

SISTREN

First employed as street cleaners under the Jamaican government's Impact Programme and then trained as teachers' aides, Sistren collected together around a common interest in drama and its use for social change. The group, thirteen women, first performed publicly in April, 1977, at the Workers' Week Concert in Kingston.

Sistren's theatre is energetic, fast-paced, humorous yet never loses its analytic purpose — for every effect there's a cause. Whether presented in workshop, where each scene is followed by a group discussion with the audience, or in the full spectacle of theatrical production, Sistren's work gives voice to the experience of poverty without ever submitting to a feeling of powerlessness. It is theatre of action with workshops turning into group problem-solving sessions and major productions becoming complete acts of cultural reclamation.

The women of Sistren are: Beverly Elliott, Cerene Stephenson, Beverly Hanson, Jasmin Smith, Rebecca Knowles, Jerline Todd, Vivette Lewis, Lillian Foster, Lorna Burrell, May Thompson and Lana Finikin. The musicians performing with the group are: Mackie Burnette, Joy Erskine and Winston Bell. Costumes designed by Betti Campbell who also co-ordinates Sistren's Textile Project. Along with a workshop production of **Domestick**, Sistren's **QPH** was performed for the first time in North America in Toronto, September 21-27. **QPH** was directed by Hertencer Lindsay and **Domestick** was directed by Honor Ford-Smith, who has guided Sistren from a part-time drama group in 1977 to a full-time theatre collective in 1981.

There exists among the women of the Caribbean a need for naming of experience and a need for communal support of that process. In the past, silence has surrounded our experience. We have not been named in literature or in history. The discovery through dialogue, through encounter with others, of the possibilities of our power can help us to shape the forces which, at present, still shape us.

Dialogue creates reflection, which in turn creates analysis. Through analysis one moves from being object to becoming subject, from victim to creator. One is able to identify the problems which surround one's experience, objectives, to come forward from the margins of society, to

intervene in reality.

Only through supportive exchange is this possible. Only in a special environment is it possible to move forward from the perception of oneself as passive, as separate from the totality of whole experience and to develop the confidence in oneself to act on one's own wisdom. By creating for ourselves our own institutions of leisure and discussion, our own sense of teamwork and bonding, we insure the confident functioning of our womanhood in a world that we have named.

The situation of women in Jamaica

Currently in Jamaica, 15.7 per cent of the men are unemployed as against 37.7 per cent of the women. 70 per cent of women between 17 and 24 are out of work and these are women with children, 68 per cent of employed women are doing very low status forms of wage work and are earning under the minimum wage. This situation is bad enough, but add this to the fact that one third of women are heads of household (I think this is a very conservative estimate) and the gravity of the picture emerges. Women dominate the service sector and many work as domestic servants without access to unions or even labour associations. There tends to be a lower level of union activity in small factories exploiting women's work such as garment and textile factories, which as late as 1972 were paying wages of \$7 - 10 per week.

Additionally, the level of broadbased autonomous organisation of women around questions or problems of direct concern to them is low. Most of the women's organizations are based on social welfare concerns aimed at further domesticating women. Handicraft and domestic schemes exist, offering little chance for the analysis of whose interests these schemes serve. Much of the problem is complicated by the fact that the subordination of women has not been seen as an issue serious enough to warrant raising embarrassing questions about domestic servants or sexual harrassment, for example. Often, the participation of women in the so-called "informal sector" of the economy and their work in farming and seasonal wage work is cited as



evidence of the 'emancipated' Jamaican woman. This blind spot has meant that much of the basic information about the condition of working class women simply does not exist.

We have to put all our educational resources into resolving these problems if women are to have a future that is at all positive. At the same time, the resolving of these issues, or even the fact that they exist. should not obscure our awareness of the fact that women as a sex/class have a particular relationship to the past and present. The issues for us then, (and for women in much of the Third World), are how to create a balance between the solutions to the class questions we face. while at the same time dealing with the specificity of women's oppression in what is still a sexist society; and how to create a new society without losing touch with the particular needs of women.

Historically, unlike women in Europe and North America, Caribbean women have not participated in a struggle for emancipation as a class. The social gains which the women of the region have made, accompanied the national movements for increased sovereignty and greater social justice. Although women made important gains in the areas of legislation between 1972 and 1980, these do not deal with the material bases or the root questions of control of reproduction and control of production - or the difficult problem of the sexual division of labour. Maternity leave and minimum wage were important pieces of legislation — but in a situation where women do not do and cannot get work which is considered to be equal — an equal pay for equal work law is a bit like putting a band-aid on a cancer.

Also, Jamaica is still defining its cultural identity. The process of building confidence in traditions is an important one. It is one in which women have played an important part. The preserving of African tradition through the last 300

years has, to a great extent, been facilitated by women. It is they who have kept alive and communicated the customs of an uprooted people — much of this legacy has until recently been denied by the wider society and has been submerged beneath the official character of the country. Its emergence into the open requires different methods of communication than those which survived in the past. It demands a re-examination of the past, with all its taboos and restrictions in the language of the *Present*. It requires that women, hitherto the preservers, become the authors.

A drama-in-education project

The experience of Sistren (meaning sisters), a theatre collective for working class women, in forming and creating a workplace for women, is a useful case study. Drama is without question. an effective means of breaking silence, of stimulating discussion, of posing problems and experimenting with their solutions. Drama here, is by definition different from theatre. Drama is an exploratory process which uses games and role play and narration to bring about self discovery, "to bring out what (people) already know but don't yet know they know." As Dorothy Heathcote, the English educator has demonstrated: "Drama is not something special, but rather a technique most ordinary people regularly employ as a way of coping with new or unsettling experience."4

1. The process of conscienctization is fully described in Paulo Friere's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Penguin, 1970.

2. "PNP Women's Movement Political Education Programme", 1980, pp. 17-18.

3. Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a Learning Medium, Betty Jane Wagner, National Education Association, 1976, p. 13.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

SISTREN

The process of rehearsing oneself into a significant situation beforehand is an example of this. "In drama, students live in advance of themselves' as it were: they face challenge and crisis in imagination before they find themselves overwhelmed by it in real life. They gain the feeling of mastery over events, the sense that they are equal to life . . ."

Theatre, on the other hand, is an artistic product. It is the process of shaping discoveries and presenting them to an audience. The emphasis here is on presentation, on performance, on the expertise of the actors and the production team.

The process of naming

Sisterns is a collective/co-operative structure within which its members educate themselves through drama, and later, through theatre, share their experiences with others. It is a small group of women exploring their understanding through drama, naming it, and presenting that naming in a product - theatre. The active relationship between the investigative base (drama workshops) and the more objective completed statement (theatre) give the educational process a tangible goal. The theatre presentations help to motivate the women in the group to continue their work. The drama workshops aim at a constant process of consciousness raising. The production of plays necessitates the training of the women in a particular professional skill (acting). A group like Sistren need not choose theatre as the end product of its educational process. The drama can be used for consciousness-raising and skill training in any field, because it offers a way of approaching and investigating problems.

The educational process in Sistren addresses itself to the problems of the people in the company, as they represent women from the labouring poor. It introduces these problems back into the wider society for discussion, for analysis, for solution. It suggests alternatives. Both drama and theatre provide a public forum for the voices of poor women. This is a part of the process of awakening which must take place if changes in the system which create these problems are to occur.

Sistren's programme consists of workshops taken and performances given. Workshops include both research work and special skill workshops in movement, silk screen printing and general education. Performances include both workshops in Drama for Problem-solving which are presented to community organizations and

women's groups around the country and major productions which are presented commercially, usually composed from group experience, research and improvisation. Four have been presented since 1977: Bellywoman Bangarang, Bandooloo Version, Nanah Yah and QPH (Queenie, Pearlie and Hopie).

Giving women opportunities to organize

The ideas about adult education behind the work of Sistren have developed gradually and have stretched themselves as the group's ideas of its identity and its role grew. The work began spontaneously in 1977, the result of a climate of reform and increased worker participation in all areas of the life in the country at that time.

All thirteen members of Sistren were urban street cleaners in the Emergency Employment Programme (Impact Programme) of the Jamaican Government. Later they were selected for training as teacher aides in a programme for women organized by the Women's Bureau and the Council for Voluntary Social Services, a program much criticised by middle class interests in Jamaica. There were approximately 10,000 women employed by this special employment programme and although their jobs were unquestionably low status the programme offered a chance to women to organize around their own concerns.

This coincided with the start of the U.N. World Decade of Women which resulted in Women's Bureaus being set up all over the Third World. The effectiveness of these government-led initiatives toward "development, equality and peace" for women depended on the over-all political context — in whose interests governments were acting on and whose they were protecting. In Jamaica in 1977, the context was one of mild socialism. For the first time in the lives of many of us, people from the labouring poor were analysing, making demands and being openly critical of the forces holding them back. So when the Women's Bureau at that time selected some of the women in the special employment programme for training as teacher-aides there was a feeling of optimism.

These are some of the reasons why Sistren spoke to me as they did in 1977, when I first met them in an old broken down schoolhouse in Swallowfield. The group had expressed an interest in drama and sought a director from the Jamaica School of Drama. We met to discuss the performance they wanted to do for a Workers' Week concert. I asked them

"What do you want to do a play about?" and they said "We want to do plays about how we suffer as women. We want to do plays about how the men treat us bad." Somehow, the employment programme had offered them a chance to recognize that they shared something in common. Two years later, in a film about Sistren, Bev Hanson defined the commonality: "In the first place we are all impact workers . . . In the second place all of us live in the ghetto . . ." Sistren's consciousness has always been of themselves as representatives of working class women. So when we met for the first time, I asked them to tell me how they suffered as women and this began an exchange of experience, which resulted in our first piece, Downpression Get a Blow.

Research workshop 1979-80

The research workshop in reading skills was set up as a solution to the problem of the lack of formal education not only within the group, but also within the society. The workshop had as its objective the creating of dramatic exercises which would teach comprehension and reading skills and develop the critical consciousness of the student. This was the first research workshop in which Sistren participated. It attempted to balance skills with a consciousness of class and gender.

The history of the workshop is briefly this. During the group's first major production Bellywoman Bangarang the women were asked to script scenes they had created from their own experiences. At this point, I learned that some of the women in the project had more developed reading skills than others. These actresses were able to help others script their scenes and by the end of the production, interest in reading about their personal experiences motivated many to practice their new skills. By the time we got to our second major production everyone could read their own script.

The research workshop investigated what took place in this process more carefully. In workshop, a wide range of work was done. Physical exercises were based on the shape of the letters. Kalesthenics were developed based on the alphabet and, in one case, a dance created from the spelling of the letters of words. Rhythmic sounds and games accompanied these so that letters and sounds are identified. Writing exercises were linked to exercises in conflict resolution, personal awareness and group development. A great many of the exercises have been developed from Augosto Boal's method of

^{5.} In discussing the work of Sistren, I want to stress that what I am writing here are my words. I write "my words" because I want to make clear that my way of working with Sistren is conditioned by my own position on certain issues, by my own class background and by my skills in theatre. All women are oppressed, but we experienced that oppression differently in both extent and form. To ignore the difference between the actresses who make up Sistren and myself is to pass over the important question of class as it affects relations between women. Second, my position on certain questions has changed in three years or so of work with the collective as outside influences on our work has altered or become stronger and as the women in Sistren have studied and taught me more about their situation. Together we evolved certain techniques which I am writing now, here-without them — in words they would not use. These techniques are not necessarily the same that Sistren would use if they were working on their own or with another director. What I describe has grown out of the conflicts/mistakes and solutions to problems of the last years' work. They cannot be randomly applied because they are aimed at bringing about a certain process and a certain end. That end is a greater consciousness of the conditions facing women in the Caribbean. That end is the possibility of changing the structure which creates those conditions.





Technically, the workshop productions are simple — geared to smaller audiences, smaller spaces and always initiating participation. Props, are often common objects — brooms, hats, sheets — inviting a you-can-do-this-too response. The dialogue is earthy, never didactic, even when moving from the experiences of individuals to comments on the general condition of women. In place of the theatrical power of their larger productions, Domestick (above) is an intimate form of communication.

problem solving skits. In these, the group develops to a climax a skit on a particular theme. They then stop and ask the rest of the group how the problem should be solved. After a discussion, the solution is enacted.

Reading exercises were often taken from the newspaper. The study of articles in the paper and their accompanying pictures is another example of the type of exercise the group used. After looking at a picture, the women acted out what went before and after the moment captured in the scene. They then read, in character, the newspaper report, and commented on its truthfulness in discussion.

The results of these workshops were

done in creole, since the creole language is the women's main medium of communication. The creole was then translated into English. Writing in dialect, with its improvised spelling and immediate flavour, the women learned to write a form of English which had previously been considered "bad, coarse and vulgar". In fact, Jamaican Creole is a variation of English with its own strict rules of grammar, a language which retains much of the Twi construction of its creators. By writing a language which had hitherto been that of a non-literate people, the women broke silence.

recorded by the members of Sistren and

some of the scenes scripted. All writing was

By translating their work into English, the women create an equal relationship between their idiom and the language of the powerful. It is a language which they understand most of, but do not speak. It is the official language of the country and they must learn it if they are to understand the world view of its speakers, if they are not to remain isolated. They must learn it if they are to communicate their needs and demands to the powerful. But for Sistren as for many other women it remains a second language.

Creating plays: The use of folk forms

The use of the creole language in workshop and performance is only one method of using the cultural tradition of the Caribbean. Sistren's first two major productions were created from forms suggested by the oral and ritual traditions of the country. This tradition, African in origin, is by its nature far more participatory than that of a literary tradition. It evokes a communal response from both audience and actor. The images and symbols contained within the ritual tradition evoke immediate responses from the audience, because they come loaded with overtones from past and present. They echo in the subconscious of the viewer. Dramatic forms originating from ritual demand a supportive relationship between audience and actor. In ritual, the viewer must help the possessed in his or her journey through a reality of the spirit. In workshop the passive participator must be prepared to be drawn in to support the actress who is making discoveries through the medium of drama.

Oral literature and music are a particularly important part of the cultural experience of the women in Sistren. Stories, songs for all occasions, riddles, rhymes and proverbs are among some of the forms which are still used very actively. Oral literature, as Ruth Finnegan has pointed out, has certain techniques built into its structure, which demand the attention of the listeners. These devices include onomatopaeia, repetition of a phrase or expression, questions and songs. Proverbs and riddles depend on metaphors from daily life and the listener's knowledge of folk heroes and heroines to make subtle comments on the life around us.

Bellywoman Bangarang, the group's first major production, was developed using a method almost completely based on folk traditions. In the beginning, each member of the group was asked to go into the centre of a circle and sing a folk song from her childhood. She was asked to keep singing until the song evoked either an action or an incident in her memory. When this happened she was to tell the story or act it out. Observers were required to look for ways in which they could identify with her story. If anyone felt that the experience being described aroused a memory of a similar experience in her own life she joined in by telling her story or by linking, through action, her experience to the one which had been acted out. From these simple exercises the theme of teenage pregnancy and the rites of passage from girlhood to adulthood emerged.

^{6.} An excellent account of Boal's experience in people's theatre is given in his book The Theatre of the Oppressed, Pluto Press (London), 1979.

SISTREN

The game structure

The wealth of information which emerged demanded to be structured around dramatic images suitable to the theme. We chose to use folk games. The entire narrative structure of Bellywoman Bangarang finally rested on the structure of the games and on the resolution of the conflict in the game structure. Most games have a metaphorical content and often suggest a line of narrative action based on the game's objective. An example of this is the game "Bull in the Pen". Here the main player stands in the centre of a circle of people whose arms are linked. She asks, by touching each arm, what the pen is made of. She then has to try and break out of it. Dramatically this game can be used in several ways. In Bellywoman it functioned as a means of commenting on a scene which had gone before. The pen became the situation itself and the arms of the players symbolized the problems of the situation. The players then try to improvise a means of breaking out of the pen.

Riddles and proverbs were another form of oral literature used in **Bellywoman**. they were used as a means of stimulating the audience to think about taboo areas of experience. The riddles introduced themes that the audience were afraid to deal with openly, or unused to dealing with at all.

Menstruation and illness during pregnancy were dealt with like this. The riddles were presented to the audience as choreopoems. The audience had to figure out the answers.

The structures of riddles and proverbs also help to evoke and suggest structures for group poems, which, if they have enough emphasis on word play and rhythm, communicate with great immediacy to an audience. These kinds of poems connect to the audience's background in ritual chanting and rhythmic bible reading. The content of the poem, or choral statement juxtaposed with the anticipated content of the familiar form arouses a questioning interest on the part of the viewer. Poetry like this does not have the connotations of abstraction which it carries in many other societies. It is an extremely direct way of reaching an audience through conscious use of rhythm. The use of other forms of oral and ritual tradition such as choruses, and storytelling has informed our work in a continuous way. The use of craftwork is also beginning to be an important part of the group's total programme.

Life de-mystified

The process of working in drama for women involves the creating of a community in which some of the hidden or taboo subjects about women can be exposed and the audience confronted with them. As such, drama is not a reflection of life but a de-mystification of it, by the full exploration of these realities. Sistren brings to the public the voices of women from the labouring poor and in so doing helps to pressure for change. By confronting what has been considered indecent, irrelevant or accepted, we have begun to make a recorded refusal of ways in which our lives have been thwarted and restricted. We have begun to refuse the forces behind those ways.

Methods and techniques are not very important. It is where they take you that matters. What becomes of the work is determined by the content and the consciousness one brings to the theme. Work of this kind can perpetuate oppressive structures as well as it can help to change them. The form is only important in so far as it structures and analyses the content and in so far as it leads to new understandings, new knowledge and new collective action.

Honor Ford-Smith, an actress and tutor at the Jamaica School of Drama, has worked with Sistren since 1977, setting up the original training programme at the Drama School and directing productions and workshops.

LISA STEELE

SISTREN'S QPH Building a collective history, this is theatre which engages through ritual and humour

When the poor die, they exit in numbers not in name; fifty-four on a ferry in Calcutta, seventy-six on a bus in Mexico City, one hundred and twelve in a monsoon in Southeast Asia. Reading about these human disasters, it would seem that poverty itself places people - often in large groups - directly in the path of inevitable doom. This kind of group death frequently makes the news reports but seldom warrants individual obituaries. I assume (I hope not unfairly) that one of the Sistren collective's intentions in producing OPH (Queenie, Pearlie and Hopie) was to reverse these priorities — to provide obituaries for women whose deaths had been previously uncommemorated.

The event that **QPH** is based upon occured May 20, 1980, when one hundred and sixty-seven women died in a fire that swept through the women's ward of the Kingston Alms House. Shortly after, Sistren began work on **QPH**, their fourth major production. Of itself, **QPH** is an important work which defines and gives voice to the struggles of poor women while existing within a popular format —

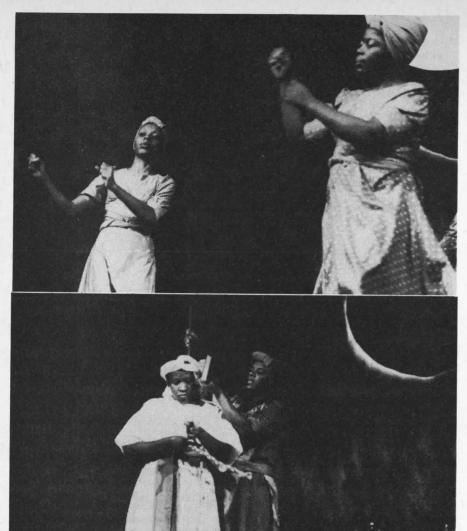
theatre. But in view of the "official" response to the fire at the Alms House, the play's existence becomes even more vital: a year-long inquest finally determined that there was no criminal responsibility in the deaths, despite evidence of overcrowding, a sub-standard building and possible negligence on the part of staff. So for the 167 women who died, **QPH** is their only memorial.

But the play is no ordinary memorial. It is not a structure cast in stone meant to receive wreaths and tears on anniversary days and then promptly be forgotten for the rest of the year, because OPH is a memorial not to the deaths but to the lives of the Alms House women. For in Sistren's view, it is not just the fire which is the tragedy of the women's lives, but the fact that they were in the Alms House in the first place. This is the primary focus of QPH, as one by one we are introduced to the three main characters and unravel the threads of their lives which brought them all together in the Alms House on the night of the fire.

First there's the beleagured Hopie, loyal

domestic servant to Cousin Sissy and her family for the last 30 years, who's been given her walking papers. The family is moving — "re-locating" — and her services won't be necessary anymore. And while Sissy frets over her personal toilette, screeching and coaxing Hopie on to ever more menial tasks of service, Hopie is left to contemplate her future. This, according to Sissy, is really a very simple matter: since marriage is out (who would want Hopie at her age anyway? Sissy muses with her characteristic sensitivity), it's a good thing Hopie does domestic work because there's always a demand for that kind of thing - you know, she says, "two children and only a little light housework." Hopie, needless to say, does not connect with this mythical 'position' and ends up begging on the street, a cast-off after a lifetime of service, who can't even write her own

Next there's Pearlie, the bride-to-be of the consulate's son ("a good catch"). She's suffering from what at first appears to be bad case of pre-nuptial jitters. "Pearlie," her mother chides, "why are you lying



In QPH, Sistren all wear versions of the housedress worn by the poor women of Jamaica — whether housewives or housekeepers. The dress is made of synthetic stretch fabric, shaped on vague 'princess' lines, ending just below the knee. Sistren's colours are grey; around their heads are tied red bandannas. This head covering not only emphasizes the natural solidarity of the women, it also represents the red of defiance. These simple costumes unify the dancing movement used to divide each scene. Sistren's body movements are witness to female strength: hip swaying, circular undulations, arms encircling, forever comforting in a healing ritual of soothing forms — Movements which make whole the fragmented, victimized existences which must be endured.

down in your expensive dress?" Pearlie has pains. Where? "All over, Mommy." After much wheedling and cajoling, Mommy finally learns the truth. The 17-year-old Pearlie has given in to the gardener and she's pregnant. Outraged, Mommy lets the "expensive dress" and her good name take precedence and Pearlie is banished from the family. We see Pearlie later in her life. plying her trade with a sailor in a waterfront bar, getting drunk and getting rolled. The scene ends with Pearlie shouting, "I've paid my dues to society. Now I want a free ride — to the Alms House."

And finally there's Queenie whose line of work is preacher-woman in a clapping church. We see her urging the congregation on to salvation, warning them of "the fire next time". But after the service ends, we find that Queenie is no more secure in her position than Hopie or Pearlie. It seems that her congregation is less than

pleased with her. They send a delegation to complain. First they are not that confident being led by a woman; they wonder if she's "qualified". They want the Bishop (away on "religious" business) to return. They accuse Queenie and the Bishop of "fornicating", further evidence of her unsuitability as spiritual leader. Of course, the Bishop's qualifications aren't blemished by this accusation, the implication being that male "fornication" is one thing, but female "fornication" is out of the question. So Queenie is removed from her calling. We see her later, struggling to provide food for her children, being told that her house is directly in the path of a proposed building site and will soon be demolished. The scene closes with Queenie asking her friend to care for her small daughter Faith, because now she too must go to the Alms House.

What this litany of broken dreams and severed promises, split families and grave misfortunes does not convey about Sis-

tren's QPH is the tough humour which informs the entire production. And it is the humour which, in the end, provides the key to Sistren's analysis of their chosen material. This humour, carried in the dialogue as it races along, often at a seemingly impossible speed, reproduces speech patterns as accurately as a recording, and along the way ruthlessly exposes the bitter oppression, degradation and humiliation which these women and all others like them endure, day by endless day. Catastrophe piling upon catastrophe. An example: when we first meet Hopie, she is being berated by an increasingly angered Aunt Vantie (Sissy's mother). Hopie, in Aunt Vantie's eyes, can do nothing right. "Stand up, girl, you're always slouching!" exhorts Auntie, and Hopie vainly tries to comply, only to infuriate Auntie more. Finally, driven to physical violence simply by Hopie's existence, Auntie begins to beat Hopie with a garment that Hopie had been pressing and the ever meek Hopie, trying to ward off blows more likely to stun a fly than an adult human, whines, falls and rolls around on the ground, whimpering. In QPH Hopie's humiliation is funny bitterly funny. It is a scene which could have been played in high tragic relief, but this would have violated Sistren's doctrine of engagement. For their work to be successful, it must engage those currently in the circumstances which Sistren themselves have experienced - and not just call up pity and hand-wringing from those outside of the poverty and oppres-

Along with the humour, QPH employs another active method of engagement powerful ritual. The entire structure of the play is woven within an Etu ritual. Etu is a celebration of the dead. African in origin. which is currently practiced only in western Jamaica. The participants are usually female. There is singing, dancing and feasting, as each dancer, in turn, is "shawled" by the Queen of the ritual, freeing her to express her family's song and dance patterns. In QPH, the Etu encloses each scene until the end when, after the fire, the Etu dancers become old women, performing the final rites over their dead sisters and Queenie delivers the denouement: "Women have the key to the future because they hold the secrets to the past." The question here is what does Sistren mean by "the past"? On reflection it would seem that they are referring not only to a collective past which is contained in matriarchial rituals such as Etu, but to individualized histories also. And this is the ferocious strength and integrity of QPH. Ritual is used not as another panacea which, like colonialism or capitalism, ultimately abandons the individual, but instead is used as a connecting thread, linking individual with individual and past with present. So when Queenie speaks of "the past", she is not only seeking women's cultural roots, she is urging women who now live in oppression to remember their own lives. And in remembering, analysis becomes possible, and with analysis, the real struggle can begin.

VIDEO/VIDEO: THE STRAITS OF THE ART WOMEN WARTIME WORKERS IN THE B.C. SHIPYARDS

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