Whatever their experiences have been in the country of origin, whatever their physical or mental state, once in Canada refugee women are expected to care for their children, the 'home,' and also to contribute to the household income. They have been compelled to fulfill the role of guarantor of social continuity; it is presupposed that they will be the bearers and teachers of cultural values. In a new country, children are confronted with an entirely new environment, a vastly different system of education, and entirely new set of social expectations. Children who have suffered political persecution, who have had no say over the decision to leave their home country, are never acknowledged as victims. In this climate women are expected to make their children conform to values that have no obvious relevance. Refugee children become resentful of their parents. Invariably, this leads to confrontation within the family. Neither women nor children have a social frame of reference. Language and values are foreign.

Spanish-speaking refugee women come from different social classes. However, later waves of refugees from Latin America have come from mainly working-class and rural backgrounds. For these women remunerated work has always been necessary in order to survive; but, like refugee men, they lack marketable employment skills.

It must be emphasized that the roles and responsibilities of refugee women have been defined not only by the society from

which they came, but also by the conditions existing in the host country. Many refugee women have arrived as 'sponsored' immigrants — they are brought to Canada by their husbands or commonlaw spouses. As such, they are denied English as a Second Language training. Another concrete example of the way in which the government fosters dependency is by refusing to deal with anyone but the 'head of the family,' whom they usually determine to be the man. By actions such as these, the government determines second-class status for refugee women. Women are forced into relations of dependency, relations that are further maintained by the structure of Canadian society.

When women are unable to overcome the extreme trauma caused by the experience of torture, they are said to lack motivation to 'adapt' to the new environment. Often mental health professionals will define the problems of immigrant women, and refugee women in particular, as problems of 'adjustment' created solely by the difference between their cultural background and the culture of their new setting. They presume that women from the third world are 'submissive,' 'subservient,' and cannot cope as well as Canadian women in Canadian society. This perception disregards the real experiences of refugee women. It ignores the fact that they lack English training, daycare, employment services, and support groups that address the mental health problems mentioned above.

Very different symptomatologies—depression, psychosomatic problems, eating disorders, etc. — are often treated simplistically: with tranquilizers.

Although the process of immigration is one that affects all people at different levels, refugee women especially suffer incredible hardship — hardship that is specifically related to the fact that they are women.

Women have resisted oppression from time immemorial. Refugee women are no exception: they have fought oppression and have managed to survive. But there are many wounds that have not healed. Indeed, our experience as community workers tells us that there are those who have given up, who can no longer hold onto hope, and who have no place to turn to. What is needed immediately are services and resources to facilitate healing and growth. Services in the fields of mental and physical health, language skills, and training programmes are essential.

Ultimately, if refugee women are to regain control over their lives, political changes are needed. The process of healing, growing and developing as full human beings requires the collective efforts of the Spanish-speaking community and of government institutions. It requires understanding and knowledge of the realities that affect refugee women. It requires concrete services and financial support. Refugee women have had the strength to survive. The least we can do is to collectively find solutions that can offer them hope.

REGINA HAGGO

Anna

Across the street, lights shine
On the winter swept pavement.
My side of the street is cold and
dark.

A child crosses the street, Holds out her hand to me, Speaks to me.

I cannot understand her. She is not my daughter. I wish I could go home.

BERNADETTE RULE

Relocation

(for Nora)

I am making tortillas beside a window full of snow. Flour on my hands, the sun a furnace in my mind, I dream of Honduras where each tree is a shifting dream of bright birds and fruit,

...where officials murdered my husband slowly for speaking the truth.

Now I live in moderate Canada where weather is the cruellest element, and I struggle to bring my spirit and expectations into line with the patience around me.

I am making tortillas beside a window full of snow, Honduras a furnace in my mind.

From Full Light Falling (Hamilton: Image Publishing, 1988).