Chinese Canadians, it is likely that any such measures would have been implemented quietly and away from the public eye to avoid legal challenge by Chinese advocacy groups. According to news reports in the local Chinese-language newspaper the *Chinese Times*, advocacy groups, such as the Chinese Benevolent Association, retained lawyers to protect the rights of Chinese Canadians. Further research will focus on the practices of the Municipality as a landowner and its distribution of land through tax sales. A survey of tax sale lands by the Municipality between 1919 and 1947 shows only a very small percentage of properties were sold to racialized purchasers.