The Canadian Immigration Historical Society
La société historique de l'immigration canadienne

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With this 75th issue of the bulletin, CIHS has reached yet another milestone. In the past 25 bulletins, we have examined a number of refugee movements—Palestinian, Hungarian, Czech, Ethiopian, Istrian, Cuban, Argentinian, Ismaili, Sudanese, Kosovan—and dedicated a whole issue to the Indochinese. We have recorded the growing relationship between the society and Pier 21. Members have shared their experiences of earlier days of the service in Canada and abroad. We have delved deep into history with scholarly articles on immigration halls in Canada's first century, Danish immigration in the early twentieth, and more recent times with the introduction of computers to the Immigration department. There have been sombre reflections on the fate of the Home children, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and Canada's war crimes program, as well as light-hearted remembrances of ice hockey games in India. And with this issue's conclusion of *Femmes agentes du service extérieur*, we have published our first major article in French.

The Honourable Ron Atkey speaks at the 2015 AGM

Gerry Maffre

The society's very busy year was capped by a successful annual general meeting in Ottawa on Thursday, 22 October. Some 60 members, along with representatives of the Vietnamese and Cambodian communities and University of Ottawa students of immigration and refugee issues, gathered at St. Anthony Italia Soccer Club for a social hour of reconnecting and storytelling before President Mike Molloy called the meeting to order.

The first item of business was a moment of remembrance for colleagues who had passed away during the year—Marg Cheeseman, Bill Sinclair, Margaret Gass, Judy Murphy (wife of D'arcy), Albert Opatovsky, Gerry Savard, Ed Zeigler, the Honourable Flora MacDonald, and Ken Taylor.

Molloy then proceeded to review the productive past year. The focus on the 40th anniversary of the fall of Saigon and the Indochinese movement to Canada generated many activities that have been reported upon extensively in recent bulletins and on our website.

Our interaction with academics and students continued. We participated with Carleton University and the Canadian-Baha'i community in a symposium to mark the Baha'i refugee movement to Canada [see p.10]. Three of the officers directly involved attended: Gerry Van Kessel, Denis Scown and Mark Davidson. Molloy described the event as a real "love-in" that will lead to a program of further research. As well, we were pleased to note that

Contents

The Honourable Ron Atkey speaks at the 2015 AGM	Gerry Maffre	1
CIHS 2015 Executive, Membership, and Financial reports		3
Gunn Prize	Gerry Van Kessel	3
Femmes agentes du service extérieur (1957-1967), Partie II	Sheena Trimble	4
The Baha'i Refugee Program	Gerry Van Kessel	10
The Origins of Immigration Research	John Samuel	11
In Memoriam		12

L to R: Hon. Ron Atkey and Mike Molloy

Sheena Trimble has earned her PhD from the Université d'Angers, France, on the strength of her dissertation on the role of women in the post-WWII Canadian immigration foreign service. The society connected her with female members active in the department during the period of interest. This and the previous bulletin are carrying her two-part article synthesizing her thesis.

Running on Empty, our book on the history of the Indochinese movement, is well advanced, and the authors are submitting the manuscript to McGill-Queen's University Press by the end of November for a first review.

The president also reported on a visit to the re-opened Pier 21 immigration museum and described how it is expanding to cover the Canadian immigration experience in general.

Another item of business was the Gunn Prize. Gerry Van Kessel reported on two concerns: the poor quality of this year's submissions and the paucity of submissions. He is leading work to identify ways to promote the award in academic circles and ensure better understanding of the evaluation criteria. Financially, the prize is on a solid footing, thanks to the successful social/auction evening hosted by Scott and Elizabeth Heatherington.

Secretary Gail Devlin reported on the membership numbers which are found on the next page of this bulletin, as is the financial report from Treasurer Raph Girard.

Mike Molloy concluded his remarks by pointing out that the society marks its 30th anniversary in 2016. For a small and volunteer body, this is quite an achievement, one that the CIHS executive thinks should be celebrated. Members are invited to step forward and share their ideas and time to develop a suitable slate of anniversary activities.

The guest speaker, the Honourable Ron Atkey, was warmly introduced by Molloy and then took the podium. Atkey was Minister of Employment and Immigration in the Joe Clark government, taking on the portfolio just as the situation of the Indochinese boat people was reaching a new crisis point.

With Hon. Ron Atkey, L to R: Leif Erik Stroessner, exchange student from Germany; Lindsay McGinn; Sarah Mohammad; Marie Patience Bayab; Clare Bekenn; Isha Sharma. All are Master's students at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa, and enrolled in Dr. Ravi Pendakur's class on Immigration, Diversity and Public Policy.

He said he heeded advice from his predecessor, Bud Cullen, to move forward quickly and substantively. His resolve was buttressed by reading *None is Too Many* by Irving Abella and Harold Troper, a book Deputy Minister Jack Manion gave him in his early days. Atkey saw that the department was prepared to act. This made it easier for him and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Flora MacDonald to persuade the Prime Minister (readily) and Cabinet (initially more reluctantly) to make a commitment to admitting 50,000 refugees, drawing on the new private sponsorship program.

In Atkey's mind, it is now time for an equally swift and significant Canadian commitment to the refugees fleeing violence in the Middle East, but those in camps rather than those who have made it to western Europe. He acknowledged the security concerns of the Clark, and now the Trudeau, government but argued that these could be addressed by able officials.

In addition to his accolades for the work of the public service in responding to the Indochinese refugees, Atkey also pointed to the crucial work of faith groups across Canada. He reminisced about meeting refugees at Toronto's Pearson Airport and at Longue Pointe in Montreal with his aide John Tory (now Toronto's mayor). He and Tory still talk about those moving experiences.

In conclusion, Atkey congratulated the society on its imminent book about the contribution of the public service in the movement and encouraged the Indochinese communities—now so well established in Canada—to capture their history while it is still vivid.

In the following question-and-answer session, Atkey said that he felt CIC staff were ready to deliver on the government's commitment to Middle Eastern refuges. He was concerned about whether the sponsor community could keep pace but saw positive developments on that front over the course of the just-concluded general election. He cautioned that it will be essential for the department to bring selected refugees from camps to Canada promptly and so support the enthusiasm of sponsors.

CIHS 2015 Executive
Anne Arnott presented the board for 2015: President – Michael Molloy, Vice-president – Anne Arnott, Treasurer – Raph Girard, Secretary – Gail Devlin, Bulletin Editor – Valerie de Montigny.

Members at large – Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Hector Cowan, Peter Duschinsky, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre, Ian Rankin, and Gerry Van Kessel.

Member emeritus – Joe Bissett.

Membership Report
Secretary Gail Devlin presented the membership statistics for 2015 and explained the changes from 2014: Life – 81 (-2); Annual – 40 (+5); Corporate – 7; Honorary – 7, for a Total of 135 (+3).

Financial Report
Treasurer Raph Girard made his report. Although expenditures spiked at more than $6,300 during the year (largely because of production expenses related to the forthcoming book on Indochina), that sum was more than offset by record revenues in excess of $13,000, leaving us with a healthy balance. We are grateful that CIC is once again paying its legacy corporate membership, as it has kept us going for the last 29 years. We have also added Pier 21 as a corporate member. It, together with CIC, gives us stable revenues of at least $3,500 per annum.

Due to the generosity of Liz and Scott Heatherington, who hosted a summer garden party and auction managed by Roy Christensen, the Gunn Prize fund received a boost of about $3,000 that will allow us to pay our share of the prize for many years to come.

Full details of the finances of the CIHS for 2014/15 have been posted on our website.

Gunn Prize
Gerry Van Kessel reported on this year's Gunn Prize. Unfortunately, no award was made this year as none of the five essays submitted met the criteria. Because of the small number and quality of submissions, an effort is under way to bring the award to the attention of a greater number of students. The society will contact professors who teach immigration and ask them to make the award known to their classes. As well, there will be changes to the website and more promotional material. The award jury members are working on proposals for the consideration of your society's board and IMRC later this year.

Femmes agentes du service extérieur (1957-1967), Partie II
Les années 1960 : effectifs et influence en hausse
Sheena Trimble

Sheena Trimble, le jour de sa soutenance

Note de l'éditrice : Sheena Trimble vient de soutenir sa thèse : Femmes et politiques d'immigration canadiennes (1945-1967) : au-delà des assignations du genre ?, à l'Université d'Angers en France. Les membres du jury, trois historiens français et deux historiens canadiens, ont jugé la thèse très positivement. Les parties sur les femmes ASE ont été particulièrement applaudies pour la mise en lumière d'histoires non-abordées jusqu'ici dans l'historiographie canadienne. Félicitations à Sheena, qui a obtenu son doctorat.

Note de l'auteure : Cet article a été réalisé grâce à un entretien avec Joyce Cavanagh-Wood (4 septembre 2014 à Paris) et des échanges de courriels avec Elsa Amadio (29 août, 15 octobre, 30 novembre 2014, 26 mars et 12 avril 2015), Maria Beaulne (24 juillet, 15 et 21 octobre et 2 décembre 2014), Joe Bissett (10 août, 1 et 14 septembre 2014), Barbara Pelman (16 et 18 septembre 2014) et une femme qui a préféré rester anonyme (3 juillet et 21 septembre 2014). Je les remercie chaleureusement d'avoir bien voulu partager leurs histoires et je les disculpe de toute interprétation erronée de ma part.

Depuis la création du service extérieur de l'Immigration en 1957 et le recrutement annuel de deux ou trois femmes, une décennie plus tard, certaines sont en position d'avoir plus d'impact sur les politiques d'immigration. Le désir du ministère de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration (MCI) et puis du ministère de la Main-d'œuvre et l'Immigration (MMI) d'augmenter son pouvoir vis-à-vis du ministère des Affaires extérieures joue également un rôle dans leur autonomisation. Lorsque Elsa Amadio est embauchée en 1957, le rôle des agents du service extérieur (ASE) de l'Immigration est surtout d'administrer les politiques élaborées à Ottawa, mais la volonté de mettre les ASE du MCI au même niveau que les ASE du ministère des Affaires extérieures fait entrer « policy input » dans la description de leurs fonctions en 1964[1]. Le défi le plus grand pour les femmes ASE est de demeurer dans le service assez longtemps pour faire valoir le pouvoir potentiel du poste, ce qui ne s'avère pas facile. Mme Amadio est la seule recrutée pendant les années 1950 qui relève le défi, mais les années 1960 amènent une dizaine d'autres femmes qui entament de longues carrières d'ASE. Cependant, celles qui ne restent que brièvement dans un service qui peine à s'adapter aux attentes sociales pesant sur les femmes sont deux fois plus nombreuses.

Viggi Ring

Hedevig (Viggi) Ring, Elizabeth (Liz) Boyce et Tove Bording comptent parmi les pérennes. Mme Ring est recrutée par les services d'immigration à Montréal en 1951 comme interprète et agente de placement, pendant le petit pic d'immigration des personnes déplacées avant la fin du mandat de l'Organisation internationale pour les réfugiés. Elle occupe encore ce poste à l'arrivée des réfugiés hongrois en 1956 et 1957. Ses compétences vont bien au-delà des langues. En 1946, elle est titulaire d'un master ès lettres en religion et littérature danoise et anglaise de l'Université de Copenhague. Une bourse pour poursuivre des études de troisième cycle au Massachusetts l'amène outre Atlantique, puis en 1947 elle accepte un poste dans le Service international de la Société Radio-Canada à Montréal. En 1960, Mme Ring est recrutée par le service extérieur de l'Immigration où elle enchaîne des postes à Copenhague, au Caire, à Helsinki, Stockholm, Belgrade, Ottawa et Glasgow jusqu'à sa retraite en 1982. Outre ses études, sa maîtrise de plusieurs langues et une expérience solide à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur du MCI, Mme Ring apporte un dynamisme et une capacité de travail inépuisables ainsi qu'une personnalité forte, directe et quelque peu haute en couleur qu'elle sait mettre à profit. En 1994, un ancien collègue rappelle que « through a process of brute competence and unstinting commitment, she forcefully dismissed any nonsense about what was a woman's work »[2].

Liz Boyce fait partie de la promotion de 1961. Après avoir occupé des postes à Londres, San Francisco et Athènes, elle décide que la vie itinérante d'ASE n'est plus pour elle. Elle ne quitte pas le MCI pour autant.

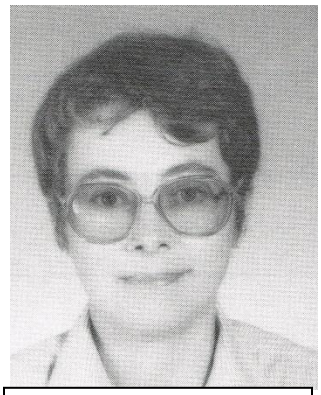
Liz Boyce

Pendant les décennies suivantes jusqu'à sa retraite en 1998, Mme Boyce devient un visage bien connu des nouvelles recrues en tant que formatrice. Dans l'exercice de sa fonction, elle fait preuve d'une connaissance extrêmement approfondie de la Loi et des règlements sur l'immigration[3]. Si cette connaissance l'amène à influencer le contenu de ces documents, c'est très probablement après 1967 lorsqu'elle accumule plus d'expérience et plus de poids au sein du ministère. Le groupe des stagiaires qui entrent en fonction en mai 1965 est remarquable, non pour la taille du groupe recruté, qui se limite à quatre nouveaux ASE, mais par le fait que tous sauf un sont des femmes : Bonnie Beare, Gayle Keyes et Tove Bording. L'affectation en Grande-Bretagne des deux premières mène à leur mariage avec des Britanniques, mais Mme Bording reste dans le service extérieur de l'Immigration jusqu'en 1995[4].

La campagne de recrutement de 1967 voit arriver six femmes sur 25 nouveaux ASE. Pendant son année de formation au Canada, le groupe se fait remarquer non seulement par sa taille mais également par son gros contingent féminin.

À quoi peut-on attribuer ce recrutement important de femmes en 1967 ? Ce n'est peut-être que le résultat du hasard ou du fait que dans un groupe si large, il est normal que les effectifs de femmes soient conséquents. Une des femmes recrutées, Barbara Pelman, indique qu'elle n'a pas l'impression d'un effort particulier pour recruter des femmes : « I felt they were trying to recruit more educated people, not necessarily women over men. […] They wanted MAs to fill the ranks, to balance (this was the rumour) the number of veterans in Customs and Immigration who were not university-trained ». Par contre, Maria (Hacke) Beaulne pense que son genre joue en sa faveur : « I was very favourably received and felt that my gender was a positive aspect at interview, that it was not an impediment to obtaining an offer of employment ». Les souvenirs de ces femmes quant au processus de recrutement ne sont pas seulement brouillés par le temps, mais également par le fait que leurs vécus jusque-là les ont quelque peu immunisées contre le sexisme. Comme l'explique Barbara Pelman, « I can't remember the [interview] questions but I wasn't aware of any difference in gender, at least nothing that I wasn't used to already (as a student in a classical academic field, I didn't have any female professors and hadn't since second-year university, though I don't think I was aware of this at the time) ».

Un certain effort conscient pour recruter plus de femmes n'est pas à écarter. Depuis le début des années 1960, le mécontentement des femmes concernant la place marginale que leur accorde la société ne cesse de croître. Il est possible que le MMI essaie de contribuer modestement à une correction de ce déséquilibre. Si c'est le cas, la Commission de la fonction publique (CFP) le cache bien à Joyce Cavanagh-Wood, également recrutée en 1967. Déjà employée de la fonction publique fédérale, Mme Cavanagh-Wood subit un processus de recrutement différent des candidats extérieurs. Quoique très cordiaux, les deux hommes conduisant l'entretien déclarent qu'elle fait une bonne candidate à une exception près : c'est une femme. Peut-être parce qu'elle ne cherche pas à intégrer le service extérieur à tout prix, Mme Cavanagh-Wood est capable de répondre avec équanimité : « I'm not about to go to Denmark to have a sex change. You know my number ». En d'autres termes, s'ils décident de son embauche malgré ce prétendu handicap, il leur appartient de la contacter. Leur décision d'accepter ce risque marque le début de la longue carrière de Mme Cavanagh-Wood dans le service extérieur de l'Immigration.



Joyce Cavanagh-Wood

Les attitudes que ces six femmes rencontrent pendant leur formation semblent plus proches de l'étonnement que de l'antagonisme. Selon Mme Cavanagh-Wood, « everybody who saw us as a group was quite amazed that there were so many women ». Les pionnières ont déjà quelque peu ouvert la voie. Joe Bissett croit que « the addition of a number of female university graduates in the '50s did play a role in later recruitment of female officers simply because the ones who joined the service then performed extremely well in their jobs ». Joyce Cavanagh-Wood pense que « the few women who were in the service before us were such good value for money that they thought it might not be a bad idea ». Elle semble vouloir souligner les compétences des femmes pionnières, mais il ne faut pas oublier que les femmes qui sont demeurées dans le service sont également

restées célibataires, ce qui les a rendues moins chères à déplacer que les hommes ASE, majoritairement mariés.

Malgré l'évolution des attitudes, les six femmes doivent faire face, tout comme leurs prédécesseures, à une bonne dose de sexisme ici et là. Pendant l'entretien, les femmes ont souvent droit à des questions que l'on ne pose pas aux hommes. Ont-elles des petits amis ? Avoir un petit ami sous-entend de possibles projets de mariage, ce qui signifie à terme quitter le service extérieur. L'investissement dans ces conditions n'en vaut pas la peine. Pourtant, le mariage des hommes semble être perçu comme un avantage pour et par leur employeur, car les épouses deviennent un réseau de soutien mobile. Une de ces épouses, ancienne ASE elle-même, décrit bien ce rôle : « My husband […] by my presence to maintain the family, was able to devote the necessary time to make his career as successful as possible ».

Les ASE femmes rencontrent une discrimination genrée particulièrement marquée dans les attitudes à propos du mariage. Bien que certaines voix au ministère se plaignent du gaspillage des fonds publics lorsque les femmes fonctionnaires du service extérieur se marient, puis démissionnent, les ministères concernés et la Commission de la fonction publique ne tentent rien pour les garder. Ils semblent estimer que, pour les femmes, devenir ASE s'apparente à une entrée en religion pour laquelle elles renoncent volontairement à une vie de famille. Mme Amadio remarque que sa génération de femmes accepte plutôt facilement cette attente car elles démissionnent au premier signe de mariage. Les institutrices et professeures connaissent la même situation depuis longtemps[5]. Plusieurs femmes recrutées pendant les années 1960 sont pourtant moins flegmatiques sur la question.

À l'époque, si une femme ASE épouse un collègue ASE, le MCI/MMI et le MAE refusent systématiquement de les affecter dans le même service ou même à proximité. Si une femme ASE se marie avec un homme du pays où elle est affectée, lui accorder un poste permanent dans ce pays va contre l'attente qu'elle accepte d'aller n'importe où n'importe quand. Si une femme épouse un homme ancré au Canada, en théorie, le MCI/MMI peut trouver un poste au siège du service extérieur ou ailleurs au ministère si elle veut continuer à travailler. En réalité, les autorités du ministère font fi de toutes les théories car ils supposent que la prochaine étape après le mariage est naturellement la naissance d'enfants auxquels la femme voudra se consacrer à plein temps. Entre les attentes sociales genrées de l'époque et les suppositions du service extérieur, une femme qui veut se marier tout en continuant sa carrière se retrouve entre le marteau et l'enclume.

Une analyse du parcours d'une dizaine de femmes embauchées pendant cette période révèle leurs choix et les conséquences. Elsa Amadio, Viggi Ring, Liz Boyce et Tove Bording restent célibataires pendant la durée de leur longue carrière. Pierrette Picotte se marie avec un autre ASE de sa promotion, puis démissionne aussitôt. Maria Beaulne épouse également un ASE, mais en suivant une voie moins directe. Née en Allemagne en 1942, elle émigre au Canada en 1952 avec sa mère veuve. En 1964 elle obtient une licence ès lettres en français, puis la Banque canadienne impériale de commerce l'embauche comme stagiaire en gestion. Ce qu'elle décrit comme des opportunités plus limitées que celles offertes aux stagiaires hommes et « two less-than-exciting assignments in Headquarters » la persuadent de tenter une carrière d'ASE. Après son année de formation au Canada, elle enchaîne deux postes en Allemagne jusqu'en 1970, année où elle demande son rapatriement au Canada.

Bien que Mme Beaulne trouve le travail intéressant, l'assure avec énergie et obtienne la confiance et le respect de ses supérieurs, la vie de femme célibataire outre-mer s'avère trop solitaire à long terme : « I had made good friends with the colleagues […] I had also made good friends locally, both male and female, but I realized I was alone, had to make a complete life for myself that way or be prepared to find a partner locally. I was not interested in remaining in Europe long term, so it was a logical solution to return home where I would settle into the life of a Canadian rather than an expatriate ». À Ottawa, Mme Beaulne travaille avec un conseiller en politique sur une nouvelle loi d'immigration, puis avec la CFP comme agente de dotation. Elle rencontre et épouse un ASE. L'affectation de son époux à Milan en 1972 la décide à démissionner de la fonction publique. Dès lors, ses emplois dépendent de ses obligations familiales et des mutations tous les quatre ans de son époux.

Une autre femme recrutée pendant les années 1960 tombe amoureuse d'un homme dans le deuxième pays où elle est affectée. Entre temps elle est transférée dans un troisième pays. Le couple continue sa relation malgré la séparation dans des pays voisins. Ils décident de se marier dans l'espoir qu'elle recevra une réaffectation dans le service de son deuxième poste à la fin de sa rotation dans le troisième poste. Bien que le MMI autorise cette affectation, l'assentiment final doit venir de l'ambassadeur canadien dans le deuxième pays, mais, selon la femme en question, c'est un homme qui « did not believe in the reunification of married officers ».

Ce refus amène cette femme à démissionner après une carrière de presque neuf ans. Le service extérieur de l'Immigration perd ainsi son expérience et ses compétences dans plusieurs langues. La femme ASE perd un emploi qu'elle apprécie et qu'elle accomplit, de tout évidence, de manière très satisfaisante. Sa déception est d'autant plus désolante qu'elle divorce une dizaine d'années plus tard et ne retrouve pas dans sa vie professionnelle ultérieure un emploi qui la satisfait autant. Elle est loin d'être la seule dans cette situation à l'époque. Les cas de divorce sont particulièrement frustrants car le service extérieur rend le retour des femmes dans leur ancienne profession extrêmement difficile.

Joyce Cavanagh-Wood, une des six "soixante-septardes", prend sa retraite deux fois du service extérieur de l'Immigration en raison de l'intransigeance sur la situation des femmes mariées. Sa carrière outre-mer commence par un poste mémorable à Paris en 1968. Tout comme d'autres collègues femmes, elle est affectée à Vienne en automne 1968 pour traiter la masse de demandes des réfugiés tchécoslovaques candidats à l'immigration au Canada. Contrairement aux autres femmes ASE, qui ne restent qu'un mois sur ce poste, l'affection de Mme Cavanagh-Wood dure trois ans. Une deuxième affectation à Paris est interrompue lorsque l'ambassadeur décide qu'il ne veut que des francophones dans l'ambassade. Malgré son français courant et son désir de rester à Paris, Mme Cavanagh-Wood doit échanger son poste avec un jeune homme à La Haye. Entre 1972 et 1974 elle passe deux ans à Ottawa à travailler comme bras droit de Viggi Ring dans le Bureau Afrique. Elle retire énormément de satisfaction à travailler avec cette femme qu'elle décrit en termes très élogieux : « We got along famously. I was just in awe of her. […] She was well-respected. […] She was hard-working, responsible, could take decisions. […] She really was a role model for me in many ways ».

Cet éloge indique un autre aspect du travail d'ASE où les femmes se trouvent dans une situation défavorisée : leur contact avec des femmes qui peuvent servir de modèles est très limité par la rareté des femmes avec une ancienneté importante. À ce point de sa carrière, Mme Cavanagh-Wood a déjà cinq ans d'expérience, dont une année stressante comme seule femme aux services d'immigration à Vienne sous la direction d'un superviseur qui chronomètre le travail à la seconde près. Bien qu'attendant une forte implication au travail de l'ensemble de son personnel, il n'autorise pas les femmes à aller dans les camps de réfugiés, car ce n'est pas « a woman's work ». Si Mme Cavanagh-Wood doit attendre cinq ans avant de travailler auprès d'une femme qui lui sert de modèle, on a l'impression qu'il faut attendre les années 1990 pour qu'être une femme ASE au service extérieur de l'Immigration ne soit plus synonyme de pionnière.

Une partie des ASE recrutés en 1967. G à d : Robert Romano, Margaret Jones, Joyce Cavanagh, Gordon Whitehead, George Morton, Donald Cameron, Eleanor Stadenyk (Collection personnelle de Maria Beaulne)

Ceci ne signifie pourtant pas que les femmes ASE de l'époque ne se sentent pas entourées. Mme Cavanagh-Wood est la première à signaler qu'elle trouve l'équipe des ASE, en général, très chaleureuse, accueillante et dotée d'un fort « sense of camaraderie ». Maria Beaulne déclare que « my relationships with the colleagues, both female and male, were what I considered to be very acceptable, mostly harmonious and without differentiation ». De fait, lorsqu'on leur demande si elles ont rencontré du sexisme dans leur travail quotidien, la réponse des cinq femmes est habituellement plutôt négative. Mme Beaulne rappelle que « I was the first female officer assigned to the Cologne office but the then Officer-in-charge and his deputy always treated me very professionally […] I was allowed to progress quickly and was not held back in any way ». Ses compétences en allemand doivent la rendre d'autant plus

acceptable à ses collègues qu'elle n'a pas besoin d'un interprète et peut ainsi traiter les demandes assez rapidement dès son arrivée.

Le groupe de femmes de 1967 remarque des attitudes plutôt correctes pour l'époque, même parmi les vieux soldats qui gèrent le service depuis la fin de la guerre. Barbara Pelman explique que son supérieur hiérarchique à Londres, John Sheardown, un ancien combattant qui intègre le MCI en 1962, « gave me a great deal of freedom and respect ». Joyce Cavanagh-Wood travaille pour un ancien combattant à La Haye qu'elle décrit comme « a perfectly nice guy ». Maria Beaulne ressent plus d'hésitation parmi les candidats à l'immigration que parmi ses collègues hommes : « some of the candidates […] were surprised and sometimes reluctant to explain themselves to a young female officer ».

Les recherches de Freda Hawkins montrent un service extérieur de l'Immigration dans un état chronique de manque de ressources et de personnel[6]. Dans ces conditions, des personnes formées et volontaires, quel que soit leur genre, sont les bienvenues. Les responsabilités données rapidement aux recrues confirment l'impression que la plupart du temps leurs supérieurs hiérarchiques et leur collèges les jugent largement capables. Comme le décrit un homme collègue d'Elsa Amadio, le sentiment des femmes ASE qu'elles doivent faire leurs preuves a pour conséquence qu'elles ne sont pas fainéantes : « We are pleased to have women on staff. In order to prove themselves they work twice as hard, which allows us to relax ».

La discrimination inhérente au système et les attitudes misogynes de certains individus rendent parfois la vie difficile aux femmes ASE. Mme Cavanagh-Wood rencontre l'intersection de ces éléments malheureux en 1975. Cette année-là, lorsqu'elle est affectée au traitement des demandes de réfugiés indochinois dans un camp de transit en Californie, elle tombe amoureuse d'un Américain faisant le même travail pour les États-Unis. Pendant une absence autorisée d'un an, Mme Cavanagh-Wood essaie en vain d'obtenir une affectation dans l'un des douze services d'immigration canadiens aux États-Unis. Comme elle l'explique, par manque de chance, elle tombe sur un responsable en ressources humaines (RH) qui estime que « women had no place in the Foreign Service ». Non seulement le responsable RH refuse la demande de Mme Cavanagh-Wood, mais en plus, malgré le large choix, il l'affecte en fin de compte à Hong Kong. La fille de M. Wood vivant avec lui, il n'est pas question qu'il suive son épouse. Les aller-retours et la vie séparée s'avérant trop pénibles ; en 1978 Mme Cavanagh-Wood démissionne d'un emploi qui la passionne pour essayer de construire sa vie de couple et une carrière dans un autre domaine aux États-Unis. Lorsque son époux devient plus libre en 1982, Mme Cavanagh-Wood réintègre le service extérieur de l'Immigration, mais repart de zéro. Elle doit repasser l'examen et l'entretien et recommencer sans aucune ancienneté.

L'histoire de Barbara Pelman, l'une des six femmes recrutées en 1967, est presque un répit au milieu des cas innombrables où le service extérieur attend un dévouement total des femmes, sous peine de les rejeter. Titulaire d'une licence ès arts de l'Université de Colombie-Britannique et d'une maîtrise ès lettres en littérature anglaise de l'Université de Toronto, elle voit le poste d'ASE seulement comme une parenthèse dans un parcours censé être couronné par un doctorat. Pendant sa première et seule affectation, à Londres, ses opinions féministes l'amènent à se joindre à une croisade interne pour adapter le service aux vécus des femmes : « At the time, the decree was that if a woman married, say, an Englishman, she would have to quit Immigration, because "of course", she would no longer be mobile. "Of course", she would go or stay where her husband was, with no thought that he might want to follow her ! We fought this rule vigorously, and when the rule changed, it was announced very obliquely in a newsletter. There was no real acknowledgement that a major battle had been won in the cause of women in the service ».

Bien que Mme Pelman ne soit pas dans une relation amoureuse susceptible de mener au mariage, elle explique à sa hiérarchie sa décision de démissionner en protestation contre ce règlement. Sa motivation majeure est cependant qu'elle souhaite poursuivre des études doctorales à l'Université de Londres. Bonnie Beare Dickenson est une des autres combattantes dans cette lutte, mais pour elle, c'est un combat personnel. En 1996, dans un article rétrospectif, elle cite certaines des communications provenant de la hiérarchie du MMI conseillant aux militantes de suivre l'exemple des anciennes femmes ASE qui « were marrying their husbands' careers, were expecting to bear children and were satisfied to perform as housewives ». Si elles continuent à travailler après le mariage, le MMI serait obligé de modifier ses plans de recrutement et de formation pour

accommoder leurs souhaits de rester avec leurs époux. Cela n'en vaut pas la peine car elles démissionneraient de tout façon au moment de commencer à donner naissance aux enfants, bref jusqu'à ce que « the laws of nature force them to desist »[7].

Ces histoires personnelles peuvent sembler périphériques à la question de l'influence des femmes au sein du MCI/MMI sur les politiques d'immigration, mais elles sont en fait au cœur du sujet. Afin d'avoir une influence de l'intérieur du ministère, les femmes doivent d'abord être recrutées, puis rester en poste assez longtemps pour avoir la possibilité d'assumer des responsabilités de plus en plus élevées. Malgré le recrutement record de six femmes en 1967, l'environnement au sein du service extérieur, pour ne pas parler de la société en général, limite leur choix, leur pouvoir et leur capacité de faire carrière. Ceci étant, contrairement aux recrues des années 1950 telle Elsa Amadio, elles semblent rencontrer moins d'interrogations, exprimées ou non, sur leurs motivations à s'engager dans une telle carrière.

Elsa Amadio

Lorsqu'elles sont interrogées sur leur capacité à influencer les politiques d'immigration, au début de leur carrière, les cinq femmes ASE sondées citent leur manque d'expérience et leur manque d'ancienneté comme freins à l'expression de leurs opinions, plus encore que leur genre. Lors des réunions ou directement à leur chef du service, elles peuvent exprimer leurs opinions sur l'efficacité de la loi et des règlements, ce qui devient plus facile avec le temps. Il incombe alors au chef du poste de décider s'il va transmettre ces opinions à Ottawa. Même si le chef les transmet, comme l'explique Elsa Amadio, le ministère est un énorme navire qui ne tourne pas rapidement : « It takes time to turn the *Queen Mary* around and to feel the manœuvre ! ». L'influence potentielle des femmes ASE est également limitée dans l'espace. Barbara Pelman et Joyce Cavanagh-Wood notent que les femmes ne sont pas affectées dans les pays qui peuvent sembler dangereux ou ceux où les femmes ont un statut trop différent par rapport au Canada. En d'autres termes, on ne les affecte pas en dehors de l'Europe ou des pays vus comme comparables à l'Europe, tels que l'Égypte et Israël avant la Guerre de sept jours.

Dans un environnement et à une époque où les femmes sont marginalisées hiérarchiquement et géographiquement, avoir une influence sur les politiques d'immigration de l'intérieur du ministère n'est pas nécessairement plus aisé que de l'extérieur. Leur outil d'influence le plus accessible est le pouvoir discrétionnaire qu'elles peuvent mobiliser dans l'attribution d'une dizaine de points selon les « qualités personnelles » des candidats à l'immigration. Néanmoins, comme agentes du service extérieur, elles deviennent également des agentes de changement qui, en croissant en nombre et en expérience, accroissent leur influence. Comme l'explique Elsa Amadio, elles deviennent également plus exigeantes dans leurs attentes : « The more demanding women of the 1960s who wanted and actively sought equal treatment with their male colleagues represented the transition generation that brought in the feminist movement and the leap forward of the 1970s onward ». Elle précise néanmoins que le saut en avant ne mène pas nécessairement à l'égalité, même de nos jours.

Notes :

1. Freda Hawkins, *Canada and immigration : public policy and public concern*, 2e éd., Montréal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's Press, 1988, p. 259-262.
2. *CIHS Bulletin SHIC*, « The Board of Directors », n° 6, mars 1990, p. 3-4 ; H. (Viggi) Ring, « The strange start of what became an interesting career », n° 14, septembre 1993, p. 2-4 ; Carla Thorlakson, « In memorial, Hedevig (Viggi) Ring, 1918-1994 », n° 18, octobre 1994, p. 4-6 ; Entretien avec Joyce Cavanagh-Wood à Paris, 4 septembre 2014.
3. « Elizabeth (Liz) Boyce », *CIHS Bulletin*, n° 51, juillet 2007, p. 11-12.
4. J. Paul Scott, « The harem and I », *Backspace … to the past*, n° 23, mars 1996, p. 1-2.
5. Sheila L. Cavanagh, « Female-teacher gender and sexuality in twentieth-century Ontario, Canada », History of Education Quarterly, été 2005, vol. 45, n° 2, p. 247-273.
6. Freda Hawkins, *Canada and immigration...*, *op. cit.*, p. 253, 271-272.
7. Bonnie Beare Dickenson, « … And now a word from the harem », *Backspace*, n° 24, octobre 1996, p. 1-2.

We are pleased to announce that Winnerjit Rathor joins us as our society's webmaster, replacing outgoing webmistress Dawn Franklin. Winnerjit recently earned his diploma in Interactive Multimedia Development from Ottawa's Algonquin College. He has worked with a congregation in Orleans, Ontario to help develop its fund-raising website and now has a job at a local IT firm. Critically, he has shown he can work with and help train people with low levels of web competency to become more proficient! The board will be sitting down with him to look at ways to improve the site and visitor experience. If you have suggestions, please let us know at info@cihs-shic.ca Welcome to Winnerjit.

The Baha'i Refugee Program

Gerry Van Kessel

A symposium took place on the Iranian Baha'i refugee program at Carleton University in Ottawa on 21 September. Organized by the Baha'i Community of Canada, in partnership with CIHS and Carleton University's Centre for Public History, Migration and Diaspora Studies Initiative and its Department of History, the event was attended by about a hundred people, including academics, civil servants, students, and community members. The society's Mike Molloy and Gerry Van Kessel and Dennis Scown were panel speakers, as were Mark Davidson and Afsoon Houshidari from Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Houshidari is of particular interest as she fled Iran as a four-year-old Baha'i with her family and is now a lawyer who works on the refugee file.

Panel at the symposium, L to R: Janet Grimsted, Deputy Director, Northwest Territories Human Rights Commission and former staff of the International Baha'i Refugee Office; Douglas Martin, Secretary General, Baha'i Community of Canada 1965-1985; Gerry Van Kessel, former Director General Refugees, CIC. (Photo by Emad Talisman)

Between 1981 and 1989, some 2,300 Iranian Baha'is came to Canada through the private sponsorship of the Baha'i community of Canada and private and government-assisted refugee programs. The Canadian program was a model for other countries, 25 of which resettled an additional 6,000 Baha'i refugees. The symposium launched a two- to three-year collaborative public history project; the parties, including your society; will concentrate on issues of concern to the public policy community and academics with interests in migration, immigration, refugees, policy development, the Baha'i community, Iranian diaspora, cultural identity and refugee resettlement.

While details of the symposium and the Baha'i refugee flow can be found in the linked articles, a few highlights stand out. First, the lack of publicity the movement received was by design, not lack of interest. Publicity would have been harmful to Bahai's in Iran, a fact well understood by Minister Lloyd Axworthy and his staff, who declined to capitalize politically despite the usual inclination to seek political gain from such events. Second, the considerable success of the program was due to the high level of trust between the Baha'i community and the bureaucracy and the manner in which the Baha'i community prepared the refugees for processing.

One aside: The title given to me in the linked articles is incorrect despite my efforts to set the record straight.

This RCMP doll on loan to Pier 21, was originally given to Sheynal Saujani, a six-year-old Ugandan-Asian child expelled from Uganda with her family. Ordered by Immigration Minister Bryce Mackasey, these dolls, with an alternate choice of an Ookpik, were given to children on the first charter flight from Uganda in September 1972

The Origins of Immigration Research

John Samuel

Ed.note: John Samuel received training in demography from the University of Chicago, Princeton University and the University of Toronto (Ph.D). He worked for the Canadian government for 26 years, was adjunct professor at Carleton University, and is the author of a number of articles and books.

My first job in Employment and Immigration Canada was to conduct longitudinal studies on the settlement and adaptation of immigrants in Canada, a promising new field with plenty of resources. My first boss, Dr. Ed Ziegler, knew well the problems of immigrants, having gone through the experience as a refugee himself [see Bulletin 74].

A more open policy of immigration was started under Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, (as discussed in *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern* by Freda Hawkins) and refined under the Liberal governments that succeeded him.

In the late 1960s, the government announced proposals to introduce a more liberal and universal immigration policy, and Immigration Deputy Minister Tom Kent subsequently appeared before the parliamentary committee discussing the legislation. One of the MPs commented sarcastically that he admired Tom Kent's courage in coming before the committee with these drastic changes without a shred of evidence to support the assumptions on which the legislation was based. Thereupon, DM Kent ordered his department to conduct a study of immigrant settlement and adaptation. I was hired in 1969 specifically to do a longitudinal study of 15,000 immigrants, who were to be selected at the rate of 5,000 a year for three years.

What is a longitudinal study?

Cross-sectional studies like a snap shot at a point in time are well known. But a longitudinal study surveys the same person at different points in time and could be compared to a movie. Such studies were not well known in the 1970s. There was not a lot of literature on them then, especially in relation to migration.

We had to start from scratch. First and foremost, we had to have an unbiased sample. We looked at the process and procedures of immigration. One possibility was to start with immigration posts in different countries. That was rejected since there were many issues that could not be easily resolved. We then focused on Canada's major ports of entry, through which 80 to 85 percent of immigrants arrived. In order to get an unbiased sample, we decided to get our sample selection only every 12th day. Every head of the family who arrived through that port of entry on that day would become a member of the sample to be studied for the next three years.

However, a more vexing problem was how to maintain contact for the three years of the study, during which they were to receive four questionnaires. The first was to be sent after six months; the second after one year; the third after two years; and the final one after three years.

We decided to give the immigrants selected for our sample a metal desk calendar that had a different card for every month. (Incidentally, I have a sample still sitting on my desk.) It was called *Life in Canada/La vie au Canada*. On top of all the monthly cards was another card with the department's address and a space to write their address so that we could contact them. There was also a letter from the minister explaining the reason for the calendar and why it was important for us to know about their life in Canada and requesting them to mail the top card to us as soon as they had found a place to live. That was the department's Immigration and Demographic Analysis section's first direct contact with the sample of immigrants selected.

After one Italian immigrant dropped a bottle of Chianti from home because he had too much additional material to carry, we put the calendar and other information material into a bag!

Up to three quarters of new immigrants who received the calendar did return the card with their Canadian address to us. Hooray, we thought, it is working. We heaved a sigh of relief.

But that was just the beginning. We had to get busy developing the first questionnaire. It consisted of only four pages, with questions on both economic and social adaptation. We did not delve into professional qualifications and background since all that information was available from the operational section of immigration, of which the late Al Gunn was a part. It was the early days of computers, and we used them to compile both operational data and questionnaire data.

I produced a number of reports after each set of questionnaires was received, and the findings were used to refine the new points system of immigrant selection. Unfortunately, I was not permitted to write up the data for a journal article.

Questionnaires asked about employment, income, ease with which immigrants found work in their field, occupational details, as well as questions related to social adaptation. The reports I prepared have not been kept but they were enthusiastically used by policy developers at the time. Canada was far ahead of other immigrant-receiving countries in this regard, and our approach was studied by specialists from Australia, Israel, and the U.S., as well as several universities.

In Memoriam

George Robert McQueen

George Varnai

George McQueen was born 14 February 1924 and died 28 September 2015. George worked in Immigration from 1967 to 1980. He and I joined through the same competition. He worked at VIA and at Douglas in a variety of posts, including supervisor and senior officer, and he was greatly respected by all and looked up to with awe by a generation of officers whom he trained. When I told some of my old colleagues about his death, Rob Johnston remembered him as a "legend" and Brenda Wedel as a "big stick".

Before moving to Immigration, George had a distinguished service record in the Air Force during WWII and a career as a fireman in British Columbia culminating in the post of Fire Chief.

What I learned about him after his passing made me truly pause and reflect. First of all, George was orphaned of his father when he was three and of his mother when he was ten. He and his two siblings had a very rough childhood, including stints in an orphanage and working on a farm. He had to drop out of school at age 14. But through hard work and determination, he succeeded in life, eventually married, and raised a very happy family.

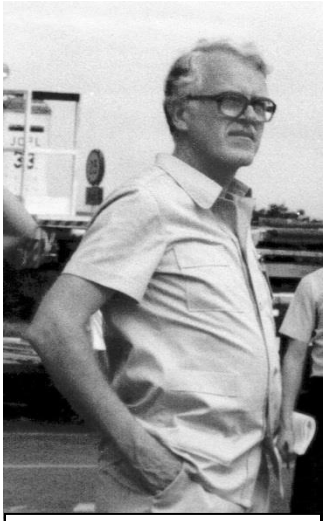
An anecdote his son-in-law shared with me really resonated. “One of the great stories from George dealt with the whole concept of ‘home’. He would relate an incident that occurred not long after he and Flo were married. When he told Flo over the telephone about meeting an old chum, she said he should bring his friend home. He asked, ‘Can I do that?’ She insisted that he do so. At that point, George really appreciated his first real home and what it meant—a place to raise a family and to bring friends. Over the years he brought hundreds of friends home, right up to his final year with us."

Working with William (Bill) Sinclair

Melody Duncan and others

A person’s career history will tell you a great deal about what he has achieved and something of what is important to him. It will not tell you what it is like to work with him day by day.

I first had the pleasure of meeting Bill Sinclair in Hong Kong when I visited there on a personnel project. I was impressed not only with his knowledge of personnel management but with the care and concern he expressed for staff.



Bill Sinclair

Later, back in Ottawa, I was working on a project to help prepare staff for the department-wide introduction of technology. This was new territory, and I was in desperate need of help. When asked, I said I needed a very senior person to be champion of the project—someone who could not only gain the attention and support of management but who was also someone staff at all levels would feel comfortable bringing their concerns, problems and ideas to. Someone like Bill Sinclair. The response was that they'd think about it.

The next morning, Bill walked into my office and said "I understand you would like me to work with you." Fortunately I was sitting down, but I am pretty sure my jaw dropped. Senior managers in the department did not track down young officers and offer their services. He had opted for this assignment because, in his opinion, it was important for staff. It was for him a typical response.

Those who have worked with Bill can tell you what a pleasure it was to have him on your side. He was a great listener, a person who got the job done well, and a person who set high standards and always did what he believed to be the right thing, no matter what others said or did. Many have spoken eloquently about his character. My best memories of him are more personal.

Bill and I set out to change the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, as it was then called. We had an ambitious plan to visit missions to help management and staff understand and prepare for the introduction of technology. Soon there would be a computer terminal on every desk. Today this seems so ordinary that we do not even think about it. Then it was revolutionary. Fountain pens were a status symbol.

For weeks Bill and I visited missions doing training sessions and meeting with managers and staff. During the long flights and airport waits, I learned how important family was to him. He spoke glowingly of his wife, Jean, of his children and grandchildren. His whole face would light up when he talked of things he had done with his family. Together we would go shopping for them. When it came to setting a course for resolving a management issue, Bill knew exactly where he was going. When it came to walking around a strange city, Bill had absolutely no sense of direction. He would stride along confidently, with me trotting along beside him saying, "No, Bill, turn left. Your other left!" But we had fun. Together we visited local markets, museums and art galleries.

Everywhere we went, people responded to him. When we reached Hong Kong, the response was incredible. The first day there, we could hardly move. The locally engaged staff kept coming up to talk to him. We were walking towards the office one morning and were near the Star Ferry. A taxi suddenly pulled to the side of the road, and the driver jumped out and ran towards Bill calling out "Uncle Bill, Uncle Bill". Bill stopped and spoke to the man, asking after his family. I asked afterwards who the man was. Bill said he had no idea, but he didn't want to hurt his feelings.

Back in Ottawa, it was business as usual. Except at lunch. Every day the immigration officers would meet for lunch in the cafeteria at the same table at the same time. And every day Bill would be there. Most of the senior officers ate later and sat together, but not Bill. He would be at the Immigration Table, as it came to be known. It was a time and place to discuss everything of interest, raise issues, debate solutions, and just enjoy each other's company. There was much laughter and good natured teasing.

Bill retired and moved to Halifax to be closer to family and his roots. Every year at Christmas, we would exchange cards and letters. I would tell him about what was happening in the department, who was posted where, and who had retired. He, in turn, would bring me up to date on what was happening with his family.

Amongst the good and the great, he stood out as a very special person. I will miss him, and I am not alone.

Sad to hear. Bill was a great man. —*Daniel Jean*

Bill was one of our pillars and integral to modernizing our service. He was deeply admired by all of us and, as important, able and willing to guide us as individuals through difficult personal and career decisions. —*Ian Rankin*

A very sad day for the Immigration Foreign Service. Bill was the consummate HR professional, outstanding on the big policy issues as well as the nitty-gritty challenges posed by individuals. And he was a wonderful, warm and humorous person. He made us, as a service, look better. We have lost an icon. —*John Baker*

Bill was the nicest guy in the Foreign Service. I reported to him in London, Ottawa and Hong Kong. He sent me to Singapore and Hong Kong and is responsible for both my family and my career. —*Gerry Campbell*

I sure was lucky to have him as one of my first program managers. —*Susan Burrows*

I worked for him in Personnel for two years (1977-1979), and I considered him to be a great man. His contributions to the immigration foreign service are unparalleled and he was a truly lovely man. —*Donald Cameron*

L to R: the ICM supervisor for this CPAir refugee flight, the only known photo of Rick Schramm in a tie, Rod Fields, Sandra Cameron, the ICM representative in Singapore Jan Olesen, Don Cameron, Quebec Immigration Service officer Lucille Horner, High Commissioner Mike Berry, the late Linda Berry and Bill. Taken at Paya Lebar Airport, Singapore, 1980. (Courtesy of Don Cameron)

The Canadian Immigration Historical Society (www.CIHS-SHIC.ca) is a non-profit corporation registered as a charitable organization under the Income Tax Act.	The society's goals are: - to support, encourage and promote research into the history of Canadian immigration and to foster the collection and dissemination of that history, and - to stimulate interest in and further the appreciation and understanding of the influence of immigration on Canada's development and position in the world.	President - Michael J. Molloy; Vice-President - Anne Arnott; Treasurer - Raph Girard; Secretary - Gail Devlin; Editor - Valerie de Montigny; Members at large - Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Hector Cowan, Peter Duschinsky, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), Ian Rankin and Gerry Van Kessel Member emeritus - J.B. "Joe" Bissett CIC Representative - Diane Burrows