

Who is Asian?: Representing a Panethnic Continent in Queer Asian Activism and Community Building

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Abstract: This paper addresses the issue of queer Asian identification and representation in relation to political and social activism and community building. The essentialization of ethnicity, race and sexuality is shown to be counterproductive to collective organizing. Intersectionality, along with its interlocking tendencies, is recommended as a framework with which to analyze oppression and devise strategies of resistance on a holistic level. However, it is pointed out that for queer Asians, organizing within such a framework is complicated by the meaning of the term “Asian.” Asian identity is shown to be a construct that has been shaped by and imagined through discursive forces with roots in European colonialism and imperialism. The author suggests that an analysis of Asian identity grounded in a theory of panethnicity can be instructive in developing a framework that considers both local and global ethnic affiliations for the purposes of political mobilization, particularly in the form of coalition-building. Such a framework may be applicable to many different situations, including those present in the queer Asian community. To illustrate this, the author offers a case study of Gay and Lesbian Asians of Montreal (GLAM).

Keywords: activism, Asian, community, diversity, gender, identity, intersectionality, Montreal, panethnicity, queer, sexuality.

Gay and Lesbian Asians of Montreal (GLAM) is a not-for-profit, volunteer-run organization that serves Asians of diverse sexual and gender identities living in Montreal, Quebec, focusing primarily on their social, political, and emotional needs. Specifically, the mission of GLAM, according to its website,

is to help queer Asians in Montreal understand and deal with their sexuality by providing them with a safe, comfortable, and empathetic environment in which they can make new friends, share personal experiences, and feel that they are part of a community.¹

It is this longing for community, the feeling of belonging and acceptance by others without judgement, that drives many queer Asians in Montreal to seek out and join GLAM. Yet the process of such a community-building endeavour is not without its difficulties. Indeed, the path is strewn with many discursive obstacles that complicate the ideation of a communal identity.

Generally, to identify as both a sexual and ethnic or racial minority in Quebec is to live a complicated existence. A surface analysis would suggest that such a person leads a charmed life. Over the years, certainly, this Canadian province has gained an international reputation as a pioneer in the recognition and legalization of rights for non-heteronormative sexualities. Beginning in 1977, when it became the first jurisdiction in Canada to include sexual orientation in its Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, Quebec has since witnessed numerous decisions by its courts and government that have contributed to the development of a more egalitarian political and economic environment for sexual minorities in the region, including a change in the definition of “spouse” to account for same-sex relationships in 1999² and the passing of same-sex marriage into law in 2004.³ Furthermore, Quebec has also become known as a cultural and social haven for diverse sexual and gender identities, with its largest city, Montreal, transforming itself into something of a queer mecca, with its renowned nightlife, pride celebrations, and circuit parties that draw hundreds of thousands of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals, and other sexualities annually from around the world wishing to partake in the festivities.

Similarly, ethnic and racial minorities are also protected groups in the Quebec Charter, and have seen their fair share of court rulings in their favour, as well. Among the most publicized of these was the decision to grant Sikh students the legal right to carry a small ceremonial dagger known as a “kirpan” with them at school.⁴ Moreover, just as Montreal has opened its arms to an expanded variety of sexualities and genders, so too has it welcomed an enormous mix of cultures into its fold, making it one of the most pluralistic and cosmopolitan cities in the North America. In a sense, then, Quebec is attempting to present itself as a modern Utopia of sorts, with Montreal its idealized city, a fantasy Wonderland where everyone is ostensibly considered equal.

Beneath this rosy veneer, however, lies a harsher reality. Conservative forces, especially in rural areas, have begun to voice their displeasure with the social changes that they believe have been forced upon them. The Quebec provincial election held in early 2007 was especially indicative of this unrest, with the campaigns of the three most popular political parties targeting accommodation practices geared towards religious and cultural minorities, specifically those practices deemed “unreasonable,” such as the wearing of hijabs by young female Muslim soccer players on the pitch during matches.⁵

The leader of the nationalist *Parti Québécois* heading into the election, a gay man with a Masters degree from Harvard University named André Boisclair, conveyed his thoughts on the matter in a letter to Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir*, stating,

the sexist and discriminatory behaviour of a group should never be the object of a reasonable accommodation by our institutions, even if it is an historical or cultural trait of this group.⁶

Through this coded language, Boisclair was inferring that immigrants were to blame for “sexist and discriminatory behaviour” in Quebec.

Boisclair is by no means the only gay man in Quebec to have expressed this view, either. In an editorial written for Montreal queer magazine *RG*, Simon Lajeunesse – evidently referring to followers of non-Christian faiths – vehemently expressed his fear of homophobes that wore “a turban, a skullcap, or a veil” infiltrating the police force⁷ and, thus, posing a threat to gay men like him. Apparently, some members of the mainstream queer community in Montreal have not been immune to the spread of xenophobic and racist attitudes that have resulted from this debate in Quebec over “reasonable accommodation,” a legal term that has been transformed, according to Monika Kin Gagnon, into a “social discourse.”⁸

Meanwhile, those with diverse sexual and gender identities may also find themselves on the receiving end of hostile gestures and abuse from some groups claiming to represent the views of a particular ethocultural or racial minority community. For example, during consultations with Montreal-area community groups held by the Department of Canadian Heritage as part of its preparations for Canada’s participation in the United Nations’ 2001 World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa, the youth caucus introduced a motion requesting that the broader society stop “associating Blacks and other visible minority groups with disabled persons and non-heterosexuals.”⁹ As Fo Niemi, Executive Director of Montreal’s Centre for Research-Action on Race Relations, noted,

[I]t was clear that the youth caucus was made up predominantly of heterosexual, able-bodied women and men from different racial backgrounds who did not have sufficient understanding of or who did not intend to accept the interrelatedness between different forms of oppression and discrimination based on race, gender and sexual orientation.¹⁰

Much like the statements made by Boisclair and Lajeunesse, the motion put forth by the youth caucus reflects an essentialist vision of what constitutes identities based on race and sexuality. As an approach to identity construction, Radha Jhappan observes, essentialism treats “knowledge, truth and wisdom almost as if they were external, immutable universals just waiting to be discovered.”¹¹ In other words, it creates norms of identity that are monolithic, static, and unchanging. Thus, a Black man will always be presumed straight, for example, while a gay man will always be considered White, with no room in-between for the existence of more complex renderings of racial, ethnic, or sexual identities, as the WCAR and “reasonable accommodation” cases illustrate. Accordingly, oppressions stemming from essentialized identities such as “Black” or “gay” are viewed in contrast to each other, making them more susceptible to inter-group hierarchization, domination, and rivalry over rights and resources.

Caught in the midst of this rising tension and competition between these different social groups are sexually diverse ethnic and racial minorities and Two-Spirit people whose multiple identities beget multiple oppressions that, according to Yasmin Jiwani, not only *intersect*, but also *interlock*.¹² Understanding and acknowledging this interlocking aspect of identity formation is crucial to scrutinizing “the ways in which different systems work in concert with each other to engender particular forms and expressions of violence”.¹³ Such violence can, for example, take the form of what Shari Brotman and Stavroula Kraniou, borrowing from S. Khan, refer to as “bifurcated consciousness,”¹⁴ whereby, explains Wayne van der Meide,

people who experience multiple forms of oppression...are pressured to form uneasy alliances with communities constructed in opposition, thereby splitting their very existence into incomplete pieces.¹⁵

Taking into consideration the ways in which marginalized identities intersect and interlock, then, is absolutely necessary “to effectively challenge the oppression [in an individual’s life] on a holistic level.”¹⁶ This is why there has been a growing movement to organize around newly formed intersectional identities, including, for instance, those of queer people of colour; however, as Kevin Kumashiro warns, “Since every identity has meaning only because it is named against other identities, there can never be an identity that is all-inclusive.”¹⁷ Therefore, he maintains, “besides coming together, we simultaneously need to change how mainstream society defines us and how we come to define ourselves.”¹⁸ This holds true for queer Asian organizations such as GLAM, as well.

Indeed, the very idea of who is constituted by or included in the term “Asian” is complex in its own right. In considering the Asian, the inclination

is to view such an identity as *imagined*, for while “Asian” refers to continental rather than national origin, the term still bears all the hallmarks of Benedict Anderson’s legendary post-colonial hypothesis; that is, Asia “is an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”¹⁹ To elaborate by way of a slight paraphrasing of Anderson’s explanation, a continent such as Asia “is *imagined* because [its] members...will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”²⁰

However, despite what appears to be the construction of this identity from within, the Asian’s imagined status is likely more the result of arbitrary influences from without – the product of a variety of discourses. Cartographically, for example, Asians are identified according to imagined territorial boundaries. The European-style maps commonly used today were originally created, as Anderson contends, “to put space under the same surveillance, which the census-makers were trying to impose on persons.”²¹ The Asia familiar to most people today in a geographic sense has a distinct shape that envelops everything from Japan to the east, Indonesia to the southeast, Saudi Arabia to the west, and Russia to the North, though some maps may differ with respect to the inclusion of certain states within the continent’s borders.

In this regard, Asia’s borderlands present a particular conundrum for Asian identity, for what some might consider West Asia, for example, others might identify as the Middle East. To complicate matters even further, the identification of Asians in Western societies is often dependent upon their geopolitical context; that is, certain countries or regions in the West will define who is Asian according to their own criteria. Queer cultural theorist Richard Fung notes that,

[w]hereas in North America, East and Southeast Asians have claimed the term, in Britain, “Asian” is commonly taken to refer to people whose ancestry lies in the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka. [...] More importantly, no matter whether they are born in North America, come from the subcontinent or from the Indian diaspora in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Pacific, or the Caribbean, they occupy comparable places within the North American racial configuration: They are seen to look alike.²²

Positioning the Asian semantically, as Fung points out here, is no easy task. There are myriad factors working simultaneously to change and stretch and shrink the limits of the Asian continent. One can see that the Asian is an

elusive and confounding being, regardless of attempts to reify him or her through cartography.

Given the imagined ideal of Asian-ness derived from such discourses, how can queer Asians break free of the confining definitions imposed upon them by the West or subvert these characterizations for their own purposes? Perhaps such a process begins with a *re*-imagining of Asian identity as one that unifies the panoply of cultures found within the discursively-defined continent. This is possible in a globalized world because, Stuart Hall argues,

[t]he more social life becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, places and images, by international travel, and by globally networked media images and communications systems, the more *identities* become detached—disembedded—from specific times, places, histories, and traditions, and appear “free-floating” (Hall’s emphasis).²³

Consequently, Hall says, the “disembedding” of identities has led to

a widening of the field of identities, and a proliferation of new identity-positions together with a degree of polarization amongst and between them. These developments constitute...the possibility that globalization might lead to a *strengthening* of local identities, or to the production of *new identities*. (Hall’s emphasis)²⁴

In this sense, globalization has provided Asians with the opportunity to forge for themselves a broad, continentally-based identity that is removed from the imposed orientalist imaginary of the colonial powers, while still enabling them to retain their individual ethnocultural-nationalist identities.

It is here that Arjun Appadurai’s concept of the ethnoscape becomes useful for analytical purposes. “Ethnoscape,” he explains, refers to

the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.²⁵

The fluidity of cultural influences among ethnicities in recent times has had a destabilizing effect on the hegemonic structures that have traditionally pervaded society, leaving the door wide open for what were once thought of as marginalized groups to rise up and assume control over their own

destinies. As Appadurai says,

[B]ecause of the disjunctive and unstable interplay of commerce, media, national policies, and consumer fantasies, ethnicity...has now become a global force, forever slipping in and through the cracks between states and borders.²⁶

For Asians, the ethnoscape concept puts forward the potentiality of freedom from the shackles of orientalist objectification and clears the path to a subjectivity that gives them power and voice. However, inherent within this power is responsibility—responsibility involving representing not only the self, but also the group behind the self, in meaningful and positive ways. Having gained newfound respectability through post-modern subjectivity, Asians are now sought to speak as “experts” on themselves.

There is a danger in this kind of representation, however, for Asians are now expected to speak as *authentic* members of their kind. In effect, what has transpired is a new essentialization of Asian-ness, taking the imagining of this ideal from the orientalist end of the spectrum and transferring it to the other end, which is just as totalizing. Although, as Gayatri Spivak says, “there are many subject positions which one must inhabit” when one is “speaking *as*” (Spivak’s emphasis),²⁷ those in the audience often only absorb what they anticipate to be the truth: “[T]hey choose what parts they want to hear,” Sneja Gunew asserts, “and they choose what they then do with this material.”²⁸ Thus, Gunew concludes, “[T]he whole *notion* of authenticity...is one that comes to us constructed by hegemonic voices; and so, what one has to tease out is what is *not* there” (Gunew’s emphasis).²⁹

“Teasing out what is *not* there” can certainly pose a problem for Asian speakers in the public realm who, identified as such, must remain true not only to their own experiences but to the diversity of cultures represented by the word “Asian.” As Ella Shohat stresses, while

[i]t is imperative...to negotiate the social mobilization of minority communities as “imagined,” but also as capable of narrating their histories and their ongoing resistance, it is [equally] important to interweave the local, the specific, with global oppositional narratives.³⁰

What can queer Asians do, then, to create space for and bridge the various interests involved when representing a group of people defined by an entire continent without compromising their own individual identities, particularly in community-based activism and organizing?

One solution may lie in the deployment of panethnicity. Yen Le Espiritu describes “pan-movements” as those which “involve shifts in levels

of group identification from smaller boundaries to larger-level affiliations.”³¹ Panethnicity embodies such a shift, whereby the boundaries of ethnicity become elastic, allowing for the creation of “a politico-cultural collectivity made up of peoples of several, hitherto distinct, tribal or national origins.”³² This concept challenges traditional notions of ethnicity, which have been predominantly based on either primordialist or instrumentalist theories; that is, ethnicity based on, respectively, either its “sentimental” value in relation to culture and tradition or its utility in instances of economic, political, or social gain.³³ “The phenomenon of panethnicity,” as Espiritu calls it, “call[s] attention...to the coercively imposed nature of ethnicity, its multiple layers, and the continual creation and re-creation of culture.”³⁴

This challenge that panethnicity levies against “imposed” characterizations of ethnicity hearkens back to the earlier discussion on Asian-ness as an imposed imagined identity. Adopting panethnicity as a way of looking at ethnicity can lead to the subversion of such imaginings; panethnic groups can seize the categories that they have been coerced into – categories that “[lump] together diverse peoples in a single, expanded ‘ethnic’ framework” – and appropriate them to their own advantage.³⁵ Pan-Africanism as symbolized by the Black power movement and African-Americanism/-Canadianism is one example of such a subversion; despite being “treated by the larger society as a unitary group with common characteristics and common problems,” people of African and Caribbean descent have managed to achieve some political or economic cachet. Espiritu highlights this fact, stating that

although it originated in the minds of *outsiders*, today the panethnic concept is a political resource for *insiders*, a basis on which to mobilize diverse people and to force others to be more responsive to their grievances and agendas. (my emphasis)³⁶

Taking queerness into account perhaps makes the formation of panethnic collectivities more complex, but also necessary. With respect to Asian American identity, Rick Bonus and Linda Vō say that

the need to understand race as a central social and political force in Asian Americans’ lives *and* as a category of experience that interlocks with gender, class, and sexuality suggests new questions about how Asian Americans perceive themselves, interact with others, and locate themselves in various contexts. (my emphasis)³⁷

Such questions may include how queer Asians cope with their sexual minority status within their ethnocultural heritage communities. “For many Asian American gays and lesbians (sic) today,” maintain Bonus and Vō, paraphrasing David Eng and Alice Hom (1998), “ethnic-bound communities are not sanctuaries but stifling sites of exclusion where homophobia persists and where they are remarginalized.”³⁸ If this is the case, then queer Asians face the prospect of being multiply subjugated in terms of their race, ethnicity, and sexuality. Alienated and alone, queer Asians often find themselves silenced within their own subgroups. A panethnic queer Asian group, though, that embraces the broadest range of Asian ethnocultural subgroups imaginable will find that it has a stronger voice to make the concerns of its members known to these subgroups as well as to the public at-large. Furthermore, its members will be creating a safe space for themselves – a space that is soundly protected from oppressive forces by the sheer number of Asian subgroups represented within the full spectrum of Asian panethnicity.

GLAM is one such organization that has attempted to apply this theory of panethnicity to its operations. When I first became involved in GLAM in early 2003, I noticed that the group’s membership was quite homogeneous in its ethnicity. Nearly all of the members I had encountered were of Chinese origin, whether they had emigrated directly from mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan, or were born into the diaspora, which includes Canada and many Southeast Asian nations as well as Mauritius. Thus, while inserting the word “Asian” in its name, GLAM actually only represented a certain segment of that population, taking on a primarily Chinese identity.

This Sino-centrism is demonstrated symbolically by GLAM’s past involvement in Montreal’s annual queer pride celebration. In 2002, GLAM’s presence in the pride parade consisted of a float that depicted a Chinese junk that one typically would have found floating off Hong Kong’s shores in pre-modern times. In 2003, the GLAM float was awash in large red Chinese lanterns. Furthermore, during Community Day, which is a day set aside for a street fair featuring local queer community groups, volunteers at the GLAM booth were distributing condoms and coupons in traditional red Chinese gift packets and selling glasses of bubble tea, a hip drink invented and popularized in Taiwan. Anyone exposed to these public displays of Chinese-ness could rightly assume that GLAM was intended for, and comprised of, solely that population. In addition, GLAM’s social events have centred mostly on Chinese themes and holidays, such as Chinese New Year, to the exclusion of other cultures.

Where does this leave Montreal’s “other Asians,” then? How can the absence of non-East and non-Southeast Asians in GLAM’s membership and promotional materials be justified in light of the appearance in its name of the

term “Asian”? One could argue that GLAM’s intentions have always been to target the queer Chinese population, given that the group was founded by Chinese Montrealers. There are other mitigating factors, as well, however. First, there are or have been other organizations in the city that have served various segments of the Asian population, including Helem Montreal, a queer Lebanese association that also accepts members from other national, ethnic, and ethno-religious cultures, such as those of Syria and Jordan, that are based in West Asia.³⁹ Additionally, individuals from more religiously or culturally conservative backgrounds may be too leery of joining *any* queer group, let alone one that might possibly address and accept their specific ethnocultural concerns.

In spite of this apparent exclusion of certain Asians cultures, recent efforts have been made to change the perception of GLAM as being ethnically one-sided through the implementation of a more panethnic approach to its recruitment and marketing strategies. In 2004 and 2006, for example, GLAM’s float in the Divers/Cité parade featured flags representing more than 25 Asian nations, including Afghanistan, Iraq, India, Japan, and the Philippines, mounted on bamboo sticks and fluttering in the wind. GLAM could not afford a float for the 2005 or 2007 parades; however, its members still marched, with representation by not only the Chinese, but also Filipinos, Cambodians, Vietnamese, Arabs, Koreans, Thais, Japanese, and Indians. Community Day saw just as diverse a volunteer brigade, pitching not only traditional Chinese calligraphy, but also Indian samosas. Moreover, GLAM’s mission statement has been revised to reflect this new panethnic attitude and reality, broadening its definition of “Asian” to include a greater plurality of ethnicities, including Pacific Islanders.⁴⁰

Another sign of the shifting tide at GLAM is the poster project titled “Together under One Roof”. This poster, a collaborative initiative between GLAM and the South Asian Women’s Community Centre that was created by a committee of queer Chinese, Indian, and Jewish men and women, is intended to raise awareness about queer issues in Asian ethnocultural minority communities. The premise is that of an apartment building with eight windows, each one depicting members of a particular Asian culture dealing with a specific queer issue in their own language, which runs the gamut from Tagalog to Tamil to Vietnamese. Such a project has long been needed in queer Asian communities, yet this would not have been possible without the panethnic cooperation that went into its production.

The friction that often accompanies relations between queer Asians and their friends, families, and ethnocultural communities has necessitated the proactive incorporation of this view towards panethnicity; political activism would be very difficult without this kind of cohesion and collaboration between communities. Also, the risk of an essentializing image of Asian-ness that can contribute to the harmful stereotyping, exoticization,

and marginalization of GLAM's members in the mainstream queer community as well as society at large is too great for the organization *not* to go panethnic. These factors – along with an increased feeling among GLAM's members that the organization should be more inclusive if it is going to have “Asian” as part of its name – have led the group down this new path towards greater internal ethnic diversity.

In a sense, GLAM now functions very much like a panethnic coalition. As such, the diversity of cultures, genders, and sexualities among its membership cohere not around one single uniform identity conceived as “Asian”; rather, they come together to achieve particular ends, such as providing emotional support to members who have just come out, promoting safe sex in the queer Asian community, and fighting against racism, heterosexism, and other injustices. As Vera Miao writes,

[C]oalitions must use *differences themselves* – those that exist *within and between* each entity – as a starting point. The important distinction lies in the location of commonality in common political goals rather than in identity. (Miao's emphasis)⁴¹

It is the desire to pursue these common political – as well as social – goals that form the foundation upon which GLAM builds its communal bonds. So effective has this coalitional process been for GLAM, in fact, that it has joined with other queer ethnic and racial organizations to form Coalition MultiMundo in an effort to deal with intersecting issues of concern through a larger, collective show of force. Coalitions, in effect, allow individuals to maintain their identities within the larger structure of which they are a part, thereby enabling them to accomplish specific political and social tasks in a cooperative, purpose-driven environment. In other words, panethnic coalitions such as GLAM are a “multifront, multistrategy approach” to activism that “put difference, in all its endless manifestations, to work for us.”⁴²

Notes

¹ Gay and Lesbian Asians of Montreal (GLAM), ‘Home’, in *Gay and Lesbian Asians of Montreal*, Montreal, 8 May 2005, viewed on 20 September, 2007, <<http://www.geocities.com/glamtl>>.

² Groupe de travail mixte contre l'homophobie, *De l'égalité juridique à l'égalité sociale: Vers une stratégie nationale de lutte contre l'homophobie*, Rapport, Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse, Québec, QC, 2007, p. 7.

³ CBC News, 'Gay Couples Win Right to Marry in Quebec', in *CBC*, 19 March 2004, viewed on 20 September, 2007, <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2004/03/19/gaymarriage040319.html>>.

⁴ CBC News, 'Timeline: The Quebec Kirpan Case', in *CBC*, 2 March 2006, viewed on 20 September, 2007, <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/kirpan>>.

⁵ T. Ramachandran, 'Endangering the Safety of Canadian Values: The Case of Hijab, an Eleven Year-Old Girl and a Soccer Ball', *R.A.C.E. link*, Spring 2007, pp. 6-7.

⁶ A. Boisclair, 'Libre-Opinion: Pour une plus grande participation de tous', *Le Devoir*, 22 November, 2006, p. A8. Translated from the French: "le comportement sexiste ou discriminatoire d'un groupe ne devrait jamais faire l'objet d'un accommodement raisonnable par nos institutions, même s'il agit d'un trait historique ou culturel de ce groupe."

⁷ S-L. Lajeunesse, 'Religion et homosexualité: Les dangers du pouvoir multi-culturel', in *RG: La revue gaie des Québécois*, April 2006, viewed on 20 September 2006, <<http://www.rgmag.com/rg283/>>. Translated from the French: "un turban, une calotte ou un voile."

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⁹ Centre for Research-Action on Race Relations (CRARR), *Round Table: Racism, Sexism and Homophobia Experienced by Gays and Lesbians of Color*, Report, CRARR, Montreal, 2001, p. 4.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ R. Jhappan, 'Race and Gender Essentialism', *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review*, 51, 1996, p. 19.

¹² Y. Jiwani, *Discourses of Denial: Mediations of Race, Gender, and Violence*, UBC Press, Vancouver and Toronto, 2006, p. 16.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ S. Brotman and S. Kranioiu, 'Ethnic and lesbian: Understanding identity through the life-history approach', *Affilia*, vol. 14, No. 4, Winter 1999, p. 435.

¹⁵ W. van der Meide, 'The Intersection of Sexual Orientation & Race: Considering the Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered ("GLBT") People of Colour & Two-Spirited People', in *Egale*, 24 August 2001, viewed on September 20, 2007, <<http://www.egale.ca/index.asp?item=439&version=EN>>.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ K.K. Kumashiro, 'Queer Students of Color and Antiracist, Antiheterosexist Education: Paradoxes of Identity and Activism', in *Troubling Intersections of Race and Sexuality: Queer Students of Color and Anti-Oppressive Education*,

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¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edition, Verso, London, 1991, p. 6.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Anderson, p. 173.

²² R. Fung, 'Seeing Yellow: Asian Identities in Film and Video', in *The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s*, K. Aguilar-San Juan (ed.), South End Press, Boston, 1994, p. 163.

²³ S. Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', in *Modernity and its Futures*, S. Hall, D. Held, and T. McGrew (eds), Polity, Cambridge, UK, 1992, p. 303

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 308.

²⁵ A. Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in *Global Culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*, M Featherstone (ed.), Sage Publications, London, 1990, p. 297.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 306.

²⁷ G. Spivak and S. Gunew, 'Questions of Multiculturalism', in *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, S. Harasym (ed.), Routledge, New York, 1990, p. 60.

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 61.

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³¹ Y.L. Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging institutions and identities*, Temple UP, Philadelphia, 1992, p. 2.

³² *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁷ R. Bonus and L.T. Võ, 'Introduction: On Intersections and Divergences', in *Contemporary Asian American Communities: Intersections and Divergences*, L. Trinh Võ and R. Bonus (eds), Temple UP, Philadelphia, 2002, p. 2.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁹ Helem Montreal, 'What is Helem Montreal?', *Helem Montreal*, 2004, viewed on 20 September 2007, <http://montreal.helem.net/eng_about.htm>.

⁴⁰ GLAM, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ V. Miao, 'Coalition Politics: (Re)turning the Century', in *Q&A: Queer in Asian America*, D.L. Eng and A.Y. Hom (eds.), Temple UP, Philadelphia,

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⁴² Ibid., p. 77.

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