know other nurses, both black and white, on a more personal level. Both Cudjoe and Bailey immigrated when there were few blacks in Canada or black organizations, but these women found other means of enjoyment without emphazing racial, cultural, and ethnic differences that so often divides individuals.

The women in this study did not express any regrets in migrating to Canada. Despite racism, sexism, culture shock, and homesickness they appreciated the opportunities that Canada offered via nursing. Unlike immigrant domestic workers, whose experience was characterized by isolation, exploitation, and sexual harassment (Silvera), Caribbean immigrant nurses differed to some degree. Despite shared experience dealing with the racist structure of immigration, Caribbean nurses enjoyed greater social prestige (as educated women) within the Caribbean community. The nurses admitted they were in a much better position than the domestic workers and cited their benefits, salary, working conditions, and mobility as proof of their status. Indeed, these facts may strengthen their commitment to professionalism.

As the current health care system continues to unravel, more studies are needed that will examine the experiences of Caribbean women currently within nursing and the ways these nurses continue to resist the devaluation of their occupation.

Karen Flynn is a Jamaican-born feminist and community activist, host at CHRY Community Radio, and a third-year PhD student in Women's Studies at York University. She is the coordinator for Transitions, a young women's program at the West Scarborough Boys and Girls Club, and is also a freelance writer for the Jamaican Gleaner.

¹V.V's Murray's work is a comprehensive study of nursing and nurses. He examined the nursing activity, (especially the debate around bedside care) working conditions, supply and demand, and issues of education.

References

Barbee, Evelyn L. "Racism in U.S. Nursing." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 7.4 (1993): 346–362.

Calliste, Agnes. "Women of 'Exceptional Merit': Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 6.1 (1993): 85–103.

Canadian Nurses Association. Submission to The Royal Commission on Health Services. Ontario, 1962.

Coburn, D. "Professionalization and Proleta-rianization: Medicine, Nursing, and Chiropractic in Historical Perspective." *Labour/Le Travail* 34 (1994): 139–162.

Coburn, D. "The Development of Canadian Nursing: Professionalization and Proletarianization." *International Journal of Health Services* 18.3 (1988): 437–456.

Cole, Joyce. "West Indian Teachers and Nurses in Ontario, Canada: A Study of Migration Patterns." MA Thesis. McMaster University, Hamilton, 1967.

Dingwall, Robert, Anne Rafferty, and Charles Webster. An Introduction to the Social History of Nursing. London: Routledge, 1988.

Hine, Darlene Clark. Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

McPherson, Kathryn. Bedside Matters: The Transformation of Canadian Nursing, 1900–1990. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Murray, V. V. Nursing in Ontario: A Study for the Committee on the Healing Arts. Toronto: Committee on the Healing Arts, Queen's Printer, 1970.

Nakano, Evelyn Glenn. "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Labour," *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S.* Women's History. Eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol Dubois. Routledge: New York, 1994. 403–435.

Silvera, M.. Silenced. Toronto: Wallace-Williams, 1983.

ELISAVIETTA RITCHIE

In Transit

Coming from somewhere else at any age, even *in utero*, you're never sure

your feet touch the soil. Your whole life you hover hawk, helicopter

or fat dirigible, fearful someone might poke a hole, light a match—

You hang in there, up there, wondering will they finally grant permission to land

or forver challenge your passport, check your fingerprints, discount your money, question

could you survive as a stranger? Best stay suspended, forget the keys to the town.

Here, the air is dangerous, cold, wind currents tricky, but God, what a view.

Elisaviette Ritchie's poetry collections include: The Arc of the Storm, Elegy for the Other Woman, and Wild Garlic.