

back to family and apple pie and the boy next door all happy to know the truth of home, completely unchanged."

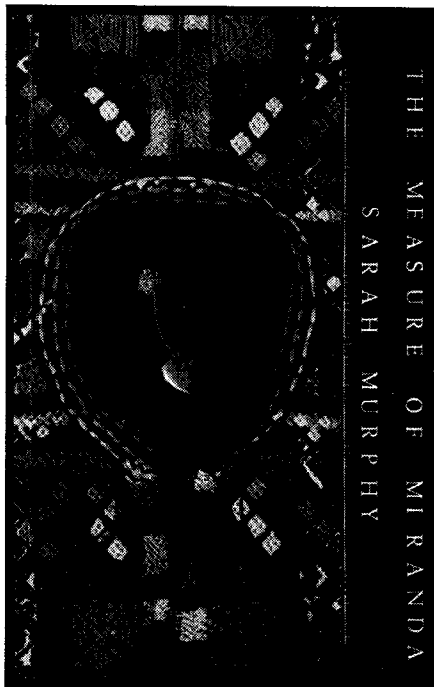
Miranda's father is head of a subsidiary of a large corporation, based in a Central American country, probably El Salvador. Her mother writes to her, telling her that, of course, life is wonderful in this beautiful country. They have a large and luxurious house, many "happy" servants and peasants, "Who are really different than us, Miranda."

But Miranda, living in Canada and attending university, meets a group of people who help her to see the realities that are around her, the world so different from what her parents wish her to see. She moves into a commune with Jim, her political science professor who has become her lover. He wishes to "awaken" her and liberate her from the mold her parents have cast her in.

Miranda meets Amparo, a miraculous woman, a Chilean political refugee, who also lives in the house. It is through her relationship with Amparo that Miranda is truly awakened, not only to the truths of the oppression, torture and fear that run rampant in Latin America, but also to the world around her, a world Miranda finds increasingly intolerable.

I have a friend who was jailed and tortured in Argentina — a beautiful, serene woman, whose insight, gentleness and unwavering political commitment have always moved me deeply. For me, my friend and Amparo are one and the same person. Amparo goes through hell for her commitment to change and to a better and more humane world, and yet does not lose her gentleness or political insight. She is able to rise above cruelty and thoughtlessness and hate; to see beyond mere actions.

A special image I have of my Argentinian friend, like a snapshot in my mind, is of her serenely sitting in a sunny garden, sewing and talking of her family in Argentina, her hands always busy. At one



point in the novel, Amparo, who is always knitting, is asked at a student gathering Jim is having in the garden, "Do you always knit? ... I mean, don't you have work to do? I mean important work. Work that's more important?"

She is asked this strange question by a "politically correct" student, one who felt that she had to distance herself from such mundane, unimportant, woman's work.

"Important. Ay, I will tell you a story about important." And Amparo tells the story of the man she lived with in Chile, who "naturally" was the one with greater political understanding, who knew what important was. In their relationship Amparo did the domestic duties for her *companero* (her man), cooking, cleaning, knitting, woman's work that kept the home together and sustained him. But her man (like the student who reproached her), told her she should spend her time doing "important" work; as if her work didn't nurture and make so many things possible. Amparo's strength and humanity flowered and grew, and when finally there

was the "Nazi knock" on the door, and she and her man were kidnapped, then imprisoned and subjected to the ugliest tortures imaginable, Amparo never lost her strength and beliefs. She maintained a dignified defiance towards her torturers. She found a love and sisterhood with her fellow prisoners and their children (who were often thrown in prison with their mothers, or born there).

But Amparo's man was broken like a small child. She tells them how the tortures were too much for him and he finally could not help but betray those he loved and worked with. And so, one must ask, what is important, what tasks and strengths must we acquire in our lives?

Everyone in the room is silenced by Amparo's story, unable to move, especially Miranda. Miranda has seen Amparo's pictures of the tortured mutilated bodies of the victims of the oppression in Chile. The tortured woman, lying dead, with her baby, also dead, beside her. These pictures are imprinted forever in Miranda's mind, and she is unable to leave them and return to the world of her parents and their suffocating comfort. Jim appears no different than her parents. He wished to liberate her to his own reality and thus control her in his way. She is a beautiful object to him that he can use to enhance himself.

If Amparo is an immigrant, a political refugee learning to live and understand a new country, Miranda is also an immigrant, a refugee suddenly thrust into a new reality, into a world that all those who have tried to control her have denied. It is only through a final radical act of courage and despair that Miranda is able to free herself and the souls of the tortured women in Amparo's pictures.

The novel is written in a "stream of consciousness," ignoring many rules of grammar and composition. Although this sometimes makes the story difficult to follow it also adds to its great emotional impact.

WHENCE THEY CAME: Deportation from Canada 1900-1935

Barbara Roberts. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988.

Carol Greene

Contrary to what Canadians believe, Canada has not historically been a welcoming refuge for the world's dispossessed and oppressed. Barbara Roberts' *Whence They Came* is a powerful and important indictment of Canada's immigration policy between 1900 and 1935. The policy is distinguished not only by its discriminatory and restrictive aspects, but by the fervent, covert and often illegal

deportation practices carried on by its administrators. The poor, the unemployed, the disabled — and all those considered political "agitators," "reds," or "troublemakers" — were victims of arbitrary deportation practices decided upon by a few government bureaucrats: *de facto*, self-appointed judges operating in an extralegal system. Parliament had little control over and evidently little interest in

the activities of this group of over-zealous bureaucrats, and the public was largely of the same disposition as the bureaucrats: keep 'em out, and if they have gotten in, get rid of 'em.

Roberts' treatment of Canada's abominable immigration record during this 35 year span is a reasoned, clear and well-documented presentation of what transpired behind closed Immigration Department doors, and of the real motives and methods of these administrators ("Immigration Department" is Roberts' generalization for a portfolio that changed names and ministerial hands over the years).

The informative and passionate forward is by Irving Abella who, with Harold Troper, co-authored the well-known and revealing *None Is Too Many: Canada and The Jews 1933-1948* (1983). Like Abella, Roberts has started to work the ink blots on Canadian history pages into a fascinating although painful text that illuminates an immigration record of which Canadians can only be ashamed. With *Whence They Came*, Roberts makes a crucial contribution to our Canadian consciousness. Feeling rather self-congratulatory as a nation, we have readily accepted the well-cultivated myth of Canadian benevolence towards refugees and immigrants. Roberts' book proves that during 1900-35, as during many other periods of immigration, the myth is manifestly untrue.

The first chapter introduces the rest of the text and considers the role deportation played in managing the Canadian labour supply and in maintaining social order. Surprisingly, the notion of using deportation as an instrument of political, social and economic control has been little studied by Canadian historians. Roberts' work lays solid foundations for further inquiry.

Requisite, although somewhat tedious reading, are chapters two and three. These statute and statistic-dense chapters outline the legislative changes and deportation patterns developed through the 35 years, and enumerate the conclusions drawn from these patterns. These same patterns and conclusions are well integrated into the body of the text, thus I question the book's organization. The technical nature of these chapters interferes with one's appetite for the larger, human story. In all fairness, the stats are made digestible through the inclusion of graphs

and charts, and all the legislative changes are clearly presented — yet I can't help but feel that they would have been better placed near, or at the end of, the text to complement Roberts' overall conclusions.

The larger story is very effectively delivered throughout the rest of the book. The Immigration Department practiced systematic persecution of aliens for their political beliefs, particularly members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), otherwise known as the "Wobblies;" of the unemployed, especially during times of economic hardship when unemployment could hardly have been blamed on the "lazy" immigrant; of the disabled and the sick; and of any other "public charge," regardless how long he or she might have resided in Canada. Canada's deportation policy suited the interests of government — both federal and municipal — seeking economic and social control; and of corporations and employers who, when cheap labour became politicized or redundant, demanded that the government simply get rid of it.

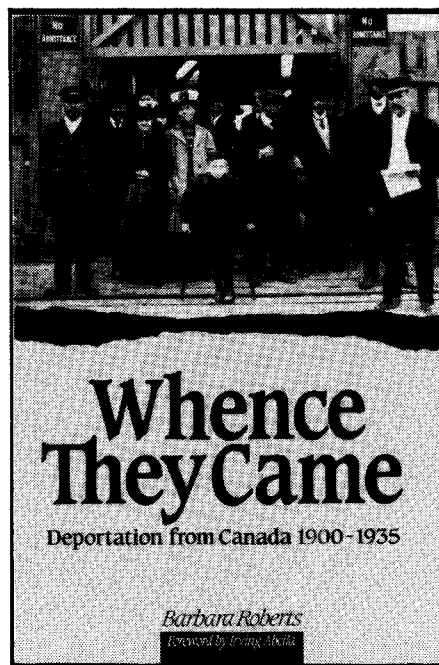
The Department's many tactics in riding Canada of those they deemed to be "undesirable" included requiring immigrants to sign forms stating they would be willingly deported in order for them to receive relief (welfare) while in Canada; criminal charges were laid or dug up, as any record could be used as justification for deportation. On that rare occasion when accusations of foul-play were made against the department, the bureaucrats

hid behind a smokescreen of government red-tape and lies. They reacted to the allegations by continually refining their practices, justifying the deportations with petty legalities, technicalities, and fudged statistics and reports. Roberts' analysis of departmental statistics during this period illustrates how stats were manipulated to deceive the public.

In unearthing this seedy tale, Roberts never assumes a masculine norm. Her language and writing are non-exclusive. She documents the differences in women immigrants' experiences, and the varying approaches the department took in deporting women. There is no "Women and Deportation" chapter, rather the women's experience, where it differs, is incorporated into all the chapters and delineated within the statistics. The treatment of women is indicative of Roberts' balanced approach to the material. She readily admits that the department was "ambivalent" towards women in its deportation practices.

"Morality" was the catch-all justification for deporting women. While many women labourers belonged to groups such as the Wobblies, the majority of new Canadian women worked as domestics, and their moral character was of the utmost importance to the 'fine Canadian families' they worked for. The department deported "fallen women" for breaches of the accepted morality, including having an illegitimate child or contracting a venereal disease. Roberts defines the ambivalence in terms of the "paternalistic" attitude the department conveyed towards younger women. This protective inclination can be seen to have at least partially resulted from the ongoing efforts of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) to protect and help young female newcomers.

The case studies used in *Whence They Came* are diverse in the range of the people profiled, but not in the municipalities studied. In discussing the collaboration of the municipalities with Ottawa in deporting "public charges," Roberts focuses almost exclusively on Winnipeg. It is not clear whether this choice was made because Winnipeg was representative of municipal activities across Canada and had the best documentation available, or because Winnipeg was an anomaly in that it eventually challenged the department's ethics. Other-



wise, this is an excellent and important study. Roberts' assertions are well-documented and poignantly argued.

The people who back the new immigration legislation, Bill C-55, with its allowance for unscrutinized bureaucratic deci-

sion making on the fate of refugees, could learn much from Roberts' work. In the forward Abella eloquently pleads: "If we err in the future, as we likely will, let it be for once, on the side of humanity." Given that Bill C-55 does not technically ac-

knowledge humanitarian grounds for refugee status, whereby claimants would be judged only according to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to Refugees, on which side will the adjudicators of this new Bill C-55 err?

THE POLITICS OF COMMUNITY SERVICES: Immigrant Women, Class and State

Roxana Ng. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987.

Pamela King & Carmen Perillo

Ng's book explores the process of development in a community service agency and illustrates the control exerted on this process by its funding sources. Although there is a general awareness of the powerful influence of funders on the operation of any organization, Ng extends the analysis in two ways: (1) her approach is an "institutional, ethnographic" one which looks beyond the institution itself (in this case, an employment agency for immigrant women) to consider the dynamics of the socio-political context within which the agency must function; and (2) Ng uses examples from the agency operating practices to illustrate its role in supporting the *status quo*, a result which is inconsistent with its stated goals. Her essential question appears to be: "Whose needs are being served?"

Her use of Marx's and Engel's definition of class (a social relation fundamental to and permeating capitalist productive and reproductive activities) is integral to the perspective from which she analyzes community development activity. Class issues are inherent in all activity and must be included in any examination of funding and its impact on service goals.

Her selected case is a grassroots, urban employment agency with a collectivist

philosophy, serving immigrant women. Its original purpose was to support individual women in overcoming barriers to employment, while fulfilling an advocacy role to improve the overall status of immigrant women in the labour force. The latter role, especially, implies that change will occur both in the labour market and in the women themselves—the needs of each being considered, rather than socializing the clients to fit the system's needs. In the course of her study, she observed that the agency's role became that of a mediator between employers and the women, with the primary focus on helping the women to adapt to employers' needs, thus ensuring a maximum number of placements and the perpetuation of the class relations.

The book presents a detailed analysis of the transformation which occurred within the agency, and the links between the demands of the funding mechanisms and the changes. Ng uses the three processes identified by Patricia Morgan (1981) in her analysis of the battered women's movement in the US: bureaucratization, individualization and professionalization. These processes contribute to the re-definition of political problems as social ones, and the change from grassroots, community-based organizations to bureaucratic, hierarchical ones. The components of the funding and counselling processes within the agency and the influence of the state and labour market are all examined. The state's funding requirements necessitated that the collective become incorporated, with a formally-constituted board and a clear separation of administration and counselling services. This divided staff into separate groups with different inter-

ests, responsibilities and accountability centres. An increased expectation of quantifiable results (i.e. numbers of job placements successfully completed) by the funder initiated a shift in emphasis from the clients' needs, as a group, for increased status in the labour market, to the funder's requirements for clients to fill available positions in the existing labour market.

The agency began to assume a social control function: it became responsive and accountable primarily to the funder (the state), with the client becoming the marketable commodity produced by the agency.

Ng asserts that the service becomes an "extension of the state: not only through the funding requirements but through the concomitant transformation of its perspective."

Ng's work contains a very detailed description of the agency, and her analysis of class and state as a source of conflict within community services, and between services and the state funders, is an approach too often neglected. An expanded discussion of the conflicts, and of alternatives and preventive or ameliorative strategies for addressing the dilemma which most community services encounter, would make the book more complete. Alliances with clients and other interest groups do not seem to have been considered as a source of support for active advocacy efforts to press for changes in the system. We suggest that the addition of the latter, and a more focused, briefer discussion of theory would have made the book more interesting and of greater value to community developers, practitioners, students and researchers.

ISSEI, NISEI, WARBRIDE: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service

Evelyn Nakano Glenn. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Franca Iacovetta

For Japanese American women, particularly in northern California, the association with domestic service has been an enduring one. Since the 1900s, limited job opportunities, the women's lack of industrial skills, and systemic racism have seriously circumscribed their participation in the workforce and led to their ghettoization in domestic service. This

has been true for all of the three groups of Japanese American women: the first immigrants, or *Issei*, many of whom arrived as young "picture brides" in the period 1915-24; the second-generation, American-born *Nisei*, even though many of them had trained for white collar or professional careers; and the post-World War Two warbrides who had married